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DISSERTATION / DOCTORAL THESIS

Title of the Doctoral Thesis

Intergenerational Value Transmission in Polish
Immigrant Families in Austria and Germany

submitted by

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doktorin der Philosophie (Dr.phil.)

Vienna, 2017

Degree programme code as it appears
on the student record sheet:

A 796 310 122

Field of study as it appears on the
student record sheet:

Doktoratsstudium Sozialwissenschaften UG2002
(Dissertationsgebiet: Soziologie)

Supervisor:

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Acknowledgements

This study could not have been realized without the support and cooperation of many people who believed in and trusted my research project.

My special thanks go to my revered supervisor Ao. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Christoph Reinprecht who always guided me with his expertise and his valuable input over the past few years. It is not always a matter of course that someone is willing to support you over such a long time and especially distance.

Furthermore, I would like to thank each of my interviewees who have given me their time and motivation by participating in my project. I would like to thank all participants in Poland, Austria and Germany who have granted me an insight into their world and answered very personal questions.

Special thanks go to my family in Austria, Germany and Poland who supported me enormously especially during the time of data collection. Without this strong support and help, this task would have been a lot more challenging.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank a very special person in my life: my sister Joanna Potkański, who has always given me guidance and support, and had an open ear for me. She has been and always will be an important and indispensable critic of my research.

Finally, I would like to thank Igor Pałka, my partner, best friend and rock in the surf. Thank you for believing in me and trusting me, for your love, patience, support and commitment.

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Preface

Intergenerational relationships of immigrant families become important when it comes to the understanding of their functioning and their solidarity potential. Most of these families come from countries without a long tradition of a strongly developed welfare system of social security. In many cases, a comprehensive welfare system has been developing in last decades, so older generations grew up without the understanding of social security offered by the government. For them, families were taking care of the older generations. Thus, benefits and safeguards against the risks of life were provided directly between the generations. This material hedge has important effects on cultural aspects and on intergenerational relationships, thus on the parent-child-relationship, the emotional meaning for each other and what kind of expectations they have. Consequently, these functions might also have an impact on the intergenerational value transmission between the generations. In addition, the immigration situation itself has a direct impact on the intergenerational relationships. Many migration objectives can be only realized in the context of intergenerational relations, such as the desire of the parents to improve the education of their children or to enhance their career chances on the labour market. Most biographies show that the reason for immigration to another country has its source in the desire for economic improvement and life quality – especially for the offspring.

On January 1st 2014, around 1.6 million people of Polish origin lived in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014)¹. However, the population with Polish roots living currently in Germany can be estimated as much higher than 1.6 million, when taking into consideration also those who possess a German citizenship since birth but do not live (anymore) with their parents in the same household (immigrant in the broader sense). On January 1st, 2016, a total of 77.450 people of Polish origin lived in Austria, which is composed as follows: 50.628 people were Polish nationals who were also born abroad, 19.861 people were born in Poland who had meanwhile received Austrian citizenship, and 6.961 people were Polish nationals born in Austria (Statistik Austria 2016).

¹ This number is composed of people with an immigration background including all immigrants and all foreigners already born in Germany. Germans with a Polish immigrant background who have a German citizenship since birth, are only counted as “people with immigration background” in the narrow sense, if they live with at least one parent in the same household, as only in this requirement can be used for the assignment information to parents.

While there is a big proportion of Polish citizens who have emigrated to Austria and Germany in recent years and after Poland's EU accession, an equally large proportion belongs to those immigrants who had immigrated during the late 1970s and 1980s to the West. During these years, high unemployment rate and government debt, rising inflation and housing deficit marked the political and social situation in Poland. This led to the formation of an opposition in 1980, consisting of the trade union movement *Solidarność* and the Catholic Church (Fassmann 1995: 12). With the proclamation of the martial law on December 13th, 1981, the blockade of border traffic was introduced. The process of issuing passports and visas was complicated and durable. In fact, it was almost impossible to leave the country on a legal way. Family reunification became a popular way to leave the country and never come back (Korcelli 1996: 249). Between 1980 and 1988 more than 800 thousand Polish citizens left Poland. By the end of the 1980s, around one million people have left their home country. Illegal and undocumented emigration marked this period. Another way to stay abroad was seeking for asylum in Western countries. Around 50 thousand Polish citizens residing in the West applied for asylum in Austria, Germany and the United States already in 1980 (Mazurkiewicz 2011: 19). Due to the imposition of martial law in Poland, the number of Polish asylum applications in Austria reached its peak in 1981 with 29.091 people of Polish origin applying for asylum in this year. The number of asylum applications went back in the following years, except 1988 where 6.670 applications were submitted in Austria by Polish citizens. The same was true for Germany, where around 10.000 political refugees from Poland applied for asylum in Germany in 1981 (Glorius 2007: 101). In the second half of the 1980s, asylum applications continued to rise and were issued by the Federal Republic of Germany continuously. The recognition rate in the mid-1980s was still relatively stable at an average of 20 to 23%, however, since 1990, it decreased to 1% (Glorius 2007: 101). Most of these immigrants came to Austria and Germany in the late 1970s and 1980s in order to improve their own situation but also to enhance the life quality of their offspring. This second generation of Poles were already born in their new home countries where their parents immigrated. They spent their whole socialization process in Austria or Germany, went to school here and got employed on the Austrian or German labor market.

Searching for research and literature about second generation Poles in Austria and Germany, just a few studies can be found. One explanation for this lack of research might be that this group of immigrants has not caught the interest of scholars and politicians so much as other immigrant groups. Both, first as well as second generation of Polish immigrants are particularly well embedded. They are not only well integrated on the labour market but also they (strongly) identify themselves with their new home. They are an inconspicuous minority,

that means not recognizable by visual features at first glance. The accent that prevails in many of the first generation, is the only possible way to unmask them.

A study examined in 2011 in Austria shows that around 91% of people with Polish roots feel completely or rather natives of Austria (Potkanski 2011). This sense of belonging is also manifested in the fact that Polish immigrants have the most contacts with Austrian natives and their German language skills are above average compared to other immigrant groups. Nevertheless, international research emphasizes that Poles tend to have very strong intergenerational relationships. It can be assumed that this is due to the economic and social-political situation the Polish nation has gone through over the history. Especially the above mentioned developments between the 1970s and 1980s in Poland might have led to an even stronger bonding between the family generations. The precarious situation in Poland had a great impact on the older generation and that is why they left the country. The personal immigration situation as well as the historical developments in Poland during these years might be still present in the new home in Austria and Germany. Thus, it can be assumed that these memories and experiences of the first Polish immigrants have an impact on the intergenerational value transmission between them and their offspring.

Even though the second Polish generation has been socialized in Austria or Germany, it is believed that the cultural transmission in immigrant families competes with the cultural transmission of the host society. Based on previous research (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 186-187, Nauck 1997), the author supposes that immigrant parents tend to make greater effort to transmit their own cultural values to their children compared to those without having migration experience. Therefore, immigration conditions positively influence intergenerational value transmission and therefore parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany is stronger than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland. Even though Austrian and German studies show that second generation Poles are well integrated and speak the German language fluently, it is expected that a high grade of intergenerational value similarity in Polish immigrant families does not stand in conflict with a high grade of identification with Austria or Germany.

This study examines the influence of migration experience and migration process on value transmission between generations. The aim is to portray the ways of transmission of values from parents to their grownup children by analyzing intergenerational relationships and their individual characteristics. In this study, values are defined as the hard core of culture (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 187) and as a core task for culture maintenance and culture change (Schönpflug 2001: 175). Following Schwartz (1995), values are understood as

"conceptions of the desirable that guide the way social actors (e.g. organizational leaders, policy-makers, individual persons) select actions, evaluate people and events, and explain their evaluations and actions." (Schwartz 1999: 24) Values provide standards for human conduct and regulate the daily behaviour and critical life decisions (Schönpflug 2001: 175). The concept of intergenerational value transmission is understood as a narrower concept within the broader concept of cultural transmission.

The study focuses on second-generation Polish immigrants whose parents immigrated to Austria and Germany in the late 1970s and 1980s. Most of these young adults with a Polish immigration background were already born in Austria/Germany and/or have spent the major part of their lives in Austria/Germany, participating in the Austrian/German education system, labour market, etc.. Their socialization process took place mostly in Austria/Germany rather than in Poland. The study explores the consequences of international migration on family relationships as measured by parent-child value similarity. It is expected that immigration conditions have a positive influence on intergenerational value transmission and that parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany is stronger than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland and without any migration experience.

I. Introduction

Values are the hard core of culture (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 187) and the core task for culture maintenance and culture change (Schönpflug 2001: 175). Intergenerational transmission is defined as the direct transmission of experience within the parent-child relationship and/or an interpersonal relationship within the same or next generation (Markowitz 2001).

1.1. Problem representation and objective

A family usually has a transmitting role. Cultural heritage and historical narratives of the own ethnic or national group are transmitted through family. Intergenerational value transmission can be seen as one possible way of cultural heritage transmission of the society of origin (Nauck 2002). As cultural transmission secures the consistency of a society and maintains culture-specific knowledge and beliefs, international migration can be a critical life event and turning point in life. The experience can lead to the formation of a certain family-specific social capital, although this effect might become less pronounced after a certain period of time and for the offspring already born in the host society. Migration context sets the immigrants in a situation where they are facing greater difficulties and greater need for intergenerational transmission. Based on previous research it can be assumed that there are two possible mechanisms of how parents might respond to the existing situation of living in a new cultural context and society: On the one hand, in a discontinuous cultural context with drastic changes, parents might tend to neglect the transmission of their own norms and values to their children assuming that those will not be applicable in the child's future. On the other hand, as parents fear that they might lose their function as a role model in the host society, some parents tend to make even a greater effort to transmit their cultural values, traditions, customs etc. to their offspring than they would do without having migration experience. Not being supported by any cultural institutions such as schools or kindergarten, the transmission of cultural values and cultural heritage becomes even of greater importance to them.

The transmission paths between parents and children are often studied mechanisms of cultural continuity, although migration research deals with this issue only recently, especially where cohort analyzes are completed with regard to the differences in the assimilation of various immigrant generations. In addition, especially certain migrant groups are in the focus of migration research's interest within the German speaking landscape while others are treated with much less attention. Very little attention is often paid to Polish immigrants, since they are less "striking" and they rarely stand out negatively in the statistics, compared to other immigrant groups such as for example immigrants of Turkish origin.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the transmission of values from parents to their grownup children. Taking intergenerational relationships and individual expressions (*vertical transmission*) into consideration, the question is if the migration process of the parents had a significant impact on the value transmission to their children. In this context, the concept of transnational migration (Welsch 1994, Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015) is used which takes place on an individual level or group level, and therefore also on the intergenerational level (Schönpflug 2003, Phinney 2003, Berry et al. 2002).

The focus is on second generation Polish immigrants whose parents immigrated to Austria and Germany in the late 1970s and 1980s. These second generation young adults were (mostly) born in Austria and Germany and have spent the major part of their life in Austria and Germany, participating in the Austrian and German education system, labour market, etc.. Their socialization process took place mostly in Austria and Germany rather than in Poland, compared to their parents' socialization process. Based on the assumption that the cultural transmission in immigrant families competes with the cultural transmission of the host society, immigrant parents tend to make greater effort to transmit their own cultural values to their children compared to those without having migration experience (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 186-187, Nauck 1997). Furthermore, the study is testing the assumption that the more the intra-family relationship is, the greater becomes the social and cultural distance from the host society, thus synergistic effects of the promotion and control of young adults by the host society cannot take place (Coleman 1988, Nauck 2001). In order to examine value-similarity between second generation Poles and their parents in Austria and Germany, a control group of Poles and their parents with approximately the same demographic characteristics but no migration experience is used.

In addition, international research reveals that individuals who have grown up under the influence of two cultures, have developed a transcultural identity. The internalization of both cultural settings have been done through early socialization by family, institutions and peers.

The adaptation to both cultures and to switch between them is one of their abilities (Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015: 192). When it comes to second generation immigrants, studies have shown that inter alia cross-border movements shape biographical reconstructions and are considered to be positive chances (Apitzsch/Siouti 2007: 17). As they are set in a different environment of the host society, including new conditions, social changes and intercultural encounters (Sharaby 2011: 492), the formation of a new ethnic identity might be formed. It is expected that Polish second generation immigrants in Austria and Germany have developed a transcultural identity which becomes manifest in bilingualism and symbolic identity as well as specific rituals and habits.

1.2. Literature overview

In this study, values are understood the hard core of culture (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 187) and as the core task for culture maintenance and culture change (Schönpflug 2001: 175). Echoing Schwartz (1995), values are defined as *"conceptions of the desirable that guide the way social actors (e.g. organizational leaders, policy-makers, individual persons) select actions, evaluate people and events, and explain their evaluations and actions."* (Schwartz 1999: 24) Values provide standards for human conduct and regulate the daily behavior and critical life decisions (Schönpflug 2001: 175). The concept of intergenerational value transmission is understood as a narrower concept within the broader concept of cultural transmission. Most international intergenerational research landscape deals mainly with the transmission of political value orientations, religious values or lifestyles (Jennings/Niemi 1981, Kohn 1983). Within the discipline of psychology, the focus has also been given on the transmission of moral values or antisocial behaviour (Caspi/Elder 1988). Research on the transmission of values between parents and children is mainly focusing on the transmission of political value orientations, religious values or lifestyles (Jennings/Niemi 1974, Jennings/Niemi 1981). However, psychologists and sociologists have recently put their focus also on the transmission of moral values or anti-social behaviour (Caspi/Elder 1988, Caspi/Elder 1990). In the context of migration research, focusing on especially the parent-child transmission of values, scholars such as Böhnke (2001), Schönpflug (2001), Phalet/Schönpflug (2001), Nauck (1994, 1997, 1998, 2001), . Stolarczyk-Gembiak (2015), Kwast-Welfel, Boski and Rovers (2008), and Boski et al. (1992, 1993, 2001).

Studies about intergenerational values transmission show that in a discontinuous cultural context with drastic changes parents often overlook the transmission of their own values to their children, assuming that these will not be applicable in the future (Schönpflug 2001).

With respect to intergenerational transmission in the context of migration, Nauck (1997, 2001, 2007) has made a significant contribution to shaping the German research landscape by the analysis of the dyadic relationships in immigrant families in numerous studies in Germany. Similar to Weidacher's study (2000), Nauck focuses on people with Turkish origin, thus expanding his target group by using control groups consisting of persons of Italian and Greek heritage. Nauck notes that relations between the generations in immigrant families are particularly highly motivated and are stronger than within non-immigrant families in the society of the countries of origin. Intergenerational value transmission is significantly higher in immigrant families living in Germany compared to families without migration experience (Nauck 1995).

In regards to Polish research in the field of intergenerational transmission studies within immigrant families, Boski, Kwast-Welfel and Lewandowska must be named. Kwast-Welfel, Boski and Rovers (2008) investigate the intergenerational similarity of values in Polish immigrant families in Canada compared to the intergenerational similarity of values in Polish and Canadian families without migration experience. The scholars measure the value transfer using the questionnaire ECVSQ (*Emic Culture Values and Scripts Questionnaire*, Boski et al. 1992, 1993, 2001). Based on a historical analysis, Boski (2001) develops several motifs that he defines as being characteristic for the Polish culture. Considering the role of Catholicism in Polish history and culture, Boski postulates that Catholicism has been transmitted in a set of values, which he specifies as *humanism (values)*. He interprets the humanism dimension as a core element of the Polish mentality (Boski 2001). Boski's studies show that a *humanism-materialism*-polarization between Polish and North American cultures as well as those of some Western European countries can be established (Boski et al. 1992, Boski 1993, Boski 2001). Furthermore, his research shows that certain aspects of Polish culture, including a specific hierarchical value transmission, has been transferred even to the third generation of Polish immigrants in North America (Boski et al. 1992). In both Austria and Germany, there is a lack of similar studies focusing mainly on Polish immigrant families. In general, studies about people with Polish roots living in Austria or Germany are primarily focusing on migration in the political-historical context (Korcelli 1996, Fassmann/Münz 1996), the integration of Polish immigrants in the Austrian and German labour and housing markets, questions about identity or the function and operation of the Polish network (Okólski 2000, Fassmann/Kohlenbacher/Reeger 2004).

This study shall serve the international family research, and in particular the intergenerational research new results, findings and insights about the influence of family home which forms one's identity, the personal meaning and evaluation of symbols and

values and cultural identity. In addition, the aim is to make an important contribution to the German speaking as well as international research landscape and to extend the research on Polish immigrants.

1.3. Definition of relevant terms

First and second generation immigrants

In this study, first generation immigrants are individuals who have immigrated to Austria and Germany as adults during the late 1970s or 1980s. Their children who were already born in Austria/Germany or immigrated with their parents to Austria/Germany in their very early childhood and have passed their socialization process in the Austrian/German society (kindergarten, school, etc.) are referred as second generation immigrants.

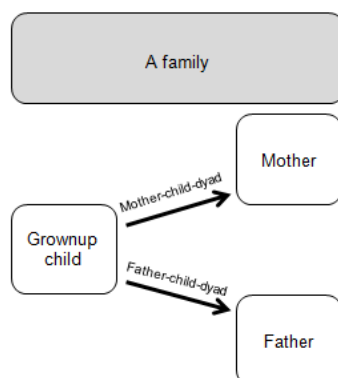
Parents' and children generation

The term “children” refers to adults between 25 and 35 years old. They are defined as being children of their “parents”. A child and a parent form a parent-child dyad.

Parent-child-dyad

A parent-child dyad consists either of a mother or a father and her/his grownup child aged 25 to 35 years. Within the parent-child dyad analysis, it is examined to which extent the parent-child-dyad rank values correspond to each other. A high correspondence between the values of the parents and their children indicates a high parent-child value similarity. Parent-child value similarity is measured via three correlation methods: correlation across groups, correlation within families, and as difference score within parent-child dyad (see Knafo/Schwartz 2001, Kwast-Welfeld 2004).

Figure 1. A parent-child-dyad



Intergenerational value transmission

The study defines intergenerational value transmission as a vertical transmission process, which means a transmission from parent to offspring. This process may take place by any kind of social learning, observation, imitation, or direct instruction. Intergenerational transmission is defined as the direct transmission of experience within the parent-child relationship and/or an interpersonal relationship within the same or next generation (Markowitz 2001).

Transnational migration

The author emphasizes that there is the need of conceptualizing the theoretical migration approaches nearer to the current globalization processes and transnational migration movements. Concerning the recognition of transnational social spaces and transmigration processes, the *transnational migration approach* is used as theoretical exploration. The transnational migration approach neglects the unilateral and one-dimensional aspect, such as for instance the concept of assimilation does, but highlights the assumption that migration can be understood as cross-border mobility of individuals and collectives which situates plural-locally generated, transnational contexts (Amelina 2008: 3). Due to the bi-polar localization, alternative terms such as *trans-localism* (Barkan 2006), *bi-localism*, and *trans-state activity* can be named (Waldinger/Fitzgerald 2004, Levitt/Jaworsky 2007: 131). Migration flows are not merely defined as a result of macroeconomic, political and social forces but are rather seen as strategies used by immigrants who operate within a system of practical constraints and exploit the global economic opportunities and processes offered by national states (Portes 1997a). Migration has never been an one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a multicultural salad bowl but one in which immigrants, to varying degrees, are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live (Levitt/Jaworsky 2007: 130).

Transcultural Identity

Transculturality refers to both the social macro level and the individual micro level in which an individual is imbedded. According to Welsch, the concepts of national cultures are no longer compatible with the understanding of a globalized, complex world. Cultures are characterized by an intern pluralism of different possible identities, while showing external border contours, whereby the relevance of their conventional stocks considerably decreases. Today's culture can no longer be considered in isolation but *transcultural* as it has come to a mixing of cultures due to the hybridization of individual cultures. Welsch constitutes his thesis with the increase of migration processes and forms of globalization (Welsch 1994: 10-11). In terms of the formation of a transcultural identity, a variety of elements from different

origin interplays. A decoupling of the transcultural identity from the civic and territorial determination takes place (Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015: 192).

1.4. Hypotheses

This study is based on the assumption that cultural transmission in immigrant families competes with the cultural transmission of the host society. Therefore, immigrant parents tend to make greater effort to transmit their own cultural values to their children compared to those without migration experience (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001, Nauck 1997). Furthermore, this study is based on the postulation that the more the intra-family relationship is, the greater becomes the social and cultural distance from the host society, thus synergistic effects of the promotion and control of young adults by the host society cannot take place (Coleman 1988, Nauck 2001).

Hypothesis 1

This study explores the consequences of international migration on family relationships as measured on parent-child-dyadic value similarity. It is expected that immigration conditions influence positively intergenerational value transmission and therefore parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany is stronger than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland without any migration experience. This assumption is tested both at the group and family level.

Hypothesis 2

Concerning the transmission of values and standards, a successful process of value transmission can be only considered completed if the child has taken over and internalized the relevant values and norms (Grusec/Goodnow 1994). This can be seen as a two-step process in which the first step is the perception of a "message" that a child perceives from one of his/her parents and which is considered as important. The second step is the acceptance or rejection of this "message" by the child (Knafo/Schwart 2001, Grusec/Goodnow 1994). If the child does not perceive the parent's attitude correctly and does not accept it in the second step, transmission fails. In addition, the transmission process can be affected by various conditions and mechanism which either promote the will to accept the transmission process or to obstruct it (Schönpflug 2001, Knafo/Schwart 2001, Grusec/Goodnow 1994). In this study, the two-step process is not examined, however potential relations, conditions and requirements between parent-child value similarity have been verified. Specific variables have been measured and confirmed to be significantly important in regard to serving as a positive supporter of parent-child value similarity.

Related variables that might be taken as explanation for successful intergenerational value transmission and parent-child value similarity at the family level are tested in addition. The level of general agreement and accordance of measured values within the family is examined on the one hand, and the parent-child value similarity on the other hand. The assumption is that a high grade of value agreement within the family correlates positively with a high grade of positive and intimate relationship between parents and their children.

Hypothesis 3

Relations between generations in immigrant families are often characterized by particularly higher motivation and are stronger than in non-immigrant families in the society of the countries of origin (Nauck 1995, 2007). Intergenerational value similarity is significantly higher in immigrant families than non-immigrant families as measured on attitudes of parents and children, orientation and synchronicity of values, norms and behaviour (Nauck 1995, 2007). Thus, it is believed that there is no cultural difference in the value ratings and value primacy in regard of Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany. Thus, a strong cultural effect is expected.

Hypothesis 4

Second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany have grown up under the influence of two cultures and have developed a transcultural identity. The internalization of both cultural settings have been done through early socialization by family, institutions and peers. The adaptation to both cultures and to switch between them is one of their abilities. A decoupling of the transcultural identity from the civic and territorial determination takes place (Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015: 192). Transcultural identity is based on a dynamic, diverse and self-open concept, a processual and never-ending task of each person (Spreckels/Kotthoff 2007: 416). Hybridization characterizes this identity which is understood as an interaction process of multiple identities as well as as the creation of something new (Kannengießer 2012: 25-26). It is assumed that among the second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany a transcultural identity is present while among their parents the sense of belonging to Poland is stronger and therefore a monocultural identity exists.

Hypothesis 5

Transcultural identity manifests itself in bilingualism and intensive contacts with both the host society and the parents' home country. In addition, it can be strengthened by a symbolic identity. However, the longer the period of emigration is, the weaker the Polish symbolic identity becomes, and migrants tend to adopt the symbols of the host society (Spagnola

2007). It is believed that symbolic identity is stronger among Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrants parents than among their grownup children.

1.5. Research methods

In the present study the above mentioned hypotheses are tested. In order to prove them, three samples are compared. One sample consists of Polish parents and their adult children (targeting the age group 25 to 35 years) that immigrated to in the late 1970s and 1980s to Austria; the second sample consists of Polish parents and their adult children (targeting the age group 25 to 35 years) that immigrated to in the late 1970s and 1980s to Germany. The third sample is randomly drawn out of the equivalent Polish population. Polish families, neither the parents nor the children, have migration experience and serve as a control group.

Apart from demographic questions, a questionnaire has been developed based on the *Emic Questionnaire of Cultural Values and Scripts* (EQCVS) (Boski et al. 1992, Boski 1999, Boski 2001), consisting of statements of values, preferences, attributions, scripts and beliefs, and on the *Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire* (PAFS-Q) (Bray/Williamson/Malone 1984). Based on Emilia Lewandowska's study about Polish immigrants living in Great Britain, the level of *Identification and Recognition of Cultural Symbols* (IRCS) was measured via pictures of public authorities, buildings and places of present and past (Lewandowska 2008). In addition, a scale for measuring *Intergenerational Cultural-Traditional Rituals* (ICTR) has been developed. Multivariate statistics using SPSS Statistics 23 has been applied for data analysis.

II. Polish immigration to Austria and Germany

The 1980s were the period of revitalizing old and establishing new networks, and acquiring experience in international migration by large masses of the population of Poland. With immigration volume still rather negligible, emigration (both documented and undocumented) involved around 1.1-1.3 million persons. Undocumented short-term outflow might be estimated at some 1.0-1.1 million. (Okólski 1999: 6)

By the end of 2014, around 2.32 million Polish citizens were living abroad the territory of Poland (GUS 2015). Poles are a nation of immigrants – this phenomenon cannot be neglected. Statistics show that Poles emigrate en masse. Most Poles probably have a friend or family member who already emigrated or at least plan to emigrate to another country. They emigrate because they want to, because they can and – unfortunately – sometimes because they have to. These facts are also supported when looking at Polish emigration from a historical perspective. The economic situation in Poland was not always the driven reason for mass migration movements towards West. Besides economic and social factors, political circumstances in Poland were forcing thousands of Poles to leave their country. At least a million Poles left the country during the years between 1981 and 1989. In contrast to the recent labor emigration, Polish emigration of the 1980s had primarily a political background and was one of the consequences of the introduction of martial law in 1981. A large part of contemporary Polish refugees came back by the end of 1989, however, a greater part settled down abroad permanently.

Many empirical studies and publications about Polish culture repeat the findings that Poles tend to be significantly oriented towards the past (Fischer et al. 2007: 137). Often it is claimed that some characteristics which can be assigned to be significant for the Polish mentality, can only be understood with an in-depth historical analysis and understanding. Thus, the following chapter presents Polish migration movements in the context of a changing history of Poland in order to highlight which historically relevant political and social events in the respective period have determined emigration. I regard this overview as

important to understand the discussion on values and the intergenerational value transmission in Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany. The decisive factor is the circumstance that the parents generation have left their home country due to political, social or personal reasons and have settled in Austria and Germany permanently. While they were socialized in a Communist Poland, marked by restrictions and the impossibility of free travel, their children were born and socialized in the liberal West. The question that led this research is the influence of parents' migration experiences and of (new) liberal life conditions in Austria and Germany on the intergenerational transmission of values. To which extent have parents passed over their values internalized in Poland (*primary* and *secondary habitus*) to their children (*primary habitus*)? Which impact have had external factors, such as institutions, school or workplace (*secondary habitus*) on value similarity between parents and offspring?

2.1. Polish migration in the context of political and historical developments

The Polish diaspora in Austria and Germany becomes an interesting cultural phenomenon due to several factors. The geographical and historical aspects make the countries popular migration destinations for many migrants and therefore represent two of the main countries of migration for Poles since many decades. This fact makes the diaspora diverse and rich for investigations in the context of social-economic and historical migration research. In addition, Austria and Germany are European Union members and therefore attractive to migrants from other EU countries due to a number of political rights resulting from the EU citizenship (Nowak/Bernacka/Riedel 2012: 195).

Polish emigration is nothing new. It can be stated that Polish migration is characterized by political as well as social-economic reasons through the centuries. The geographical location as well as the political developments in Europe has led to a significantly greater will to move to other countries comparative to other nations. In addition, taking a closer look on the type of migration, one can speak of a development that is characterized by alternating political migration and economic-social migration in a temporal gatherer. This phenomenon cannot be observed only recently but starting already in the 18th century. In the years 1794, 1830 and 1863 the first migration movements of the so-called emigration of independence movement (*Emigracją niepodległościową*) can be named. This migration can be seen as forced migration as about 20 thousand people had to leave the Polish territory forced by Russia. The turn of this century is characterized by mass emigration (Sakson 2009: 1).

Between 1871 and 1913, nearly 3.5 million people left the Polish territory. From the Prussian partition around 1.200 thousand, from the Austrian partition 1.050 thousand and the Russian partition 1.250 thousand people left (Gawryszewski 2005: 408) (see table 1). Occupation and political situation can be seen as main reasons for the migration movements. In contrast to the previous period which was marked by political migration and territorial expulsion, the migration movement contained mostly of agricultural labourers during these years. The main reason was the overcrowding of Polish territories under occupation (Sakson 2009: 2). In the second half of the 19th century, Europe's population increased by 70%, while the Polish one increased by 109% (Sakson 2008: 2). “Trips for bread” (*emigracja za chlebem*) were called those movements that were determined departures from already independent Poland (Sakson 2009: 2). In the years 1918 to 1939, around 1.2 million people left the Polish territory in order to settle down in another country permanently. Main directions of emigration during this phase were Western European countries, mainly France, Belgium and Germany but also non-European countries such as Brazil and Argentina, and especially the United States of America (Sakson 2009: 2). The first wave of immigration which came to the United States between the years 1890 and 1914 was called the “founders” (Sakson 2005: 4).

Table 1. Migration losses of Poland (1871 – 1913)*

Directions	Polish regions			
	Central	Eastern	Western	Southern
Total	700	550	1.200	1.050
Germany	50	-	750	50
Russia	100	100	-	-
Austria-Hungary	-	-	-	150
Other European countries	-	-	-	50
USA	450	350	400	700
Other non-European countries	100	100	50	100

* in thousands

Source: Gawryszewski 2005: 409, own presentation

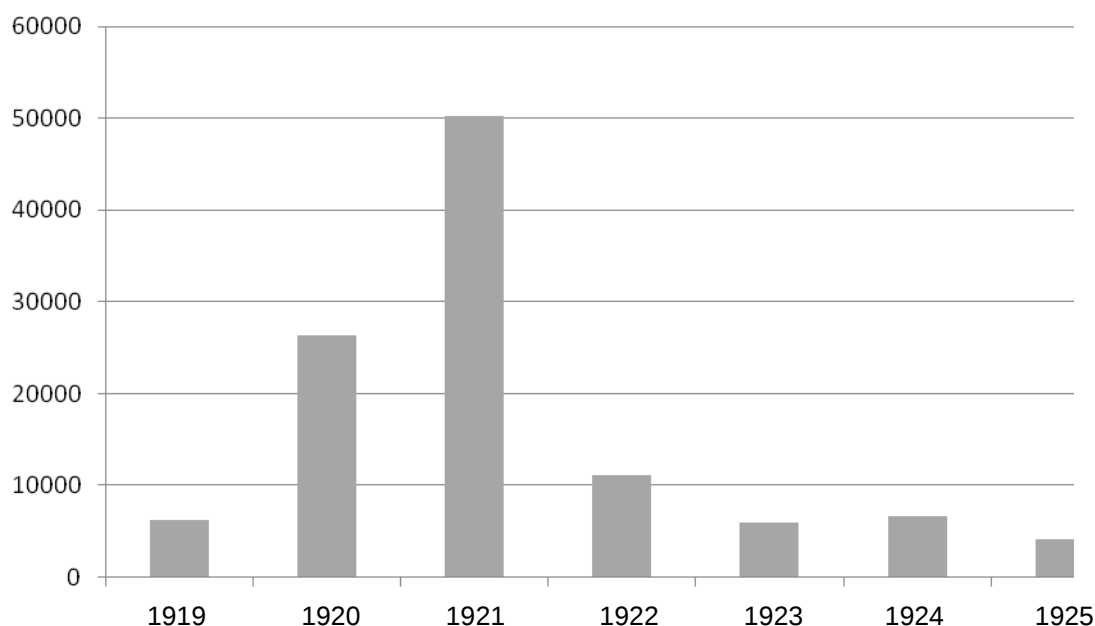
It was a purely economic emigration, mainly attended by peasants, rural mercenaries and lower layer, though not the poorest, as the cost of emigration especially to non-European countries was expensive (Kicinger 2005: 7). The price of the ticket as well as visa fees were not affordable to everyone. In addition, depending on the country of settlement, one had to show evidence of so-called “landing money” which raised the cost of the investment to

emigrate even more (Janowska 1981: 235, Kicinger 2005: 7). The Polish immigrant group during this time is mostly characterized by farmers. They represented 60% to 95% of all immigrants in the labor force in the various categories of immigrants. Janowska (1981: 228-229) points out that this phenomenon indicates that Polish migration can be interpreted as mass emigration during this period. Furthermore, Sakson (2005) highlights that this emigration was strongly associated with the Catholic Church. On the one hand the Catholic Church had an important spiritual value for the Polish immigrant families, on the other hand the situation of being abroad from the home country and culture led to the house to be seen as a *bastion of security* (Sakson 2005: 4). Due to the lack of language skills of the receiving country and mostly without education, Polish immigrants were employed as low-skilled workers in factories, industrial slaughterhouses and for simple services. Ranked low on the social ladder for years, they could not break through to a higher status and take significant positions. These people became the founders of the Polish community in the United States but also in other (Non-) European countries. Together with few representatives of the Polish nobility and intelligence, they contributed to the creation of communities of Polish organizations, building Polish churches and schools which have a significant role in the preservation of the Polish language and culture among other generation immigrants until today (Sakson 2005: 4). National consciousness was not only developed by immigrant peasants but also as result of increased identification with their own ethnic group. This resulted in the contact and conflict with a foreign environment and gradually began to create a separate ethnic community (Sakson 2005).

The interwar period in the history of Polish population flows was characterized by increasing strength, dwindling waves of emigration, settlement and re-emigration. Compared to the period before 1914, during the interwar years the volume of emigration was reduced. The reasons for this state of affairs include the seizure of ships transport of troops and war material in the years immediately after the war, ticket prices increased on ships especially for the middle class, depreciation of many currencies of the countries of emigration, and the precarious post-war economic situation in many European countries (Kicinger 2005: 7). The main factor behind the decline in overseas emigration was policy restrictions in many immigration countries, including the United States. Nevertheless, despite the recorded decrease, the interwar period was still a period of intense migration flows for both Polish migrants as well as and migrants returning to their home countries. Between the years 1918 and 1938, over 2 million people of whom 1.25 million emigrated to other European and 796.000 to overseas countries, left the Polish territory (Janowska 1981: 155). Kicinger highlights that it is generally acknowledged that the years 1926 to 1930 were a period of the greatest prosperity of emigration, however the global economic crisis of 1929 to 1933

resulted in a significant decrease in migration flows after 1930 (Kicingier 2005: 8). Despite the subsequent recovery of the late 1930s, the Polish emigration has never again reached this peak. Thus, according to Kicingier (2005: 8), from the point of view of chronology, the most important turning point in the course of migration in the interwar period was the year 1930. International migration was divided into emigration and re-emigration to Poland, the latter being understood as the return migration of people of Polish nationality or origin after a specific time of living abroad. The biggest wave of post-war returns were the years 1920 to 1922. Considering different sources, clear numbers about the returns cannot be given properly. According to US sources, around 138 thousand former Polish emigrants returned from the United States back to Poland (Kicingier 2005: 9). Polish data sources however speak of about only 110.565 former migrants from non-European countries in the years 1919 to 1925 (Kicingier 2005: 9). Kicingier (2005) emphasizes that in many cases, the returnees had to face difficulties when arriving in their old home country. They were confronted with the adaptation to the new country and had to deal with a precarious economic situation. Thus, after 1923, the scale of re-emigration significantly decreased (Kicingier 2005: 9).

Graph 1. Polish returnees from overseas countries (1919-1925)



Source: Kicingier 2005: 9, own presentation

By the end of World War II, 2.2 to 2.7 million Polish citizens were located on the Polish Eastern borderlands and about 3.4 million on German territory (Gawryszewski 2005: 440). This population consisted mainly of prisoners of war, forced labourers, camp prisoners as

well as around 575 thousand Polish soldiers involved in the war who had been forced to leave the country during World War II. The Polish Committee of National Liberation (*Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego*) prepared the resettlement of these people. Its responsibilities included the organization and structure as well as the resettlement itself. Among the returnees, Poles dominated with a number of around 680 thousand people, thereof 50 thousand of Ukraine, 250 thousand of Belarus and 300 thousand of Lithuania. In total, 1.260 thousand people returned from the East on the basis of four official governmental repatriation agreements during the years 1944 to 1949 (Gawryszewski 2005: 441). On the other hand and as result of the Second World War, not all Poles returned to their home country but stayed abroad. The years 1944 to 1948 were related to the years of World War II and its aftermath. Those migrants were citizens of a restored independent Polish state with a strong sense of national identity and family ties. Their level of education was high (70% had at least a high school education), however the knowledge of languages was not sufficient (Sakson 2005: 4). After the takeover of government in Poland by the communists, Polish emigration motivated by political reasons has started. This period was characterized by big flows to the United States through certain countries, mainly France, Great Britain, Canada and Argentina.

While the early 1950s were marked by the repatriation of thousands of Poles staying in the territories of the Soviet Union as well as the repatriation of Germans staying after the end of the World War II on the Polish ground, since the mid-1950s the number of Poles traveling abroad for a limited time began to increase again (Gawryszewski 2005: 462). After the end of the great post-war repatriation, the movements in the years between 1955 and 1959 as well as the cold war initiated a new decade of migration flows in the 1960s. Poles started again to travel abroad and remained permanent residence. Escaping from communist Poland as official reason was not quite common but most people who wanted to leave the country permanently left as tourists but never returned. Today, no clear and fundamental statistics about the number of these illegal and undocumented cases exist. Estimations range however from 550 to 590 thousand people. Polish emigrants headed mainly to Germany (66%) as well as to the US (14%), Israel (5%), Canada (4%) and Australia (2%) (Mazurkiewicz 2011: 19). Polish migration during the 1960s and 1970s can also be seen as temporary migration as most of the people leaving Poland (75% -80%) received permission to travel to the socialist countries but did not stay there permanently. However, over the years the number of personal and business trips to the West also increased, why a great part of these trips can be classified as labour migration (Mazurkiewicz 2011: 19).

A large part of those who received temporary visa prolonged it and decided to stay in the country illegally. A specific social group did not dominate those migrants but all social classes from peasants and workers to well qualified and educated were present. Even though those people were of a broadly based education level, they were facing the challenge of unsatisfactory knowledge of foreign languages. Their status was low and sought to assimilate into the host society (Sakson 2005: 5). During 1951 and 1980, about 900 thousand Poles left their home country, while more than 300 thousand people returned to Poland to stay permanently (Sakson 2008: 2). In the 1950s, the repatriation was voluntary and individual on the basis of specific certificates issued by the police at the place of residence, based on documents confirming Polish citizenship in 1939. Repatriation certificates were valid for three months from the date of their issue.

Destination countries for Poles were and have always been continental/European as well as overseas/non-European countries. This division coincides with other divisions on the nature and duration of the migration: migration to non-European countries was characterized by mainly a permanent settlement, while migration to European countries was mostly temporary or seasonal migration (Kicingier 2005: 8).

Table 2. Displacement of the Polish population (1944-1980)

	Departures (in thousands)	Arrivals (in thousands)
1944 - 1950	3 800	3 616
1951 - 1955	17.9	16.7
1956 - 1960	359.6	250
1961 - 1970	223.8	24.4
1971 - 1980	225.6	16.3

Source: Sakson 2008: 2, own presentation

2.2. Illegal and undocumented migration during the 1980s

The 1980s brought a huge wave of emigration (*Emigracja Solidarności*). Polish emigration taking place in the 1980s is seen as one of the major social problems of the country by historians and politicians. High unemployment and skyrocketing inflation as well as high government debt and a dramatic housing deficit led to the formation of an opposition in 1980, consisting of the trade union movement *Solidarność* and the Catholic Church

(Fassmann 1995: 12). Already since the mid-1970s and with the establishment of the Committee for the Defense of Workers (*Komitet Obrony Robotników*), the opposition composed of Polish intellectual elite and workers developed a resistance against the government.

On 13th December 1981, the martial law was proclaimed and the blockade of border traffic was introduced. Many *Solidarność* members were arrested, and one year later, the union was forbidden by law (Fassmann 1995: 12). Prices increased by almost five times. The lack of prospect of a rapid improvement of the economic, political and social situation in Poland has led to a growing desire of many Poles to turn their backs on their home country and to emigrate to the West. However, the process of issuing passports and visas was complicate and durable. Many Poles used family reunification as a reason for emigration which led many people to the desire to emigrate to a Western country (Korcelli 1996: 249). Due to the fact that the ability to emigrate legally was practically impossible, many Polish citizens decided to enter the West illegally or undocumented. Especially since the 1970s, the number of undocumented or illegal emigration had a significant increase (Korcelli 1996: 250).

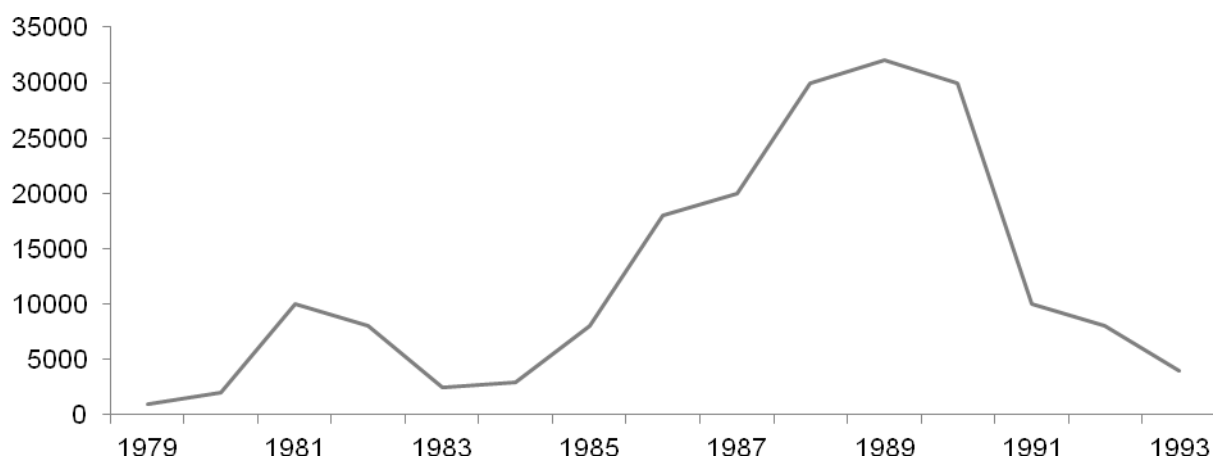
Between the years 1980 and 1988, more than 800 thousand Polish citizens left Poland. By the end of the 1980s, around one million people have emigrated from Poland. Thus, for example in 1988, 200 thousand people consisting of 140.226 "displaced" people (mainly from the Federal Republic of Germany) and 29.023 refugees have emigrated permanently (Sakson 2008: 2). While in the 1960s and 1970s the immigration to Poland stayed relatively stable of slightly more than 2.4 thousand people per year and emigration took place in a reduced way (Gawryszewski 2005: 470), illegal and undocumented emigration marked the beginning of the 1980s. One way to stay abroad was seeking for asylum in Western countries. Around 50 thousand Polish citizens residing in the West applied for asylum in Austria, Germany and the United States already in 1980 (Mazurkiewicz 2011: 19). The restrictive policy of the Polish People's Republic between the years 1982 and 1987 concerned especially legal emigration as well as discrimination against educated people (Mazurkiewicz 2011: 19). However, already by the end of 1982, passport were issued to around one million Poles. This development promoted further escapes and refusal to return to Poland (Mazurkiewicz 2011: 19).

The comparison of the years since 1980 shows significant differences in the asylum in Austria. A major increase in asylum applications was registered for the first time in 1981 when Austria faced a total number of 34.557 asylum applications. The quantity of applications can be mainly explained through the high number of applications of Polish

citizens: about 85% of all applications have been made by Polish asylum seekers in 1981. The following years were marked by a significant decline: only 5.898 applications for asylum were counted in 1983. But already in the end of the 1980s, a re-growth of applications could be noticed which culminated in 1991 with a total number of 27.306 asylum applications. The number of asylum applications made by Polish citizens since the late 1960s increased every year continuously, with an average of 200 applications. A quantitative leap could not be recoded until the early 1980s. Due to the imposition of martial law in Poland and the suppression of the *Solidarność* movement, the number of Polish asylum applications in Austria reached its peak in 1981. 29.091 persons of Polish origin applied for asylum in this year. In the following years, the number of asylum applications went back, except 1988 where 6.670 applications were submitted by Polish citizens in Austria.

The same situation applied for Germany, where the number of political refugees from Poland applying for asylum in Germany reached its first high point of about of 10.000 applications in 1981 (Glorius 2007: 101). In the second half of the 1980s, asylum applications continued to rise very sharply and were issued by the Federal Republic of Germany continuously. In both 1988 and 1989, over 55.000 asylum seekers from Poland applied in the Federal Republic of Germany (Glorius 2007: 101). The recognition rate in the mid-1980s was still relatively stable at an average of 20% to 23%, however, since 1990, it decreased to 1% (Glorius 2007: 101).

Graph 2. Migration of asylum seekers from Poland to the Federal Republic of Germany (1979-1993)



Source: Glorius 2007: 102, own presentation

With the beginning 1980s and due to the *Solidarność* movement in Poland, an unknown freedom to travel have started to increase. The first liberalization in 1980/1981 was a

targeted technique to reduce internal political tensions (Okólski 2000: 141ff.). The migration flows were directed especially towards West. During 1980 and 1989, around 1.1 to 1.2 million people with Polish citizenship left their home country (Matkowska 2011: 90). Most of them were political dissidents who were forced to leave Poland. This wave was accompanied by the type of economic migrants hoping to find better material conditions in the Federal Republic of Germany (Nowosielski 2012:10).

The fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 presents an important development in the Austrian and German immigration and asylum policy. In particular, the wave of refugees from Romania in 1990 forced the political debate to amend the existing asylum rules. In order to ensure the regulation and limitation of foreign residents, new asylum laws entered in force (Fassmann/Reeger 2008: 25). The primary objective was to prevent abuse of the right of asylum. The freedom to travel should not be treated as equivalent to the freedom of immigration, thus, it was necessary to distinguish between refugees and immigrants and to protect the "real persecution".

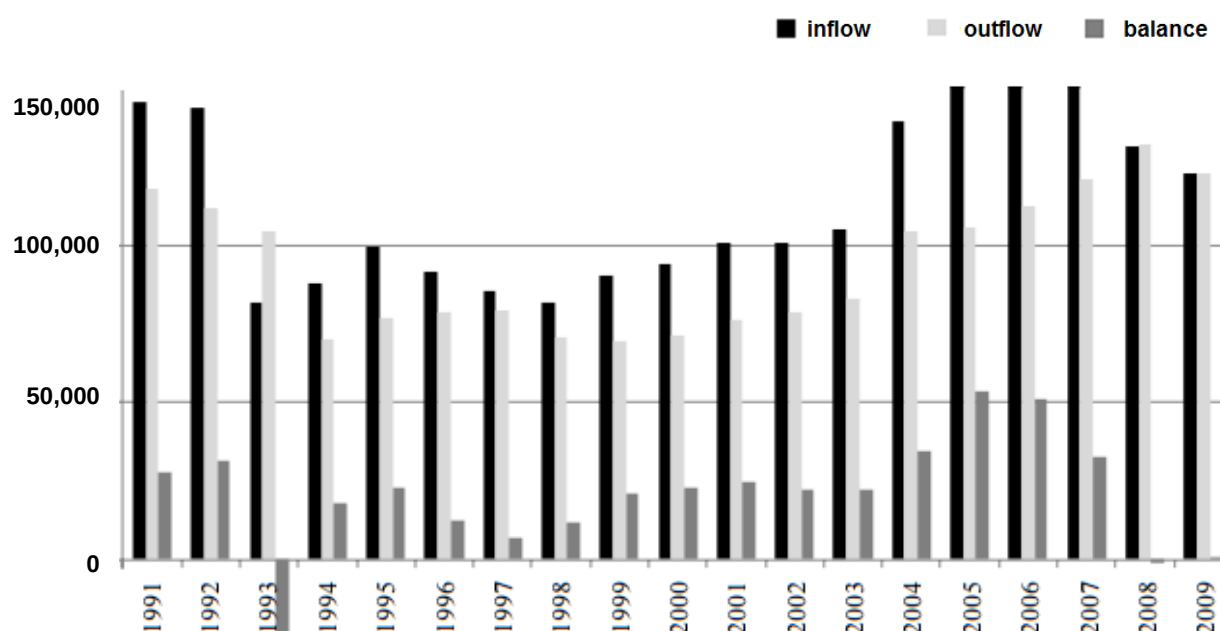
2.3. Recent migration flows of Polish citizens to Austria and Germany

Between 1990 and 2003, migration of Poles to Austria and Germany was mainly characterized by economic reasons. During these years, Germany was the main migration destination of Polish citizens within Europe (Nowosielski 2012:10). After the accession of Poland to the European Union in 2004, the majority of the European Union members have opened their markets for Polish workers. However, due to the concerns of German population of an increased influx of cheap labour workers from new members of the European Union such as Poland, German authorities decided to restrict access to the German labour market. This regulation has been lifted in May 2011 (Nowosielski 2012:11).

Even though other European countries such as Ireland and UK have changed their regulations and simplified work regulations for Polish workers after 2004, Germany remained an attractive immigration country. The number of Polish migrants willing to emigrate to Germany did not decrease, but Germany intended to protect its market and its economy from cheap labor workers from Eastern Europe (Kaczmarczyk 2010). It is difficult to estimate the number of Polish immigrants in Germany. According to the *Statistisches Bundesamt Ausländerzentralregister*, the number is estimated to about 468.000 (Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit 2012). However, the analysis of the *Mikrozensus* indicates that there are around 1.3 million people with Polish roots or people having any kind of relationship with Poland living in Germany today (Nowosielski 2012: 13). Another challenge is the great

distribution of population of Polish origin living Germany. The largest number lives in North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria, Lower Saxony and Baden-Württemberg as well as Hessen (Nowosielski 2012: 13). On 31.12.2014, the proportion of foreigners in Germany was almost 9%, of which around 1,5 million with Turkish citizenship, followed by people with Polish citizenship (674.152). The proportion of population with a non-German roots (immigration background²) was around 20.3% (Statista 2016c). Most people with an immigrant background were from Turkey (17.4%), followed by Poland (9.9%), the Russian Federation (7.3%) and Italy (4.7%). Around 1.4 million people made up late repatriates, coming from Kazakhstan (568,000) and the Russian Federation (555,000), followed by Poland (570,000) (Statistisches Bundesamt 2014: 7).

Graph 3. Polish migration to Germany (1991-2009)



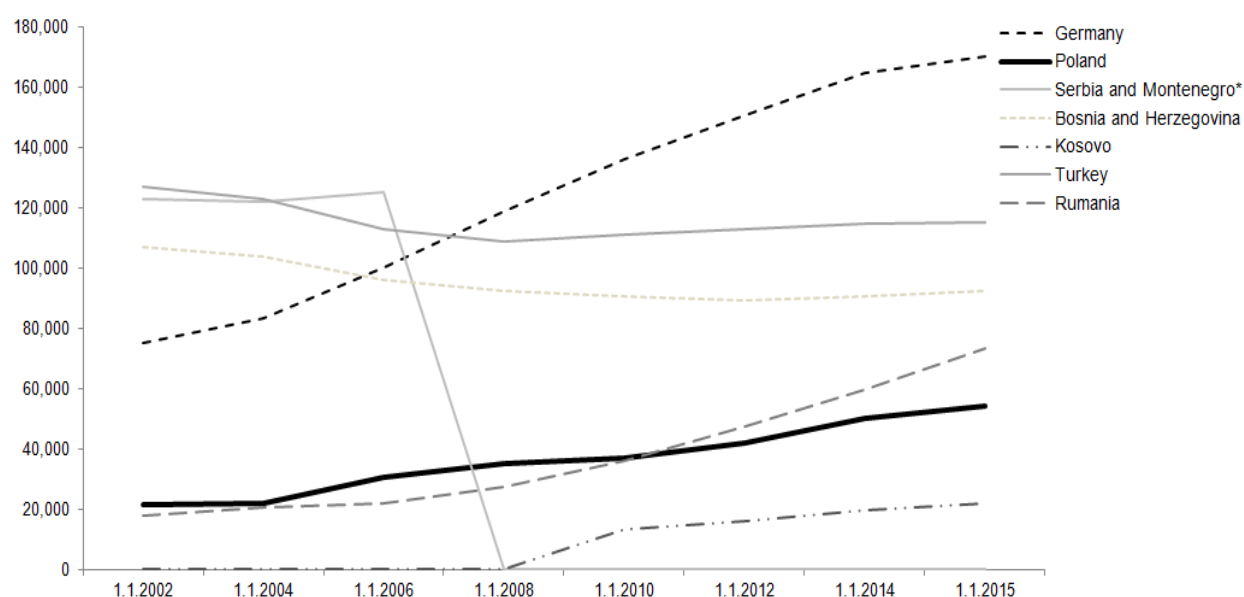
Source: Nowosielski 2012: 14

In Austria, a similar development could be noticed from 1990 onwards. Between 2001 and 2006, the increase of Austrian population was characterized by the profits of international migration. Between 2002 and 2005, citizens from EU countries were the largest group of immigrants (15.000 people). By 2004, around 60% were immigrants of other EU member states, after 2004 the proportion of these people fell to 40% (Lebhart/Marik-Lebeck 2007:

² Foreign population, regardless of whether they were born in the country or abroad, as well as all immigrants, regardless of nationality. In addition, among the people with an immigrant background also those are counted who are foreigners but were born and naturalized in Germany. Furthermore, those are counted born in Germany with German citizenship, however their immigrant status can be derived from the migration status of the parents.

147-149). With the accession of new EU member states in 2004, the immigration rose abruptly. While in the years 2002 to 2003 around 3.000 people immigrated to Austria, in 2004 the number increased to 9.000 but fell again a little in the following year (8.400 people). A closer look on the Polish population shows that especially in the years 2004 and 2005, Austria has made significant migration gains of Polish citizens (an average of about 4.700 people) which can be explained with views of Poland's EU accession in 2004. While between 2002 and 2004 an average of about 21.000 Polish citizens entered Austria, the number increased significantly in 2005 (26.554 people). Since then, the number of Polish citizens has steadily increased and remained relatively constant since 2010. According to official figures, currently the biggest migrant group consists of German citizens (around 170.475 people), followed by people from Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Rumania. Polish citizens take the fifth place in the ranking if the largest migrant groups in Austria (around 54.260 people).

Graph 4: Migration balance by citizenship in Austria (2002-2015)



* since 2008: Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo

Source: Statistik Austria 2016, own presentation

2.4. The Polish community in Austria and Germany

The Polish community – or as called in Polish *polonia* – is a very heterogeneous population group consisting of different migrant generations and migrants types in both Austria and Germany. As the migration history of people of Polish origin has been taken over a period of

several decades, the *polonia* is set out of those who have immigrated to Austria and Germany recently or after Poland's EU accession in 2004 but also of those who had come as (illegal or undocumented) immigrants since the early 1970s. Over more than five decades of Polish migration history, an unique but also very diverse population of people with Polish roots has been formed in Austria and Germany.

Two types of typologies which classify Polish immigrants and people with Polish roots in Austria and Germany seem to be noteworthy in this context. While the first relates primarily to the time of arrival of the migrants in Austria and Germany and provides an overview of the continuity of a migration type (see figure 2), the second typology refers to the aspect of the migrant's life focus and differentiates it by nationality and residence status (see figure 3). Both typologies are often reproached in the literature for having inadequate divisions, sub-categories and overlapping. However, these arguments reflect exactly the challenge one faces when trying to classify the population of Polish roots living in Austria and Germany. It is almost impossible to create a homogeneous and clear typology, as this group of immigrants is a very complex and diverse one, composed of persons of different migration waves over the past decades.

Figure 2. Typology 1: Immigrant types by time of arrival in Austria and Germany

1980s	1990s	2000s
Mainly long-term or planned immigrations	Mainly temporary or circular immigrations	Mainly temporary or circular immigrations
Displaced persons and resettlers *		
	Guest workers, seasonal workers, contract workers	Specialists
	Members of the German minority in Poland	Self-employed entrepreneurs
Not legally employed immigrants or undocumented immigrants		

* Is true for Germany only

Source: Pallaske 2002: 53, based on Szynter 2008: 63

Figure 3. Typology 2: Immigrant types by migrant's life focus, nationality and residence status

Status	Life focus in Austria or Germany	Life focus in Poland
German nationality Austrian nationality	Displaced persons and resettlers*	German citizens in Poland
Legal immigrants of Polish nationality	Labor migrants Asylum seekers Spouses without German/Austrian nationality Specialists Self-employed	Seasonal/guest workers Circular immigrants Students
Illegal immigrants of Polish nationality	Illegal workers Those who have lost their residence permit	Illicit workers Seasonal/guest workers Circular workers

* Is true for Germany only

Source: Cyrus 1999: 55, based on Sznyster 2008: 64

For the present research, the second typology appears to be of greater relevance as it highlights a person's life focus and neglects the importance of nationality. Since this study examines the consistency of families of Polish origin in Austria and Germany and focuses on values, attitudes and identities, the nationality of the respondents is of no primary importance. Based on the assumption that people with migration experience are often able to grow up in two cultural contexts and thus form a transcultural identity, the strict separation between the life focuses is not without problems. In the present study, young adults whose parents immigrated to Austria and Germany from Poland between the late 1970s and 1990s are investigated. This group can be defined as long-term immigrants as their offspring was already born and socialized in the host country. According to the typology, their life focus is Austria or Germany. However, studies show that a transcultural identity involves a hybrid form of identity from several cultural contexts. Instead of excluding certain aspects of the Polish cultural context and involving only those of the Austrian or German contexts, a mixing of cultures due to the hybridization of individual cultures occurs (Welsch 1994, Kannengießer 2012). This conceptualization of identity forming goes beyond the national-territorial determinism and cultural representation but highlights a third space (*in-betweeness*) and on the thereon based hybridization due to migration experiences (Bhabha 2000: 341). Thus, the life focus of Austrian-Polish and German-Polish second immigrant generation can be stated as to be Austria/Germany and Poland simultaneously.

When it comes to statistics on the population with Polish roots in Austria and Germany, there is only limited data. Statistik Austria or Statistisches Bundesamt in Germany do not collect enough detailed data on the group relevant to this research. While there is great data on the Polish population (Polish nationals) living in Austria and Germany related to their labour market integration or language skills, the group to be investigated in this research consists of individuals who have already in the first generation partly accepted the Austrian or German nationality by giving up the Polish one. In addition, there is a wide range of challenges when it comes to the second (and third) generation of Polish immigrants, since the so-called "migration background" can only be questioned indirectly, such as through questions about the origin of the parents or the colloquial language of the interviewees. The further one asks the "migration background" and the more detailed the questions, the more complex and difficult is data collection and evaluation. The Statistisches Bundesamt explicitly points out that it is impossible to ask an interviewed person whether he/she has migration background, and if so, which form of it. Hence, migration background up to the third generation is based on the nationality, naturalization, birth, and influx.

According to Statistisches Bundesamt (2014), around 1.6 million people with Polish roots live in Germany, composing of people with an immigration background including all immigrants and all foreigners already born in Germany. Germans with an (Polish) immigrant background who have a German citizenship since birth, are only counted as "people with immigration background" in the narrow sense, if they live with at least one parent in the same household, as only in this requirement can be used for the assignment information to parents. Hence, the population with Polish routes living currently in Germany can be estimated as much higher than 1.6 million, when taking into consideration also those who possess a German citizenship since birth but do not live (anymore) with their parents in the same household (immigrant in the broader sense). In the data collection by Statistisches Bundesamt, they are identifiable by the additional questions about migration status of people not living in the household with their parents, however there have been only two data collection so far, one in 2005 and one in 2009.

Table 3. Germany: Population with Polish roots by Federal States

Federal State	
Bremen	21.000
Baden-Württemberg	184.000
Bavaria	202.000
Berlin	79.000

Brandenburg	22.000
Hamburg	60.000
Hessen	156.000
Lower Saxony	163.000
Mecklenburg Western Pomerania	20.000
Northrhine-Westphalia	615.000
Rhineland Palatinate	79.000
Saarland	18.000
Saxony	17.000
Saxony-Anhalt	8.000
Schleswig Holstein	48.000
Thuringia	9.000
TOTAL	1.701.000

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2, 2015. pp. 131-133

While in Germany, dual citizenship among Polish immigrants is quite common, the same is not true for Austria. Not only the second and third Polish immigrant generations have received already the Austrian citizenship, also their parents had to give up their Polish one in order to receive the Austrian and to be able to stay in the country back in the 1980s and 1990s. On January 1st, 2016, a total of 77.450 people of Polish origin lived in Austria according to Statistik Austria (2016). 50.628 persons were Polish nationals who were born abroad, 19.861 persons were born in Poland but had meanwhile received Austrian citizenship, and 6.961 persons were Polish nationals already born in Austria (Statistik Austria 2016).

Table 4. Austria: Population with Polish roots by Federal States

Federal State	
Burgenland	942
Carinthia	956
Lower Austria	10.971
Upper Austria	5.587
Salzburg	1.598
Styria	2.707
Tyrol	1.917
Vorarlberg	1.133
Vienna	51.639
TOTAL	77.450

Source: Statistik Austria 2016

III. Cultural transmission and intergenerational value transmission

The distinguishing feature is the motivational content of the value. Values are cognitive representations of the important human goal or motivations about which people must communicate in order to coordinate their behaviour. The content that distinguishes one value most significantly from another is the type of motivation or goal that it represents. (Schwartz/Bilsky 1994: 164)

The inheritance of values within families has become a major point of interest of scientific research in recent years. Cultural transmission secures the consistency of a society, assures communication between different generations within the society, and maintains culture-specific knowledge and beliefs (Ibert/Trommsdorff/Wisnubrata 2009, Trommsdorff 2009). When it comes to value transmission from one generation to the next, a successful transmission must not be taken for granted. Younger generations are facing different environmental circumstances than the previous generations did at the same age, and various biological and social conditions might have an impact on their social, mental and physical development. The young generation might be facing new challenges of social life as well as new social values that evoke feelings of discomfort, anxiety, or reluctance to adapt to a specific situation.

Values are leading for each culture. Accordingly, the behaviour of individuals of a certain cultural context is determined by a specific system of values. In intercultural encounters, where interaction partners are characterized by different values, the probability of arising of misunderstandings and cultural barriers in communication as well as in other everyday life domains is present. In this study, the attempt is made on the basis of existing theoretical and empirical studies on values in general and Polish values in particular to define values and their meaning for a cultural community. The concept of value seems to be potentially so varied and complex that many different concepts and ideas can be captured. Thus, on the one hand the term *value* seems to be very flexible, on the other hand it becomes very vague due to its different existing concepts exist under the same name, without being specified. As values are understood as embedded in a culture, the following chapter serves as a short

overview about the conceptualization of culture, highlighting different theoretical approaches and paradigms of the past and current research landscape. Culture is understood as referring to language, beliefs, values and norms, customs as well as dress codes, diet, roles, knowledge, skills, and other characteristics that can be regarded as part of an existing society. Cultural transmission is the process of passing on cultural values from one generation to the next through the process of socialization. As values are seen as the core of culture, they will be examined more closely.

3.1. Classifying Culture: Conceptual Dimensions

The concept of culture is part of the basic repertoire of sociology. When trying to find a conceptualization and definition of the term *culture*, it is necessary to go back to the origins of sociology. Different definitions of culture have been proposed in the last decades, focusing on specific approaches and key aspects. The term *culture* itself can be traced back to the Latin word *cultura*. In its original meaning it stands for agriculture and cultivation of the soil as well as man-made material and spiritual goods in later periods. In the 18th century, culture became a term of discussion in the context of the improvement of taste and behavior in France. During this period, the conceptualization of culture was solely normative, increasingly associated with education and civilization. Cultural practices were considered as being part of a desirable way of life and seen as opposed to a fictitious image of human nature. The first attempts of philosophical reflection on the concept of culture coincided with the emergence of the philosophy of history.

A considerable number of various concepts of culture are in use and every discipline of science has formulated its own ideas of culture, its conceptualization and operationalization. Even within individual disciplines and theories, the understanding of culture might differ significantly. House et al. (2002) even go as far as postulating that there is no common understanding of what culture is or how to define it.

There is no agreed upon definition among social scientists for the term culture. Generally speaking, culture is used by social scientists to refer to a set of parameters of collectives that differentiate the collectives from each other in meaningful ways. The focus is on the "sharedness" of cultural indicators among members of the collective. The specific criteria used to differentiate cultures usually depend on the disciplines and preferences of the investigators and the issue under investigation.
(House et al. 2002: 5)

In addition, the use of the term *culture* has changed considerably in the course of centuries. In recent decades, it has been used in various meanings and increasingly inflationary ways. Some definitions focus on products of culture and do not address its complexity and dynamics, while others treat culture as a quasi-independent variable, a category or a sum of individual characteristics. The unclear relation between culture and society on the one hand and cultural theory and social theory on the other hand can already be observed in the study “*Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*” published by A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn in 1952, where the authors present 164 definitions of culture and discuss a multitude of additional quotes and terms in this context.

3.1.1. Social contract and universal values (Jean-Jacques Rousseau)

One of the best known examples of the normative-moral conception of culture can be found in the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Rousseau bases his concept on Thomas Hobbes' (1588-1679) modern contractualism that does not consider a human being a *zoon politikon physei* (*inherently political animal*) equivalently to the natural law of the antiquity and the Middle Ages. Hobbes states that by nature, a human being is not suitable for society and therefore the starting point of human coexistence is the state of nature, a world in which limited resources exist. Individuals act in accordance with the natural law which knows no rules, respects neither possession nor ownership, and allows the freedom of self-determined actions to secure self-preservation. However, the law applies only partly as Hobbes describes the natural state as balanced in regard to existing forces: while some individuals possess more physical strength and can take what they want by force, others are equipped with more intelligence and acquire it by cunning and trickery. Human beings are not driven by moral principles but by passions such as love, jealousy, hate, selfishness, and fear (Hobbes 1970: 117). The Hobbesian state of nature is defined as a state where human beings are free from all demanding moralities. It is the result of an analytic abstraction of all state conditions (Eggers 2008: 28). In further consequence, this situation leads to a state of tension, violence and lawlessness resulting in a war of each against all. The establishment of a normative instance to create a state institution, which monitors compliance with rules and punishes infractions, is the only possible way out of this dilemma. This state is characterized by a contractual agreement and the existence of authorities and superior power. Laws are set to give individuals a universal frame for their behaviour and actions. In return, the society's members have to give up individual liberties. The only content of social justice is that all its members have the right to protection of their life and safety.

Based on Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau takes up the idea of the state of nature and expands it by stating that the problems of human coexistence exist in a pure state of nature, however only culture makes it possible for people to develop conflicts among each other. In 1762, Rousseau publishes his two well-known works *"On the Social Contract"* and *"Emile"*. Especially in the first publication, Rousseau develops his modern theory of the state and the social contract. In contrast to Hobbes who describes the natural state as a struggle of each against all, Rousseau argues that the natural state is simply the status of nature yet without conflicts and with the presence of natural freedom. Natural liberty means a lack of dependence on or subordination to others. Rousseau's theory revolves around the question of how the freeborn man can keep his freedom if his environment changes from the state of nature to an ordered society. This leads to the creation of the social contract in which will and law emanate from a *common will* which is common to all. Thus, the political structure is created by the public. According to Rousseau, any social principles such as law, domination or possession are based on a social agreement and not determined by nature. Rousseau defines people as a *"community of citizens united by the social contract. The clauses of this contract are meant to solve a fundamental problem: the reconciliation of security and liberty"* (Canivez 2004: 395-396). An individual is giving up its liberty in order to receive security provided by authorities. Rousseau sees the role of culture in political life, as the social contract can be applied only if supported by cultural institutions and practices. Furthermore, he highlights the cultural effect as shaping the fundamental attitudes of individuals involved in the social contract and political cooperation. Rousseau states that culture has the ability to make individuals either participate or cooperate in and promote collective actions or sabotage and ruin them. In the best case, culture forms citizens respecting and following the social contract (Trachtenberg 1993).

Rousseau is asking how the government should be formed and how to formulate the principles of constitutional law. These principles are based on what we today call Republican values: freedom, equality, and fraternity. These values must not only be accepted but learned by all citizens, who are part of the social contract. Rousseau makes it clear that a real education must be a private and a public one at the same time. In other words, a collective will, representing universal values and interests, forms the social contract. These values need to be generally accepted and internalized by each individual in order to ensure universal peace and peaceful coexistence. In Rousseau's theory, values are not explicitly named as such, but he rather describes principles which are necessary to form a government and a fundament for the social contract.

3.1.2. Collective conscience (Emile Durkheim)

Sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) can be regarded as one of the first to develop extensive theories on culture (Daugherty 2007: 4). Starting from Comte's conceptualization of culture, Durkheim develops a sociological theory towards a directed collective representation of life. Collective representation can be understood as individual advantages and representations that guide social practices, form perception and evaluation schemes symbolically through rituals as well as create social cohesion and represent an object of symbolic or armed conflicts (Moebius 2008: 2).

Culture in Durkheim's sense is an emergent web of representations, holistically encompassing the deep-set value, belief, and symbolic systems of a natural collectivity, such as the tribal societies to which he gave such close attention. Society binds individuals inextricably to it, and (most clearly in the primitive case) it represents the whole of their reality. Culture is the sum total of human beings' collective efforts to come to grips symbolically with a complex and uncertain world. (Lincoln/Guillot 2004: 4)

Durkheim's starting point is modern life, where individuals are sorted into different categories depending on their occupation, expertise, beliefs, and life experiences. Durkheim calls this state a *mechanical solidarity*, defined by the fact that people join together due to their similar lives. According to Durkheim, every society has a collective representation, which he considers the link binding its members to one another by means of a specific connection (Griswold 2013: 50). Durkheim emphasizes that religion is such a conjunctive link. Religious force is not implemented by a pre-natural power or a god but based on social experience and social agreement. Religion includes a system of ideas by which people represent their society and provides at the same time a source of understanding and comprehension of the world. Consequently, all of human culture becomes a representation of the social order (Griswold 2013: 53).

Durkheim focuses on the source of social order and disorder. Echoing Durkheim, only external forces are able to keep together the desires and personal interests of humans. This external force is defined as a *collective conscience*, which can be characterized as a common social bond expressed by the values, norms, and beliefs of a certain culture. The collective conscience is institutionalized in the social structure and forces each individual to internalize it. There is hardly any room for personal development or deviance from this collective conscience. Durkheim believes that traditional cultures with a high importance of

religion experience a high level of social and moral integration with limited possibility of individualization. Societies integrate through their normative system, meaning laws and norms that ensure the cohesion of society. These common values and norms are conveyed by intermediary groups on the one hand and social institutions on the other one. While intermediate groups include the family, the church, the professional association as well as the trade union, school, the training enterprise and the military can be named as the primary socialization institutes. The stronger the normative integration of a society is disturbed, the more divergent behaviour may occur.

What happens according to Durkheim if the members of a society do not adhere to the normative system? In this context, Durkheim refers to the concept of *anomie*, which describes a state of lack of normality and regularity. The origin of the concept of anomie can be found relating to the economic system, where ethical attitudes and moral rules are not immanent. Thus, an external force (state regulations) is needed to regulate it. A lack of intervention leads to an increase of anomalous forms according to Durkheim (Durkheim 1992: 459). Thus, he emphasizes the importance of the internalisation of values and norms as requirement for the establishment and stabilization of the social contract.

3.1.3. Newer models of culture

In recent years, the discussion about culture and how to capture, define and measure it has continued. While some researchers claim that culture is too complex and therefore completely defies any kind of definition, others deal with the detailed and specific distinctions of cultural conceptualizations and definitions. For instance, Alexander/Utler (2012: 41) suggest an application and action-related definition as a starting point for the determination of cultural differences and with the objective of improving the cooperation between people from different cultures. In order to give a better understanding of the culture and value model of this research, other models are to be presented, focussing on values in particular.

3.1.3.1. Cultural Dimensions according to Edward T. Hall

Edward Hall's (1990) goal is to establish elemental units of culture in order to compare different (international) studies and their output, as he perceives a considerable necessity to develop a method which allows a long-term international comparison of cultures. According to Hall, ten Primary Message Systems (PMS) exist which make up human activity. He defines them as non-lingual forms of communication based in biology (Hall 1990). These ten PMS are as follows: *Interaction* (any kind of interaction between individuals), *Association*

(interactions between individuals and groups, as well as the way societies are organized and structured), *Subsistence*, *Bisexuality* (sex and reproduction and concepts of masculinity and femininity as well as what is considered appropriate or acceptable male or female behaviour), *Territoriality* (the taking, maintenance and defence of territory), *Temporality* (cycles and rhythms as well as the passage of time), *Learning* (adaptive devices which vary from culture to culture), *Play* (humour, joy, competition, and a strong link to learning), *Defence* (warfare, religion, and medicine), and *Exploitation* (the use of materials, adaptation to the environment).

Furthermore, the perception of space and time are likewise variables which cause differences between cultures. In the context of time, Hall/Hall (1990) distinguish between monochronic and polychronic cultures: Monochronic cultures define time as a straight line which can be divided into individual sections. Time is a precious commodity which can be lost, won, saved or spent. As a result, plans and structures are followed strictly. In contrast, members of polychronic cultures are more open to their fellow human beings, and it is common that activities are carried out simultaneously. Hall defines the USA, Switzerland, Germany, as well as Scandinavian countries as monochronic cultures, while Spain, Latin America, or Mediterranean countries are seen as polychronic cultures. Cultures also shape the understanding of space as *personal space* that defines the individual's required distance to other people, and as *territory*. Its roots can be found in evolution and the strife for survival (Hall/Hall 1990: 15). Each individual is surrounded by an invisible bubble of space that expands and contracts depending on a number of factors: his relationship to other people, emotional state, cultural background as well as the activity being performed (Hall/Hall 1990: 11). Regarding European countries, Hall/Hall conclude that "*in Northern Europe, the bubbles are quite large and people keep their distance. In Southern France, Italy, Greece, and Spain, the bubble gets smaller so that the distance that is perceived as intimated in the North overlaps normal conversational distance in the South*" (Hall/Hall 1990: 11).

Furthermore, when describing cultures, Hall/Hall (1990) present differences between low-context cultures and high-context cultures. Low-context cultures are characterized by an explicit communication of information, while high-context cultures transfer information mainly implicitly. Hall and Hall conclude that low-context persons need more basic information in order to make decisions. In further consequence, this results them awarding higher priority to interpersonal relationships than high-context persons.

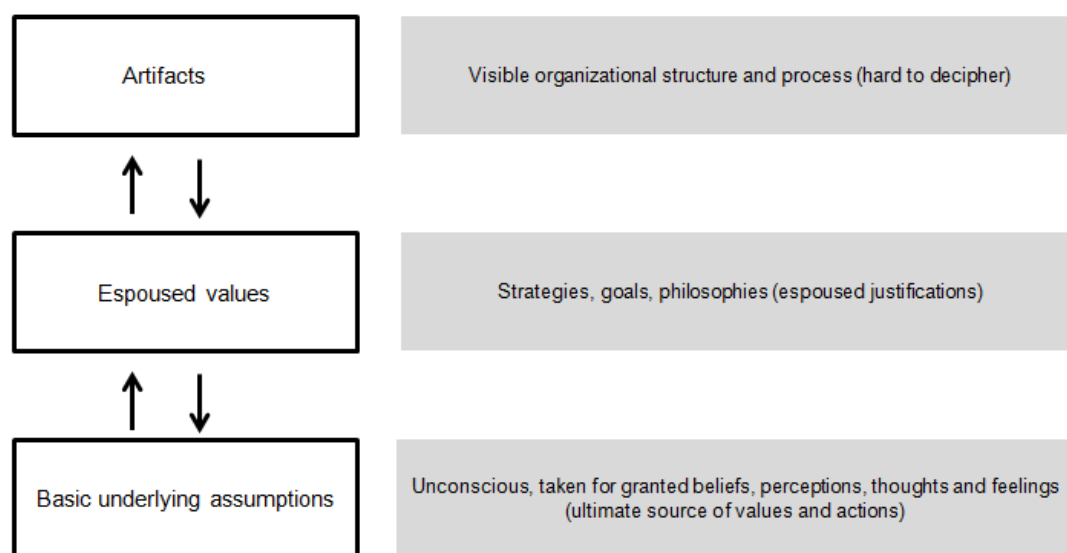
High-context people are apt to become impatient and irritated when low-context people insist on giving them information they don't need. Conversely, low-context

people are at a loss when high-context people do not provide enough information
(Hall/Hall 1990: 9).

3.1.3.2. Schein's model of culture

Starting from the corporate culture, Schein (1985) presents a model of culture consisting of three levels: artefacts, values and basic assumptions. The top level is visible and consists of artificially created objects as well as easily observable behaviours, such as rituals or myths (Schein 1992: 14). They are visible to the outside, but cannot always be deciphered. The second level includes collective values. These are accepted values, such as business principles that control the behaviour of employees, or internalized values such as power. They can be classified on a medium level of consciousness. The third and deepest level, which is very difficult to observe and determine, are basic assumptions, the attitudes of people to reality, the environment, the human image, human relationships, etc. These culturally dependent assumptions have the greatest influence on human behaviour. They relate to the relationship to the environment, reality, time and space, to human nature, social actions and relationships. Basic assumptions are assumed self-evident within a culture and are not directly recognizable for the outside as the members of a culture are often not explicitly aware of them.

Figure 4. Structural model of culture indicating different levels of culture

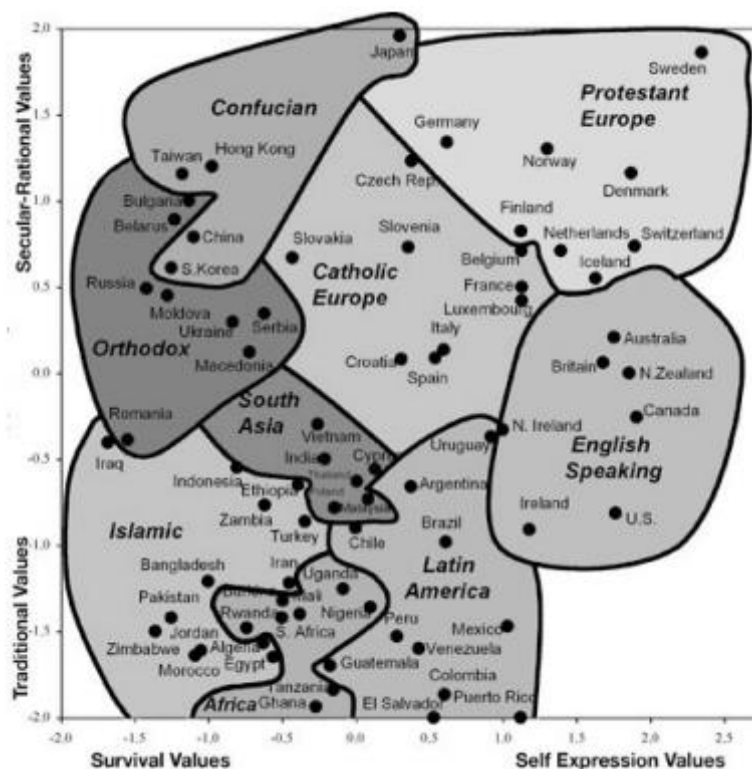


Source: Schein 1992: 17, own presentation

3.1.3.3. Ronald Inglehart's WVS Cultural Map of the World

Ronald Inglehart's model is based on the empirical data of the European and World Values Surveys, showing that there is a basic structure that characterizes societies worldwide. Based on his data analysis, he develops two cultural dimensions which he then uses to describe the transition from pre- to post-industrial societies (Inglehart 1998: 21). The first dimension is defined as *Traditional vs. Secular Rational* and deals with how different societies develop their values in regard to religion, fatherland awareness and family standing. The second dimension is defined as *Survival vs. Self-realization* and is connected to the transition from a materialistic to a post-materialistic society (Inglehart 1998: 161). Placing great importance on family and the goal of making one's parents proud is one of the main characteristics of traditional societies. One has to love and respect one's parents, regardless of how they behave. In return, it is the parents' duty to do their utmost for their children even at the expense of their own well-being (Inglehart/Baker 2000: 25). Large families are idealized, and the majority of people actually does live in large families (Inglehart/Baker 2000: 25).

Figure 5. The global cultural map: World Values Survey, 5th wave, 2005-2007



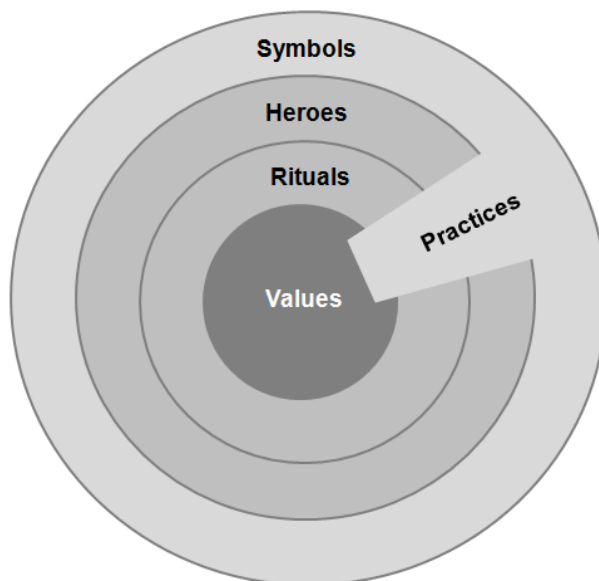
Source: World Values Survey 2013: 7

Inglehart and Welzel (2005) develop a cultural map showing that a great number of basic values correlate (see figure above). Using two cultural dimensions, they place countries on two axes, based on their populations' values. As the map shows how closely related cultures are to each other regarding their values and not regarding their geographic location, it becomes clear that for instance Australia, Canada, the U.S. and Great Britain are cultural neighbours while not being close geographically.

3.1.3.4. Cultural Dimensions according to Geert Hofstede

Geert Hofstede denotes culture as "*the collective programming of the mind*" (Hofstede 2001: 9). He develops the idea that culture is the collective programming of the thoughts, feelings and actions of people. However, he thereby ignores the fact that culture is actively created and constructed by humans (Alexander/Utler 2012: 41).

Figure 6. Hofstede's Cultural Onion



Source: Hofstede 2006: 8, own presentation

According to Hofstede, the core elements of culture are values that prevail within a country. They act as an instrument to distinguish cultures from each another. By investigating value systems of over 117,000 people in 70 countries in the context of his IBM study carried out during the late 1970s and early 1980s, Hofstede operationalizes and analyses cultural differences and similarities in a cross-cultural context. Based on his empirical results, he developed five bi-polar dimensions of culture: (1) Power Distance Index (PDI), (2)

Individualism (IDV), (3) Masculinity (MAS), (4) Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI), and (5) Long-Term Orientation (LTO) (see Jandt 2007).

Power Distance Index (PDI)

This dimension describes the extent to which individuals in a society accept inequalities between hierarchical levels. The assessment is made from the perspective of subordinates. Power distance plays an important role throughout all social groups, therefore Hofstede investigates how people deal with power. In nations with a high expression of power distance, hierarchical structures are accepted, whereas in countries with a low expression, substantial equality in the distribution of power is aspired to.

Individualism (IDV)

The dimension of individualism-collectivism refers to self-expression and to how individuals define themselves in relation to others. In individualist cultures, such as the United States, Canada, Australia and Great Britain, personal interest is viewed as more significant than the collective interest of a group. The connections between individual group members are looser and not as close as between group members in collective cultures, such as Venezuela, Panama, Ecuador, and Guatemala (Hofstede 2001: 215). Hofstede highlights that a great difference between individualist and collectivist cultures can be seen especially in the context of setting goals: While in individualist cultures, goals are set with negligible consideration given to other group members and are more directly based on the individual's own beliefs, experiences, rational choices and feelings, a member of a collectivist culture involves other group members to a far greater extent into its own decision-making and goal-setting process. Hofstede also defines other significant indicators of individualistic versus collectivistic cultures related to wealth, geography, birth rates, and history (Jandt 2007: 162).

Masculinity (MAS)

This cultural dimension refers to the way in which the value system "male or female" is set up in a society. According to Hofstede, a masculine culture focuses more on performance, success and status, while a feminine culture seems to be based more on modesty and quality of life. If a country or culture scores highly in this cultural dimension, Hofstede concludes that men tend to usually behave in a more "masculine" way while women are more submissive, in accordance with their traditional roles.

Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI)

The Uncertainty Avoidance Index refers to the level of fear experienced by the members of a social group or culture. In cultures defined by a high degree of uncertainty and insecurity,

uncertainty avoidance strategies and a plurality of rules and procedures emerge. In cultures with low uncertainty, less attention is paid to established procedures. Experimenting and initiatives to create without being forced to adhere to strict rules are welcomed more openly than in cultures with high uncertainty.

Long-Term Orientation (LTO)

This dimension symbolizes the extent to which a culture is focused on the present or future. In a future-oriented society, virtue and perseverance are highly valued, the population is making long-term plans and putting aside money for future investments. In contrast, present-oriented societies emphasize the past and present and foster respect for tradition. The population only makes short-term plans for the immediate future and tends to spend its income immediately.

3.2. Values

3.2.1. Defining values

Values and value orientation are an interdisciplinary topic, discussed among others by experts in the fields of philosophy, sociology, and psychology as well as economy. The term *value* itself is used in different contexts and meanings depending on the discipline in question. Since the 1950s, scholars have been trying and failing to find an ultimate definition for the term, with approximately 180 concepts of values existing already in the 1970s. Therefore, it seems impossible to give a general and universal definition.

The beginnings of Western research on values and personal development can be traced back to Spranger (1921), Allport and Vernon (1931) and Allport (1961). A definition of the term value which indicates a more action-guiding function, is given by Kluckhohn (1951). He defines value as “*a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.*” (Kluckhohn 1951: 395). Based on this definition, Hermann Krobath extends this concept of values and emphasizes that they are not just only a perception of what is desirable but rather the concept of what shall be desired (Krobath 2009: 85).

According to Heider (1958), *oughts* and *values* are cultural concepts designed by social groups and defined what should or should not be done or attained. While *oughts* are defined as concepts or beliefs of the *requirements* of behaving in a specific way, values are linked with actions (Gollan/Witte 2008: 2-3). Heider equates values with the property of an entity or

a class of entities, by highlighting the connotation of being objectively positive at the same time (Gollan/Witte 2008: 3).

We shall use the term values as meaning the property of an entity (x has values) or as meaning a class of entities (x is a value) with the connotation of being objectively positive in some way. (Heider 1958: 223)

Echoing Allport (1961), value priorities are the “*dominating force in life*” (Allport 1961: 543) as they lead all of a person's activity towards their realization (Rohan 2000: 255). Allport conceives values as beliefs and assigns them a cognitive, affective and conative component. According to this assumption, values are defined as cognitions about the desirable. The affective component includes all feelings, which accompany an encounter with value behaviour or situation (Lisbach 1999: 22). Thus, it can be concluded that values can cause certain behaviour (conative component). Based on Allport's concept, Rokeach develops a model of value categories, and emphasizes its situation over cross-functional aspect and their hierarchical arrangement in the Western value discourse (Lisbach 1999: 22).

Rokeach attempts to define values and the value system by comparing a value system within the human psychological system. Based on this comparison, the functions of values prove to be very diverse. Values control the self-presentation related to others, and form the basis for the self-assessment on the one hand, and foreign judgment on the other (Lisbach 1999: 22). Through the rationalization of personally and socially unaccepted behaviors, values might maintain self-esteem. Rokeach's model includes 36 values, 18 of which are instrumental and 18 terminal values. Instrumental values are defined as conceptions regarding desirable behavior (honesty, responsibility, etc.), while terminal values can be seen as concepts of final aspirations (freedom, happiness, etc.) (Atkinson 2014: 58). Furthermore, values can be defined as decisive in relation to the personal attitude towards social, political and religious issues and ideologies (Lisbach 1999: 22).

A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum or relative importance. (Rokeach 1973: 5)

Geert Hofstede defines values as internalized preferences for social situations and relationships. They are latent and communicate indirectly via external phenomena. Hofstede

determines five dimensions: (1) power differences, (2) individualism, (3) masculine and feminine values, (4) avoidance of uncertainty and ambiguity, and (5) time orientation.

Values are an attribute of individuals as well as of collectivities [...] [and] a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others. (Hofstede 1984: 18)

Taking into consideration Kluckhohn, Allport and Rokeach, Schwartz and Bilsky (1994) develop a value model including two dimensions that structure the value system. They criticize that former definitions of values and concepts of values do not identify the crucial feature of content that distinguishes one value from another. Advancing the work of previous scholars and theorists, Schwartz et al. develop a *Theory of Universals in Individual Human Values* (Schwartz 1992, 1994, 2005; Schwartz/Bilsky 1994). They define five features common to most definitions of values: Values are (1) concepts or beliefs, (2) about desirable end-states or behaviours, (3) that transcend specific situations, (4) guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events, and (5) are ordered by relative importance (Schwartz/Bilsky 1987: 551). Referring to the Facet Theory and Multi-Dimensional Scaling, it is possible to propose and test hypotheses about underlying structure of psychological and social science structures (Larkam 2006: 32).

The distinguishing feature is the motivational content of the value. Values are cognitive representations of the important human goal or motivations about which people must communicate in order to coordinate their behaviour. The content that distinguishes one value most significantly from another is the type of motivation or goal that it represents. (Schwartz/Bilsky 1994: 164)

Schwartz and Bilsky postulate universal requirements of each individual that they define as biological needs, interpersonal requirements of social interaction, and demands of social institutions for group welfare and survival. They assume all individuals are aiming to satisfy these requirements (see Larkam 2006: 32-33). Schwartz et al. conclude that these three presumed requirements "*pre-exist [in] any individual*" and in order "*to cope with reality, individuals must recognize, think about, and plan responses to all three requirements. To be effective members of social groups, individuals must communicate about them*" (Schwartz/Bilsky 1987: 551). Based on these requirements, they develop a value model that identifies motivationally distinct broad values including a formal definition of values.

In this thesis, values are defined as the core of culture (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 187) and as a core task for culture maintenance and culture change as well as the hard core of one's

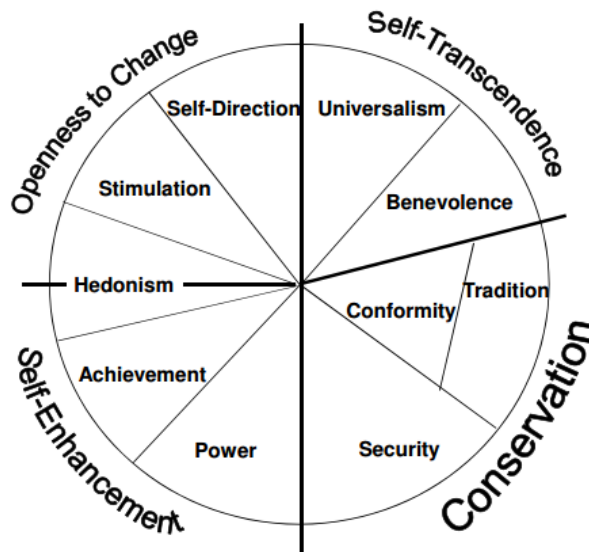
identity (Schönpflug 2001: 175). Following Schwartz' definition of values as „*conceptions of the desirable that guide the way social actors (e.g. organisational leaders, policy-makers, individual persons) select actions, evaluate people and events, and explain their actions and evaluations*“ (Schwartz 1999: 24). Values provide standards for human conduct and therefore regulate the daily behavior as well as important and critical life decisions (Schönpflug 2001: 175). In this thesis, the concept of value transmission is understood as a narrower term within the broader concept of cultural transmission.

3.2.2. Schwartz' conceptualization of values

Schwartz et al. have conducted several cross-cultural studies in approximately 70 countries. Based on the collected data they state that there exists an almost universal taxonomy of individual values across different cultures. They give values a motivational, target-oriented character. Values representing a common overarching goal are summarized under the concept of "value type". Schwartz defines those values as "basic values" which express the universal needs of human existence, such as biological basic needs, social interaction and group membership. Schwartz' research results are often compared to Hofstede (2001) and Inglehart (1997) in terms of compliance or supplement. However, all research teams are using different methodologies and are trying to distance themselves from other researchers and concepts.

According to Schwartz' findings, there are ten universal value types which can be found in most cultures worldwide. These values exist within a system and form a continuum that Schwartz represents as a circular structure. Within this structure, compatible values are adjacent while conflicting values are positioned on opposing sides (Daniel/Benish-Weisman/Boehnke/Knafo 2014: 103). Furthermore, Schwartz identifies two bipolar dimensions and arranges ten types of values into them. The first dimension is made up of the two types of values *Openness to Change* and *Conservation* and compares values that are on the one hand related to independent thinking and acting as well as varied opportunities, and on the other hand connected to obedient self-restriction, conservation, preservation of security and tradition. This dimension includes the value types *Hedonism*, *Stimulation* und *Self Direction* which can be seen as counterpart to the value types *Security*, *Conformity* and *Tradition*.

Figure 7. Theoretical value system with two overarching dimensions



Source: Schwartz 2012: 9

The second dimension is determined by the values of higher order types of *Self Enhancement* and *Self Transcendence*. In this dimension, values that emphasize the wish to be accepted by others as well as to be seen as equal to others stand against values which represent the pursuit of an individual's own success and dominance over others. The values *Achievement* und *Power* stand against the values *Universalism* and *Benevolence* in this context.

Table 4. Definitions of Schwartz' ten universal values

Tradition	Respect, commitment and acceptance of the costumes and ideas that one's culture or religion imposes on the individual
Benevolence	Caring for the welfare of others who are closely related to oneself
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, protection of the welfare of all people and of nature
Self-direction	The need for independent thought and action
Stimulation	The need for diversity, aspiration for change and excitement
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensual satisfaction of the self
Achievement	Acquiring personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards
Power	Requisite for social status and thus gaining control and dominance over others
Security	The need for protection of safety, harmony and stability of the social structure and of the self
Conformity	Limiting actions and urges that might violate social expectations and norms

Schwartz et al. (1994, 1996, 2012) compare the value structures of different nationalities. One of their main findings deals with the fact that in different countries values have different semantic contents. The researchers have developed five different *cultural spaces* - Western Europe, Eastern Europe, East Asia, English-speaking and Islamic nations - which differ from each other regarding their value structures (Schwartz 2006: 157). According to Schwartz, Western European countries score highly in the value categories *Egalitarianism* and *Autonomy*, while showing relatively low scores in the value categories *Conservatism* and *Hierarchy*. In contrast, East Asian countries tend to show a completely reverse value orientation with high scores in terms of *Conservatism* and *Hierarchy*. The English-speaking nations differ from those of Western Europe primarily by low scoring related to *Mastery* and *Hierarchy* levels, but high scoring in the categories *Harmony*, *Conservatism*, *Egalitarianism* and *Intellectual autonomy* (Schwartz 2006: 152f.). The conception of Schwartz stands out due to its qualitative and quantitative expansion of the previous approaches. In addition, a greater precision for an intercultural comparison is noticeable compared to other approaches in this field.

3.2.3. The cultural model of acculturation by Paweł Boski

The research carried out by Paweł Boski must be highlighted in this context as it is one of the main studies and empirical works relating to Polish values in particular. Apart from Schwartz' concept of values, the study carried out for this thesis is based on the theoretical conceptualization as well as the development of the empirical instrument of Paweł Boski's *Emic Culture Values and Scripts Questionnaire* and Joanna Kwast-Welfeld's research about intergenerational value similarity in Polish immigrant families in Canada (2004).

Paweł Boski uses the data of the research project *The Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness* (GLOBE), initiated in 1991 by Robert House. This international project conducted by 160 researchers and with 61 participating nations worldwide aims to discover cultural dimensions and differences between nations. A total of 9 cultural dimensions are proposed in the GLOBE study, referencing Hofstede's five dimensions. Although the dimensions' names are similar, their empirical meaning differs. One difference being the fact that the GLOBE dimensions map refers to the contemporary world, while Hofstede's model refers to the historical past.

The GLOBE's dimensions are as follows (House et al. 2002: 5-6):

- (1) *Performance orientation* (refers to the extent to which an organization or society encourages and rewards group members for performance improvement and excellence),
- (2) *Future orientation* (refers to the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies engage in future-oriented behaviours such as planning, investing in the future, and delaying gratification),
- (3) *Uncertainty avoidance* (refers to the extent to which members of an organization or society strive to avoid uncertainty by reliance on social norms, rituals, and bureaucratic practices to alleviate the unpredictability of future events),
- (4) *Societal collectivism* (reflects the degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action),
- (5) *In-group collectivism* (reflects the degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty and cohesiveness in their organizations or families),
- (6) *Power distance* (refers to the degree to which members of an organization or society expect and agree that power should be unequally distributed),
- (7) *Gender equality* (refers to the extent to which an organization or society minimizes gender role differences and gender discrimination),
- (8) *Assertiveness* (refers to the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies are assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in social relationships),
- (9) *Humane orientation* (refers to the degree to which individuals in organizations or societies encourage and reward individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, and kind to others).

House et al. report substantial correlations between the scales of practices. This is why in this thesis, multidimensional scaling were applied as a statistical procedure to reanalyze the

existing country scores. Likewise, for the purpose of greater simplicity, the scope of analysis was reduced to European countries.

Based on the data of GLOBE, Boski (2010) conducts a comparison of Polish and German cultures, investigating significant differences regarding four of the nine dimensions identified in the GLOBE project (Wesołowska 2013: 93). German cultures are characterized by significantly higher rates of *Orientation Future-proof*. This dimension refers to the tendency to bind currently performed tasks with the implementation of long-term goals and deferring gratification, to plan tasks in detail and to set strict deadlines for their implementation. German culture also shows higher scores in terms of *Uncertainty Avoidance* which refers to behaviour such as taking care of law and order, clear rules of conduct and compliance in everyday life (Wesołowska 2013: 93). In contrast, based on Boski's results, Polish culture scores significantly higher in two other cultural dimensions: *Family Collectivism*, including maintaining a strong bond of loyalty and help but also subjection to your own family, as well as *Gender Equality*, including disapproval for discrimination in the public life of persons on the grounds of their sex (Wesołowska 2013: 93). Boski highlights that Polish culture is among those that most highly value egalitarianism in this respect. He concludes that due to significant differences between Polish and German cultures, barriers might exist regarding the integration process of Polish citizens into the German culture. Taking into consideration history, language and geographical as well as social closeness between Austria and Germany, it can be assumed that similar phenomenon arises when it comes to the integration process of Polish citizens into the Austrian and German culture and society. However, this cannot be taken for granted and is examined in this study.

Boski (1992) offers a theoretical and methodological framework to study cultural identity. The model distinguishes between two components of cultural identity: symbolic identity and correlative identity (based on values). Symbolic identity pertains to symbolic attributes of national identity related to symbols that are characteristic for a certain culture (Lewandowska 2008: 211), such as heroes of the present and the past, symbolic sites, traditional celebrations or anniversaries of national events - to name some examples. Symbolic identity evolves in the process of enculturation through attendance of national events, the visiting historical places etc. (Lewandowska 2008: 211f.).

These cultural representations coded and stored in memory may appear as different kinds of associations or memories in later years in certain situations. In contrast, correlative attributes of national identity are related to values and behaviors being significantly related to a certain culture. Based on several studies, Boski (1992, 1999) distinguishes between a bipolar

dimension called *Hum-Mat Scale* and four cultural dimensions based on the values *Humanism*, *Materialism*, *Liberalism*, *Sarmatism* (Lewandowska 2008: 212). According to Boski, these cultural dimensions are significant for the Polish culture in relation to other cultures. Particularly, Polish culture is characterized by a high indicator of *Humanism* (hospitality, caring for the family, cherishing close personal relations), while Western countries such as the U.S.A. or Great Britain are described by high index of *Materialism* (Boski 1992, Boski 2009). Those attributes form a specific prototype of the most common cultural traits of a certain culture.

In earlier studies Boski (1992) shows that both components - values and symbols - correlate positively even though the level of correlation varies. An individual accepts values existing in its culture as universal without doubting or questioning them. However, when stable life conditions drastically change, for instance in case of immigration to another country, an individual might become “aware” of their cultural values (Lewandowska 2008: 212). This indicates that both assumptions are theoretically autonomous while justifying that there may be a connection between them. The studies among Polish immigrant families in Canada and USA indicate that the next generations seem to maintain Polish values largely than Polish symbols (Boski 1992, Kwast-Welfeld 2004). The authors measure value transfer using the ECVSQ questionnaire (*Emic Culture Values and scripts Questionnaire*, Boski et al. 1992, 1993, 2001). Based on a historical analysis, Boski (2001) develops several motifs that are characteristic of the Polish culture. Considering the role Catholicism has played in the Polish history and culture, Boski postulates that Catholicism has been transmitted into Polish values that he defines as *Humanism* values. He interprets the humanism dimension as a core element of the Polish mentality (Boski 2001). Boski’s studies show a *Hum-Mat* polarization between Polish and North American cultures (Boski et al. 1992, Boski 1993, 2001). Furthermore, he points out certain aspects of Polish culture, including a specific hierarchical transmission of values (Boski et al. 1992). He concludes that the longer the period of emigration is, the weaker symbolic identity becomes. While those who have emigrated to another country show more or less weak symbolic identity, their children (second generation migrants) show a significant gap between the importance of symbols from their parents’ culture and those of the culture they were raised in (Lewandowska 2008: 212).

Although Boski has made a valuable contribution to Polish value system and its understanding, some of the aspects of his concept may meet with criticisms. The detection of the similarities of an entire nation is always a problematic task, in fact, almost impossible. The case of Poland represents a further challenge due to additional political and historical

circumstances the national has been facing over the time (Jedrzejczyk/Rassadin 2006: 45). Values are constantly changing, which can be identified especially in the case of the last several decades in Poland. A transformation process with varying degrees of severity in different social groups is still taking place. The values differences between the older and the younger generation are much more significant than in other countries (Jedrzejczyk/Rassadin 2006: 45). While the younger generation puts much more emphasis on the future and new values such as performance and success, the older one is more backward-looking and bound by tradition (Marciniak 2005: 75). Therefore, a generation gap needs to be taken into consideration. Furthermore, significant differences between rural and urban areas may also exist, or regional particularities may have an influence on values of the population.

3.2.4. Related concepts

When it comes to defining the term *value*, related terms exist. While in everyday language different terms tend to be frequently mixed up, in science a precise distinction and conceptual delimitation is necessary.

In sociological literature, there is often no explicit distinction made between the terms "value" and "value orientation". Both Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1992) are using the term "value" to define and describe values and value orientations. In contrast, Kluckhohn (1951) as well as Kluckhohn/Strodbeck (1961) and Triandis (1989) make a conceptual distinction and emphasize the importance of distinguishing both terms.

German scholars distinguish more clearly between "value" and "value orientation"; however, due to the impact of English literature, some scholars have also started following the conventions of their English-speaking colleagues. Value orientation is very often seen as an end product of a process in the German research. The acquisition of value orientation is based on a certain order of components. According to Oerter (1987: 238), value orientation is carried out on an action component, accompanied by an affective aspect. The cognitive component follows subsequently. A value orientation is therefore only given when a subject has been captured by all three components (Würtz 2014: 42). Based on Rokeach (1973), a value system is seen as an ordered system in which individual values are organized in the context of an overall hierarchy (Kamakura/Novak 1992: 119). According to this understanding, a value needs to be learned first before becoming part of the value system, and the system is often understood as a tool helping an individual in the process of conflict resolution and decision making (Kamakura/Novak 1992: 119).

In contrast to values, social norms are defined as usual and standard social rules of behaviour. They settle people's interactions with others within a social system, and can be seen as orientation standards and requirements with a higher motivational force than values as social sanctions are associated with them. Lewis (1969) emphasizes that norms are standards which have been followed in a specific way and have become established as social rules. The continuity of following these specific rules is socially accepted and therefore results in certain expectations towards individuals to comply with these regulations. Coleman (1990: 243) describes a social norm as a rule that requires or prohibits a particular action in a social group. A norm exists to the extent to which there is a consensus that certain rights of action no longer lie in the power of a single individual but are shared within the group. Coleman's concept of a social norm indicates that there are two preconditions which are crucial factors for the establishing of norms: Firstly, the actions of a group member have to be of interest for other members and have to impact them either in a positive or negative way. Secondly, there must be a lack of opportunities for an exchange of rights of action between the members. The validity of a norm is not a feature of an individual, but a group.

Cultural identity can be defined as "*the content of values as guiding principles, to meaning of symbols, and to life-styles that individuals share with others, though not necessarily within recognizable groups*" (Lewandowska 2008: 211). According to Boski, the core of cultural identity is the personal meaning and personal evaluation of symbols and values rather than knowledge (Boski/Antosiewicz 2004: 267). Symbols have the effect of creating identities figuratively by realizing the experience of a collective and creating a subject presupposition of the preservation of this community in the future. Historically relevant variables are used as meaning memory in order to allow the levels of meaning and recognition to be fused more easily (Zowislo 2000: 14). That way, symbols can become action-relevant, reality-forming and binding for the social actors (Zowislo 2000: 14). Symbols can only take effect where they accentuate the existing meanings of a society. The acceptance of key symbols depends on their cognitive, affective and pragmatic relevance within the recipient culture (Zowislo 2000: 14). While *natural symbols* go back on archetypes and are images based on unconscious, *cultural symbols* are a product of consciousness and a historical development (Nouriani 2011: 20).

They [cultural symbols] play an important role in the assimilation and integration of archetypal and instinctual forces and facilitate the development of consciousness. As living symbols, cultural symbols carry meaning, evoke emotions or ideas from the deep unconscious, express what is known, and yet also convey what is unknown and mysterious. (Nouriani 2011: 20)

When it comes to international research about cultural identity and symbols, less importance has been given so far to this dimension of cultural identity than to language, religion, social activities, family life, and maintenance of cultural heritage. One of the first researchers mentioning cultural orientation in relation to different types of national and patriotic symbols was Srole in 1940. Based on a study about multi-ethnic cities in the United States, he refers to three types of symbols: American-national, Ancestral-national (related to those born abroad), and bi-national symbols (Lewandowska 2008: 211). A relationship between cultural symbols, emotional states and cultural identity could be investigated in 1965 by Fong (Lewandowska 2008: 211).

Boski's *Cultural model of Acculturation* (1992) is a theoretical and methodological concept to investigate cultural identity (Lewandowska 2008: 211). The concept is based on two Polish academics, Ossowski (1986) who refers to *private and ideological motherland* as well as personal experiences which correspond to a certain territory, land view, behavior and customs, and Kłoskowska (1991) who refers to *symbolic culture* as a set of meanings offering a specific language for communication within a certain group (Lewandowska 2008: 211-212). Two elements assemble *cultural identity* in Boski's Cultural model of Acculturation (1992): on the one hand *symbolic identity* referring to symbolic attributes of national identity relating to symbols which are typical for a certain culture. Heroes of the past as well as present, traditional celebrations or national events can be named in this context. The process of enculturation through for instance attending these national events or dealing with history (reading books, watching documentaries, etc.) are the only way to adopt symbolic identity (Lewandowska 2008: 212). On the other hand, *correlative identity* which is based on values and behaviours that are related with a certain culture in relation to other cultures. Boski (1992, 1999) distinguishes between a bipolar dimension called Hum-Mat Scale and four cultural dimensions based on the values Humanism, Materialism, Liberalism, Sarmatism (see 4.3.). Boski (1992) presents in his studies about Polish emigrants in Canada and USA, that the more personally significant a certain symbol is, the stronger symbolic identity is (Boski 1992). According to Boski's findings it can be also assumed that there the period of emigration is an important indicator for symbolic identity. He demonstrates that the longer the period of emigration is, the weaker the Polish symbolic identity becomes. This is particularly true for the second generation of immigrants (Boski 1992).

IV. Value Transmission in an Immigration Context

Ethnic revival or re-ethnicization is understood as an "increasing tendency of immigrants to retreat into and identify with their own ethnic group" (Diehl/Schnell 2006: 5). „Ethnicity is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour" (Gans 1979: 9).

Traditionally, the concept of *culture* is often linked with the terms *integration* and *assimilation* in migration-theoretical discussions. Early theories on migration are characterized by a nation-state view of the 18th century regarding ethnic groups and their crossing national borders. The origin of these theories is marked by a politically motivated viewpoint and the ideology of the nation state. Cultural adaptation is understood as prerequisite for the incorporation of immigrants into host societies. The acculturation processes succeeds when orientation knowledge has been replaced by the host society's knowledge. An even stronger form of adaptation is the assimilation process, namely the idea of the "approximation" of ethnic groups about the course of several generations (Esser 2001: 18). However, from today's perspective, this view is becoming increasingly obsolete as ethnic groups cannot be seen as homogeneous groups living within national boundaries. A transnational approach is necessary in order to understand the trends of international migration that goes far beyond the concept of migration as a one-way street. Immigrants usually tend to keep in touch with their families, relatives and friends in their countries of origin when settling down in another country. A transnational perspective also takes into account the fact that people are mobile and might not settle in the countries where they work, such as seasonal workers (Faist/Fauser/Reisenauer 2014: 17).

In this thesis, values are conceptualized as the core of culture (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 187), the core task for culture maintenance and culture change as well as the core of one's identity (Schönpflug 2001: 175). They provide standards for human conduct, regulate daily behaviour and important life decisions (Schönpflug 2001: 175). According to the one-sided

and one-dimensional course of the assimilation approach, immigrants would have to reject their values, which they have incorporated in their home country in the course of their socialization process, and replace them with those of the host culture. In many political debates, this is praised as a much desired goal and as a successful integration of immigrants. The author dissociates herself from that point of view and points out that such a state of total assimilation is hardly feasible – and also not desirable. Referring to Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice, the author points to the concept of *habitus* as an embodied internal compass which guides the way in which one acts, feels, thinks and talks (Asimaki/Koustourakis 2014: 126). Values are incorporated through the socialization process and are understood as part of the cultural, social and/or symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986: 241). Bourdieu highlights that dispositions which one acquires during childhood within family implant the *primary habitus* (Asimaki/Koustourakis 2014:126). Even though the *secondary habitus* appears in later days and is incorporated through school or other institutions, the primary one is longer lasting and has a greater impact on one's personal development.

The concept of *primary habitus* underlines the author's assumption that immigration conditions positively influence intergenerational value transmission. Thus, it is also believed that parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany is stronger than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland without any migration experience, as in a discontinuous cultural context immigrant parents might tend to make a greater effort to transmit their cultural values, traditions, customs etc. to their offspring than they would do without having migration experience. In all cultures, parents have the main role when it comes to their children's socialization. They socialize their children into the values and practices of their society (Vedder/Berry/Sabatier/Sam 2009: 643). In immigrant families, values and cultural practices of the host society are transmitted outside the family, however they bring with them the values of their culture of origin and as already mentioned strive to preserve them in the new environment (Vedder/Berry/Sabatier/Sam 2009: 643). Often, these values may differ from those of the host society's ones resulting in a conflict. Both immigrant parents and children are involved in an acculturation process accompanying by different experiences of at least two cultures (Vedder/Berry/Sabatier/Sam 2009: 643).

The question arises whether cultural adaptation is possible only in form of a strict acculturation. The author anticipates the transcultural perspective, which underlines a hybrid identity formation of individuals. Immigrants can be embedded in two or more cultures and have at least two languages as L1 languages. The transcultural concept still maintains a pioneering position within the social sciences. However, in order to show why this concept is becoming increasingly important today, the following chapter provides a step-by-step

approach to the transcultural concept. The author is keen to point out weaknesses and lacks of other concepts in order to emphasize the strengths of the transcultural concept.

4.1. Acculturation theory

Similar to the definition of culture (see above), a variety of definitions of different terms that are often used in socio-political debates about immigrants and their integration into society is present. These terms are used identically but also in different contexts. As regards content, these concepts range from a total adaptation to society and the abandonment of one's own culture and cultural values (*assimilation*) to *integration*. There are often contradictions in the use of these terms as scholars refer on the one hand to the result of a process of cultural contacts, on the other hand to the process itself.

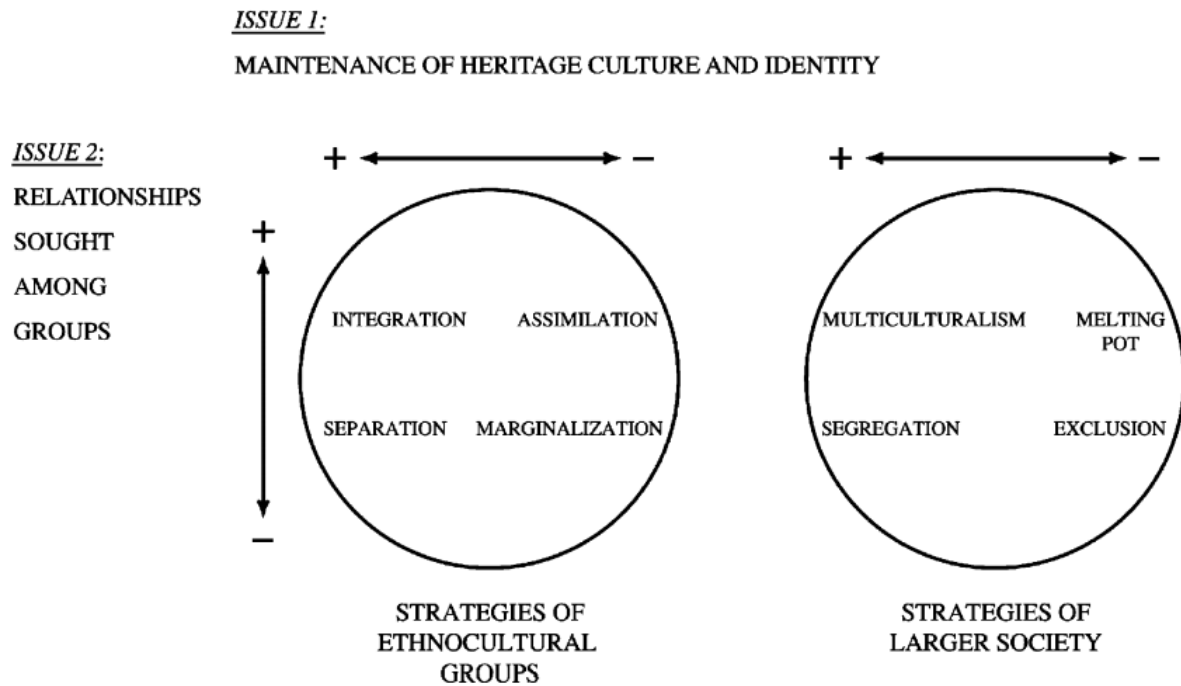
Generally, acculturation refers to the process of cultural and psychological changes as a result of interactions between two culturally different groups. Echoing Berry (2005), „*acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. At the group level, it involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioural repertoire.*“ (Berry 2005: 698-699). According to Berry, acculturation strategies can be distinguished as followed (Berry 2005: 705):

1. *Integration*, understood as the simultaneous attachment to the culture of the majority and of the minority society
2. *Assimilation*, understood as the adaptation to the majority culture
3. *Separation*, understood as the process by which one's own cultural identity is maintained and no interaction with the majority is striven
4. *Marginalization*, understood as the lack of interest neither to adapt to majority culture nor to maintain one's own culture. No clear identification can be detected.

Acculturation theories are accompanied by the loss of the „origin“ orientation knowledge and by a (partial) replacement of the orientation knowledge of the host society. While early acculturation theories focused rather on the identification of types (*wanderer types*) than the conceptualization of acculturation, modern acculturation research offers on the other hand a series of definitions of acculturation which each emphasize specific characteristics of determination, and on the other hand definitions which are very broadly applied and define

acculturation by means of further concepts, such enculturation, assimilation, adaptation, etc.. (Zick 2010: 34).

Figure 8. Four acculturation strategies based upon two issues



Source: Berry 2005: 705

In the following, the different concepts of acculturation processes of immigrants into the host society are distinguished, underlying their strengths and weaknesses. This approach is systematic, starting with the concept of a total adaptation of immigrants to the host society and the loss of their own cultural values and habits (*assimilation*), resulting in the discussion of the transcultural concept, which can be seen as a counter-pole to assimilation.

4.1.1. Assimilation

The classic starting point of theories of incorporation is the assimilation (also *inclusion*) concept of the so-called Chicago school. The political counterpart to this assimilation paradigm is the *melting-pot ideology*, which attempts to combine the reality of a country of immigration with the demands of national homogeneity (Pries 2003: 30). Taft's three forms of assimilation – the *monistic*, the *interactist*, and the *pluralistic assimilation* – can be regarded as exemplary for assimilation concepts (Taft 1953). The monistic assimilation form can be

understood as the passive adaptation of one group to the other entirely. The pluralistic and interactionist assimilation forms involve reciprocal influence and transformation change processes between two groups (Pries 2003: 31). Gordon highlights that ethnicity plays a significant role in the process of assimilation as it is important for the forming of ethnic identity among immigrants. According to Gordon, the central condition for assimilation are interethnic primary contacts. While there is often a *cultural assimilation* where immigrants adapt themselves to the cultural patterns of behaviour, a *structural assimilation* with a reception in associations and institutions hardly takes place (Grote 2011: 11). Particular importance is attached to politics of the host society as only through legislation discrimination can be eliminated. In the German-speaking landscape, Hartmut Esser mainly took up the assimilation and integration concepts and rearranged them. For Esser, in the context of interethnic relations, assimilation is the approximation of the actors or groups in certain properties to a standard (Esser 2003: 7). Often, this concept is mistakenly equated with the homogenization of a population and the task of cultural, religious and ethnic identities (Esser 2003: 7). The concept of integration, meaning the integration of immigrants without abandoning their ethnic autonomy, is often used as alternative term. Criticism of the concept of assimilation dates back as far as to the beginnings of the 1970s, highlighting that assimilation is putting the individual immigrant into focus and is extremely ethnocentric as it assesses immigrants exclusively from the perspective of society and argues their incorporation into the mainstream society normatively (Rauer 2008: 60-61). Esser himself emphasizes that the concept of assimilation has always been controversial, in reference to its normative meaning, but also as a hypothesis for the empirical processes of the (intergenerational) integration of immigrants (Esser 2003: 5).

When distinguishing different assimilation forms, Esser draws on the concept of *social integration* and thus refers to the *inclusion* of social actors (immigrants) in an already existing social system (host society) (Esser 2003: 7). A special case of social integration is the individual assimilation process of immigrants as this process includes *cultural assimilation* (e.g. in the form of language acquisition), *structural assimilation* (e.g. acquisition of educational qualifications or to the labour market), *social assimilation* (contacts with the indigenous population), and *emotional assimilation* (identification with the conditions of the host society) (Esser 2003: 8). The assimilation types can all be present simultaneously or only partially. The first is the extreme case of a complete assimilation or complete segmentation in all dimensions, while the latter involves only certain causal process sequences. As an example can be named the case of language acquisition which is a prerequisite of structural assimilation, which in its turn depends on social assimilation. Esser identifies the following types as alternative concepts of individual assimilation: *marginality*,

segmentation, and *multiple inclusion* (Esser 2003: 8), while for Nauck (2001), the following four dimensions are the most important ones for the assimilation process: *cognitive*, *structural*, *social* and *identificatory* assimilation. *Cognitive assimilation* is understood as the acquisition of knowledge and abilities, such as the learning of language and the appropriation of values of the host society (Nauck 2001: 31). *Structural assimilation* is the social placement in the new society, such as political participation. *Social assimilation* involves establishing contacts to the local population in a formal and informal way, such as participating in events (Nauck 2001: 31). *Identical assimilation* represents the development of a sense of belonging to the host population by inter alia adoption and internalization of values as self-evident action regulators (Nauck 2001: 32). These four dimensions are determined by the environment of the host society on the one hand and by a person's individual characteristics on the other hand. Both may change in the course of time.

One of the most important criticisms of the assimilation theory is the fact that the model does not take any cultural pluralism into account. The end of an inclusion process of immigrants into host society marks a complete assimilation – a condition that not only contradicts other theories, but also a reality of a global, networked and multicultural society we are living in. Empirical studies show that there is not always a straightforward process of adaptation of immigrants over generations to the majority society. In contrast, assimilation resembles a "*bumpy line*" and does not involve necessarily better life chances (Hans 2016: 34). Especially with regard to education and the labour market, the second generation is worse off in some immigrant groups than their parents. Assimilation touches on the notion of purity on the one hand and the total resolution on the other (Aumüller 2009: 41). Aumüller establishes that the public discourse about assimilation is often rejected due to the fact that the assertion of total assimilation is associated with the inability to bear differences (Aumüller 2009: 41). On the side of the immigrants, the process of assimilation is often associated with cultural identity crises, cultural conflicts and marginalization processes. The identity crisis refers to the fact that immigrants find themselves in an adaptation process presenting them with new, often difficult challenges. The loss of one's own (cultural) identity is mainly associated with the second generation of immigrants but partially also with the first. The assimilation theory assumes that an assimilation process fails if structural integration into the host society is lacking. In this context, terms such as "*parallel society*" or "*marginal man*" are called. The marginalized immigrant is alienated from his country of origin, but at the same time he/she does not find access to the host society either.

Assimilation theory had undergone many revisions and refinements. Newer assimilation concepts since the 1990s try to modify the term by focussing on the structural understanding

of assimilation as a process of similarity gradually (Aumüller 2009: 42). Alba and Nee for instance define assimilation as *“the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it.”* (Alba/Nee 1997: 863). Alba and Nee’s concept is characterized by an acceptance of heterogeneous assimilation outcomes, and even the possibility of no assimilation at all. However, they underline that all *„these alternatives can be brought under the pale of ‘canonical’ assimilation theory“* (Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005: 1003). Assimilation means *„the process of becoming similar, or of making similar or treating as similar [...] in particular domains between populations of immigration origin and ‘host’ populations“* (Brubaker 2001: 534-535), however *„assimilation is not a single process of the sort envisaged by ‘straight-line’ accounts“* but a *„complex and only partially interlocking set of processes“* (Brubaker 2001: 542). Referring second generation of immigrants, Gans (1992) emphasizes that there are several paths that they might follow, including *downward* and *upward* mobility among the possible outcomes (Xie/Greenman 2005: 3). Based on Gans, Portes and Zhou develop the theory of *segmented assimilation* which can be seen as the closest to the transcultural theory. The scholars focus on the second majoritarian non-white immigrant generation and point out that there are three possible assimilation patterns: *upward assimilation*, *downward assimilation*, and *upward mobility combined with biculturalism* (Portes/Rumbaut 2001). Globalization and deindustrialization processes have gradually prevented a social rise for immigrants in recent decades (Portes/Zhou 1993: 76). Unemployed immigrants who take up activities at the lower end of the labour market or have no legal status cannot support the second generation as well as well-educated and legal immigrants (Grote 2011: 12). Poverty forces them to live in inner-city areas, where their children are *“daily exposed to gangs and deviant lifestyles“* (Portes 2007: 88). This *downward assimilation* of second immigrant generation leads to an *“acculturation to the norms and values of the host society“* which *“is not a ticket to material success and status advancement, but exactly the opposite“* (Portes 2007: 88). Ethnic segmentation is further strengthened by social components, leading to ethnic stereotypification and discrimination by the white majority population (Portes 2007: 90). According to Portes and Zhou, three main characteristics of the social context can lead to a downward assimilation: colour, location, and absence of mobility ladders (Portes/Zhou 1993: 83). The theory highlights the fact that immigrants are absorbed by different sectors of American society today, and becoming an “American” does not always mean an improvement of life quality (Grote 2011: 13). This is true for both first and second generation of immigrants.

4.1.2. Integration

Integration, seen as a counter-pole to assimilation, can be defined as a process as well as a target state, and both as settings as well as a behavioural level (Zick 2010: 62). Berry (2005) describes integration as an acculturative orientation and a behavioural and reactionary strategy. From the perspective of cultural minorities and immigrants, integration defines the attempt or the orientation to preserve one's own cultural characteristics while maintaining close and stable relations with members of the majority group (Zick 2010: 62). A distinction is often made between *systemic* and *social integration*. Systemic integration involves inter alia the relationships between social subsystems, while social integration includes the relationships between the actors and their inclusion in the overall system (Hans 2016: 25).

Generally, integration is understood as the cohesion of parts in a "systemic wholeness" and the resulting delineation from an unstructured environment (Esser 1999: 14). Segmentation may be seen as the counter part of this process. Thus, the integration of a system is defined by the existence of relations between its parts (Esser 1999: 14). According to the theory of integration, all people must equally integrate themselves into society and contribute to the integration of society. Echoing Parsons, it is above all internalized values that produce the unity of society. *„Social order is possible if social actors share a culture of common values, which unites them together to share and perform co-operative activities. It is these general values which determined the ultimate goals of action and which structure the norms by which the means of action are selected.“* (Parsons 1991: 20) General values define actions and bind social actors into a common social systems, thereby enabling a peaceful social coexistence. In contrast to assimilation, integration is not an one-sided orientation of newcomers to the dominant features of a resident culture (values, customs, norms, etc.) but the attempt to intercultural balance through the acceptance of cultural autonomy of the groups involved in the process of acculturation. Similar to assimilation and all acculturation concepts in general, integration theory deals with the question how values and norms are influenced. Consequently, integration is also characterized by differences in status and power, although to a weaker extent in contrast to assimilation. Integration appears to be a more positive possibility of intercultural balancing. The groups participating in the acculturation process can preserve their identities and value systems as there is no need of deculturation.

But what if the individuals have different values? In the context of countless political integration debates that have been taking place for years, the question is asked how to live together in a diverse society. In addition to language acquisition which is often seen as the

„key to integration“, values are identified as the central building block of integration. Values appear as fixed and immovable, the diversity of social practices falls into the background. Those being strongly religious for example are more difficult to deal with interethnic contacts and the acceptance of values of equality. Religion, culture, traditions, or values can be an obstacle for integration in certain situations. A common example is the religiously based non-participation of Muslim girls in coeducational sports lessons at school. In such situations a strong contrast between religious freedom and a religiously based value system is present. Especially in the context of second (and third) immigrant generation, considerations about generational affiliation are increasingly discussed in the context of integration debates. In the context of socialization theorems, it is assumed that due to the changed cultural conditions for primary socialization and its lifelong significance for the internalisation of values the second generation is necessarily acculturated in the host society. A strong value discrepancy between first and second generation of immigrants is the consequence. However, other scholars have shown that the second generation has lower ties to the parents' home country and less social relations with its members (Nauck 2001: 8). As a result, they become increasingly irrelevant to social comparative processes, and comparisons are only made with the living conditions of the majority population, leading to an increase in dissatisfaction with the immigrant generation (Nauck 2001: 8).

Migration situations may lead to a stronger accentuation of the own culture, both among members of the host society and among immigrants (Nauck 2001: 66). Intergenerational value transmission becomes often the dominant way to maintain cultural heritage from the original society. The parent generation is faced with a greater difficulty and a greater need for intergenerational transmission of culture in order to maintain the cultural heritage within the family. They find themselves encouraged to pass on their original culture to their children with even greater efforts, especially if the support provided by cultural institutions is largely lacking (Nauck 2001: 66). Therefore, value similarity is often much stronger within immigrant families compared to indigenous families but also compared to families in their home country without migration experience. However, this fact contradicts the integration approach, since an adjustment to host society by the first and second generation of immigrants is assumed. Thus, if the values of the parents strongly contradict with those of the host society, a conflict may occur. The second (and third) generation of immigrants may feel torn between the values of parents (and those of their parents' home country) and the values of the host society which may result in identity crises or intergenerational conflicts. If the individual reverts to the values and culture of his own homeland (or that of his parents), *separation* (also *segregation*) is present.

4.1.3. Separation

Separation (also *segregation* or *segmentation*) is present when the culture of origin is accentuated and developed as a minority subculture without any interaction with members of the host society or an exchange between the minority and the majority culture (Nauck 2001: 17). While separation refers to an exclusion on an individual level, segregation refers to the exclusion of an ethnic group and means a consolidation of social relations in one's own minority. Nauck emphasizes that this process of „*self-reinforcing*“ may be seen as an understandable reaction of the self-protection of immigrant groups against an imminent marginalization (Nauck 2001: 17). On the one hand, segregation is particularly likely when there are high access barriers to the host society. The different access of individuals to the resources of a society depending on their generation, religion, country of origin or ethnicity, social status or milieu may support a segregation process. On the other hand, high incentives to remain in the subculture encourage also segregation. Main conditions are sufficient opportunities for an ethnic closure and a sufficient size of the own minority accompanied by an institutional support.

Segregation can be achieved through standardization or individual preferences. In the social discussion, segregation has often a negative association. The *resident segregation* of minorities or low-status populations for instance is often seen as forced as the place of residence in a low-status district might limit the access to public facilities, such as schools and other educational institutions, as well as to goods of everyday supply. However, the minorities or immigrants themselves do not see always their situation as a disadvantage, and voluntary segregation may sometimes even serve social distinction, identity assurance and group solidarity. In both cases – forced segregation and voluntary segregation – the minority group maintains their culture of origin including values, norms and habits. Thus, according to the separation approach, there should be a successful intergenerational value transmission within immigrant families, meaning a high value similarity between parents and their children. The secondary *socialisation process* or *secondary habitus* (Bourdieu 1986: 241) would have no influence on the development of second generation of immigrants. However, this is not entirely possible, especially if, as the author assumes, the young immigrants live in a globalized and networked world without being isolated from external influences.

4.1.4. Marginalization

If the respective culture of country of origin has been abandoned or lost without acquiring the culture of the host society at the same time, marginalization (also *exclusion*) of a minority group is present (Nauck 2001: 16). Marginalization is characterized by a strong rejection of one's own culture and the refusal to build up relationships with other cultural groups. Echoing Berry and Kim (1988), feelings of marginality and the loss of identity mark immigrants who have failed to establish psychological and cultural contact with their own culture as well as with the new culture of the host society. This development is particularly likely if strong access barriers in the host society regarding education, work, housing or social participation for the minority group are present. Marginalised people usually end up in this situation as a result of attempts at forced assimilation combined with forced exclusion (segregation) (Berry 1997: 10).

Subjective belonging forms one's (cultural) identity. As described above, values are seen as the core of culture and cultural identity. If immigrants of the second (and third) generation do not feel neither affiliate themselves with the culture of parents nor the culture of the host society, a lack of subjective belonging is present. Hence, the conditions for a – successful or failed – intergenerational value transmission are not present. Others are used for orientation. In such cases, a strengthening of marginalization and (self-)exclusion may take place. Values which do not correspond either to the values of the parents or to the values of the society can be internalized and lead to the formation of an identity.

4.2. Transnational theory

Why a transnational and transcultural approach and a turn away from the „classic“ integration or assimilation? The main reason that these concepts are outdated in their cores is the fact that today's second generation immigrants are confronted with a „*pluralistic, fragmented environment that simultaneously offers a wealth of opportunities and major dangers to successful adaptation*“ (Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005: 1000). While up to the 1990s, migration theorists viewed cultural adaptation as an essential prerequisite for the socio-structural incorporation of immigrants into host societies, the current trend of new migration approaches emphasizes the process of transmigration (Glick Schiller et al. 2005, Lucassen 2006, Morawska 2004, Guarnizo/Portes/Haller 2003, Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005, Amelina 2008). In contrast to other theories, the transmigration approach neglects the unilateral and one-dimensional aspect, such as for instance the concept of assimilation, while highlighting the assumption that migration can be understood as cross-

border mobility of individuals and collectives situated in plural-locally generated, transnational contexts (Amelina 2008: 3). The transnationalism approach is connected to the globalisation discussion and proposes new ways of analyzing and understanding the dynamics and structures of transmigration processes as it involves a new perspective on the questions and factors compared to approaches traditionally taken into account by classical migration research (Apitzsch/Siouti 2007: 15). The term itself can be understood in two different senses. The wider sense includes any type of transborder transactions, even a holiday trip abroad. In this research study, the term is used in a narrower sense to describe specific processes in which immigrants are involved in social relations across borders (Faist/Fauser/Reisenauer 2014: 18).

Transnational migration is characterized by a constant maintenance of kinship as well as ethnic, religious and professional contacts with the culture of origin after the migration process has been completed (Amelina 2008: 3). Due to the bi-polar localization, alternative terms such as trans-localism (Barkan 2006), bi-localism, and trans-state activity (Waldinger/Fitzgerald 2004) are also applied (Levitt/Jaworsky 2007: 131). Migration flows are defined as not merely a result of macroeconomic, political and social forces but are rather seen as strategies used by immigrants operating within a system of practical constraints and exploit global economic opportunities and processes offered by national states (Portes 1997a). The relatively strong embeddedness of immigrants and their descendants can lead to the formation of specific cross-border structures. Networks, organizations, diasporas and institutions can in a long term foster the creation of specific social fields located between the countries of origin and the host society (Amelina 2008: 3).

However, researchers are divided on whether transnational practices refer only to the first generation of immigrants or they continue to be widespread among the second generation (Levitt/Jaworsky 2007: 139). While some scholars argue that the second generation of immigrants has no intention of “returning” to their parents’ countries of origin as they have weaker ties to these countries (Alba/Nee 2003, Kasinitz et al. 2002), others focus on the “double life” of immigrants (Lüthi 2005: 1). The ability to speak several languages, to be involved in several cultures and to feel at home in several places characterize this life of multiple identifications and affiliations. Transnationalism is marked by a variety of transnational activities existing on a social, cultural, economic and political level.

4.2.1. Transnational social and cultural activities

Transnational social activities refer to the fact that immigrants stay in touch with their families in their country of origin in order to visit the relatives and friends. However, transnational social activities are not limited to interpersonal contacts and include behaviour such as the consumption of media (satellite television or newspapers) from the country of origin, club memberships or the participation in cultural activities (Levitt/Jaworsky 2007: 138). Thus, in immigrant households, living transnationally across generations becomes common. However, it is not predictable if and when an individual will maintain some kind of transnational connection at a point in his/her life (Levitt/Jaworsky 2007: 138). Especially when it comes to second generation of immigrants, this connection might depend on a person's individual social needs and experiences. Transnational strategies can be received and incorporated over generations, however, they depend strongly on the individual's changing needs and desires throughout his life phases (Pries 2004). In their study, Espiritu and Tran (2002) point out that marriage or decisions about offspring are decisive life events which might activate the interest for the parental homeland and reinforce the connections within a transnational field in order to find a spouse or to teach values to one's children (Levitt/Jaworsky 2007: 138).

4.2.2. Transnational economic activities

The reasons why people immigrate are diverse. However, in most cases they aim to improve their living conditions or they are forced to emigrate. This goes hand in hand with the desire to have a higher standard of living and higher income, and to face less poverty. For many immigrants, pull factors such as manpower requirements (recruitment) or higher salaries in the receiving countries play an important role.

Many immigrants transfer part of their salary, resources and goods to families and relatives, sometimes even to a whole village or community in their home country. According to the World Bank, across the globe, immigrants sent back \$583 billion to their home countries in 2014, with \$440 billion of that sum transferred to developing countries (World Bank 2015). However, these are just official numbers, and it can be assumed they are just a small fragment of the real amount transferred by immigrants back home to their families, relatives and friends. Remittances are *“by far the most transformative processes and phenomena of migrant transnationalism”* (Vertovec 2004: 984). Further examples of transnational economic activities are the creation of businesses such as start-ups or entrepreneurial activities. Among the workforce in Germany there is no other group of relevant size which has evolved

in the past two decades in a comparable strength to that of the self-employed with migration background (Leicht/Langhauser 2006: 76). In addition, the focus on so-called ethnic markets can be cited as an example for transnational economic activities. The rising need for legal and economic expertise, health or media services has opened new markets for highly qualified people with immigrant background (Leicht/Langhauser 2006: 74). The combination of technical knowledge and intercultural competence of immigrants may secure a niche market. It can be expected that in the future, especially in the field of health care of immigrants in retirement, new opportunities for niche businesses might arise increasingly in Germany and Austria. Intercultural nursing as well as home delivery services for elderly might gradually become more important (Schaland 2010:127).

4.2.3. Transnational political activities

Political, supranational commitment can be designed very differently. For instance, it may involve a simultaneous political activity in the country of origin as well as in the host country, or involvement in clubs or organizations active on a supranational level. The internet offers unlimited opportunity to participate and allows people with immigrant background to be politically active in the host country as well as in the country of origin. Immigrants profit from their bilingualism as well as the social and political networks in both countries. Through transnational political participations *in-between spheres* are formed where people with immigrant background combine the best of two different countries, merging political and cultural practices (Atmaca-Yildirim 2015: 75). However, as Levitt and Jaworsky (2007: 136) point out, not all immigrant politics are transnational even if they or some of their aspects may become transnational at some point.

Østergaard-Nielsen (2001: 5) distinguishes between four types of political activities immigrants may practice or be involved in: homeland politics, immigrant politics, diaspora politics and translocal politics. *Homeland politics* refer to immigrant activism in the host country related to issues concerning their country of origin (Gonzalez-Rabago/Blanco 2015: 861), while *immigrant politics* are all activities immigrants conduct in order to improve their living situation in the receiving country by obtaining more political, social and economic rights (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001: 5). When governments or authorities of the country of origin become involved in helping its (former) citizens abroad in order to improve their legal and socio-economic status in the host country, immigrant politics become transnational (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001: 5). The third domain of activities is *diaspora politics* which focuses on transnational practices from which immigrants are barred. More precisely, immigrants are excluded from direct participation in the political system of their country of

origin or do not even have a homeland political regime to support or to oppose (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001: 5). The last domain is *translocal politics* referring to activities connected to the home country and to the improvement of the situation there (Gonzalez-Rabago/Blanco 2015: 861). Another aspect in the context of transnational relations is highlighted by Vertovec (2004). The concept of transnational migration connections has changed the understanding of the conventional model of the nation-states as well as the idea of an identity characterized by continuity and linked to a specific territory (Vertovec 2004: 979). Globalization, transnational perspectives and the rise of supra-territorial and trans-regional structures are challenging governances and the national identities-borders-orders (Vertovec 2004: 979).

Nevertheless, questions such as (dual) citizenship and eligibility to vote will continue being part of migration and integration discussions. Migration changes the ethnic composition of a population, and criteria such as cultural roots and language are not uniform. This requires a rethinking of the state. The traditional concept of a citizenship representing the relationship between an individual and the state must be reformed as the “*nature of the nation-state and the increasing mobility of its inhabitants have modified this relation*” (Vera-Larrucea 2012: 167). Despite the number of dual citizenships, including double voting, double taxation, and even double military service obligations having increased in the past decades, the practice remains controversial. Critics claim that possessing dual citizenship might impede the process of integration of immigrants, as political participation is expected to be relatively moderate among first generation immigrants and even lower among second generation immigrants (Vera-Larrucea 2012: 167). On a more personal level, the citizenship’s equivalent is the concept of *belonging*. According to Vera-Larrucea, belonging may occur in two different domains: on the one hand, belonging exists “*as the politics of belonging and the actions taken by the nation-state and other structures when dealing with different groups in a context of increasing diversity inside of their borders*”, and on the other hand, as “*something that is associated with the feeling of being a part of a community*” (Vera-Larrucea 2012: 168). Belonging is not exclusive but rather incorporates a plurality of different belongings, such as belonging to an ethnic group, a certain locality, etc.. In this context, *membership* gains importance as it is a related concept. However, while belonging can be plural, membership is traditionally limited. However, as Vera-Larrucea (2012: 168) points out, in the case of dual citizenship, two states share membership of one citizen.

4.3. The process of intergenerational value transmission in a cultural diverse context

4.3.1. Perceptions of family

Before going deeper into the discussion about intergenerational value transmission, there is the need to define what *family* means in order to clarify what is understood by intergenerational relationships and processes.

Based on one's own experience, there is an understanding of what the term *family* stands for. However, the attempt to define it from a sociological perspective proves very complex. One of the main reasons is the fact that the concept of family has always been characterized by a normative focus which makes an overall definition impossible (Lenz 2003: 493). Since the early 1990s, a critical discussion has been taking place on the one hand about the traditional concept of family in the context of a critique of the empirical foundations and statistical tools of genealogy which illustrate families mainly in terms of budgetary units (Rosenbaum/Timm 2008: 13). On the other hand, new family constellations such as single-parent families, unmarried couples with children and patchwork/stepfamilies as well as same-sex couples and parenting have brought new approaches and new perspectives regarding the discussion about family (Schneider 2008). Nevertheless, the discussion on how to classify and define family continues. Each scientific discipline focuses on different aspects, therefore the specific framework and field need to be taken into consideration when dealing with family concepts.

The significant characteristics of family are no longer marriage or the parental relationship as a couple as embodied by the classic Durkheim concept of family spouses or Parson's model of nuclear/elementary family (Ulbrich 2011: 14). Within family research, the general consensus about family being in constant change has established. Growing divorce rates and declining marriage numbers underline this. However, the change is also visible by increasing households such as childless couples, cohabitation, shared apartments and single-person households (Maihofer/Böhnisch/Wolf 2001: 7). Furthermore, the focus on marriage and the relationship between men and women are progressively abandoned and replaced by the focus on the child. In addition, the question of blood relation shifts to the background and a greater importance is placed on extending the family concept. Family is seen as a multi-generational constellation, going beyond the narrower concept of nuclear family and two-generational connections (Ulbrich 2011: 14). To meet reality, marriage maintains not priority but instead it is assumed that parenting is the foundation of forming a family. Terms such as *illegitimate families* and *continued families* imply that there is no need

for the cohabiting and responsible parents neither to be married nor to be the child's biological parents (Maihofer/Böhnisch/Wolf 2001: 7). The present study refers to new concepts of family understanding, and the author distances herself from the traditional concept that defines family as something natural or a self-evident social convention. In contrast, family has currently become something based on respective living conditions, lived intergenerational relations and their dynamics.

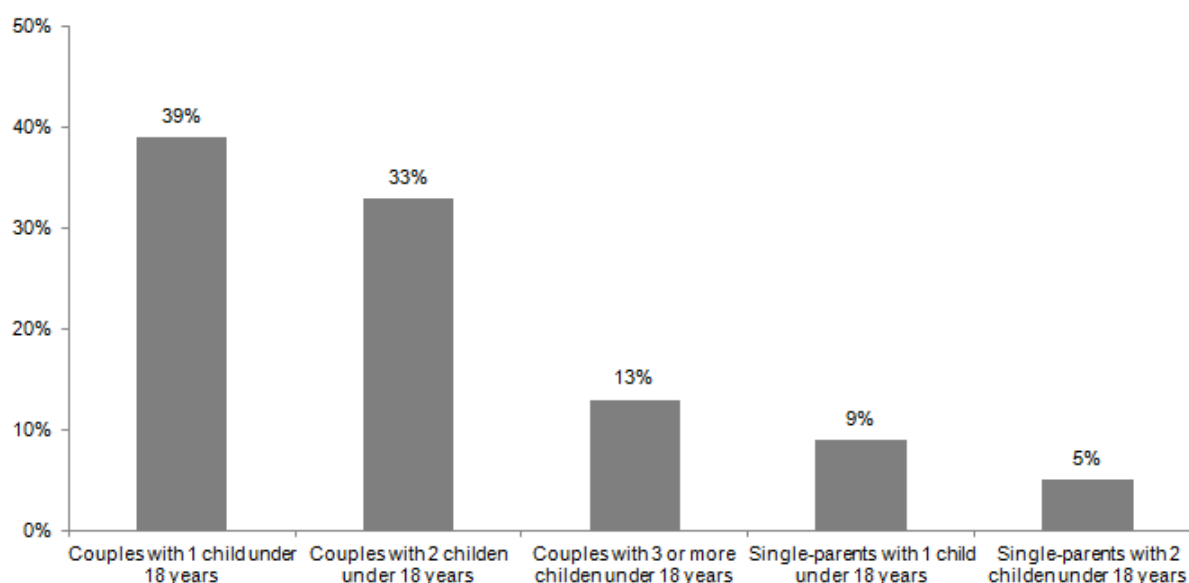
4.3.2. Pluralism of family life forms

For a long time, the traditional model of the bourgeois *nuclear family* – married couples with children – was predominant, however it has been replaced by other forms of family that existed previously but were of marginal interest. This observed focus shift can be ascribed to a high degree to a change in the structure of the family and the relations between individuals within the family. In addition, the polarity between the genders has increased. Thus, educational issues and parental responsibilities as well as conflicts over for instance the distribution of housework or child care are negotiated between the parents. When it comes to research about other family forms and immigrants, less literature exists. Most of these studies are dealing with the economic and financial situation of single-parent immigrant families rather than with the intergenerational relationships and familial structures.

For Germany, the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) collect data about households and family forms in Germany, and provides information about population with non-German³ roots. According to BMFSFJ, 85% of families with an immigrant background live in couple families and do not differ significantly from German families in terms of the most common family type (BMFSFJ 2016: 17). Around 15% of non-German families are single parents, compared to a much higher proportion of 22% of German families with no immigrant background. A significant difference between families with and without non-German roots is showing among single parents with just one child: among German families the proportion is around 16%, while only 9% of families with immigrant backgrounds are one-child-single-households. Among single parents with an immigrant background, 8% are single fathers, while the proportion of single fathers without a migration background is just slightly higher with around 11% (BMFSFJ 2016: 17).

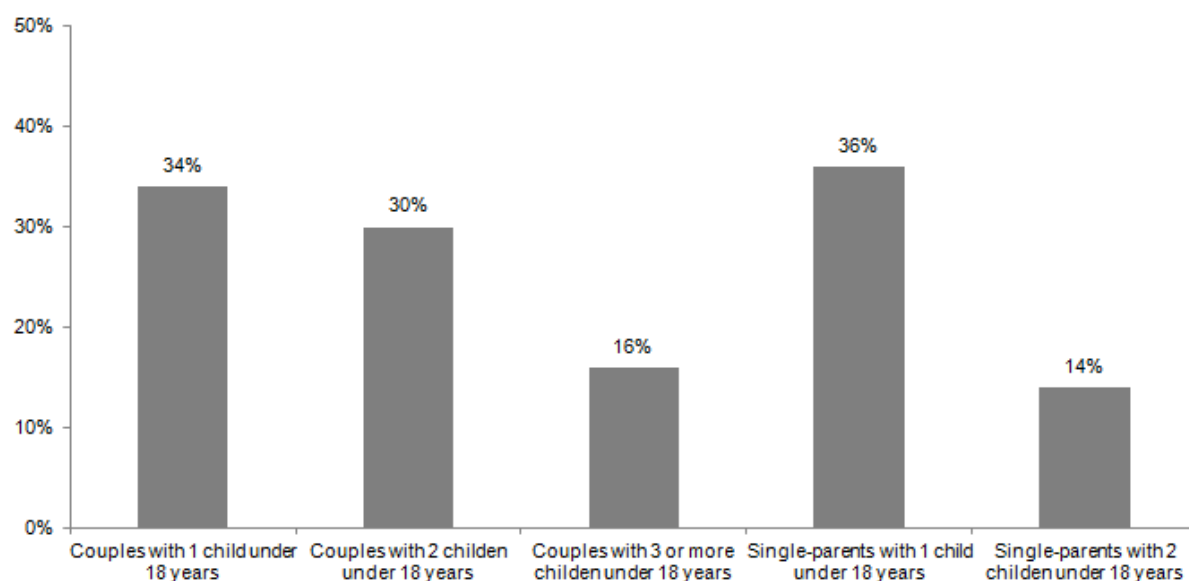
³ Per definition of BMFSFJ, non-German families or families with an immigrant background include cohabiting those in a domestic parent-child households with children under 18 whose at least one parent is a foreign national, was awarded German citizenship by naturalization or repatriates, regardless of whether these individuals have immigrated or were born in Germany.

Graph 5. Immigrant families by family types and number of children in Germany



Source: BMFSFJ 2016: 17, own illustration

Graph 6. Immigrant families by family types and number of children in Austria



Source: Statistik Austria. Mikrozensus-Arbeitskräfteerhebung 2015, own illustration

The Labour Force Survey (*Mikrozensus-Arbeitskräfteerhebung*) provides data of Austrian as well as non-Austrian families living in Austria. The proportion of single-parents with an immigrant background is around 19% among all single parents living in Austria (Statistik Austria. Mikrozensus-Arbeitskräfteerhebung: 71). First generation immigrant mothers make up a proportion of 9%. This indicates that female immigrants are rarely single parents than Austrians, however this is only true for first generation of immigrants. Comparing second

generation of immigrants and non-immigrants, there is no significant difference in the proportion of single mothers (14%).

Research findings on the specific challenges of immigrant families and in particular of single-parent families are hardly to find both in Austria and Germany. However, the existing studies show that many immigrant single-parent families live under precarious conditions and are more reliant on social services and financial support than single-parent families without immigrant background (McLoyd/Ceballo/Borquez 1994; McLoyd 1998; Portes 1997a, 1997b, 2003, Zhou 1997). Another strongly investigated topic is fertility behaviour among first and second generation immigrants. Some studies deal with the question whether second immigrants reduce their fertility and increase their education to adjust to native levels or not. Research results show that while first generation immigrants' fertility is mostly higher compared to natives (Stichnoth/Yeter 2013), this is not true for second generation immigrants. A convergence to natives' fertility behaviour can be observed (Milewski 2010, Stichnoth/Yeter 2013). However, this phenomenon might differ depending on the country of origin of the immigrants as Milewski's cross-European study shows (2011). Turkish second generation females for instance tend to enter parenthood at much earlier ages than natives (Milewski 2011).

Studies indicate that one-parent families have a strong negative impact on the school carrier of children from immigrant families which can be reflected in the disadvantages people with immigrant roots have on the labour market (Boyd/Grieco 1998, Waters et al 2010). However, this disadvantage depends on the immigrant citizenship (Gang/Zimmermann 2000). Furthermore, a significant correlation between nuclear relationships and sharing of human capital has been found by Ravecca (2009), highlighting that the formation of human capital does not depend on the physical presence, but rather on the quality of intergenerational relationships. Studies investigating the impact of nuclear families in which both parents live together have found a positive correlation between this type of family structure and the continuation of the educational career of the child. This is especially true for children from immigrant families (Bader/Fibbi 2012: 16). A familial environment which is based on stability and continuity influence positively the children's concentration at school and therefore supports their learning success (Bader/Fibbi 2012: 16). Several German studies indicate that the educational gap between second generation immigrants and German natives can be explained by parental background (parental education, income, occupation) rather than other factors (Kristen/Granato 2007, Luthra 2010, Gresch/Kristen 2011). Children in immigrant families benefit not only from parental involvement in their education but also from the

involvement of their siblings and relatives (Malecki/Demaray 2003, Schnell/Fibbi/Crul/Montero-Sieburth 2015).

4.3.3. Impact of siblings

Until the beginning of the last century, both the international and national sociological family research as well as the psychological research were hardly aware of the nowadays undisputed importance of sibling relationships. Prior, hierarchically organized vertical relationships such as those between parents and children were considered and examined. More horizontally organized relationships such as relationships between brothers and sisters were either declared as negligible or not even taken into research focus. Relationships between siblings are still uncharted (Mogu rou/Santelli 2015). Research about sibling constellations emphasizes that there are three major factors that characterizes sibling relationships in early childhood (Howe/Recchia 2006: 1ff.). Firstly, sibling interactions are emotionally charged relationships and they are defined by solid, unrestrained emotions of a positive, negative and sometimes even ambivalent quality.

Secondly, intimacy plays a very important role in sibling relations. This intimacy is mainly shaped by the fact that the young siblings spend a lot of time together while playing. As they know each other very well through a long and intimate history, they develop intimate knowledge which they may use for providing emotional and instrumental support for each other. In situations such as plays, everyday situations or even conflicts, they have learned to put themselves in the other person and to understand his/her point of view. A great impact of older children on their younger siblings on their communication and conversation abilities have been found by Howe et al. (2005). Youngsters with older brothers and sisters tend to be more advanced than first-born children concerning their capability of understanding and extending their playmates' ideas. The contribution that older siblings make might be explained by linguistic and cognitive scaffolding (Howe et al. 2005), which becomes visible in behaviour such as direct feedback or linguistic improvement/correction. This is true for both monolingual and multilingual families (Bhimji 2006, Nilep 2009). However, Prime et al. (2014) highlight that even though a high supportive conversational and educational role is ascribed to siblings, this is only true for interactions where one sibling is older as well as he/she is aware of the younger child's cognitive needs. Mogu rou/Santelli/ Primon/Hamel (2013) also show that the number of siblings within a family is a significant variable in regard to the sibling support between each other. Children from immigrant families get less punishment from their parents compared to their peers from the majority population. One

explanation might be the difference in practices of help between siblings in immigrant families (Mogu rou/Santelli/Primon/Hamel (2013).

Thirdly, sibling relationships are characterized by the quality of the relations between sisters and brothers as well as their age. In most cases, there is an age gap between siblings which might have a significant impact on the relationship relating to power constellations and rivalry between the children. In addition to a difficult and conflict-driven relationship between the siblings themselves, this circumstance may also take a huge impact on the parents whose lives might be dominated by an emotionally tense familiar situation.

International research proves that siblings have an important role when it comes to language acquisition, and in particular second language acquisition in immigrant families. Meurs/Puhani/Von Haaren (2015) investigate Turkish second generation immigrants in France and Germany and their educational integration with a focus on the link between family size and educational decisions. One of their major findings is that Turkish second generation immigrants whose older siblings have upper secondary and/or tertiary education, tend to have a higher level of economic and cultural assimilation. Kibler et al. (2016) examine language and literacy practices in Spanish/English bilingual immigrant families in the United States, focusing on young children aged 4 to 6 and their older siblings aged 7 to 10. They conclude that older siblings are *“powerful resources, mediators, and catalysts in Spanish-speaking immigrant homes in that they engage in language and literacy practices through modelling and enacting their expertise with younger siblings”* (Kibler et al. 2016: 71). The way in which language is used between siblings in their everyday life interactions facilitates the younger children's development. On the one hand, the interactions between the siblings support language and literacy practices at home, on the other hand the younger child may already benefit from the older sibling's experiences from school by getting in touch with concepts, structures, and literacy found in classrooms (Kibler et al. 2016). Especially in immigrant families with bilingual or multilingual households it can be observed that younger siblings benefit in a great extend from their older siblings' knowledge and ability in regard to their oral and written language which they have acquired at school or with peers (Rosowsky 2006, Obied 2009). Obied's findings of Portuguese-English bilingual families in Portugal show that older siblings tend to act as mediators of both languages at home and they support their younger sibling's emerging bi-literacy (Obied 2009). Kibler et al. (2016) emphasize that this mediating role of older siblings may have a particularly important role where there is a gap between the school's expectations and the parents' knowledge about them. Older siblings may interact as mediators in such contexts where immigrant parents are less familiar with the school or community requirements. However, Kibler et al. (2016) also

highlight that the pointing and guiding role of a mediator needs to be supported by the parents and does not appear naturally.

Although older children have a significant impact on language acquisition of their younger siblings, language is used in different contexts and its acquisition process might be very heterogeneous. Plus, the influence of parents of second language acquisition is central (Strobel/Seuring 2016). The native language is much more often used with parents than with siblings. It is believed that the use of (first) language with father and mother varies only slightly (Nauck 2009). Based on data analysis of the German *Nationaler Bildungsplan*, Strobel/Seuring (2016) point out that immigrant children are mostly speaking German with their peers. Children with Turkish origin use German in all different contexts more frequently than children of Polish origin and those from the former Soviet Union.

4.4. The mechanism of cultural transmission

The reproduction of human beings takes place through biological transmission on the one hand, and through cultural transmission on the other hand (Berry/Poortinga/Segall/Dasen 2002). The concept of cultural dissemination is supported by Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981) in order to provide a *cultural counterpart* for the concept of genetic (biological) transfer. While genetic transfer refers to the transfer of genetic material from parents to their offspring, cultural transmission operates with the mechanisms of teaching and learning (Kuczynski/Marshall/Schell 1997).

Cultural transmission ensures cultural continuity (Schönpflug 2001, Youniss/Smollar 1985). In sociological literature, three forms of transmission are mentioned most frequently: vertical transmission (transmission from parent to offspring), oblique transmission (transmission from relatives to the younger generation), and horizontal transfer (transmission from one adult to another). Theoretical approaches to cultural tradition assume that these three forms of transmission take place on different levels. However, they may also overlap (Boyd/Richerson 1985, Cavalli-Sforza/Feldman 1981). Furthermore, some researchers distinguish between absolute and selective transfers (Rohan/Zanna 1996), while others differentiate between absolute and relative transmissions (Vermulst/de Brock/an Zutphen 1991). In the past two decades, social research has increasingly focused on the characteristics of reciprocity regarding the three forms of cultural transmission. It has being noted that the child is not only a recipient of the influences of different stakeholders but rather has an active role in these relations (Kuczynski 2003).

Generally, cultural transmission involves two processes: enculturation and socialization. The concept of enculturation refers to the embedding of the individual into their current culture by incorporating specific behavioural patterns in their own behavioural repertoire. Enculturation can be understood as a process through which parents/adults and peers are included in a network of vertical, oblique and horizontal influences. In the case of a successful enculturation, the process results in a *cultural anchor* (Berry/Poortinga/Segall/Dasen 2002), including language, rituals, values, etc.. As opposed to enculturation, socialization is based on accurate education, instructions and a deliberate shaping of the individual in relation to the acquisition of the culturally appropriate behaviour. In sociological literature, the concept of cultural transmission is often discussed in relation to the concept of socialization, where it is conceptualized quite differently. Albert et al. (2007) for instance define cultural transmission as part of socialization, while Segall et al. (1999) regard cultural transmission as an overriding principle which includes among others the process of socialization. Like with many other concepts, different definitions of socialization exist. Based on Gardiner/Kosmitzki (2002), socialization is the process by means of which a person becomes a member of a particular culture and internalizes its values, beliefs and other behaviours. Among other functions, socialization guarantees a dissemination of traditions and values in order to secure the existence of the culture. A central question of the socialization approach is how parents pass on their knowledge to their children (Youniss/Smollar 1985). To find answers to this question, social research focuses on the mechanisms of transmission such as direct instruction, learning model or means of communication.

On a group level (society), the process of cultural transmission predicts the persistence of a culture (Cavalli-Sforza et al. 1982). The extent and degree of the dissemination of knowledge as well as the ways of life of the older generation to the younger generation determines cultural resistance and continuity. Boyd and Richerson (1985) describe mechanisms that are analogical to genetic transmission. They highlight that the probability of transmission increases if the mechanism are identified as particularly useful. Schönplflug (2001) notes that intergenerational congruence typically can be observed best when both similarities and differences are visible.

Cultural transmission can take place through any kind of social learning, observation, imitation, or direct instruction. Literature distinguishes between different ways of transmission while focusing on the question whether the passing-on of values and behaviour happens by indirect experience or due to direct impact. In this context, three theories of intra-familial transmission will be presented, the last of which will be used in the present work as the theoretical approach. Mchitarjan and Reisenzein (2013) see the process of cultural

transmission as a process of interaction between groups. Focusing especially on minorities, they attempt to capture these interactions by generating a general theory of culture transmission. They create a model of group interactions based on the assumption that the interaction between groups can be modelled as an interaction between individuals (Mchitarjan/Reisenzein 2013: 143). Individuals are involved in a cultural transmission situation and the success or failure of their actions depend on three groups of proximate causal factors, which are defined as follows:

- (1) The motives or aims of the actors
- (2) Their conviction of the attainability of these goals through available actions
- (3) The objective situational conditions responsible for the success or failure of the actions

The principal item of this model is the additional assumption that all groups have a culture transmission motif defined as a special appreciation of one's own culture and the implied desire to pass it on to their offspring (Mchitarjan/Reisenzein 2013: 144). This motif is latent and not consciously apparent. The most important activation condition of the subject is the perception or assumption that the transmission of their own culture is at risk.

According to the *spill-over hypothesis*, behaviour within the partnerships has a direct impact on the interaction between parent-and-child transfers (Stroud/Durbin/Wilson/Mendelsohn 2011). Stroud et al. (2011) investigate the interconnections among the marital and the parent-child relationship using the spill-over model. They emphasize that emotions and behavioural patterns typifying the marital relationship bleed into the parent-child relationship to that extent that “*the health of the marriage causally influences parent–child relationship quality*” (Stroud/Durbin/Wilson/Mendelsohn 2011: 919). Highlighting two meta-analytic studies by Erel and Burman (1995) and Krishnakumar and Buehler (2000), they see the validity of the spill-over model confirmed. The second theoretical approach is the theory of *model learning*, described by Bandura (1977), Belsky (1993), Bender and Lösel (1997). Model learning refers adopting learning models through the observation of a specific behaviour. The third theoretical model relevant in this context, *intergenerational transmission*, will be the main theoretical approach of this thesis. Intergenerational transmission is defined as the direct transmission of experiences within the parent-child relationship and/or an interpersonal relationship within the same or to next generation (Markowitz 2001). Understanding the ways of intergenerational transmission may sufficiently explain the transfer of knowledge and skills. Concerning the transmission of values and standards, an additional aspect needs to be considered as the process of transmission can

be only considered completed if the individual has internalized the relevant values and norms (Grusec/Goodnow 1994).

The process of internalization as described by Grusec and Goodnow (1994) is a two-step process. The first step involves the child perceiving a "message" from one of its parents and considering it important. The second step is the acceptance or rejection of this "message" by the child. In order for a successful transmission of value systems or norms to take place, the completion of both steps is critical. The "message" needs to be sent, clarifying at the same time that it is of (considerable) importance. However, if the child does not perceive the parent's attitude correctly and does not accept the message in a second step, the transmission fails. This process can be affected by a multitude of conditions, which can either encourage the child's will to accept the transmission or to obstruct it. Schönpflug (2001: 174ff.) names factors favouring *transmission belts* and assigns them two types of action: On the one hand, parents can moderate the transmission process in order to support the transmission, on the other hand *transmission belts* can serve as a way of sharing transmission contents.

Family structure, environment, socioeconomic post-migration status and the linguistic socialization form the everyday context of the living environment for second generation immigrants in Austria and Germany (Bader/Fibbi 2012: 15). These factors are important conditions for future life, including schooling, career, etc.. They represent not only the context in which they will develop, but also the basis on which they can rely (Bader/Fibbi 2012: 15).

Family as primary socialization agent serves as a mediator between these cultural values and the individual in the transmission process [...]. Apart from that, other socialization agents as school, teachers, peers and the media influence the value orientations of offspring. Thus, a question arises if the transmission process and its results differ depending on the cultural context. More precisely, one may ask to what extent the family transmits its value orientations to the next generation in individualistic compared to collectivist cultures (Albert et al. 2009: 222).

A central question of the socialization approach is how parents pass on their knowledge to their children in order to prepare them for the future (Youniss/Smollar 1985). In order to find an answer to this question, social research focuses on the mechanisms of transmission, such as direct instruction or learning models of communication. Social research traditionally tends to focus on the mechanisms rather than the context of the intergenerational

transmission of values, patterns and actions (Baier/Hadjar 2004: 157). Family, school, peer group and media can be seen as having a primary effect on a young individual. However, the extent of their impact is uncertain. Baier/Hadjar highlight the lack of system theoretical explanations: based on learning concepts, system theorists shift their focus from investigating the contexts to socializing systems (Baier/Hadjar 2004: 157). This development is criticized for including the premise that learning and socialization are not influenced from outside but they follow internal requirements.

Baier and Hadjar (2004) suggest a conjunction of both angles and refer to the theory of social learning of Bandura from the 1970s. Bandura emphasizes that behaviour can be learned through the process of observation and imitation whereby no instruments are used to support the learning behaviour of actors (Bandura 1977). Bandura's social-cognitive theory indicates that behaviour, environmental factors and cognitive, biological and other intra-individual factors influence each other and interact with each other. Bandura refers to this assumption as the *triadic reciprocal determinism* (Bandura 1987). Bandura's observations suggest that by promoting or rewarding and punishing specific behaviour, the probability that this behaviour will be imitated and learned by others increases. In addition, Bandura's research team has found evidence that learning can take place in the absence of either classical or operant conditioning. Children imitate the model's behaviour - in Bandura's experiment aggressive behaviour - in the absence of rewards. The transmission process is therefore a *"two-stage process: The first stage is awareness of the information to be transmitted, and the second is its acceptance"* (Schönpflug 2001: 133).

An individual's process of socialization is marked by the fact that a variety of different social actors are influencing the individual: parents, teachers, peer groups, friends, classmates, and work colleagues. Media as well as institutions likewise have a considerable impact. Although cultural and individual differences have an impact on the influence of role models, it seems quite implausibly that during the socialization process, a child is impacted by only one social actor. Thus, it is more likely that there is a multiplicity of different social (f)actors affecting the socialization of a young human being. Furthermore, a total equity between the transmission contents cannot exist. Albert et al. (2009) emphasize in this context that cultural transmission can be therefore seen as a selective process. Phalet and Schönpflug (2001) highlight that value systems are transferred via a collective rather than a single individual. They conclude that values play an essential role for the consistency of a group. The older generation pays particular attention to passing on their value system to the younger generation while greater significance is attributed to values of higher personal importance (Goodnow 1997).

4.4.1. Intergenerational value transmission within immigrant families

In the last decades, European and international research has been focusing extensively on the social, economic and cultural integration of first generation migrants and their children into the host society. Nevertheless, many questions pertaining to the processes of multigenerational transmission of social, cultural and economic resources as well as values remain unanswered. Another noticeable aspect in this context are the migrant groups researchers are focusing on. In the German-speaking research landscape, the focus is on migrants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia. Polish migrants as well as migrant groups with other heritage are of marginal interest. In addition, researchers tend to compare different migrant groups with each other and with natives. Studies based on a comparison of migrants to those left behind or re-emigrants are rare.

Albert et al. emphasize that there can be culture-specific differences in the degree, content and process of transmission. *“Every culture offers specific developmental niches and socialization practices for the transmission of values”* (Albert et al. 2009: 222). The process of socialization and cultural value transmission can differ depending on the cultural setting as well as the family structures and environment. Depending whether the new cultural setting of the host society is more individualistic or independent, it might impact the cultural values in various ways: while within individual cultures, parents/adults tend to support and encourage their offspring in their individualism, independence and self-expression, and the development of their own independent decisions and autonomy, parents/adults living in collectivist cultures are focusing more on family relationships, parental control and obligations with a small degree of independence (Albert et al. 2009: 222). Furthermore, Albert et al. conclude that in individualistic cultures with a great tendency towards independence support, young generations are exposed to many different influences outside of their families. They are able to discover their social environment and to choose among different models. As a result, this might lead to the fact that their chosen model differs from the model chosen by their parents, and thus a gap between the offspring’s and parent’s orientation might develop more easily. In contrast, in collectivist cultures the adaptation of parental values is highly expected and encouraged (Albert et al. 2009: 222).

Yet, it is not clear whether a specific cultural context promotes or hinders family influences in intergenerational transmission of values. Previous research has provided evidence for the intergenerational transmission of several value orientations from parents to offspring in individualistic as well as collectivist cultures (Boehnke 2001; Georgas 1991; Knafo/Schwartz 2001, 2003; Phaet/Schönpflug 2001; Pinquart/Silbereisen 2004; Schönpflug 2001).

However, studies that compare different socialization contexts concerning value transmission are still rare and mostly refer to immigrants in different cultural contexts and in comparison to the values of their culture of origin (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001; Schönpflug 2001). To conclude, for investigating socialization processes and the transmission of values it is essential to consider the cultural context in which it is taking place (Arnett 1995). So far, the role of the cultural context as transmission belt is not completely clear.

Studies dealing with intergenerational value transmission show that in a discontinuous cultural context characterized by drastic changes, parents tend to neglect the transmission of their own norms and values to their children to a greater extent, assuming that these will not be applicable in the future (Schönpflug 2001, Hadjar/Boehnke/Knafo/Daniel/Musiol/Schiefer/Möllering 2014). With respect to the intergenerational transmission in the context of migration, Nauck (1997, 2001, 2007) has made a significant contribution by shaping the research landscape by investigating the dyadic relationships in immigrant families in Germany in numerous studies. Similar to other research, Nauck focuses on migrants of Turkish origin, however expands his investigation by using persons of Italian and Greek origin as control groups. Nauck notes that relations between generations in immigrant families are characterized by particularly higher motivation and are stronger than in non-migrant families in the society of the countries of origin. By comparing Turkish migrant families abroad with those who have remained in Turkey and do not have migration experience, he shows that the intergenerational transmission is significantly higher in the migrant group: the attitudes of parents and children show more similarities, the orientation and synchronicity of values, norms and behaviour are higher than in the families interviewed in the home country (Nauck 1995). Cultural capital appears to be the most important determinant of the speed and direction for the integration of migrants (Nauck 2007). Intergenerational transmission also has a major impact on the acculturation process in immigrant families: the more the parents feel discriminated against by the receiving society, the more their descendants of the same sex feel being discriminated. And the higher the percentage of intra-ethnic members in the parents' network is, the higher it is within the networks of their children. This consolidation of relations between the generations in immigrant families can be seen as a consequence of adaptation to the minority situation (Nauck 2007).

The intergenerational research focuses on different areas and aspects of value transmission between parents and their offspring, such as the role and importance of mothers and fathers (Boehnke 2001), gender (Rohan/Zanna 1996, Schönpflug 2001) and age (Kohn 1983) of the child. In addition to the biological characteristics of the individuals who are integrated in the

intergenerational process, the relationship of specific biological characteristics is focused on the research. As mentioned above, the relationship between generations in terms of value transfer is often seen as a *transmission belt* (Schönpflug 2001). This relationship can be based on emotional, affirmative, or harmonious characteristics, or on conflicting characteristics of normative commitment. It can be assumed that the transmission is dependent on the respective contents of the transmission. In terms of values, the degree of expression and concreteness of these values and their importance and visibility may vary. These circumstances may have an impact on the parent-child agreement (Jennings/Niemi 1981). Studies on the perception of parental values by the young generation show that this is a strong indicator of the parent-child value transmission (Cashmore/Goodnow 1985, Kerckhoff/Huff 1974). In this type of studies, young people are encouraged to express their own values and to communicate what their parents would respond on the same questions according to their opinion (Cashmore/Goodnow 1985, Gecas/Schwalbe 1986). These answers serve as a basis for comparing the socialization settings of parents and their children (*perceived intergenerational values agreement*). An alternative measuring instrument of intergenerational values transmission is having parents and children report independently about their personal values. The comparison of statements acts as an indicator of the consistency of values between generations (*actual intergenerational values agreement*) (Albert et al. 2007, Boehnke 2001, Gecas/Schwalbe 1986, Schönpflug 2001). In addition, and especially relevant for this thesis, the intergenerational value transmission is taking place in a particular context which is more or less stable and characterized by specific cultural relations. The dynamics of the socio-cultural and historical context represent the conditions for the discrepancy between the generations (Dunham/Bengtson 1986).

4.4.2. State of the art: Value transmission among Polish immigrant families

Due to Polish history of migration, the Polish diaspora is spread globally. Therefore, research about Polish migrants has been carried out all over the world, with the greatest quantity of studies relating to Polish migrants existing in Europe/European Union, the United States and Canada. Furthermore, the research is mainly focused on the labour migration in the last decades, especially since Poland joined the European Union in 2004. As the context of this thesis is Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany, already existing research within the German-speaking landscape as well as Polish studies shall be discussed in more detail.

The Polish migration landscape provides several important studies regarding studies about value transmission within Polish migrant families. In this context, Paweł Boski (2009, 2010, 2012) and his research about Polish values provide the most valuable insights. The goal of

his studies is to demonstrate and explain scenarios of intercultural interactions in terms of empirically-validated constructs (Boski 2012: 3). By making cross-country studies and comparing the Polish culture with other cultures such as the North-American, Canadian, Finish, German and Dutch, he concludes that due to humanist values and a low level of social effectiveness which both characterize Polish culture, preponderance of morality stands over competence in Polish migrant families. Boski sees the strong humanist identity component as being part of the native Polish culture. Furthermore, he highlights that Polish migrants identify with European social effectiveness (Boski 2012: 34). Another important aspect Boski points out is that there is the need to make a distinction between an individual and a culture level of measurement related to values. Referring to Schwartz's approach, Boski distinguishes between values as individual preferences and values as culture descriptors. Concerning humanism, on the individual level, differences between Poles and non-Poles are smaller compared to the differences at culture level attribution (Boski 2012: 35). A comparison of Polish and German culture shows that there are significant differences involving four of the nine dimensions identified in the project GLOBE (Boski 2010). Poland scores higher than Germany in the cultural dimensions *Family collectivism* and *Gender equality*.

Studies about immigrants show that while adapting to the new conditions, norms and principles of social life and language in the country of migration, migrants are confronted with the challenge of trying to preserve elements of their native culture at the same time. Andrzej Kapiszewski (1984) highlights that apart from the enforced necessary acculturation, there exists an indicated acculturation including the adoption of only the most favourable elements for a better adaptation and full acculturation, associated with the adoption of new standards and values. The last type of acculturation should be rejected for pragmatic reasons (Dąbrowa/Markowska-Manista 2011: 58). Studies dealing with Polish emigrants living in Canada and the U.S.A. indicate a strong correlation between the significance of a certain symbol and symbolic identity. In his study, Boski shows that the more personally significant a certain symbol is, the stronger its symbolic identity becomes (Boski 1992). As a conclusion, these results reveal the phenomenon that time has an impact on symbolic identity. The period of emigration and living abroad in a different society influence the symbolic dimension and one's identity. The longer the period of emigration is, the weaker the Polish symbolic identity becomes, and migrants tend to adopt the symbols of the host society. Furthermore, Boski identifies a great discrepancy and distance between significance of symbols and cultural identification among the second generation of Polish immigrants (Boski 1992).

Boski's research on humanism in the culture and mentality of Poles can be taken as one major source when it comes to the social discussion about cultural femininity in Poland (Boski 1999a, 1999b). Boski defines the cultural reality of God as a "*historically shaped record of social mentality*" (1999a). His interest focuses thus both on subjective culture within the meaning of Triandis (1972), and on those elements of culture which reflect the objective activity of the symbolic and cognitive in the cultural area. Based on an analysis of the current knowledge on the cultural dimension of masculinity and femininity in the Polish culture, Boski notes a small internal consistency of this construct and proposes two distinct dimensions of the meaning of cultural "masculinity-femininity". The first dimension relates to the two opposite types of preferred values in society and defines "masculinity" as "*oriented professional success motivation achievement*", while "femininity" is defined as "*the primacy of harmony and interpersonal relations.*" The second dimension indicates a degree of existing cultural differences between male and female gender roles (Borowiak/Szarota 2000: 262). Trying to resolve the controversial concept, Boski transfers the attention from the intercultural level to a local Polish cultural level and the analysis of its basic canons of moral, literary, historical terms defined as "cultural femininity". Boski presents a list of cultural facts which provide his view of native culture of femininity (Borowiak/Szarota 2000: 262):

- (1) The existence of strong cult symbols: Polish women in Catholicism: Mother of God as a symbol and "the Queen of Poland"
- (2) Functional stereotype of the Polish Mother with a positive connotation in the public mind: ready to sacrifice herself, heroic
- (3) Courtesy standards towards women derived from the traditions of chivalry
- (4) The weakness or absence of male models. The prototype literary characters created by national poets are weak and neurotic or unable to act
- (5) Existing literature in Polish language composed of strong and varied emotional expressions with a large number of diminutives which is consistent with the principle of "small is beautiful" mentioned by Hofstede as one of the traits of femininity (Borowiak/Szarota 2000: 262).

Boski's comparative studies carried out on samples of Poles, Americans and among immigrants of Polish origin living in the USA and Canada (Boski 1994) confirm the assumption that humanism can be seen as a central dimension in the normative Polish

culture, with characteristics consistent with femininity defined as "*Prioritizing close contact with people and the sensitivity and attention to the welfare of others*" (Boski, 1999a).

Lewandowska (2008) conducted a study investigating how cultural identity of the second generation of Poles in Great Britain is structured. Furthermore, she analyzed and verified the cultural model of acculturation (Lewandowska 2008: 221). Lewandowska's research results show that cultural identity of British Poles is more British in its symbolic aspect and more Polish in its value-correlative aspect which leads Lewandowska to the conclusion that the lack of permanent contact with symbols of the culture of origin might cause this phenomenon (Lewandowska 2008: 221). Furthermore, family home plays a very important role in the cultural identity of British Poles. „*It is perceived as an exclusive island on exile*“ (Lewandowska 2008: 221). "Family home" is defined as an important capacious category which constitutes the system of values for British Poles. Lewandowska identifies a tendency to idealize and positively value everything that is seen as Polish, even elements which objectively speaking are connoted negatively.

In contrast to the Polish research landscape, in recent years, studies about the Polish population in Austria and Germany receive less attention. The focus continues to be on those groups that have immigrated as guest workers to Austria and Germany, as well as their parents/grandparents. Polish immigrants are examined within the framework of annual surveys, presenting facts and figures on issues such as immigration, language and education of migrants, the labour market as well as the identification of ethnic minorities. In contrast to the Austrian landscape, the German research landscape provides a greater quantity and variety of studies on Polish immigrant families, however when it comes to studies about value transmission within Polish migrant families the situation is similar to Austria, with no specific literature and research existing to date. Several studies focusing on different migrants and intergenerational values can be used as a source material, such as for instance Schönpflug's cross-country study (2008) which shows that in Poland, mothers appear to have a stronger influence on their children than fathers, and children seem to have less influence on their parents (Schönpflug 2008: 214). Also in this context, the European value survey can be named as a valuable source.

4.5. Transcultural identity among immigrants

4.5.1. Identity construction

Today, social sciences use the term “*identity*” which was coined originally by Sigmund Freud in the field of psychoanalysis, and has been further developed by Erik Erikson into a theoretical concept of “ego-identity”. Erikson understands the construction of identity from a conflict perspective and regards it as a development in stages that continues until an inner core is formed (Erikson 1964: 86). The interactionist symbolism underlines the relevance of the social dimension of identity and claims that the construction of identity is possible solely through the interactions with others (Goffman 1967) since both the self-perception and the perception by others are equally important for the development process of an individual’s identity. The two-phase division proposed by G. H. Mead is linked to the role concept similar to theatre roles, and emphasizes that identity can be formed in the social process (Mead 1978: 217). Both the process of becoming aware of one’s own identity as well as the process of shaping one’s identity are socially formed. Mead emphasizes two stages in the development of identity: *Me* and *I*. *Me* is the perception of one’s own self as the organized group of attitudes of others. One’s own self does not consist only of this *Me*, otherwise neither individual differences between humans, nor spontaneous actions or social innovations would be possible. In addition, there is an unpredictable factor of the self: the *I*, which can be defined as the respective response to these attitudes (Mead 1978: 324).

Based on the Erikson’s model, James E. Marcia develops four types of identity status: *Identity achievement*, *Moratorium*, *Foreclosure*, and *Identity diffusion* (Müller 2009: 29). *Identity achievement* expresses a successful identity including a clear life plan, own moral values, a well-established self-esteem, the capacity for intimacy and self-dependent thinking (Müller 2009: 29). The stage of *Moratorium*, which can be interpreted as an exploratory phase during adolescence when young individuals deal with moral questions concerning values and intimate relationships, leads ideally to the successful development of an identity. In contrast, if the process of identity development fails, *Identity diffusion* occurs, defined as a lack of feeling a sense of identity, commitment and determination. Lastly, *Foreclosure* is gaining importance in the context of intergenerational transmission of values and norms as it describes the stage of an individual holding an identity, however without having gone through the process of developing said identity in the course of their life circle. In many cases, parents and their impact on their offspring promote the acquisition of a prefabricated identity. In the context of intergenerational value transmission within immigrant families, an analogous process may occur when parents worry about losing their function as their

children's role models in the receiving society. In this case, they might tend to make even a greater effort to transmit their cultural values, traditions, customs etc. to their offspring than they would do without having migration experience. Parents then risk hamper their children process of developing their identity and completing it successfully. The term "successful" is understood in the sense of Marcia's concept of four types of identity status where *Identity achievement* leads to a successful identity.

New theoretical approaches emphasize that the construction of identity is not a development in successive stages concluded by the formation of an inner core, but rather an active process which takes place within an individual and which is based on a process of negotiations between the subject with its social environment. Identity is formed by means of *self-narration (Selbstnarration)* (Kreher 2016: 174). The narrative structures, however, are not pure self-creations of the individual but are set in the social community. They are also not stable but change under the influence of social negotiation processes (Kreher 2016: 174). When it comes to multiple cultural experiences as is the case in international migration, scholars from different disciplines examine the questions how these experiences are integrated into the immigrants' identity forming process, focusing in particular on second generation immigrants and the impact of a multiple cultural environment. The modern socio-psychological concept of identity is based on a dynamic, diverse and self-open concept. "*Today it is commonplace in social psychology to think of identity as the processual and never-ending task of each person*" (Spreckels/Kotthoff 2007: 416). This concept of identity is also applied in the present work. Identity is not a condition an individual reaches and that is subsequently static, but is an on-going, self-reflected, circular process with no final ending. In case of migration, an individual is faced with a variety of new concepts of identity. Thus, migration may be seen as an important turning point in life as it challenges the individual to reflect both his own identity and the new cultural context(s).

Having discussed identity, I would like to refer to the meaning of values regarding an (ethnic) identity. As mentioned above, values are understood as the hard core of culture (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 187) and as the core task for culture maintenance and culture change as well as the hard core of one's identity (Schönpflug 2001: 175). Values provide standards for human conduct and therefore regulate the daily behaviour as well as important and critical life decisions (Schönpflug 2001: 175). Values control the self-presentation related to others and form the basis for the self-assessment on the one hand, and foreign judgment on the other (Lisbach 1999: 22). Thus, each culture has value systems, and each individual develops his/her own value set. This development is each individual's biological need as values are important for maintaining interpersonal requirements of social interactions and

demands of social institutions for group welfare and survival (Schwartz/Bilsky 1994: 164). Against the background of the essential biological and social need of values as well as the context of investigating intergenerational value transmission in Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany, the question arises what impact international migration has on family relationships as measured on parent-child-dyadic value similarity. Based on previous findings highlighting that relations between the generations in immigrant families are particularly highly motivated and thus intergenerational value transmission is significantly higher in immigrant families living in Austria/Germany compared to families without migration experience – and even related to the third generation of (Polish) immigrants (see Boski et al. 1992, Nauck 1995, 2007) – I assume that immigration conditions influence positively intergenerational value transmission. Therefore parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany is stronger than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland without any migration experience (*hypothesis 1*).

Family is recognized as a primary source of values, however other factors (parenting style, social environment, peers, siblings, institutions, etc.) may affect the extent to which parental values being transmitted within family. Although during adolescence values received in childhood may become less important, I believe that the early internalized values (*primary habitus*) are a fixed component of identity. These values form the basis of the (ethnic) identity of second generation of (Polish) immigrants, and only a drastic intervention of external factors can cause this identity and the accompanied value system to totter. It is further believed that an (ethnic) identity can be formed by the influence of more than one factor. Second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany have grown up under the influence of two cultures and have developed a transcultural identity. The internalization of both cultural settings have been done through early socialization by family, institutions and peers. The adaptation to both cultures and to switch between them is one of their abilities. A decoupling of the transcultural identity from the civic and territorial determination takes place (see Spreckels/Kotthoff 2007, Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015, Kannengießer 2012). It is assumed that among the second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany a transcultural identity is present while among their parents the sense of belonging to Poland is stronger and therefore a monocultural identity exists (*hypothesis 4*).

4.5.2. Hybridity

Theories on cultural hybridization proposed by various disciplines question how cultural identities are formed and how cultures differ from each other. Hybridization is understood as

an interaction process of multiple identities, but also as the creation of something new. Homi K. Bhabha's concept of hybridity distances itself from other concepts such as creolization as a pure mixing and matching of cultures or a reproduction of cultures (Bhabha 2000: 241). With his concept of *cultural difference* Bhabha represents a new conceptualization of identity forming which goes beyond the national-territorial determinism and cultural representation (Bhabha 2000: 105). He claims that while the two groups of people of foreign origin living in the mainstream society in West-European urban centres – immigrants on the one hand and refugees on the other – share the same territory, they live in different *cultural time* (Bhabha 2000: 341). Bhabha builds his theoretical approach of *beyond* on a *third space* (*in-betweenness*) and on the thereon based hybridization due to migration experiences. Belonging, home and identity are no longer bound locally but set *in-between* where different cultures, languages, and discourses interact with each other without any breaks and formation of anything.

4.5.3. Biculturalism

The concept of *biculturalism* centres on the process of development of an individual's identity in two cultures, including the ability to speak two languages fluently and/or to behave in two different cultural settings. In international research the idea prevails that individuals who are shaped by two cultures are challenged by adopting “*different sets of cultural demands and messages, conflicting interpersonal expectations, and the potential threats of minority status and discrimination*” (Benet-Martínez/Leu/Lee/Morris 2002: 495). However, similar to the term *culture* (see chapter 3.1.), *biculturalism* is not so easy to define. The term refers to the fact that two cultures are present in an individual's life and two different cultural influences affect it. However, the term itself does not yet give any insight into the respective concrete form and degree of importance of the two cultures in the individual's life. Furthermore, the term refers to both individuals and their migration situation as well as the second generation of immigrants. Within the same dimensions, both first generation immigrants and second generation immigrants who do not have any personal migration experiences but only the bicultural connection conveyed by their parents may develop a strong bicultural identity. Various cultural orientation systems, two languages, different values and standards come into play, and the second generation of immigrants internalizes the two cultures through early socialization by family, institutions and peers.

Two perceptions prevail in international biculturalism research. The first is the consideration of *biculturals*, individuals who have grown up under the influence of two dominant cultures and have succeeded in developing a compatible bicultural identity (Benet-Martínez/

Leu/Lee/Morris 2002: 495). The internalization of both cultural settings happened through early socialization by the individual's family and peers as well as institutions. Biculturals possess the ability to adapt to both cultures and to switch between them depending on the situation. Studies indicate a significant correlation between high levels of identification with the mainstream culture and of language fluency and the degree of the individuals' subjective perceptions of managing dual cultural identities (Chen/Benet-Martínez/Bond 2008: 808). By contrast, the second perception considers two cultural settings as too different to be compatible. The gap between mainstream culture and minority culture might lead to an internal conflict which maintains a divergence of these two cultural identities. Studies highlight that not only immigrants with a relatively short period of contact with a new cultural setting might be affected by this inner bicultural conflict but also second generation immigrants (Benet-Martínez/Leu/Lee/Morris 2002: 495).

However, due to new migration and family models, individuals are shaped by multiple cultural experiences and heritage. The globally cross-linked and internationally connected world does no longer fit the concept of biculturalism very well when explaining the formation of cultural identities (Vauclair/Klecha/Milagre/Duque 2014: 20). New transnational and transcultural family models have replaced the previous understanding of national-borders-families and parents have become transcultural guardians raising their children in a mixed and diverse cultural context.

4.5.4. Transculturalism

Transculturality or *transculturalism* is not the in-between or the juxtaposition of cultures but the going beyond the cultural and the *transboundary* (Domenig 2007: 172). Transculturalism refers to both the social macro level and the individual micro level in which an individual is imbedded. In terms of the formation of a transcultural identity, a variety of elements from different origins interact with each other, and a decoupling of the transcultural identity from the civic and territorial anchor takes place (Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015: 192).

It is important to differentiate between transculturality and related terms such as *multiculture* or *interculture*. While *multiculture* refers to conditions within societies and *interculture* maintains the relationships between different cultural societies, transculturality refers to a cultural understanding beyond closed container spaces (Göhlich 2006: 2). According to Welsch, the concepts of national cultures are no longer compatible within the understanding of a globalized, complex world. Cultures are characterized by an internal pluralism of different possible identities while showing external border contours, whereby the relevance

of their conventional stocks decreases considerably. Transculturality occurs not only on the social macro level but also the individual micro level (Welsch 2009: 5). Today's culture can no longer be considered in isolation, but must be seen as transcultural (Welsch 1994: 10) as a mixing of cultures is happening due to the hybridization of individual cultures. Welsch bases his thesis on the increase of both migration processes and forms of globalization (Welsch 1994: 11). His concept of transculturality is based on Wittgenstein's critical concept defining culture as shared life practice (Göhlich 2006: 3), and can be seen as a middle ground between the monoculturalism and multiculturalism, between the generalization of values and norms and insular cultures.

Welsch's approach of transculturality is an attempt to create an innovative model highlighting the globally connected and culturally structured world in which the hybridization of cultures takes place. The main characteristics of Welsch's model are *hyper-monadization* (*Hyper-Monadisierung*), *life forms* (*Lebensformen*) and *cross-culture*.

1) *Hyper-monadization* describes mutual cultural rapprochement. Each culture incorporates new characteristics from the other culture and modifies them. Any cultural restrictions are lifted.

2) *Life forms* refer to certain professions, e.g. managers or construction workers. These life forms have lost their unique cultural-national character. Instead, subcultures exist in everyday life, forming transcultural moments. The transculturality model treats the lives of all managers in all cultural circles as equivalent, as it does the lives of all construction workers. The distinction is not made at the level of culture but between the subcultures.

3) *Cross-culture* can be defined as the attempt to unite all individual cultures into one large, universal culture, which is the opposite of the static – and according to Welsch, failed – multiculturalism.

Transculturality is a cultural acquisition process that runs in a space criss-crossed by power structures (Kannengießer 2012: 27). Culture and cultural identity are created in demarcation of others' social actors. Immigrants find themselves in a unique position as they are confronted with a new (cultural) environment. Due to the local change, immigrants might tend to form an identity marked by being culturally different and a hybrid identity in the sense of cultural mixing and differential design (Kannengießer 2012: 27). The concept of *transdifference* accents the aspect of difference and aims at maintaining differences.

Transdifference approaches distance referring to the concept of a cultural synthesis but deconstructs the production of cultural differences and the dualisms of these constructions (Lösch 2005: 26). Thus, migrants may appropriate or reject other cultures, whereby their own cultural identity becomes transcultural. Vauclair/Klecha/ Milagre/Duque (2014) refer to a more recent study examined by Lücke et al. (2013), in which the findings indicate that the experience of multiculturalism may result in the internal representation of multiple cultural systems of meaning. According to the authors, there are five cognitive patterns: *compartmentalization* (separate cultural cognitions), *integration* (interconnected cultural cognitions), *inclusion* (enhanced home culture cognitions with added foreign culture elements), *convergence* (merged cultural cognitions consisting of overlapping schemas), and *generalization* (new cultural cognitions of meta-cultural schemas) (Vauclair/Klecha/ Milagre/Duque 2014: 16). The cognitive pattern of *generalization* corresponds extensively with the concept of transculturality as it refers to the forming of new cultural cognitions. Generalization takes place by means of a learning process from a variety of different cultures and the active and self-initiated production of innovative cultural content (Vauclair/Klecha/Milagre/Duque 2014: 16). Meta-cognitions may be formed, enabling individuals to operate across and understand different cultural contexts.

When it comes to second generation immigrants, studies have shown that cross-border movements shape biographical reconstructions and are considered to be positive opportunities (Apitzsch/Siouti 2007: 17). In her study, Siouti (2003, 2007) investigates second generation Greek immigrants and their school performance as well as their educational careers. According to her findings, no significant correlation could be found between the experiences of living in two societies and cultures during childhood and schooldays (experience of *commuter migration*) and failure at school and labor market. On the contrary, Siouti emphasizes that being able to attend school in two different countries and to get to know two different school systems can be defined as a *biographical resource*. Second generation immigrants can activate this resource and use it to succeed both at school and in other social environments (Apitzsch/Siouti 2007: 17). Referring to Bourdieu, this *biographical resource* can be also understood as *cultural capital* which one acquires in early childhood and can be used to advantage (Bourdieu 1986: 241). Besides others, language and the ability to speak at least two languages can be named as part of this biographical and cultural resource.

4.6. Excurs: Language

Language is a fundamental good and crucial for the development of an identity. Especially for the identity of social groups, their common language plays an important role. Esser (2006: 8) points out that three special functions/motives can be assigned to language: firstly, it is a valuable resource which may help to obtain other resources. Thus, language is part of the human capital. Secondly, it is a symbol expressing and labelling objects, conceptualizing inner states, transporting requests and defining situations. Stereotypes about the speaker are connected to these functions, and so does the possibility of the speaker being discriminated against due to his accent or flawed pronunciation. Thirdly, language is a medium of communication, and secures coordination and understanding (Esser 2006: 8). Using the example of nations, it is assumed that its members identify with the mainstream society or community through a common mother tongue. The idea that territorial nations are held together by a common language has been present for a long time; however, in a globalized and interconnected world where international migration has become widespread, new ways of attaching importance to the process of identity formation and identity preservation need to be considered.

The author assumes that individual bilingualism and multilingualism represent human linguistic characteristics. Thus, language skills and their usage are connected to an individual's life circle and living conditions. However, there is no general agreement within international migration and sociolinguistic research on how to define bilingualism and multilingualism. Thus, a variety of different approaches and theories exist and partly contradict each other. In general, two main groups can be distinguished: on the one hand, children from interethnic marriages whose parents have different first languages (L1), on the other hand, immigrants and their children who learn both their first language (L1) and a second language (L2) which dominates the host country. Moreover, in many studies including the PISA and OECD studies, bilingualism is regarded as a disadvantaging factor in second generation immigrants' education despite the available data not supporting a causal connection. A more detailed examination of the function of bilingualism and its potential role for the process of developing identity is therefore necessary and is provided hereinafter.

4.6.1. Definition of terms

A general definition of the phenomenon of bilingualism as well as its synonym terms such as *bilinguality*, *multilingualism* or *multilingualiy* is missing from scientific literature. The multitude of and general disagreement on definitions is caused by the fact that individual scientific

disciplines focus on different areas and evaluate them using different criteria when dealing with bilingualism. Psychology, linguistics, psycholinguistics as well as socio-linguistic and sociology all define the language skills of bilingual individuals in a different way, and attribute different functions and different importance to language. Furthermore, an ambivalent attitude towards migration-related bilingualism can be observed in the research. On the one hand, assimilation and integration approaches see bilingualism skeptically as they promote faster integration and regard learning the language dominant in the host country a positive intensifier of the integration process. On the other hand, especially more recent approaches highlight the very positive impact bilingualism can have and identify it as valuable resource for immigrants.

The term *second language* (L2) refers to any language which has been acquired additionally to the *first language* (L1). Second language acquisition can be defined as a “*collective term for acquiring a language, the simultaneous or consecutive accomplished the basic language acquisition*” (Bausch/Kasper 1979: 3). Bilingualism can be understood as both the simultaneous acquisition of two languages and successive, gradual language acquisition (Peltzer-Karpf/Zangl1998). However, in general it is more common within international research of second language acquisition to use the term *second language* for a language acquired after the acquisition process of the first language has been completed (Ellis 2008, Oksaar 2003). This definition does not include speakers who learn two languages simultaneously. Furthermore, there is no clarity about when the process of the acquisition of the first language is considered to be completed.

According to McLaughlin (1984), *simultaneous acquisition* of two languages is present if the acquisition of the second language starts before the child completes its third life age, while a *consecutive* or *successive acquisition* is present if the second language acquisition begins after the age of three years. Within the German-speaking landscape, simultaneous language acquisition often also refers to the term *double first language acquisition* (Tracy/Gawlitzek-Maiwald 1996). The distinction between simultaneous and successive second language acquisition is based on the assumption that within a successive second language acquisition process other processes are involved. However, there is a lack of clarity regarding these terms. Consecutive language acquisition refers to second language acquisition taking place after the first language acquisition has been completed. Again, there is uncertainty when the process of language acquisition can be defined as such.

Likewise, the concept of successive second language acquisition remains partially unclear. It involves the idea that second language acquisition successes gradually, however, first

language acquisition and the simultaneous acquisition of two languages also happens gradually. Nevertheless, all approaches share the assumption that second language acquisition is an on-going process taking many years, and not all individuals are able to reach the same skill level regarding their second language as they possess in regard to their first language. The phenomenon of *fossilization* (Oksaar 2003: 26) describes the stopping of language skill development at specific stages. It can be observed most often in adult language learners, however can occur also in younger ones. “*Fossilized forms persist despite error correction, explicit grammatical explanation or instruction and even if they become eliminated, they are likely to reappear in spontaneous production, a phenomenon known as backsliding.*” (Mystkowska-Wiertelak/Pawlak 2012: 34). *Backsliding* refers to an interaction system of external factors (communicative pressure, lack of learning opportunity or feedback), and internal factors (age, genitive material), which may reinforce the recurrence of incorrect forms (Mystkowska-Wiertelak/Pawlak 2012: 34).

These approaches can be summarized under the term *plateau model* as they are linked to the linguistic understanding that a language acquisition process is complete at a certain point in the life of an individual. However, these models ignore the function of language as communicator and identity-donor. The *permanence model* (Fiehler 2002: 500) defines these characteristics and functions of language and regards it as something more than just a system of vocabulary and grammatical rules. Language proficiency includes all rules necessary to communicate in different situations. Thus, within this study, it is assumed that language acquisition is understood as a life-long process. This assumption is supported by the theory that bilingual or multilingual individuals have the ability to switch between languages in most situations if necessary (Oksaar 2003: 31). The terms *source language* and *family language* also fall into this category as these two concepts are often used synonymously in language teaching (Lüttenberg 2010: 306). Other linguistic phenomena, such as *code-switching* and *code-mixing* as well as *pidgin languages* and *creoles* can be named as relatively frequent occurrences within immigrant families. Languages mixtures used by first generation immigrants do not correspond with the respective standard languages in the countries of origin. They differ in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary not only from the standard language, but also from how the standard language is used in their home countries (Lüttenberg 2010: 306). The terms *code-switching* and *code-mixing* refer to bi-/multilingual individuals who have the resources of two or more languages at their disposition. When in contact with others who share the same resources, they may activate all languages in order to communicate. Code-switching is the “*utilization of language resources in multilinguals’ speech*” (Lowi 2005: 1393). Immigrants might use code-switching not only to communicate but also as a tool to “*establish, maintain and delineate ethnic*

boundaries and identities” (Lowi 2005: 1393). Code-switching may shape the multilingual, multi-cultural and ethnic identities of the bilingual/multilingual speakers (Papalexakis/ Nguyen/Dogruoz 2014: 42).

When discussing second language acquisition theories, socio-linguistic approaches need to be highlighted as they focus on the second language acquisition process of those who are a minority in a social environment, e.g. immigrants. They make a significant contribution to the research about transcultural identities and transnational migration movements as they underline the fact that second language acquisition is influenced by a multitude of external social parameters. Being bilingual/multilingual is a complex phenomenon, and its investigation need to focus not solely on an individual's linguistic and biological/genetic dispositions but must also include social factors such as interpersonal contacts, interactions with the dominant culture or individual experiences. Thus, the goal of second language acquisition is not only the acquisition of the second language itself but also the achievement of *intercultural communication* and *cultural awareness* (Oksaar 2003: 36). In this context, Oksaar mentions the term *cultreme*, which can be identified as abstract entities of social contacts realized in different communicative acts and conditioned on specific social factors as such gender, age, or status (Oksaar 2003: 39). Culturemes convey information via nonverbal, verbal and paraverbal patterns which intervene in the process of language acquisition and may support but also impede it (Oksaar 2003: 39).

4.6.2. Migration-related bilingualism in Austria and Germany

Considering the specific linguistic situation of immigrants, and those of second (and third) generation immigrants, in most cases only two individual languages define their daily lives. This migration-related bilingualism requires special consideration as immigrants represent a specific group within society. Lüttenberg (2010: 303) defines *identity based bilingualism* as the aspect of self-identification of bilinguals emphasized by two languages. The sociological concept of migration is relegated to a secondary position as it is not always connected to bilingualism and multilingualism. Furthermore, Lüttenberg (2010: 304) points out that bilingualism or multilingualism does not only mean being able to communicate in two or more languages but rather being able to identify with a language and its cultural context. Transnational migration has resulted in the creation of new social and economic networks for individuals, but has also led to a double anchoring in language (Lüttenberg 2010: 305).

The linguistic situation of second generation immigrants in Germany and Austria is mainly characterized by a social and political debate about bilingualism and multilingualism. Both

bilingualism and multilingualism are often not understood as conserving and promoting identity but as negatively affecting monolingualism, propagated through assimilation. This approach ignores the right of developing multilingualism and fails to recognize the importance and meaning which the mastery of the first language (L1) might have for the acquisition of a second language (L2) as well as the impact the first language (L1) might have on the identity development process. The classic assimilation approach focuses on the intergenerational integration of immigrants through language skills, investigating in particular the processes and conditions for the successful acquisition of competent second language proficiency. Linguistic competence is then often seen as a specific form of learning which can be supported by motivation of learning, opportunities of learning, basic ability of learning, and economic factors (Esser 2006: 11). First language acquisition (L1) happens as an uncontrolled and passive experiences rather than as a product of activities reinforcing structures and motivation. However, language acquisition can also be actively and intentionally learned, and is therefore seen as the result of an active action and intentional investment (Esser 2006: 11). Second language acquisition is a complex process influenced by many factors (Carhill et. al. 2008). Regarding family biographies and the context of the migration experience, the classic assimilation approach identifies empirical conditions for L2 acquisition as follows: motives of immigration and stay in the host country, length of stay, age at immigration, and education level, both in the country of origin and in the host country (Esser 2006: 11). These parameters can be summarized as an individual's *cultural capital* (see above). Furthermore, the subjective intrinsic value of a language and the individual's intelligence are subjective factors influencing L2 acquisition.

Dustmann and van Soest (2001) take into account potential misclassification in self-reported language proficiency, while Danzer and Yaman (2010) analyze German language proficiency as a function of enclave density. Other existing migration literature investigating aspects of language proficiency focuses mainly on the economics of language, in particular its determinants and consequences for immigrants. Studies have shown that linguistic barriers have a serious impact on the integration process of the immigrants in general and in the labour market in particular. A significant positive correlation between good language skills and immigrants' integration in the host labour market can be found (Bleakley/Chin 2010, Chiswick/Miller 2010, Aldasheva/Gernandta/Thomsen 2008, Dustmann/Fabbri 2003). Furthermore, Chiswick (2008) highlights that the (1) *exposure*, meaning not being married or living in an enclave before migration, (2) *efficiency*, defined by young age and high professional skill level, and (3) economic incentives, such as the intension of staying abroad, correlate positively with the language acquisition of an immigrant (Chiswick 2008: 4-5). However, the integration discourse in Europe is dominated by fragmentary discourses, and

the immigrants' resources of *cultural capital*, their adaptation services and the status of their establishment in the host society are often underestimated. Apart from the connection between language and the labour market, international research focuses on the link between language and education. Significant correlation have been found between language skills and the school performance of young immigrants (Esser 2006, Siegert 2008, Krumm 2008) and adult immigrants (Haug 2008) as well as the labour market integration in the host country including wages, employment status, occupational choice, and location choice (Esser 2006, Chiswick/Miller 2010).

Still, the influence of characteristics related to the country of origin, such as the linguistic distance faced by immigrants, remains an under-researched area. Specific aspects such as the influence of characteristics related to the country of origin or the linguistic distance between the country of origin and the host country have not yet been sufficiently investigated. One of the reasons why language and language acquisition in a migration and transcultural context has not been researched as thoroughly as many other aspects of migration is the fact that scholars are facing the challenge of how to operationalize linguistic distance or language skills (Isphording/Otten 2014: 3). International research offers a variety of different approaches to and methods of measuring linguistic distance and comparing linguistic and non-linguistic approaches, however the importance of the subject of language acquisition by immigrants and its consequences vary within the social scientific disciplines. Furthermore, there is still no consensus about the impact of multilingualism on immigrants and their integration into the host country. While some scholars tend to see multilingualism as advantageous for the process of forming one's identity, others disagree. Thus, the relationship between language, multilingualism and identity forming in the context of migration become an interesting and complex field with a lot of potential for future research.

Regarding second immigrant generation, it could be observed that parental influence on second language learning has a great impact: the parents' sociocultural and educational backgrounds are often linked to their children's attitudes about learning a second language as well as to their success as second language learners. For many first generation immigrants it is highly important that their children (second generation immigrants) develop sufficient proficiency in the host society's language in order to be able to fully participate in an academic context (Carhill/Orozco/Paez 2008). Brizic's investigations underline the influence of the linguistic situation of immigrant parents on the linguistic starting point and the language identity of their children (Brizic 2007: 185). Based on her *language-capital model*, Brizic concludes that the political-social level seems to have a greater impact on a regional scale and over generations, even if there is such a drastic life event as migration

(Brizic 2007: 186). She further concludes that this influence is not limited to one language, but can be demonstrated for each language that the parents brought with them (Brizic 2007: 185). Thus, (second) language acquisition is strongly influenced by social and situational factors. Particularly in the case of immigrants, there is no linear competence building as intergenerational transmission as well as individual dispositions, attitudes to languages and language contacts intervene with each other. This is especially true for immigrants who are switching between different communication spaces, resulting in a development of extremely different and dynamic language identities. Studies prove that children from immigrant families tend to adopt the language of the host country faster and easier than their parents and that they strengthen their communication skills through interaction with their peers outside the family (Alba et al. 2002, Haug 2008, Nauck 2007, Nauck 2009, Gärtig et al. 2011). Other studies highlight the fact that they tend to intensively use and prefer the locally dominant language while ascribing a subordinate status to their language of origin (Dietz 2000, 2006). A study by Pallier (2007) shows similar results: under the influence of a strong second language, the acquired first language can disappear entirely under extreme circumstances if the contact with the dominant second language begins before the onset of puberty.

Apart from peers and parents, siblings have a great impact on the (second) language acquisition on their younger brothers/sisters. In bilingual or multilingual immigrant families younger siblings benefit from their older siblings' knowledge and ability in regard to their oral and written language skills which they have already acquired at school and/or from contact with other peers (Rosowsky 2006, Obied 2009). Older siblings often act as resources and mediators concerning language and literacy practices (Kibler et al. 2016: 71). Furthermore, media consumption can be seen as another important source of language acquisition. However, research shows that there is a strong complementary use of both languages (Simon/Neuwöhner 2011, Worbs 2010, Strobel/Seuring 2016). A comparison between groups of immigrants of different origin living in Germany detects that teens and adults with Turkish roots use L1 increasingly across all contexts, while this applies only in few cases to people with Polish origin for instance (Nauck 2007, Haug 2008, Nauck 2009, Worbs 2010, Gostomski 2010). Results based on a small quantitative study about people with Polish roots conducted in Vienna show that young immigrants consume German/Austrian media more often than Polish media while among the older generation the consumption of Polish and/ or German/Austrian media is relatively balanced (Scharmüller 2011). No correlation could be found between the increased interest in the reporting about a country and the language of news consumption. However, the older generation who predominantly consumes Polish

television frequently feels at home more in Poland, spends more time in Poland and would tend to return to Poland (Scharmüller 2011).

However, we still do not know enough about the processes related to this type of migration. Especially transmigration is closely associated with the concept of identity-related bilingualism/multilingualism as it involves not only the ability of good communication skills in each of the used languages but also self-identification with any of these languages. Studies show that immigrants do not give up their first language, no matter the duration of their stay in the host country. Instead, in most cases, they are forced to learn a new language. Thus, immigrants become multilingualists (Lüttenberg 2010: 306). For second generation immigrants this phenomenon may be even more true.

Newer approaches within migration research highlight the symbolic and identitarian dimensions of multilingualism. Investigations and classifications of language contact within transcultural contexts are increasingly recognizing the multilingual resources in both the linguistic behaviour of the speakers and the discursive categorization processes (Erfurt 2003: 18). Multilingualism is seen as a cultural and biographic resource for designing situations, roles, and relationships which can be used flexibly and formed ad hoc (Heller 2007). In this context, the concept of *intercultural competence* is likewise significant. It describes the expertise to identify cultural meanings and to understand situations, and to develop and apply effective and appropriate communicative behaviours (Schenk 2001: 59). Studies underline that first language (L1) has positive effects on the formation of identity, self-assessment as well as educational aspirations, and that the first language identity (L1) remains intact even when the second language (L2) dominates (Krumm 2008). Thus, no significant correlation between the identity creating function of language and the degree of mastery of the language – be that the first language (L1) or to second language (L2) – has yet been found. Language acquisition is not a linear learning process but strongly influenced by social and situational factors. This applies is already true for the first language (L1), but applies even more to the second language (L2). Intergenerational transmission, individual dispositions, attitudes to languages as well as language contacts play a significant role in the learning process, which cannot be considered completed at a specific point of life.

Second generation immigrants tend to construct their own multilingual identity (Krumm 2008). In this context, it is possible to apply the *biographic approach*. Evolved by the Chicago School of Sociology, the biographical approach originates in the interpretative paradigm and has become an increasingly common method when attempting to understand and reconstruct transnational migration phenomena (Apitzsch/Siouti 2007: 6). A dynamic

centre-periphery model for dealing with multilingualism has been developed by Rita Franceschini (2001), describing how an individual extends his knowledge from the initial first languages towards the other(s) language(s). However, not all languages are connected by the same prosperity of features and identifications (Franceschini 2001: 114). This contradicts the assimilation and integration course which uses standardized normality assumptions (Krumm 2010: 17).

4.7. Revival of ethnic consciousness

In this thesis, I have engaged critically with the concepts of belonging, identity and values, and especially how they are often embedded in political discourses about integration and diversity currently. As mentioned before, subjective belonging and identity raise the question about “boundaries of difference“. While in the public and political discussion being different is often considered as negative and migration research has focused on strategies on how to integrate immigrants into the host society successfully, newer research highlights more and more a growing social segregation of the immigrant population since the 1990s (Leggewie 2000, Portes/Zhou 1993, Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005, Portes 2007), a withdrawal of immigrants into their own ethnic group (Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005, Diehl/Schnell 2006, Portes 2007), a growing ethnic self-confidence of immigrants and their descendants (Münz et al., 1997, Diehl/Schnell 2006), and a movement towards a revival of ethnic consciousness (Portes/Zhou 1993, Wicherkiewicz 1996, Hunt/Lightly 2001, Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005, Portes 2007, Sharaby 2015). Some scholars identify the process of globalization and modernization as responsible for shaping an *ethnic revival* among immigrants and minorities worldwide (Sharaby 2015: 156). They underline that globalization and a transnational world have cleared the way for diversity and heterogeneity, for creating new identities but also reviving old ones. As immigrants find themselves in a different environment in the receiving society, including new conditions, social changes and intercultural encounters (Sharaby 2015: 157ff.), a new ethnic identity might be formed. Facing new challenges, immigrants might start dealing with their own history and the history of their home country more intensively. In order to find their own way of dealing new situations, they start reprocessing and assigning them their own interpretation and meaning (Sharaby 2015: 156ff.).

Revival is defined as a deliberate, organized and conscious effort by members of a group to construct a more satisfying culture. It is, therefore, a cultural move towards change. (Sharaby 2015: 155).

The question arises whether an ethnic revival slows down an integration process, even make it impossible? Reinforced by arguments of social structural inequality and quantitative data, some researchers argue that the revival of ethnic consciousness among immigrants may impede the process of integration into the mainstream society. Their studies focus on questions about language acquisition and the integration of immigrants into the labour market, taking into consideration characteristics which are more specifically related to the receiving country (Fauser 2015: 1499). However, this line of reasoning is based on the “classic” assimilation concept, a process of incorporating individuals (or groups) into the dominant culture of another group. Associated with the Chicago School of Sociology, Park and Burges studied the integration processes of the first and second generation of European immigrants in the early 20th century (Park/Burges 1925). They argue that the processes of assimilation enable immigrants – both the first as well as the first immigrant generation – to show upward social mobility among all social areas, such as education, occupation, etc. This understanding of assimilation refers to the way immigrants are put into a new cultural environment in the receiving country, including the acquisition of knowledge about the receiving country’s language, culture, and norms (Schunk 2014: 11). However, referring inter alia to Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller (2005) and the theory of *segmented assimilation* (see above), assimilation processes may have different outcomes for the second generation of immigrants and they do not need to end up in a strong integration into host society. Second immigrant generation may also end up “*ascending into the ranks of a prosperous middle class or join in large numbers the ranks of a racialized, permanently impoverished population at the bottom of society*” (Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005: 1004). The scholars point out that while an *upward assimilation* leading towards the socioeconomic status, family structure, fertility and marital features common to the majority of native-born persons in the US, *downward assimilation* refers to a socio-economic status and family structures among native-born groups marginalized by racial or ethnic prejudice (Gratton/Gutmann/Skop 2007: 204). The authors point out that some immigrant groups fail to adapt – consciously or unconsciously, and thus become marginalized. This only increases their precarious situation. They also pass on their social and cultural capital to their descendants, who then find it difficult to assimilate with the host society. Especially race and discrimination experiences are passed over from one generation to the next, which then limits the chances for an upwards assimilation (Hernandez/Darke 1999: 30). According to studies by Portes et al., second immigrant generation particularly experience discrimination due to their race and ethnicity, while the first generation of immigrants, namely their parents, is less likely to do so. (Rumbaut 1994, Portes/Rumbaut 2001). Thus, while „*cultural values might shelter some groups from the corrosive impact of [cultural] [...] conditions, ethnicity is for others a marker for discrimination by the majority white population that leads to negative outcomes*“

(Gratton/Gutmann/Skop 2007: 205). In this context, I refer once more to Bourdieu's concept of *primary habitus*. While for some minorities and immigrants possessing a certain habitus and a certain cultural capital including specific values and norms is an advantage, for other groups it means a disadvantage. It can be concluded that not every cultural capital bring an advantage but may support a downward assimilation (Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005).

In immigrant families, both parents and children are involved in the acquisition process of the receiving country's language skills, cultural knowledge, norms, and values. However, they might have different experiences such as the parents' migration experience which the children lack, or the fact that they each have different reference groups in their daily lives (Hadjar et al. 2014: 51). By communicating and interacting with teachers and classmates, second generation immigrants intensify their contact with the receiving culture, which might be accompanied with an increased prospect of internalizing the receiving culture. Young people with immigrant background are socialized by their families into the culture of their parents' origin while at the same time being socialized into the culture of the country of residence by that country's education and social system (Kwast-Welfel et al. 2008: 194). Apart from family and school, there is also a third socialization instance which might have an important impact on second generation immigrants: their peers. An ambivalent socialization situation between social institutions may therefore arise, where the second generation immigrants may find themselves in a conflictive position between their primary (family), secondary (school) and tertiary (peer groups) socialization. This conflict may refer to role or generational conflicts as well as contradicting value perceptions and beliefs. If the conflict goes even further, research literature speaks of an *identity diffusion* or *disorientation* (Hämmig 2000: 50). Both first and second generation immigrants are in an transcultural space where conceptions of cultural identity may be called into question and problems based on identity boundaries and concepts of multiple and dynamic identities may occur which go beyond situations of migration itself (Porsché 2008: 4).

Ethnic revival or re-ethnicization (Hoffmann-Nowotny et al. 2001), understood as an "*increasing tendency of immigrants to retreat into and identify with their own ethnic group*" (Diehl/Schnell 2006: 5), is not a new phenomenon. The understanding that a successful assimilation of immigrants into the host society, accompanied with vital interethnic contacts, a strong involvement of immigrants into the labour market and the social and political life of the host society, has been falsified by many scholars. In contrast, most critics of the classic assimilation and integration approaches emphasize that "*ethnic retention or revival are more likely than a steady weakening of ethnic ties and identities*" (Diehl/Schnell 2006: 7). Already in the 1960s/1970s researchers focussed on ethnic revival of immigrants. Echoing Gans

(1979), „*ethnicity is characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour*” (Gans 1979: 9). A *symbolic ethnicity* characterises this new form of ethnicity among European immigrants. An approach to the concept of *segmented assimilation* (see Portes/Fernandez-Kelly/Haller 2005) on a group level offer Alba and Nee (2003), emphasizing that ethnic identifications are quite common, however, they freely chosen and have no meaning in everyday life and in relation with the mainstream society. This ethnic identity is limited to one’s privacy, inter alia family and personal contacts. However, referring to the thesis’ question about intergenerational value transmission within Polish immigrant families and its influence on the identity construction of second Polish generation in Austria and Germany, I argue that these social and interpersonal contacts are not limited to the private sphere of an individual (micro level), but can be expanded to a meso level. While the macro level means social contacts between the immigrants and the mainstream society, contacts of the meso level are those between the members of the ethnic community. These interactions strengthen one’s own ethnic identity. With this happening, one may name this phenomenon *ethnic revival* as I assume that second generation of Polish immigrants is well integrated in the Austrian/German labor market, has vital interethnic contacts with persons of Austrian and German origin, and speaks relatively well German (see Sznyter 2008, Potkanski 2011, Łada/Frelak 2012). In this study, participants are on the one hand persons of Polish origin who emigrated to Austria and Germany in the 1970s and 1980s, on the other hand their descendants, who were socialized in Austria and Germany, and are now of full age. An ethnic revival is especially predominant among young adult immigrants of second generation. I underline this argument on the one hand by the already mentioned fact that these persons of Polish origin are already well integrated into the Austrian/German society and therefore do not fear discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity (see Rumbaut 1994, Portes/Rumbaut 2001, Gratton/Gutmann/Skop 2007). On the other hand, these young adults are at an age where they may be more aware of their own identities than younger generations and can reflect them. In addition, the young adults are in a life stage where the question of one’s own family foundation gets more and more important. In the course of this process, the question of their own origin and ethnic identity becomes regnant, since they need to answer inter alia the questions whether their offspring (third generation) should be socialized bilingual (Polish and German) and they continue to cultivate traditions, customs, values and norms, which they have received from their parents and which originate in Polish culture. Following the concept of segmented assimilation, the phenomenon of ethnic revival refers to upward mobility combined with biculturalism (Portes/Rumbaut 2001), so a transcultural identity of the second generation of Polish immigrants.

V. Methodology and Data Analysis

Migration has never been a one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a multicultural salad bowl but one in which migrants, to varying degrees, are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live (Levitt/Jaworsky 2007: 130).

In recent years, international migration and family research has increasingly focused on the intergenerational transmission of values. However, the question of an adequate design for transmission studies is less frequently discussed. Value similarity between parents and their offspring can be measured by means of two different ways: One method consists of asking young people about their own values and about how they think their parents would respond to the same questions (Cashmore/Goodnow 1985, Gecas/Schwalbe 1986) and comparing the socialization settings of parents and children (*perceived intergenerational values agreement*) based on these answers. The other method of measuring intergenerational values transmission consists of asking parents and children about their personal values independently, and comparing their statements to detect indicators for the consistency of values between generations (*actual intergenerational values agreement*) (Albert et al. 2007, Boehnke 2001, Gecas/Schwalbe 1986, Schönpflug 2001). The second method is applied in the present study as it is more constructive and useful for answering its research question.

5.1. Research Questions

Parental socialization is highly important for a successful intergenerational value transmission process (Bornstein 2012, Darling/Steinberg 1993, Stevenson-Hinde 1998). At the same time, studies have shown that children have a significant impact on their parents' values and thus on the level of parent-child value similarity (Lewandowska 2008, Grusec/Goodnow 1994, Ambert 1992). Apart from parent-child influences, other aspects that are not a direct part of the child-parent relationship such as the socio-economic situation or cultural environment have also a significant impact on the value transmission between generations. An interruption of the continuity of value transmission occurs in case of different life experiences between generations (grandparents-parents-children) (Boehnke 2001,

Inglehart/Baker 2000, Harris 2000). Regarding the influence of international migration on the child-parent value similarity, different international studies arrive at similar results. However, there is no clear answer to the question whether migration experience has a positive or a negative impact on value similarity.

The present study examines the effect of migration on the intergenerational transmission of values within Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany, as measured by parent-child value similarity among Polish immigrant families living in these countries. A group of non-immigrant families living in Poland and having no migration experience, neither the young adult generation nor their parents, serves as a control and comparison group. In order to examine the extent of value similarity between parents and their grownup children and the actual intergenerational value agreement, both generations were asked to answer the questionnaire separately and independently (see Albert et al. 2007, Boehnke 2001, Gecas/Schwalbe 1986, Schönplflug 2001). The goal was to examine the consequences of international migration on family relationships as measured by parent-child-dyadic value similarity. It is expected that immigration conditions have a positive influence on the intergenerational value transmission, and that the parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany is stronger than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland without any migration experience (*hypothesis 1*).

A successful value transmission can be only considered completed if the child has taken over and internalized the relevant values and norms (Grusec/Goodnow 1994). It can be seen as a two-step process: in the first step, the child perceives a "message" from his/her parents and considers it important. In the second step, the child then accepts or rejects said message (Knafo/Schwartz 2001, Grusec/Goodnow 1994). If the child misunderstands his/her parents and does not accept the message, the transmission process fails. The process can likewise be affected by various conditions and mechanisms which either support the child's readiness to accept the transmission or obstruct it (Schönplflug 2001, Knafo/Schwartz 2001, Grusec/Goodnow 1994). In this study, the above mentioned two-step process is not examined, but specific variables have been measured and confirmed to be significant in regard to serving as a positive supporter of parent-child value similarity. Related variables that might explain successful intergenerational value transmission and parent-child value similarity at the family level are likewise tested. The study examines the level of general agreement and accordance of measured values within the family on the one hand, and the parent-child value similarity on the other hand, assuming that a high level of value agreement within the family correlates positively with a high level of positive and intimate relationship between parents and their children (*hypothesis 2*).

Relations between generations in immigrant families are often characterized by significantly stronger bonds and higher motivation than those in non-immigrant families in the society of the country of origin (Nauck 1995, 2007). One explanation for this phenomenon might be the fact that parents fear that living in a new cultural context, they might lose their position as role models for their children and thus respond by making an even greater effort to transmit their cultural values, traditions, customs etc. to their offspring than they would do without migration experiences. Thus, intergenerational value similarity as measured by attitudes of parents and children, orientation and synchronicity of values, as well as norms and behaviour is significantly higher in immigrant families than in non-immigrant families (Nauck 1995, 2007). Therefore, this study emanates from the assumption that there is no cultural difference in the value ratings and value primacy in regard of Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany, and expects a strong cultural effect (*hypothesis 3*).

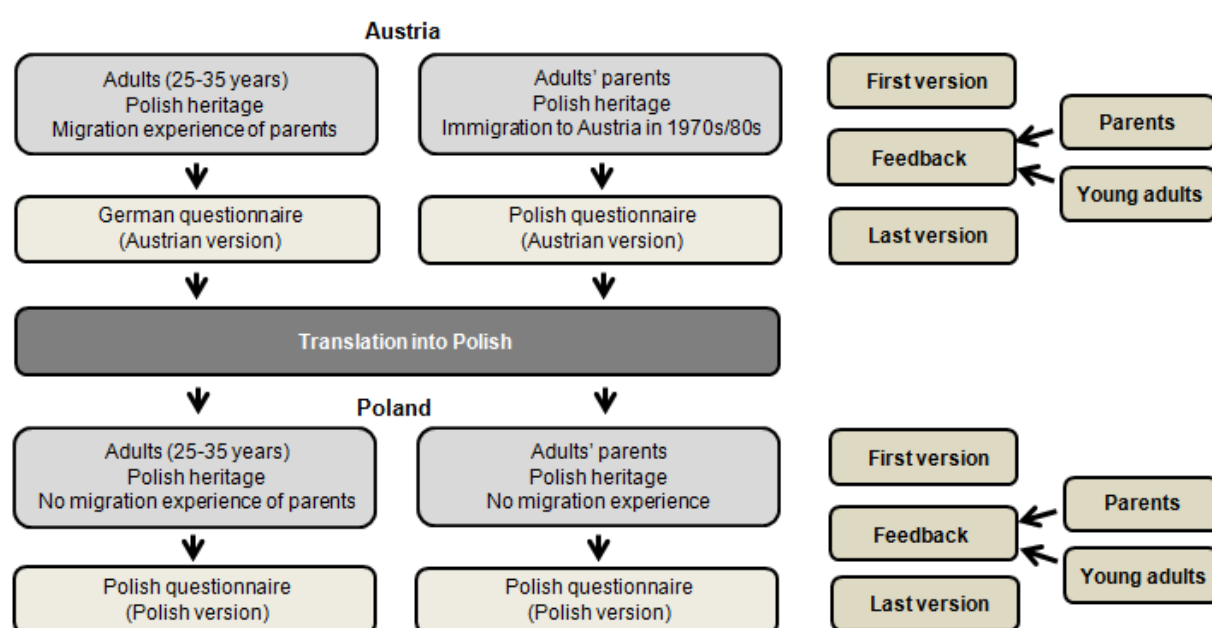
Second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany have been socialized under the influence of two cultures. The internalization of both cultural settings took place through early socialization by their family, various institutions as well as peers. The adaptation to both cultures and the ability to switch between them is one of their main characteristics. A decoupling of the transcultural identity from the civic and territorial determination takes place (Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015: 192). Transcultural identity is based on a dynamic, diverse and self-open concept, a processual and never-ending task of each person (Spreckels/Kotthoff 2007: 416). This identity is likewise characterized by hybridization which is understood as an interaction process of multiple identities and as the creation of something new (Kannengießer 2012: 25-26). Thus, this study assumes that the identity of second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany is transcultural while their parents' identity remains monocultural as their sense of belonging to Poland is stronger (*hypothesis 4*). The second generation's transcultural identity manifests itself in bilingualism and intense contacts with both the host society and their parents' home country. In addition, it can be strengthened by a symbolic identity. However, the longer the period of emigration is, the weaker the Polish symbolic identity becomes, and immigrants tend to adopt the symbols of the host society (Spagnola 2007). Thus, it is believed that symbolic identity is stronger among the parent generation of Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrants than among their grownup children (*hypothesis 5*).

5.2. Data base and data collection

5.2.1. Pre-test

Generally, the implementation of one or more pre-tests is regarded as an indispensable prerequisite for the successful development of a questionnaire and a study itself. Thus, a pre-test was carried out in preparation of this study in order to provide information on the functional capability of the entire study design as well as its individual components, including samples and sample realization, evaluation, and questionnaire. As the data set consists of independent data collection, special attention was given to the questionnaire as well as the samples in the three countries Austria, Germany, and Poland.

Figure 9. Schematic representation of the pretest procedure in Austria and Poland

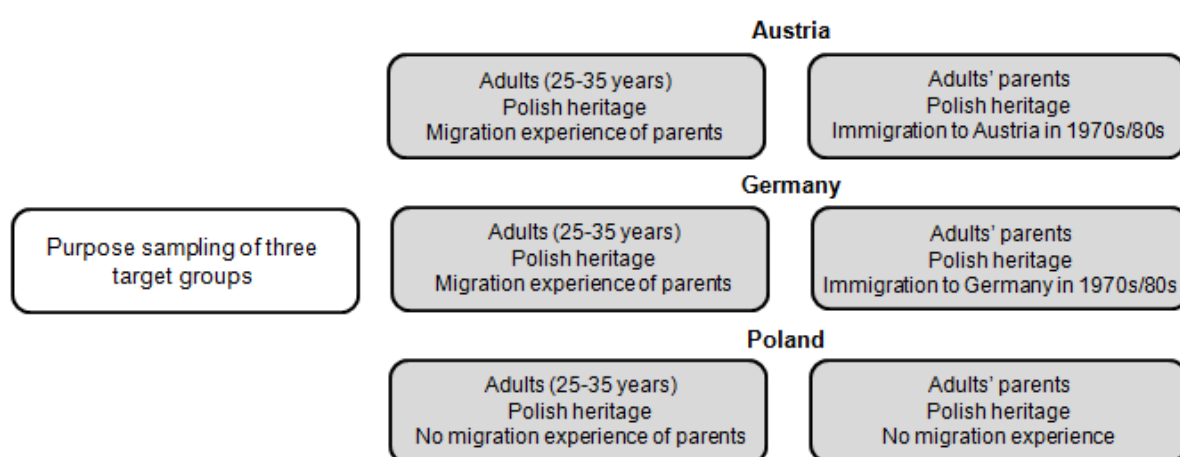


The main phase of the survey took place between January 2016 and August 2016, preceding a test phase of a small sample of respondents between September 2015 and December 2015 in Austria and Poland. The pre-test phase examined whether an online questionnaire could be sent out to the participants and answered without errors and technical problems. The Polish non-immigrant pre-test group consisted of 5 parent-child-dyads ($n=10$), the Austrian pre-test group of 6 parent-child-dyads ($n=12$). Individual links were sent to the respondents, so the respondents could later be assigned correctly to group “parents” or group “young adult”. In addition to the online survey, the questionnaire was

printed out as a paper version. Both versions were used in order to determine which one would be preferred by the respondents. It quickly became clear that the older participants (parent generation) in particular preferred the paper version of the questionnaire. Many felt uncomfortable about using a computer and the internet to be able to participate in the survey, and some did not even have private internet access at home. Some were also uneasy about answering personal questions online. Therefore, the main sampling was undertaken by using only the paper version of the questionnaire.

Ahead of the investigation, the following criteria for the selection of interviewees were established in terms of a selective sampling of three groups (see below).

Figure 10. Characteristics of the selective sampling of the three investigation groups



The pre-test served as a guide for first creating the questionnaire in German, which was later translated to Polish. During the test phase in Austria, the intelligibility, the uniqueness of the questions and the processing time were assessed (Baur/Blasius 2014: 612ff.). All respondents were invited to give feedback and to comment on the questionnaire. In addition to questions concerning content, the pre-test also focused on the personal feelings of the participants when answering the questionnaire: Was there any kind of misunderstanding? Were all questions formulated in a clear and objective way? Did questions leave room for interpretation? Did the participants feel uncomfortable when answering certain questions? The feedback received during personal interviews with the participants served as securing that there were no generation-related differences. Both the older parent generation as well as the generation of young adults had the same understanding of each question.

As a next step, the finalized German version was translated to Polish. To prevent possible mistakes resulting from linguistic nuances or subtleties, the final Polish version of the questionnaire was given to a translator for review. Like in Austria, the questionnaire was tested in Poland using a small group of participants. The primary focus was on uncovering translation errors, grammar and spelling mistakes, as well as potential sources of misunderstandings in the Polish version of the questionnaire. In a final step, six versions of the questionnaire were generated (see below).

5.2.2. Participants

Group I: Austrian group

Children generation

Adults aged between 25 and 35 whose parents had immigrated to Austria during the late 1970s or 1980s were selected. They were either already born in Austria or immigrated with their parents to Austria at a very young age (before the age of six). They have spent their entire socialization process in Austria, including school, vocational training, studies, and work. Another condition was that they had to be still living in Austria, while this was not required for their parents.

Parents generation

In contrast to the children generation, there were no age criteria regarding their parents. However, due to the age criteria of the first group, the parents' age ranged from 44 to 70 years. In addition, not all parents were still living Austria as some had moved back to Poland or to another country. Some had split up and remarried, however this factor had no bearing on the study results. Bi-national couples were not included in the sample. The selection criterion regarding the heritage of the adults' parents was without exception Polish.

The criterion "Polish roots" covered the two categories of

- Adults' parents with Polish citizenship or Austrian citizenship or Polish and Austrian citizenship
- Adults with Polish citizenship or Austrian citizenship or Polish and Austrian citizenship

Group II: German group

Children generation

Adults aged between 25 and 35 whose parents had immigrated to Germany during the late 1970s or 1980s were selected. Those adults were either already born in Germany or immigrated to Germany with their parents at a very young age (before the age of six). Like the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, they had spent their entire socialization process in Germany, including school, vocational training, studies, and work. Likewise, they were required to be still living in Germany, unlike their parents.

Parents generation

Similar to the Austrian group, there were no age criteria regarding the adults' parents. However, due to the age criteria of the children generation, the parents' age ranged from 46 to 64. In this group as well, some parents had moved back to Poland or to another country, and some couples had split up and were living separately from each other. Bi-national couples were again excluded from the sample, and the selection criteria regarding the roots of the adults' parents was again without exception Polish.

The criterion "Polish roots" covered the two categories of

- Adults' parents with Polish citizenship or German citizenship or both Polish and German citizenship
- Adults with Polish citizenship or German citizenship or Polish and German citizenship

Group III: Polish group

Children generation

Young adults aged between 25 to 35 were selected whose parents have never immigrated to another country, and neither had they themselves. Migration experience was defined by the length of stay abroad and the intention of a person to settle abroad permanently. "*A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year [...] so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence.*" (Anderson/Blinder 2015: 3) They had spent their entire socialization process in Poland, including school, vocational training, studies, and work. The selection criteria regarding the heritage of the adults was without exception Polish.

Parents generation

Like in both immigrant groups, there were no age criteria regarding the adults' parents. However, due to the age criteria of their children, the parents' age ranged from 45 to 69. Just like in group I and group II, bi-national couples were not included in the sample, and the selection criterion with regard to the heritage of the parents was without exception Polish.

The criterion "Polish roots" covered the two categories of

- Adults' parents with Polish citizenship
- Adults with Polish citizenship

As one of the main criteria of the target group was the parents emigrating to Austria or Germany in the late 1970s or 1980s their children are today aged around 25 to 35. The variable age was narrowed down due to practical considerations. A theoretical sampling according to the Grounded Theory, which suggests selecting data in the course of the research process according to categories which arise during the data evaluation procedure, was not taken into consideration (Strauss/Corbin 1996: 148-165).

5.2.3. Access to research field

Due to sampling of three different groups in three countries, access to potential interview partners was challenging as the target group itself was not easy to reach. Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany are a very heterogeneous group which is not particularly visible or present in society, and as opposed to immigrants who are representatives of other races or followers of certain religions, have no recognizable external characteristics. In addition, not every person with Polish roots was part of the target group. There have been several Polish migration movements to Austria and Germany in the last decades, and a considerable number of Poles have immigrated recently, for instance after Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004. As the target group of this study was Poles who immigrated to Austria and Germany in the late 1970s and 1980s and their offspring, the selection group was significantly limited. By contrast, reaching out to the target group in Poland was much easier as the selection criteria were not as limited as in Austria and Germany. The sampling pool from which the interviewees could be recruited was considerably larger and easier to access.

Sampling procedure in Austria and Germany

As there is no data available on the exact number of Polish immigrants and their offspring living in Austria and Germany, the statistical units had to be identified one by one based on the established sample criteria (see above). Using the sampling method of systematic random selection, a statistical unit of young adults aged 25 to 35 was selected from the immigrant population with Polish roots. The recruitment of potential interviewees was carried out through several channels: personal contacts, contacts via friends, family and co-workers, via social media, via an advertisement in a student magazine, contacts via local Polish clubs and organizations, via Polish schools in Vienna and via the Consulate of Poland in Munich. Another way to reach new participants was the snowball method: people who had already participated in the survey were asked whether they knew other people among their relatives or friends who would fit the target group. However, in order to keep the bias low, this method was only used to recruit a small number of respondents.

The goal was to motivate respondents to participate in the study. The questionnaire was handed out both to the second generation immigrants as well as to their parents. Parents were not recruited independently but solely via their grownup offspring. In most cases, they were not divorced and were still living together. Their children had regular contact with them, and often both the mother and the father answered the questionnaire. However, it was often difficult to convince the older participants to take their time to fill out the questionnaire. In many cases, they were living in different federal states and busy with work and family. Here, the sampling process took longer than expected. The sampling period coinciding with vacation time and many potential interviewees being away on vacation was another factor, which made the sampling process challenging and time consuming.

Sampling procedure in Poland

In contrast to the sampling in Austria and Germany, the recruitment of interviewees and their parents was much easier and faster in Poland. This was mainly due to the fact that the target group of respondents could be drawn from a much bigger pool, making the sampling process of Polish units in Poland less problematic. Again, the recruitment was carried out via young adults aged between 25 and 35 years. Their parents were not contacted directly, and the questionnaire was handed to them via their children. In some cases, the questionnaire was sent to both the parents and children in PDF-format, who then returned the printed document. In other cases, the questionnaire was handed out to each interviewee individually. As the aim was to win as many respondents as possible for this study, the

interviewees were provided with the questionnaire in whichever way was most convenient for them.

The recruitment of Polish participants in Poland was undertaken in a similar way as in Austria and Germany (snowball method). In addition, a random selection procedure was conducted to ensure statistical representativeness. To minimize potential bias, the geographical composition of the Polish sample was taken into consideration. Prior research showed that a generalization about the geographical origin of Polish immigrants was not possible. Already before the start of fieldwork, however, the Polish provinces the respondents had lived in before immigrating to Austria and Germany were determined. Due to its geographical location and proximity of the two countries, most Polish immigrants originally came from the provinces of silesia, opole and małopolska. However, this fact cannot be seen as a rule. One of the characteristics of the Polish migration history is that Poles have always had a strong urge towards international movement, and their places of residence are therefore generally widely dispersed geographically. Poles who have emigrated to Austria and Germany in the late 1970s and 1980s are residents of urban as well as rural areas and do not come from specific regions in Poland.

Representativeness

Within empirical research, the term *representative sampling* is used with different meanings. In empirical social research, a representative sampling is often referred to as a "*miniature of the population*" (Gitzen et al. 2012: 29). Typically, it is required that personal characteristics such as age, gender, and education have a similar distribution in the sample to the one found in the general population. However, this cannot always be warranted as representative sampling may be also towards the variable of interest. Therefore, this study defines representativeness as the admissibility of inferences to the population rather than in the statistical sense.

5.2.4. Sample portrait

All participants volunteered for this study. Consent was obtained by means of a personal introduction or cover letter, explaining the general aim of the study. The participants' sample was composed of three groups of older adolescents and young adults from middle-class families. Among young adults, participants aged between 25 and 35 at the time of data collection were targeted. The age of their parents ranged between 44 and 70. In Poland, the non-immigrant group consisted of 252 participants, the Austrian-Polish immigrant group of

160 participants, and the German-Polish immigrant group of 168 participants. The total sample size consisted of 580 volunteers.

The following table shows some of the demographic data of the three groups (see table below).

Table 5. Sample portrait

Variable		Austrian-Polish immigrants		German-Polish immigrants		Polish non-immigrants	
Samples size		160		168		252	
Young adults		80	50%	84	50%	126	50%
Their parents		80	50%	84	50%	126	50%
	Mothers	50	63%	59	70%	62	49%
	Fathers	30	38%	25	30%	64	51%
Age Young Adult (Mean in years)		27.8		28.4		30.1	
	<25	21	26%	4	5%	8	6%
	25-27	27	34%	29	35%	26	21%
	28-30	6	8%	31	37%	24	19%
	31-33	12	15%	12	14%	42	33%
	34-36	8	10%	8	10%	20	16%
	>36	6	8%	-	-	6	5%
Gender Young Adult							
	Female	46	58%	35	42%	58	46%
	Male	34	42%	49	58%	68	54%
Child Position in Family Young Adult							
	Firstborn	32	40%	28	33%	56	44%
	Middle Child	8	10%	14	17%	20	16%
	Youngest Child	20	25%	30	36%	50	40%
	Only child	20	25%	12	14%	-	-
Religious affiliation Young Adult							
	Catholics	58	73%	68	81%	98	78%
	Other	8	10%	-	-	-	-
	None	14	18%	16	19%	28	22%
Status Young Adult							
	Married	16	20%	10	12%	70	56%
	Single	50	63%	44	52%	34	27%
	Cohabiting	8	10%	16	19%	18	14%
	Other	6	8%	14	17%	4	3%
Having children Young Adult		22	28%	8	10%	54	43%
Education status Young Adult							
	Vocational training, vocational school	2	2%	4	5%	-	-
	Secondary school (Matura/Abitur)	58	73%	26	31%	20	16%
	Higher education (university, college, etc.)	20	25%	54	64%	106	84%

Age Father (Mean)	57.9		57.7		58.2	
Level of Education Father						
Vocational training, vocational school	13	44%	6	26%	16	26%
Secondary school (Matura/Abitur)	10	33%	10	38%	20	32%
Higher education (university, college, etc.)	7	23%	9	36%	26*	42%
Age Mother (Mean)	53.7		57.1		57.1	
Level of Education Mother						
Vocational training, vocational school	7	15%	11	19%	9	16%
Secondary school (Matura/Abitur)	18	35%	11	19%	16	28%
Higher education (university, college, etc.)	25	50%	37	62%	33**	56%

* 2 missing values

** 4 missing values

The sample sizes of the three groups differ from each other. While the largest one can be found in Poland with 252 Polish non-immigrant participants (126 young adults and 126 parents), the Austrian-Polish immigrant group is the smallest one with 160 participants (80 young adults and 80 parents). The German-Polish immigrants group is situated in between with 168 participants (84 young adults and 84 adults). Regarding age, the sample with the youngest grownup children was collected in Austria, followed by Germany and Poland. Moreover, the youngest mothers can be found in Austria as well. The difference in mean age between the young adult groups and the parent groups were tested by independent t-tests in order to measure whether mean differences are statistically significant. According to the analysis, the differences between all age groups are not significant ($p > .05$). In all three young adult groups, Catholicism dominates as a primary religion. However, it is notable that a relatively high proportion of respondents replied that they have no religious affiliation (18% of Austrian-Polish young adults, 19% of German-Polish young adults, and 22% of Polish non-immigrant young adults).

Furthermore, only the Austrian sample includes 10% of participants with another religious affiliation (Jehovah's Witnesses). While more than half of the Austrian-Polish young adults and German-Polish young adults state being single (63% in Austria, 52% in Germany), the same is true for only 27% of the Polish non-immigrant young adult group. Accordingly, among the Polish non-immigrant young adult group, the proportion of young parents (43%) is much higher than among both immigrant young adult groups. While in Austria 28% state having children, the same is true for only 10% in Germany. In both immigrant groups, more mothers took part in the survey, while in the Polish non-immigrant group the proportion of mothers and fathers is relatively equal. There is no statistically significant difference between the fathers' ages and the mothers' ages ($p > .05$). However, a significant difference was found concerning the educational background of the parents ($p < .05$). Among all three

groups, mothers tend to have a higher level of education than fathers. The highest percentage of fathers who only completed vocational school/training can be found in Austria.

At this point, it is important to point out that the three groups differ in demographic structure, with the immigrant groups sharing stronger similarities with each other and differing more distinctly from the Polish group. Firstly, as the number of people taking part in this study differs among samples – 160 and 168 people interviewed in Austria and Germany respectively, as opposed to 252 interviewed in Poland – the number of mothers and fathers in the Polish sample is consequently larger than in the Austrian and German one. Secondly, the Polish young adults' sample has the highest proportion of respondents aged 30+ with 54%, while in Austria only 33% and in Germany 24% of participants belong to this age group. Another interesting fact is that among the Polish adults, no one stated to be an only child: all Polish adults have at least one sibling. Thirdly, the Polish adult group has the highest proportion of married respondents (56%), while in Austria only 20% and in Germany 12% stated to be married. In contrast, the proportion of singles is the lowest in Poland with only 27%, and highest in Austria with 63%, followed by Germany with 52%. However, as the Polish group contains the highest number of over thirty-year-old young adults, this might explain the high proportion of married respondents, and those having children. Again, the Polish adult group differs significantly from both immigrant adult groups: 43% of all Polish adults answered to have at least one child (52% answering 1 child, 41% answering 2 children, and 7% answering 3 children), while this is true for only 8% among the Austrian immigrant adult group and 10% among the German immigrant adult group. Fourthly, among both adults and their parents, the Polish sample has the highest proportion of respondents with higher education such as university or college (84%), while in Austria the proportion is only 25% (in Germany 64%). The difference is especially significant regarding the young adults, while a comparison between the mothers and fathers of all three groups shows a smaller difference with respect to the respondents' level of education.

The differences between the groups in terms of demographic structure and, above all, the significant difference between the two immigrant adult groups and the Polish adult group, must be considered when analyzing the data and presenting results. Despite great efforts to recruit all three groups based on the same criteria – with the obvious exception of the migration background of the Austrian and German groups – and by random sampling, it is nevertheless impossible to guarantee the respondents are completely alike in terms of their demographic characteristics such as age, highest level of education, civilian status, etc..

5.2.5. Data Collection

Data was gathered by means of a structured questionnaire (see Appendix II) from January 2016 to August 2016. The sampling was undertaken in all three countries simultaneously. In Poland, respondents from non-immigrant families were mostly recruited in the provinces dolnośląskie (50%), opolskie (29%), łódzkie (6%), and zachodniopomorskie (6%). In Austria, Austrian-Polish immigrant volunteers were questioned in Vienna and suburban areas of Vienna (78%), as well as the provinces of Lower Austria (19%), Upper Austria (3%), and Salzburg (1%). The German-Polish immigrant group consisted of participants of the following federal states: Bavaria (68%), Berlin (6%), Schleswig-Holstein (6%), and Baden-Württemberg (8%).

Data processing involved office editing, data entry using the SPSS Statistics 23 software and verification of data entry. All questionnaires were collected, and all data entry including coding of open answers was conducted manually.

5.2.6. Survey instrument

Group I: Questionnaire in Austria

In Austria, two versions of the questionnaire were used: a German version for the young adults, and a Polish version for their parents. Both questionnaires contained the same demographic questions (exception: the adults were asked to state their parents' level of education and their current/last occupation), questions regarding values (*Emic Questionnaire of Cultural Values and Scripts, EQCVS*), questions about identification and recognition of cultural symbols (*IRCS*), and questions about intergenerational cultural-traditional rituals (*ICTR*). In addition, the young adults' version of the questionnaire contained complementary questions about intrafamilial structures (*Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire, PAFS-Q*) and their use of the Polish language. In addition, the young adults' questionnaire contained questions dealing with their visits to Poland or relationships to family members, relatives, and friends residing in Poland.

Group II: Questionnaire in Germany

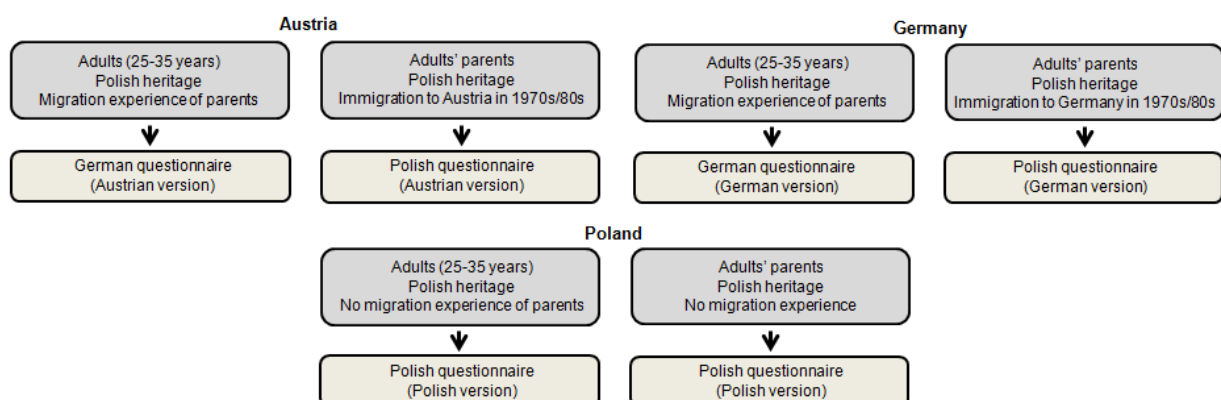
In Germany, two versions of the questionnaire were generated as well: a German version for the young German-Polish immigrants, and a Polish version of the questionnaire for their parents. Just like in the Austrian version, both questionnaires were composed of the same

demographic questions with the exception of the children being asked to state their parents' level of education and their current/last occupation. They both contained questions regarding values (*EQCVS*), identification and recognition of cultural symbols (*IRCS*), and intergenerational cultural-traditional rituals (*ICTR*). The questionnaire for the young adults included additional questions about intrafamilial structures (*Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire*, *PAFS-Q*) and their use of the Polish language. Like in Austria, the young adults' questionnaire also contained questions dealing with their visits to Poland or relationships with their family members, relatives, and friends residing in Poland.

Group III: Questionnaire in Poland

Respondents in Poland with no migration experience (neither the young adult generation nor their parents) received exclusively a Polish version of the questionnaire. However, two separate versions – one for the Polish non-immigrant grownup children and one for their parents – were created in this case as well. Both versions consisted of demographic questions (exception: the adults were asked to name the highest education level of their parents and their current/last occupation), questions regarding values (*EQCVS*), questions about identification and recognition of cultural symbols (*IRCS*), and questions about intergenerational cultural-traditional rituals (*ICTR*). In contrast to the children's generation questionnaires used in Austria and Germany, the Polish counterpart did not include questions about the use of the Polish language.

Figure 11. Schematic illustration of the six different questionnaires



5.2.6.1. Emic Questionnaire of Cultural Values and Scripts (EQCVS)

Based on the *Emic Questionnaire of Cultural Values and Scripts* (EQCVS) (Boski et al. 1992, Boski 1999, Boski 2001), which in its original form consists of 65 items, a new battery of 41 items including statements of values, preferences, attributions, scripts and beliefs was developed. The 41 items were applied in order to evaluate the level of internalization of values by the second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany compared to young Polish adults living in Poland without any migration experience in their own or their parents' generation. Respondents – both young adults and their parents – could rate on a six-point-scale to which extent they agree or disagree with the given statements. Using exploratory factor analysis (reliability as measured by the Cronbach coefficient: $\alpha > .70$), four factors were identified and implemented in the study: “*Family Values*” (Factor 1), “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (Factor 2), “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (Factor 3), and “*Self-Reliance*” (Factor 4).

Mean comparison was applied in order to measure the difference or similarity between Austrian-Polish young adults and their parents, German-Polish young adults and their parents, and Polish non-immigrant young adults and their parents. In addition to the across-group level comparison, data was analyzed on a family and across-dyad level (Knafo/Schwartz 2011). Correlation coefficients between parents' value ratings and children's value ratings were provided as measures of parent-child value similarity for each value across the parent-child dyads.

5.2.6.2. Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire (PAFS-Q)

Items of the *Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire* (PAFS-Q) were used to determine family processes based on aspects of current intergenerational family theory (Bray/Williamson/Malone 1984: 167). The original form of the questionnaire consists of eight non-overlapping scales with a total number of 181 items. The eight scales are as followed: (1) *Spousal fusion-individuation*, (2) *Intergenerational fusion-individuation*, (3) *Spousal intimacy*, (4) *Intergenerational intimacy*, (5) *Nuclear family triangulation*, (6) *Intergenerational triangulation*, (7) *Intergenerational intimidation*, and (8) *Personal authority*. *Nuclear family triangulation* is not included in versions for respondents without children. There are three versions of PAFS-Q, with version A being intended for adults with children, version B for adults without children, and version C (PAFS-QVC) being suitable for older teenagers and young adults without children.

(1) *Spousal/intergenerational fusion-individuation*: *Fusion* evaluates an individual's dependence on their mother or father, while *Individuation* measures the opposite.

(2) *Spousal/intergenerational intimacy*: According to Williamson (1982: 23f.), intimacy is defined as voluntary closeness with clear boundaries. This scale measures a person's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the relationship to their mother and father as well as the degree of intimacy they share with them.

(3) *Intergenerational intimidation*: This scale measures the personal influence in the context of intergenerational relationships.

(4) *Peer intimacy*: According to the previous scale, this scale measures the level of intimacy between peers which plays an important role in a person's (young adult's) life.

(5) *Peer fusion-individuation*: Similar to the intergenerational context, this scale measures the level of *fusion* or *individuation*.

(6) *Personal authority*: The self-report scale measures intergenerational family relationships as perceived by each family member; in this study it pertains to the young adult.

The internal consistency and reliability of the PAFS-Q is relatively high (Bray/Harvey 1992). Both construct and concurrent validity are indicated by significant relationships between the PAFS-Q and other measures of family relationships (Kwast-Welfeld 2004: 39). The two scales of *Intergenerational intimacy* and *Intergenerational intimidation* were used in the present study, asking respondents to rate on a five-point-scale to what extent they agree or disagree with certain statements.

5.2.6.3. Identification and Recognition of Cultural Symbols (IRCS)

Based on Lewandowska's study about Polish immigrants living in Great Britain, the level of *Identification and Recognition of Cultural Symbols* (IRCS) was measured via pictures of public figures as well as buildings and places of present and past significance (Lewandowska 2008: 216). A modified version was developed including six pictures. Austrian symbols were shown to the Austrian-Polish immigrants, while German symbols had to be recognized by the German-Polish immigrant group in Germany. The Polish non-

immigrant groups' questionnaire contained these questions as well. In addition to Polish symbols, German and Austrian ones were included according to a random principle.

Polish symbols included Lech Wałęsa (former president of Poland (1990-1995)), the Polish Parliament House *Sejm* in Warsaw and Beata Szydło (Polish Prime Minister of Poland (2015-current)). German symbols were represented by Angela Merkel (Chancellor of Germany (2005-current)), the *Reichstag* building in Berlin, and Erich Honecker (General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (1971-1989)). The Austrian symbols were Werner Faymann (Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016), the Austrian Parliament Building in Vienna, and "Sisi" (Elisabeth of Austria (1854-1898), Empress of Austria and Queen of Hungary).

Cultural symbols were chosen based on their availability to the respondents, in particular their increased presence in media ((Polish) TV, newspapers, etc.) as well as in schools in Poland and Polish Sunday schools in Austria and Germany. The aim was to measure respondents' attachment to these symbols by verifying their knowledge and recognition of the presented symbols as well as their origin. A high recognition and unambiguous assignment corresponded with a high level of identification with the symbols.

5.2.6.4. Intergenerational Cultural-Traditional Rituals (ICTR)

A new and unique scale for measuring *Intergenerational Cultural-Traditional Rituals* (ICTR) was devised. In Poland, a traditionally Catholic country, high importance is attributed to the Advent season, Christmas, and especially the Christmas Eve. Thus, questions about habits and rituals centred around celebrating Christmas were asked. The objective was to verify whether Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany differ significantly from non-immigrant families in Poland with regard to their intergenerational transfer of cultural tradition-related habits and customs such as Christmas. Respondents were asked to answer on five items about the importance of Christmas and how they celebrate this festival. As the second generation of immigrant families are often more affected by intercultural influences than their parents, they need to balance between multiple cultures (Mansouri/Ben-Moshe/Johns 2015: 9). Discomfort and tensions might arise caused by the act of balancing between these cultures while attempting to do justice to both (Cornfoot/Francis 2007, Mansouri/Ben-Moshe/Johns 2015). Celebrations and festivals such as Christmas are defined as family routines and rituals that both refer to specific repeated practices (Spagnola 2007: 285). While family routines may be characterized as regularly repeated instrumental

communication and momentary time commitment, *family rituals involve communication with symbolic meaning, establishing and perpetuating the understanding of what it means to be a member of the group* (Spagnola 2007: 285). As change in routines and rituals is an inherent part of the family life cycle (Fiese 2002: 10, Spagnola 2007: 288), family rituals are measured via questions regarding “more Polish” Christmas customs and practices. Different rituals, habits and traditions were defined as being “more Polish” or “less Polish”. On group level, a high correspondence with “more Polish” habits and rituals means a stronger identification with the Polish culture. On family level, a high correspondence with “more Polish” habits and rituals results in a greater intergenerational cultural-traditional ritual similarity.

5.3. Discussion of the quality criteria

In the above description of the procedure and the methodological considerations of the present study, a number of quality criteria of quantitative research have already been addressed. In quantitative research, the aim of the measurement is to examine the most probable, exact and correct results. However, in practice this goal is almost impossible to achieve. While qualitative research does not claim intersubjective verifiability, the quality criteria of quantitative research are undisputable. In quantitative social research, the quality criteria must be met in all processes of data collection and data analysis (Krebs/Menold 2014: 425). A distinction is made between quality criteria for measuring instruments and quality criteria for the entire research design (Krebs/Menold 2014: 425).

Three main scientific criteria of quality can be established, and only if all quality criteria are taken into account within certain bandwidths, reliable conclusions can be drawn from an investigation. Among them, the methodological rigor takes a central place, which can be described mainly by means of the concept of validity (Döring/Bortz 2016: 93).

We use the term validity to refer to the appropriate truth of an inference. [...] Validity is a property of inference. It is not a property of design or methods, for the same design may contribute to more or less valid inference under different circumstances.
(Shadish et al. 2002: 34)

Construct validity is given when measurements detect what they are intended to measure. A small construct validity does not necessarily mean an incorrect measurement, it may also mean an incorrect construct itself. This form of validity presupposes certain knowledge about the construct, which means knowledge of relevant theories and relevant findings.

Apart from validity, reliability and objectivity are the two other important quality criteria. However, objectivity and reliability are the minimum requirements for a measuring instrument, while the main goal is the construction of valid possible instruments (Diekmann 2005). Reliability indicates the trustworthiness of the measurement method and can be defined as the accuracy with which a test measures a particular feature. It includes the numerical precision of the measurement as well as the freedom of measurement of unsystematic measurement errors (Bühner 2011: 141ff.). An analysis is called reliable if repeated measurements under the same conditions and using the same objects generate the same result. Objectivity is the extent to which an examination result cannot be influenced by an examiner regarding the execution, evaluation and interpretation. Execution objectivity requires that the examination result remains unaffected, while interpretive objectivity dictates that no individual opinions may be included in the interpretation of the results.

The survey instrument was subjected to the pre-test in order to ensure the quality criteria. Two written versions of the questionnaire were handed out to two voluntary groups: a Polish version to Polish non-immigrants living in Poland and a German version to Austrian-Polish immigrants living in Austria. As a separate version of the questionnaire was developed for the children and for their parents in each country respectively, both versions were answered by a pre-test group in Poland and Austria. All questionnaires for the parents existed only in a Polish language version for respondents both in Poland and in Austria. The Polish non-immigrant pre-test group consisted of 5 parent-child-dyads (n=10), the Austrian pre-test group consisted of 6 parent-child-dyads (n=12). Participants were explicitly invited to provide comments on the questionnaire. The questionnaire was then revised based on the received feedback, especially with regard to content, formulation, question order and the overall length of the survey. Several questions were rephrased based on the participants' comments, and in a number of cases, additional pre-formulated answers were included and open-ended questions removed.

Particular attention was paid to questions of the *Emic Questionnaire of Cultural Values and Scripts* (EQCVS) (Boski et al. 1992, Boski 1999, Boski 2001). A strong focus was placed on ensuring that the battery of 41 items consisting of statements about values, preferences, attributions, and beliefs was accurately translated from German to Polish. Likewise, the claim of semantic equivalence across languages, the conceptual equivalence across cultures, and the normative equivalence to the source survey were of equally high importance. The lack of *semantic equivalence* arises when there are no words/phrases in the target language to match those in the source language (Campbell 2010: 10). Great care was taken to prevent these errors and to ensure conceptual equivalence. The translation of

meaningful constructs from German into Polish posed no problems. *Normative equivalence* refers to cultural differences, such as the openness with which topics are/are not discussed in particular cultures (Behling/Law 2000: 16). It can be assumed that normative equivalence is largely achieved in the present study, as the questionnaire does not include any questions which might have been answered differently by the study groups based on their cultural background.

5.4. Strengths and limitations of the study

The aim of this study is to contribute to research on intergenerational value transmission, with a focus on Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany. Unfortunately, not all measurements and theoretical concepts could be taken into consideration for this examination. The theoretical part of this project was based on previous international research about intergenerational value transmission and value similarity in immigrant and non-immigrant families. Previous studies, especially those dealing with Polish immigrant families (Boski 1992, 2009, 2010, 2012, Lewandowska 2008, Kwast-Welfeld 2004), served as guidelines for questionnaire construction. However, items were modified and adjusted to the present study's objective, thus limiting the possibility of comparing of results with other studies to a certain extent.

One of the main challenges was data collection of the parent-child-dyads in Austria and Germany. As different approaches were chosen to collect the required number of respondents in each country, conscious selection was prioritized. However, the representativeness of these methods is in part reduced as some of the participants were recruited via personal relationships, resulting in the risk of focusing mainly on one population group. Sampling strategies relied on the willingness of the participants to participate in the study, especially the parents' generation. In many cases, only the young adult generation answered the questionnaire, while the parents' answers were missing. These questionnaires could not be used for the analysis. A second key issue which needs to be highlighted is that the present study uses quantitative methods. Implementing additional qualitative research would help to find access to verbal material in order to better understand the heterogeneity of the sample. The openness of the procedure, which could unveil new and previously unknown aspects, would offer a greater depth in the information content of the results. High validity of the content could be achieved and high-degree information gathered.

As intergenerational relationships are on-going processes and identity building is understood "*a the processual and never-ending task of each person*" (Spreckels/Kotthoff 2007: 416),

longitudinal analysis would provide a better data set as intra-individual differences and the relationships between the changes in several variables could be examined. Especially as migration may be seen as an important turning point in life, it represents the challenge of reflecting one's own identity and new cultural context(s). However, the problem of panel mortality would have to be taken into consideration.

Furthermore, the examination of intergenerational value similarities is always problematic. The case of Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany presents a further challenge due to political and historical circumstances over the last decades (Jedrzejczyk/Rassadin 2006: 45). Values are constantly changing, and a transformation process with varying degrees of severity is taking place in different social groups. Therefore, a general generational gap needs to be taken into consideration. The same is also true for differences between rural and urban areas which may exist and may have a significant influence on value prioritization within a certain social group.

VI. Results

The purpose of this study is to examine the intergenerational value transmission from parents to their grownup children. Taking intergenerational relationships and individual expressions (*vertical transmission*) into account, the question is whether it can be said that the parents' migration experience and the socialization process of their children in a different cultural context have a significant impact on the intergenerational value transmission. In this context, the concept of transnational migration (Welsch 1994, Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015) is applied which takes place on an individual level or group level, and therefore also on an intergenerational level (Schönpflug 2003, Phinney 2003, Berry et al. 2002).

The group of interest for the present research is second generation of Polish immigrants whose parents immigrated to Austria and Germany in the late 1970s and 1980s and who were (mostly) born in Austria and Germany and have spent the major part of their life in Austria and Germany, participating in the Austrian and German education system, labour market, etc.. Based on the assumption that cultural transmission in immigrant families competes with cultural transmission of the host society, immigrant parents tend to make a greater effort to transmit their own cultural values to their children compared to those without migration experience (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001: 186-187, Nauck 1997). In order to examine value similarity between second generation Poles and their parents in Austria and Germany, Poles and their parents with approximately the same demographic characteristics but no migration experience serve as control group.

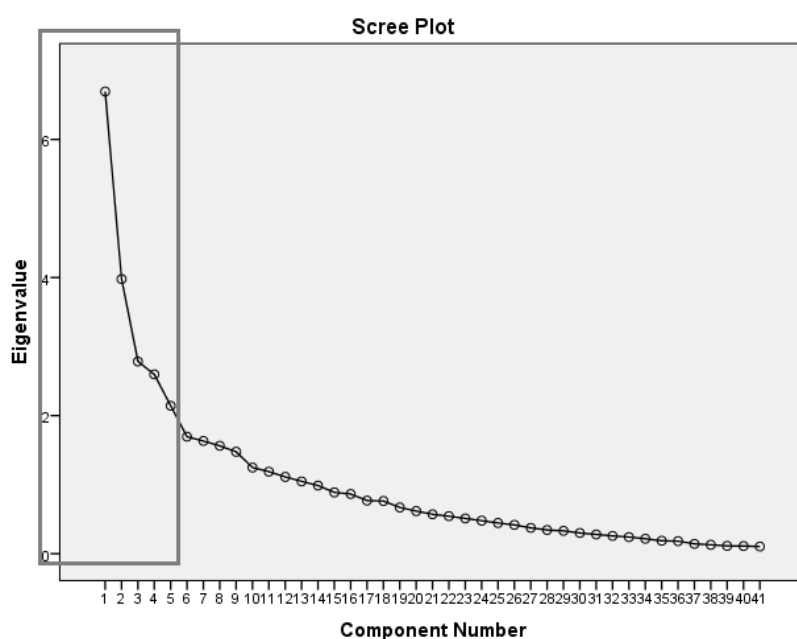
6.1. Data analysis

6.1.1. Preliminary data analysis

Exploratory factor analysis was used for the analysis of EQVCS data in order to extract the number of value sets. In the exploratory factor analysis thirteen factors emerged in the Varimax rotation. Rotation converged in 16 iterations. The two most common criteria to determine the factor extraction were used (Kaiser-Gutman criterion and the Scree test), as the results were different and the exploratory factor analysis gave a high number of factors. The Kaiser-Gutman criterion states that only factors with $\lambda > 1$ have to be extracted. Since the original 41 variables of this study have a scattering of 1 by standardizing, only those factors are extracted, which explain more scattering than the original variable cause. Factors with an eigenvalue < 1 are not considered as they explain less scattering than the original

variable. Although the Kaiser-Gutman rule is one of the most common criteria, it is often overestimated. Therefore, the Cattell scree test (scree plot) was used in addition. Here, the eigenvalues are plotted against the number of factors. The number of extracted factors is defined by the curve progression. Where the curve makes an elbow toward the less steep decline, the plot signals that the factors are ignorable after the drop (see figure 12).

Figure 12: Scree plot



As the scree plot suggested five factors which was not congruent with the very complex result of the exploratory factor analysis, a reliability analysis was undertaken to calculate the internal consistency. Cronbach's alpha was chosen as reliability criterion, a model of internal consistency, which is based on the average correlation between items. In literature there is no common sense about which α -value is considered as sufficient. In this study, referring to Schmitt (1996), a α -value of .70 is considered to be sufficient for internal consistency. Schmitt stresses in this context that even a value below .70 could be included in a scale. *"When a measure has other desirable properties, such as meaningful content coverage of some domain and reasonable unidimensionality, this low reliability may not be a major impediment to its use."* (Schmitt 1996: 351-352) Reliability analysis disclosed that one out of the five scales did not show internal consistency as the reliability coefficient α was below .50. Table 6 represents the four scales including the used items.

Table 6. Four value dimensions (Factorial value scales)

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
I maintain a strong family cohesion and appreciate the support of my family I'm worried about my family It is the duty of children to care for their parents in old age It is important to me to have children and start a family Good hospitality is important to me For important decisions, I ask my parents for advice	0.588 0.672 0.524 0.541 0.530 0.529			
I feel responsible for the society I live in I do what I can to reduce ecological damage and pollution I try to help those who need my help I'm interested in international politics I am interested in the politics of the country, where I live I like going to the theatre, reading books or listening to music		0.464 0.420 0.651 0.398 0.470 0.474		
Everyone should first look after the well-being of their own family before taking care of others I have always worked hard, because actually one can only succeed in life with hard work When I'm done with the today's task, I start immediately with tomorrow's task Financial independence is very important to me I have patriotic feelings for the country where I live Sometimes I am emotionally touched by the cultural symbols of my nation Constant improvement and increasing my professional qualifications are one of my goals in life Sometimes, life also requires bringing sacrifices			0.382 0.416 0.410 0.484 0.448 0.462 0.478 0.516	
Everyone has the right to live on their own lifestyle, their own views and a self-determined partnership / family life I like meeting new people My dream is to live in great financial prosperity one day Questions of faith and religious practice have no meaning to me To stay in good physical condition, I exercise sports regularly and pay attention to my diet To get ahead in life, you have to be selfish sometimes I attach great importance to my external appearance I like to have fun. After all, you only live once! Sometimes I'm jealous of the success of others				0.438 0.481 0.402 0.551 0.540 0.366 0.390 0.543 0.379

The remaining four scales showed a relatively high reliability ($\alpha > .70$) which was then improved by removing items. The four scales “*Family Values*”, “*Altruistic and Community Values*”, “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*”, and “*Self-Reliance*”, and their reliability coefficient Cronbach's α are shown below (table 7).

Table 7. Four value scales of EQVCS data

Factor	Items	Values	Value Scale	α
1	I maintain a strong family cohesion and appreciate the support of my family I'm worried about my family It is the duty of children to care for their parents in old age It is important to me to have children and start a family Good hospitality is important to me For important decisions, I ask my parents for advice	Family Values, Hospitality, Family solidarity	Family Values	.762
2	I feel responsible for the society I live in I do what I can to reduce ecological damage and pollution I try to help those who need my help I'm interested in international politics I am interested in the politics of the country, where I live I like going to the theatre, reading books or listening to music	Helpfulness, Enhance welfare	Altruistic and community values	.725
3	Everyone should first look after the well-being of their own family before taking care of others I have always worked hard, because actually one can only succeed in life with hard work When I'm done with the today's task, I start immediately with tomorrow's task Financial independence is very important to me I have patriotic feelings for the country where I live Sometimes I am emotionally touched by the cultural symbols of my nation Constant improvement and increasing my professional qualifications are one of my goals in life Sometimes, life also requires bringing sacrifices	Patriotism, Morality, Hard work	Work ethics and patriotism	.687

4	Everyone has the right to live on their own lifestyle, their own views and a self-determined partnership / family life I like meeting new people My dream is to live in great financial prosperity one day Questions of faith and religious practice have no meaning to me To stay in good physical condition, I exercise sports regularly and pay attention to my diet To get ahead in life, you have to be selfish sometimes I attach great importance to my external appearance I like to have fun. After all, you only live once! Sometimes I'm jealous of the success of others	Achievement, Independence, Pleasure Self-reliance .713
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6.1.1.1. Family Values

The value set “*Family Values*” consists of six items: “*I maintain a strong family cohesion and appreciate the support of my family*”, “*I'm worried about my family*”, “*It is the duty of children to care for their parents in old age*”, “*It is important to me to have children and start a family*”, “*Good hospitality is important to me*”, and “*For important decisions, I ask my parents for advice*”. Reliability of these six items show the highest result among all four value sets ($\alpha = .762$).

Exploratory analysis shows that the items regarding the importance of family and strong family cohesion, items regarding loving and respecting one's parents as well as good hospitality correlate strongly with each other. According to Inglehart (1998) and Inglehart/Baker (2000), these attributes characterize traditional cultures where families are of great importance. Similarly, studies about Polish non-immigrants and Polish immigrants (Boski 2001, Kwast-Welfeld 2004, Lewandowska 2008, Boski 2009, Boski 2010, Wesółowska 2013) show that people with Polish roots assign family a very important role. As previous research indicates, the role of Catholicism has played an important role in both Polish history and culture. Scholars such as Boski (2001) and Kwast-Welfeld (2004) postulate that Catholicism has been transmitted into Polish values and Polish mentality (Boski 2001), and therefore Catholicism corresponds to family values. However, in contrast to Boski (2001) and Kwast-Welfeld (2004), family values are not corresponding to Christian values in the present study. Both items “*Questions of faith and of religious practice have no meaning for me*” and “*My children have been raised/will be raised with the principles of Christian faith and morality*” do not correlate with the other items of the value set “*Family Values*”.

6.1.1.2. Altruistic and Community Values

The value set “*Altruistic and Community Values*” consists of six items which are as followed: “*I feel responsible for the society I live in*”, “*I do what I can to reduce ecological damage and*

pollution", *"I try to help those who need my help"*, *"I'm interested in international politics"*, *"I am interested in the politics of the country, where I live"*, and *"I like going to the theatre, reading books or listening to music"*. The scale shows a relatively high reliability ($\alpha = .725$)

These items refer to the attributes towards the interest of the wellbeing of the community and society. High importance is not only given to social responsibility but also to sustainable ecology and nature conservation. These items correlate with those regarding the interest in politics, both national and international. This supports the overall nature of this value set which is characterized by a high degree of interest and consciousness towards social and ecological responsibility.

6.1.1.3. Work Ethics and Patriotism

The value set *"Work Ethics and Patriotism"* consists of eight correlating items: *"Everyone should first look after the well-being of their own family before taking care of others"*, *"I have always worked hard, because actually one can only succeed in life with hard work"*, *"When I'm done with the today's task, I start immediately with tomorrow's task"*, *"Financial independence is very important to me"*, *"I have patriotic feelings for the country where I live"*, *"Sometimes I am emotionally touched by the cultural symbols of my nation"*, *"Constant improvement and increasing my professional qualifications are one of my goals in life"*, and *"Sometimes, life also requires bringing sacrifices"*. Reliability of these eight items is the smallest one among all four value sets ($\alpha = .687$) but remains a stable scale.

Among the value set *"Work Ethics and Patriotism"*, items regarding hard work, professional development and financial independence dominate. Over and above that, two items about patriotic feelings and cultural symbols show a relatively high correlation with the other ones.

6.1.1.4. Self-Reliance

The value set *"Self-Reliance"* consists of nine items: *"Everyone has the right to live on their own lifestyle, their own views and a self-determined partnership/family life"*, *"I like meeting new people"*, *"My dream is to live in great financial prosperity one day"*, *"Questions of faith and religious practice have no meaning to me"*, *"To stay in good physical condition, I exercise sports regularly and pay attention to my diet"*, *"To get ahead in life, you have to be selfish sometimes"*, *"I attach great importance to my external appearance"*, *"I like to have fun. After all, you only live once!"* and *"Sometimes I'm jealous of the success of others"*. The scale shows a relatively high reliability ($\alpha = .713$)

Among the value set “*Self-Reliance*”, items with a high quest for self-realization but also for possession and property correlate with each other. Self-realization is not primarily about the profession, but can also be realized through leisure activities. Having fun in life is just as important as getting to know new people. In addition, items regarding appearance and good physical condition show a high correlation with the other items composing this value set.

6.1.2. Data methods

ANOVA

Differences between value priority among the three groups Austrian-Polish immigrants (API), German-Polish immigrants (GPI), and Polish non-immigrants (PNI) were tested with ANOVA at the group level.

Mean comparison method

Value priority was measured between the three groups at the group level with mean comparison method. As part of t-test for independent samples (assuming unequal variances) the presumed differences in parent-child value similarity between the Polish immigrant groups in Austria and Germany and the Polish non-immigrant group in Poland were tested. The mean ratings of the four value sets were compared between generations of parents and generations of grownup children. In addition, this method was also applied to identify differences of value priorities between the generations of the three groups.

Dyadic correlation analysis

The across-dyad correlation method was used to estimate the variance in value ratings between generations (Knafo/Schwartz 2011). Grownup child's ratings were set in correlation with his/her mother's or father's ratings across all four value scales to measure differences of parent-child dyad value similarity.

Correlation and regression analysis

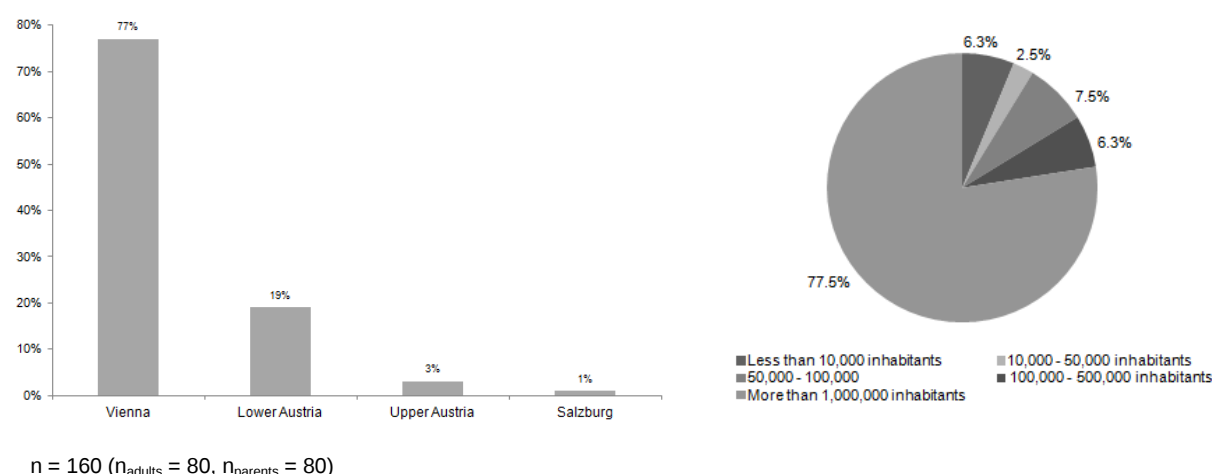
In order to investigate potential relationships between the four value sets, correlation analysis was performed. To detect cause-effect relationships, simple regression analysis as well as multiple regression analysis were examined. Regression analysis was performed on a inter-group level as well as intra-group level.

6.2. Descriptive Results

6.2.1. Regions

The sample in Austria was mainly drawn in the capital city Vienna. 77% of all participants of this study answered that they were living in Vienna, followed by Lower Austria (19%), Upper Austria (3%) and Salzburg (1%). Although the study does not claim to be representative, this distribution proves to be solid when comparing the actual distribution of the population with Polish roots in Austria. With a share of almost 67%, Vienna represents the federal state with the largest proportion of persons of Polish origin, followed by Lower Austria (14%) and Lower Austria (7%) (Statistik Austria 2016).

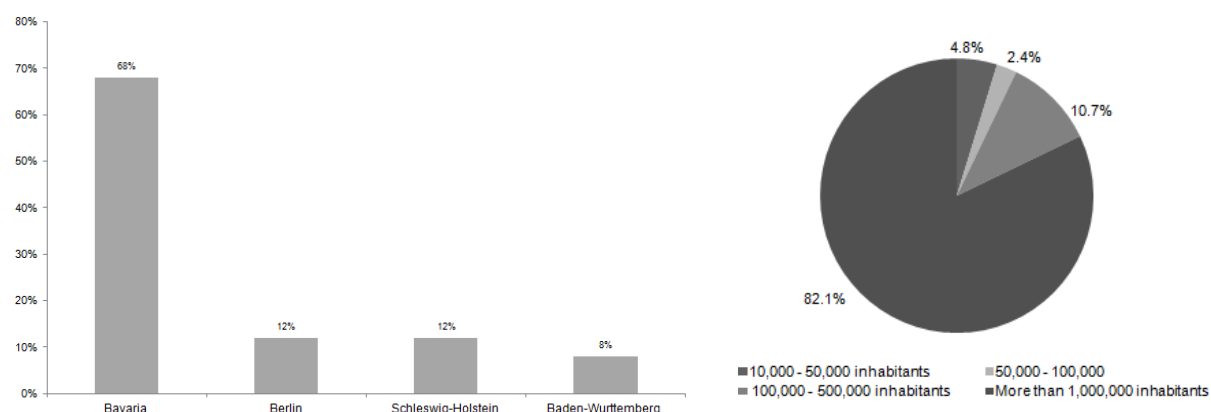
Graph 7. Distribution by Federal States and Location Size – Austrian-Polish immigrants



The German-Polish immigrant sample was mainly recruited in Bavaria (68%) but also in Berlin (12%), Schleswig-Holstein (12%) and Baden-Württemberg (8%). In contrast to Austria, this sample reflects less the actual distribution of population with Polish roots in Germany as the majority can be found in Northrhine-Westphalia (36%). However, Bavaria ranks already on the second place with 12%, followed by Baden-Württemberg (11%) and Lower Saxony (10%) (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016).

However, these figures must be taken with caution for the present study since the Austrian-wide and German-wide distribution of the population with Polish roots does not only include those who are relevant and of interest for this study but also includes inter alia those Poles who have immigrated after the accession of Poland to the EU.

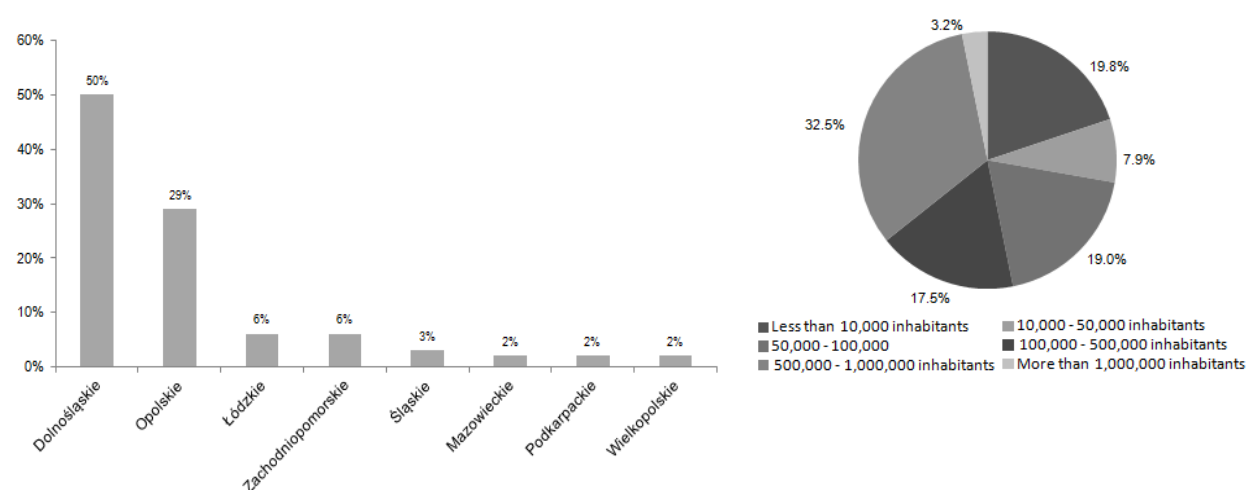
Graph 8. Distribution by Federal States and Location Size – German-Polish immigrants



n = 168 (n_{adults} = 84, n_{parents} = 84)

The Polish non-immigrant sample was gathered in eight out of sixteen provinces in Poland. Around half of the sample was collected in the province dolnośląskie, followed by the provinces opolskie (29%), łódzkie (6%), zachodniopomorskie (6%) and śląskie (3%). The remaining 6% spread relatively equal on the provinces mazowieckie, podkarpackie, and wielkopolskie.

Graph 9. Distribution by Federal States and Location Size – Polish non-immigrants



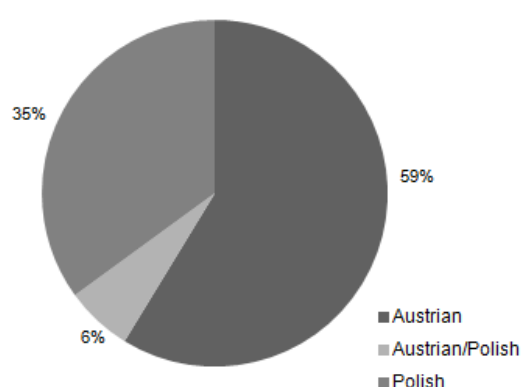
n = 252 (n_{adults} = 126, n_{parents} = 126)

6.2.2. Nationality

While the complete Polish non-immigrant sample consists of people with only Polish nationality, both immigrant groups show a diverse picture. In Austria, the majority of respondents stated to possess Austrian citizenship (59%), 35% possessed the Polish citizenship. Only 6% declared to have both an Austrian as well as a Polish citizenship. This relatively small number of dual nationality can be mostly explained by the fact that Austrian legislation does not allow dual or multi-state citizenship. Only in certain special cases, an exception can be made. Anyone who voluntarily acquires foreign citizenship thereby loses the Austrian citizenship. The liberalization of the naturalization practice in Austria since the mid-1980s led to the fact that many Polish citizens had to renounce their Polish nationality in order to acquire the Austrian one. Another explanation for the small number of dual citizenships in the Austrian-Polish immigrant group might be the low level of truthful answer to this question as dual citizenship is rather an exception than the rule case in Austria. In contrast to Austria, dual citizenship is legal in Germany, which is reflected in the nationality of the German-Polish immigrant sample. 27% of the respondents stated to have both the German as well as the Polish citizenship. However, the majority of the German-Polish immigrant participants possess only the Polish nationality (55%), while 18% possess the German one.

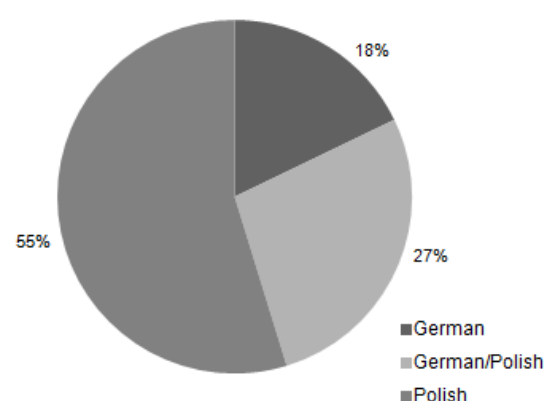
Graph 10. Distribution of immigrant groups by nationality

Austrian-Polish immigrants (API)



n = 160 (n_{adults} = 80, n_{parents} = 80)

German-Polish immigrants (GPI)



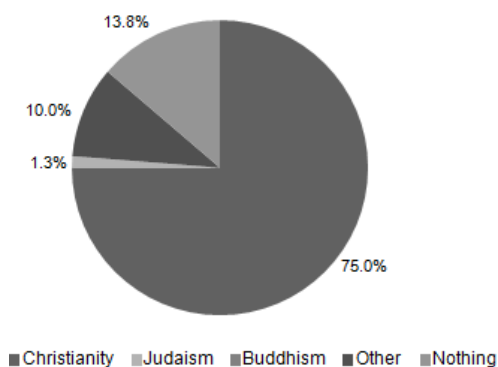
n = 168 (n_{adults} = 84, n_{parents} = 84)

6.2.3. Religion

As expected, the majority of the respondents among all three groups stated to be Christians. The proportion of those with Christian faith is relatively equal among the groups of German-Polish immigrants (82.1%) and Polish non-immigrants (82.4%), while in Austria it is less (75%). Only the sample in Austria includes 10% of participants with the religious affiliation of Jehovah's Witnesses. In all three samples, a small proportion of participants consider themselves as being Buddhists, while a relatively significant number of persons declares to have no religious affiliation at all. Among the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, 13.8% have no religious affiliation; among the German-Polish immigrant group, 16.7% have no religious affiliation; and among the Polish non-immigrant group, 14.1% have no religious affiliation.

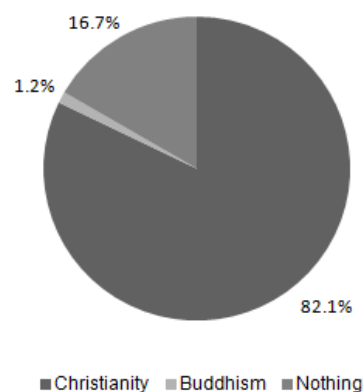
Graph 11. Distribution of all three groups by religious affiliation

Austrian-Polish immigrants (API)



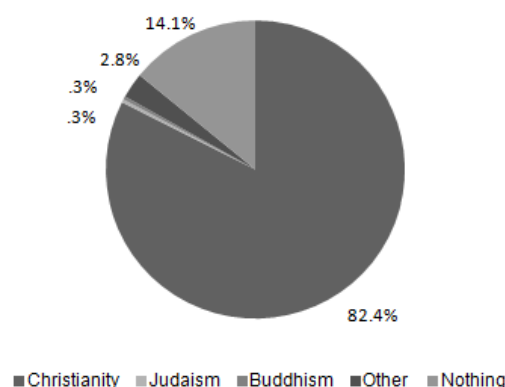
n = 160 (n_{adults} = 80, n_{parents} = 80)

German-Polish immigrants (GPI)



n = 168 (n_{adults} = 84, n_{parents} = 84)

Polish non-immigrants (PNI)



n = 252 (n_{adults} = 126, n_{parents} = 126)

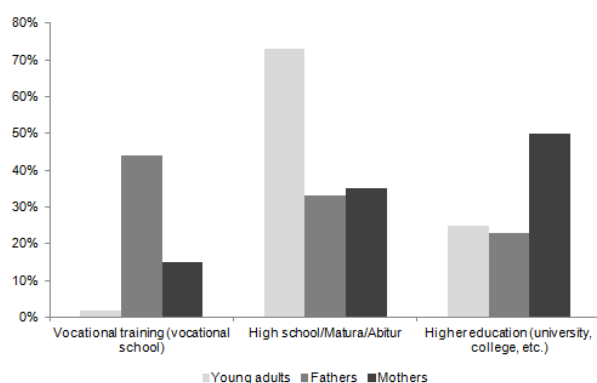
Taking a closer look on those without religious affiliation, the majority are young adult respondents. Out of the 13.8% of Austrian-Polish immigrants without religious confession, 64% belong to the young adult group, and 36% to the parent group. Among the German-Polish immigrant group, the distribution is less: 57% of young adults and 43% of parents declare to have no religious affiliation at all. The most significant generational difference can be observed in Poland where out of the 14.1% of Polish non-immigrants without religious confession, 88% are young adults and only 12% are their parents. Despite the strong presence and the historical and political influence of the Catholic Church in Poland, the trend towards an unaffiliation with any religion can be observed among the younger generation of Poles. It is not primarily a question of whether a person belongs to the Christian community on paper but rather primarily based on the personal sensation of the interviewees.

6.2.4. Education level and employment

Profession/occupation was measured via an open-ended question, while data about education level was collected via a closed question. The respondents could answer whether their highest educational level was “Basic education”, “Vocational training/school”, “High school/Matura/Abitur” or “Higher education (university, college, etc.)”. In order to crosscheck the answers of the parents’ generation, the young adults were asked to name their parents’ highest educational level as well as current/last occupation additionally. In a second step, the open-ended answers were coded into sixteen categories in order make the data more comparable.

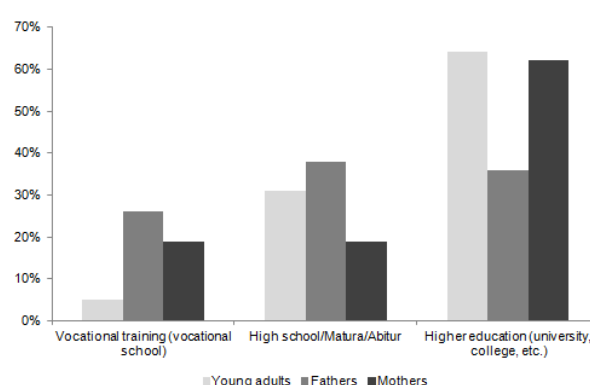
Graph 12. Generational comparison of highest educational level

Austrian-Polish immigrants (API)



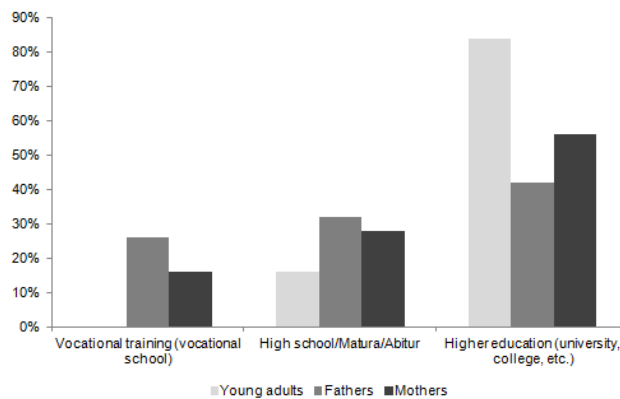
n = 160 (n_{adults} = 80, n_{parents} = 80)

German-Polish immigrants (GPI)



n = 168 (n_{adults} = 84, n_{parents} = 84)

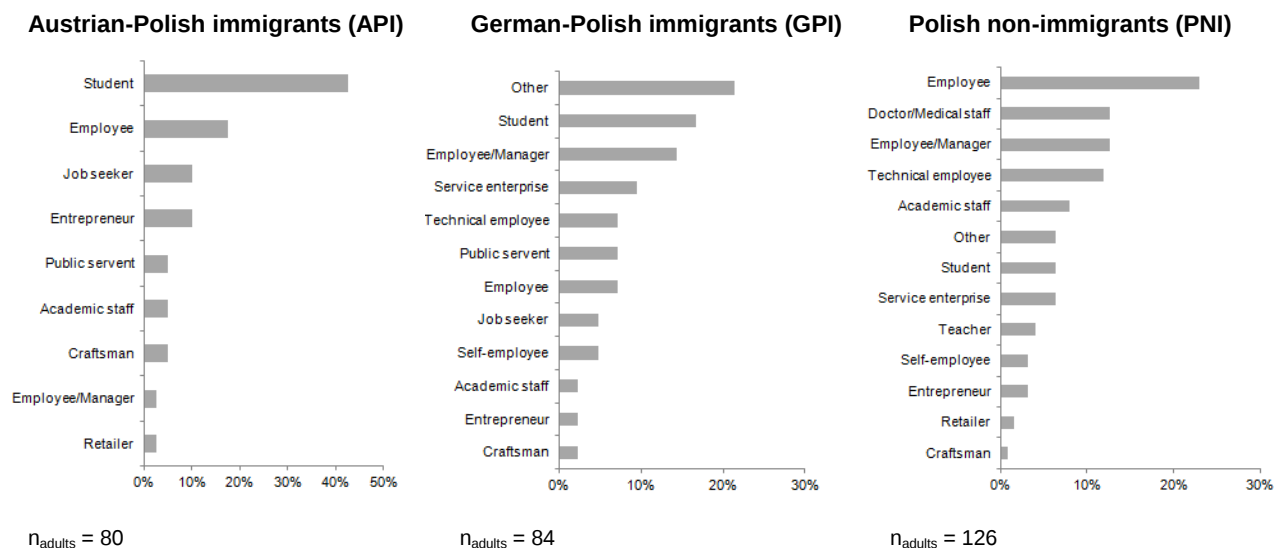
Polish non-immigrants (PNI)



n = 246 (n_{adults} = 126, n_{parents} = 120)

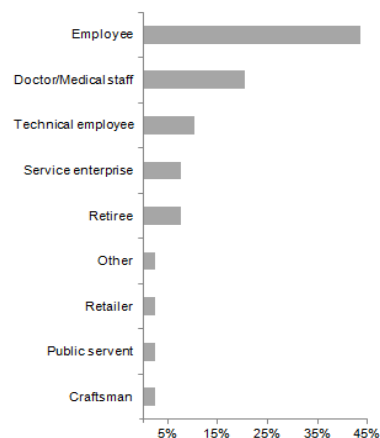
Comparison of highest educational level shows a significant difference between mothers and fathers ($p < .05$). Among all groups, mothers tend to be higher educated than fathers. While there is no significant difference in the fathers' employment among the three groups, there is one concerning the highest educational level ($p < .05$). Among the immigrant groups, there is a significant overrepresentation of fathers with exclusively lower educational level (vocational training/vocational school and/or high school/Matura/Abitur). This is not true for immigrant mothers. No significant difference in mothers' highest educational level could be found among the groups, however this does not apply to the mothers' employment ($p < .001$). Comparing both young adult immigrant groups with the Polish non-immigrant group, a high proportion of students (and other professions/occupations) can be observed.

Graph 13. Distribution by employment – Young adults



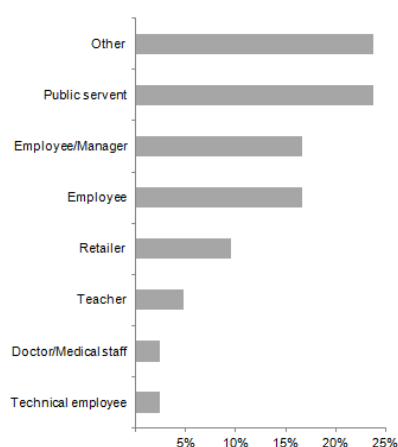
Graph 14. Distribution by employment – Mothers

Austrian-Polish immigrants (API)



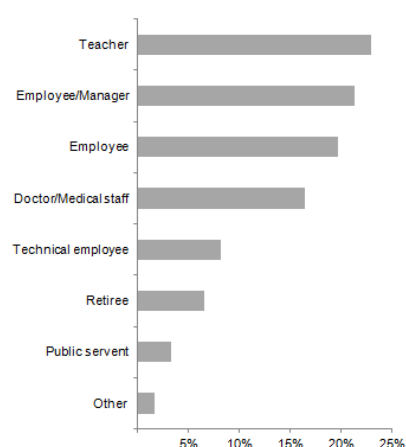
$n_{\text{mothers}} = 50$

German-Polish immigrants (GPI)



$n_{\text{mothers}} = 59$

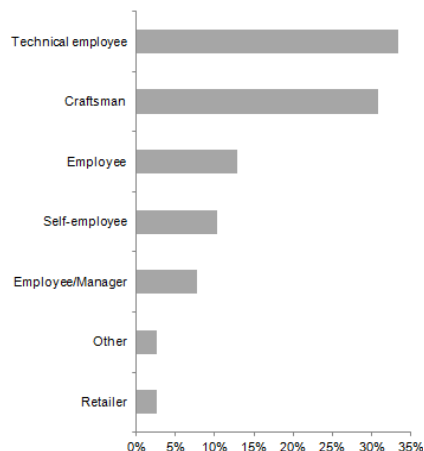
Polish non-immigrants (PNI)



$n_{\text{mothers}} = 62$

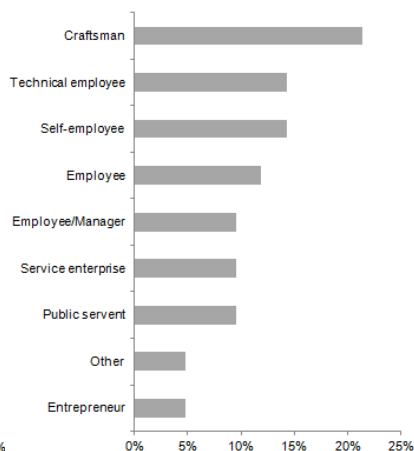
Graph 15. Distribution by employment – Fathers

Austrian-Polish immigrants (API)



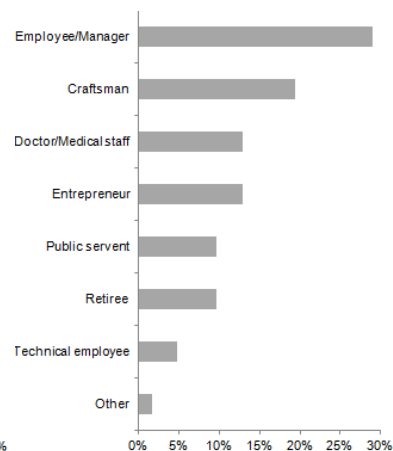
$n_{\text{fathers}} = 30$

German-Polish immigrants (GPI)



$n_{\text{fathers}} = 25$

Polish non-immigrants (PNI)



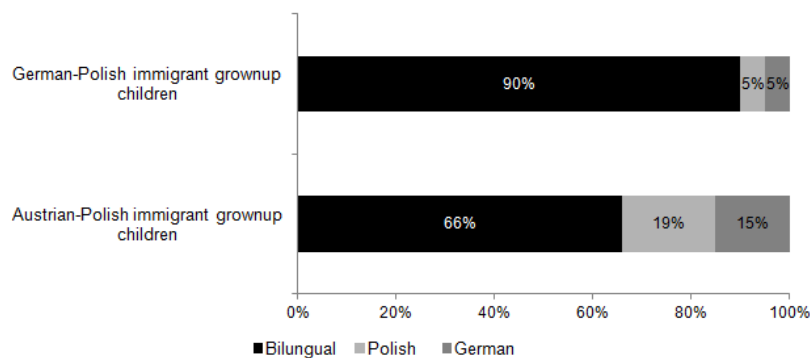
$n_{\text{fathers}} = 64$

In general, among both young immigrant adult groups a tendency of professions with high education level can be observed. Students, employees in a managing positions, and academic staff are significantly over-represented, while professions such as retailer and craftsman are an exclusion. The same applies to the group of Polish non-immigrants. However, the distribution of professions in this group is more different from the immigrant groups.

6.2.5. Language

The Austrian-Polish immigrant group as well as the German-Polish immigrant group was asked to name those languages, which they name to be their mother tongues. The respondents got the possibility to name as many languages as they wanted, also a ranking of these languages was not asked to be given. Among both immigrant groups, the parents' generation named Polish as their only mother tongue (only among German-Polish immigrant mothers, four respondents name also German as second language). In contrast, there is a high proportion of bilingual immigrants among the second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany. In Austria, 90% of the grownups named both German and Polish to be their mother tongues, while in Germany this proportion is around 66%. At least 15% of German-Polish immigrant grownup children named only German to be their mother tongue, while 19% named Polish.

Graph 16. Distribution by language: Immigrant grownup groups



$n_{\text{GPladukts}} = 84$, $n_{\text{APladukts}} = 80$

6.3. Multivariate Results

6.3.1. Inter-group level analysis

6.3.1.1. ANOVA

As already mentioned, using exploratory factor analysis, four value sets with a relatively high reliability ($\alpha > .70$) were examined: “*Family Values*”, “*Altruistic and Community Values*”, “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*”, and “*Self-Reliance*” (see table 8).

Table 8. Four value scales of EQVCS data

On the EQCVS's 6-point scale where 1=I totally agree, 2=I agree, 3=I slightly agree, 4=I slightly disagree, 5=I disagree and 6=I totally disagree

	Values	α
Family Values	Family Values, Hospitality, Family solidarity	0.762
Altruistic and Community Values	Helpfulness, Enhance welfare	0.725
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Patriotism, Morality, Hard work	0.687
Self-Reliance	Achievement, Independence, Pleasure	0.713

Value priority was measured between the three groups of Austrian-Polish immigrants (API), German-Polish immigrants (GPI), and Polish non-immigrants (PNI) at the group level with ANOVA. The mean ratings of the four value sets were compared between the three groups as well as between the generations of parents and the generations of grownup children. It was tested if migration experience of Austrian-Polish immigrant parents and German-Polish immigrant parents as well as the generational aspect have an impact on the value sets' ratings. In order to examine which groups differ from each other, the Turkey HDS test was used for conducting post-hoc tests on the ANOVA. Value scales "*Family Values*" (F1) as well as "*Work Ethics and Patriotism*" (F3) did not show any significant difference between the groups Austrian-Polish immigrants, German-Polish immigrants and Polish non-immigrants, but "*Altruistic and Community Values*" (F2) and "*Self-Reliance*" (F4). Mean difference for "*Altruistic and Community Values*" (F2) was statistically significant among the three groups ($F(2, 555) = 16.05, p < .000$). Further review revealed that significant differences in mean scores between the groups could be also found regarding "*Self-Reliance*" (F4) ($F(2, 547) = 4.39, p < .05$) (see table 9).

Table 9. ANOVA analysis

	Descriptives							
	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error	95% Conf. Interval for Mean		Min	Max
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Family Values								
Austrian-Polish immigrants	150	2.1244	.83102	.06785	1.9904	2.2585	1.00	4.67
German-Polish immigrants	162	1.9712	.80406	.06317	1.8464	2.0959	1.00	4.83
Polish non-immigrants	248	2.1667	1.01518	.06446	2.0397	2.2936	1.00	5.83
Total	560	2.0988	.91247	.03856	2.0231	2.1745	1.00	5.83
Altruistic and Community Values								
Austrian-Polish immigrants	146	2.3174	.85194	.07051	2.1780	2.4567	1.00	4.83
German-Polish immigrants	164	2.3384	.79179	.06183	2.2163	2.4605	1.00	4.17
Polish non-immigrants	248	2.7621	.98782	.06273	2.6385	2.8856	1.00	4.83
Total	558	2.5212	.92287	.03907	2.4445	2.5979	1.00	4.83

Work Ethics and Patriotism								
Austrian-Polish immigrants	148	2.5642	.72675	.05974	2.4461	2.6822	1.00	4.50
German-Polish immigrants	162	2.6914	.78517	.06169	2.5695	2.8132	1.00	4.38
Polish non-immigrants	240	2.6000	.74941	.04837	2.5047	2.6953	1.25	5.38
Total	550	2.6173	.75446	.03217	2.5541	2.6805	1.00	5.38
Self-Reliance								
Austrian-Polish immigrants	154	3.0476	.75100	.06052	2.9281	3.1672	1.22	4.44
German-Polish immigrants	154	2.8672	.57813	.04659	2.7752	2.9593	1.67	4.67
Polish non-immigrants	242	3.0845	.80251	.05159	2.9829	3.1861	1.22	4.89
Total	550	3.0133	.73593	.03138	2.9517	3.0750	1.22	4.89

ANOVA

			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Factor 1	Family Values	Between Groups	3.879	2	1.939	2.341	.097
		Within Groups	461.543	557	.829		
		Total	465.421	559			
Factor 2	Altruistic and Community Values	Between Groups	25.938	2	12.969	16.050	.000
		Within Groups	448.450	555	.808		
		Total	474.388	557			
Factor 3	Work Ethics and Patriotism	Between Groups	1.378	2	.689	1.211	.299
		Within Groups	311.121	547	.569		
		Total	312.498	549			
Factor 4	Self-Reliance	Between Groups	4.693	2	2.346	4.386	.013
		Within Groups	292.642	547	.535		
		Total	297.334	549			

Table 10. Multiple comparisons box

Multiple Comparisons						
Tukey HSD						
Dependent Variable		Mean Diff. (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Family Values						
Austrian-Polish immigrants	German-Polish immigrants	.15325	.10315	.299	-.0891	.3956
	Polish non-immigrants	-.04222	.09416	.895	-.2635	.1790
German-Polish immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	-.15325	.10315	.299	-.3956	.0891
	Polish non-immigrants	-.19547	.09196	.086	-.4116	.0206
Polish non-immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.04222	.09416	.895	-.1790	.2635
	German-Polish immigrants	.19547	.09196	.086	-.0206	.4116
Altruistic and Community Values						
Austrian-Polish immigrants	German-Polish immigrants	-.02106	.10228	.977	-.2614	.2193
	Polish non-immigrants	-.44475 [*]	.09377	.000	-.6651	-.2244
German-Polish immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.02106	.10228	.977	-.2193	.2614
	Polish non-immigrants	-.42368 [*]	.09047	.000	-.6363	-.2111
Polish non-immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.44475 [*]	.09377	.000	.2244	.6651
	German-Polish immigrants	.42368 [*]	.09047	.000	.2111	.6363
Work Ethics and Patriotism						
Austrian-Polish immigrants	German-Polish immigrants	-.12717	.08576	.300	-.3287	.0744
	Polish non-immigrants	-.03581	.07882	.893	-.2211	.1494
German-Polish immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.12717	.08576	.300	-.0744	.3287
	Polish non-immigrants	.09136	.07669	.459	-.0889	.2716
Polish non-immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.03581	.07882	.893	-.1494	.2211
	German-Polish immigrants	-.09136	.07669	.459	-.2716	.0889
Self-Reliance						
Austrian-Polish immigrants	German-Polish immigrants	.18038	.08335	.078	-.0155	.3763
	Polish non-immigrants	-.03686	.07540	.877	-.2141	.1403
German-Polish immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	-.18038	.08335	.078	-.3763	.0155
	Polish non-immigrants	-.21724 [*]	.07540	.011	-.3944	-.0400
Polish non-immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.03686	.07540	.877	-.1403	.2141
	German-Polish immigrants	.21724 [*]	.07540	.011	.0400	.3944

* The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Post-hoc comparison using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the “*Altruistic and Community Values*” mean score for Polish non-immigrants ($M = 2.762$, $SD = .988$) differed significantly from the mean scores of both immigrant groups, Austrian-Polish immigrants ($M = 2.317$, $SD = .852$) and German-Polish immigrants ($M = 2.338$, $SD = .792$). Furthermore, statistic difference could also be found for “*Self-Reliance*” mean scores between the Polish non-immigrant group ($M = 3.085$, $SD = .803$) and the German-Polish immigrant group ($M = 2.867$, $SD = .578$). There was no statistically significant difference in mean scores between the groups for the value sets “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3).

In conclusion, a *cultural group membership effect* is present for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4). The effect is highly significant for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) as both immigrant groups differ significantly from the Polish non-immigrant group ($p < .001$), while the cultural group membership effect for “*Self-Reliance*” (F4) can be considered weaker as it only occurs between the Polish non-immigrant group and the German-Polish immigrant group ($p < .05$).

Table 11. Mean Ratings of Values of three groups

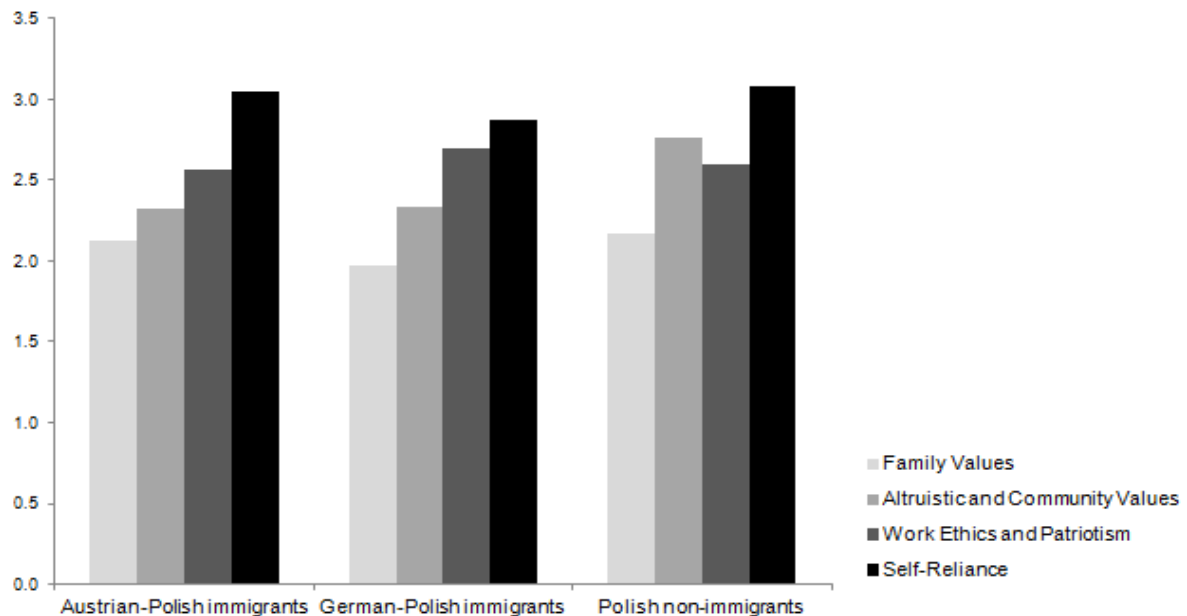
	Austrian-Polish immigrants (API)			German-Polish immigrants (DPI)			Polish non-immigrants (PNI)		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Family Values	150	2.1244	.83102	162	1.9712	.80406	248	2.1667	1.01518
Altruistic and Community Values	146	2.3174	.85194	164	2.3384	.79179	248	2.7621	.98782
Work Ethics and Patriotism	148	2.5642	.72675	162	2.6914	.78517	240	2.6000	.74941
Self-Reliance	154	3.0476	.75100	154	2.8672	.57813	242	3.0845	.80251

Among all three groups, the value set “*Family Values*” (F1) was rated most positively on the EQCVS's 6-point scale (1=I totally agree, 2=I agree, 3=I slightly agree, 4=I slightly disagree, 5=I disagree and 6=I totally disagree). German-Polish immigrants rated this value set most positively ($M = 1.971$), followed by Austrian-Polish immigrants ($M = 2.124$) and Polish non-immigrants ($M = 2.167$). However, as the Tukey HSD test indicated, there was no significant difference between these mean scores ($p > .05$). The result of Tukey HSD test regarding the difference between the groups for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” was also reflected in the value prioritization of the groups. Polish non-immigrants rated this value with the lowest agreement ($M = 2.762$), while both immigrant groups tended to rate this value set more positively ($M_{API} = 2.317$, $M_{GPI} = 2.338$). Among all groups, “*Self-Reliance*” (F4) was rated as the value set with the highest disagreement ($M_{API} = 3.048$, $M_{GPI} = 2.867$, $M_{PNI} = 3.085$),

whereas only the mean score difference between German-Polish immigrants and Polish non-immigrants was statistically significant ($p < .05$) (see graph 17).

Graph 17. Mean rating scores of four value sets

On the EQCVS's 6-point scale where 1=I totally agree, 2=I agree, 3=I slightly agree, 4=I slightly disagree, 5=I disagree and 6=I totally disagree



$n_{API} = 160$, $n_{DPI} = 168$, $n_{NPI} = 252$

In conclusion, two opposed cultural effects on the group comparison level are present. For “Family Values” (F1), an *intra-cultural effect* is present as among all groups, this value set is rated mostly positively and with the highest agreement on the items behind this value set. People with Polish roots, irrespective of the cultural context they have been born and raised in, assign great importance to family. Strong family relationships, intense contact to parents as well as other relatives are regarded as essential. They care for family members, especially one’s own children and parents. A *inter-cultural effect* could be investigated regarding “Altruistic and Community Values” (F2) as mean scores for both immigrant groups differ significantly from the mean score of the Polish non-immigrant group. It can be concluded that Polish non-immigrants tend to assign less importance to responsibility regarding ecological lifestyle and the reduction of pollution. Less interest in politics as well as in community and social welfare can be attributed to the Polish non-immigrant group as well.

6.3.1.2. Regression analysis

In order to investigate a potential relationship between the four value sets among all three groups, correlation coefficients r were calculated. This first step served to examine those value sets with significant relationships (see table 12). For the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, highly correlated variables were F3 and F4 ($p < .001$), F2 and F3 ($p < .001$), F2 and F1 ($p < .05$), F2 and F4 ($p < .05$). Lowly correlated variables were F1 and F3 ($p < .05$). For German-Polish immigrants, highly correlated variables were F2 and F1 ($p < .001$), F2 and F3 ($p < .001$), and F1 and F3 ($p < .001$). For the Polish non-immigrant, high correlations could be found among F2 and F1 ($p < .001$), F2 and F3 ($p < .001$), and F1 and F3 ($p < .001$). F2 and F4 ($p < .05$) correlated on a low level. These results indicated that the value set “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) correlated highly with the other value sets among all groups, being the strongest in the group of Austrian-Polish immigrants, followed by the Polish non-immigrant and German-Polish immigrant group. Regression analysis followed correlation analysis in order to specify the relationship between F2 and the other value sets.

Table 12. Correlation matrices of the three groups

Austrian-Polish immigrants

		Correlations			
		F1 - Family Values	F2 - Altruistic & Community Values	F3 - Work Ethics & Patriotism	F4 - Self-Reliance
F1 - Family Values	Pearson Correlation	1	.243**	.191*	-.042
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.004	.025	.617
	N	150	136	138	144
F2 - Altruistic & Community Values	Pearson Correlation	.243**	1	.320**	.261**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004		.000	.002
	N	136	146	134	144
F3 - Work Ethics & Patriotism	Pearson Correlation	.191*	.320**	1	.365**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.025	.000		.000
	N	138	134	148	142
F4 - Self-Reliance	Pearson Correlation	-.042	.261**	.365**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.617	.002	.000	
	N	144	144	142	154

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

German-Polish immigrants

		Correlations			
		F1 - Family Values	F2 - Altruistic & Community Values	F3 - Work Ethics & Patriotism	F4 - Self-Reliance
F1 - Family Values	Pearson Correlation	1	.658**	.478**	.068
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.411
	N	162	158	156	148
F2 - Altruistic & Community Values	Pearson Correlation	.658**	1	.551**	.073
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.374
	N	158	164	158	152
F3 - Work Ethics & Patriotism	Pearson Correlation	.478**	.551**	1	.084
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.311
	N	156	158	162	148

F4 - Self-Reliance	Pearson Correlation	.068	.073	.084	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.411	.374	.311	
	N	148	152	148	154

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Polish non-immigrants

		Correlations			
		F1 - Family Values	F2 - Altruistic & Community Values	F3 - Work Ethics & Patriotism	F4 - Self-Reliance
F1 - Family Values	Pearson Correlation	1	.362**	.582**	-.003
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.965
	N	249	245	237	238
F2 - Altruistic & Community Values	Pearson Correlation	.362**	1	.412**	.132*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.042
	N	245	249	237	238
F3 - Work Ethics & Patriotism	Pearson Correlation	.582**	.412**	1	.117
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.075
	N	237	237	241	232
F4 - Self-Reliance	Pearson Correlation	-.003	.132*	.117	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.965	.042	.075	
	N	238	238	232	242

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

For the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, linear regression analysis was conducted to detect the relationships between “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) and the three other value sets, as well as for “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4). In various models, the independent variables resulting from the previous analysis had been tried to be integrated into the theoretical framework of the study and to test for statistical probability. In a first step, a simple linear regression analysis was conducted for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) as dependent variable, and F1, F2 or F4 as independent variables. For each of these models, statistics R^2 was used for the quality of regression equation, which represented the proportion of the observed variance explained by the equation. Since only little variance of “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) could be determined by each individual value set (see model 1 to model 3), a multiple regression analysis was performed where “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) served as dependent variable and F1, F3 and F4 as predictors (see model 4). In model 4, the explained variance of “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) was greatest ($R^2 = .166$): 16.6% of the variance of “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) were explained by the other three value sets F1, F3 and F4. Furthermore, a linear regression analysis was conducted to investigate the relationship between “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4). As shown in model 5, 13.4% of the variance of “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) were explained by “*Self-Reliance*” (F4) (see table 13). All five models showed a high degree of significance ($p < .05$). The representation of the non-significant models has been omitted. Nevertheless, both

models 4 and 5 could only be considered as being unsatisfactory due to their small size of forecasting probability.

Table 13a. Linear regression analysis on F2 for Austrian-Polish immigrants

Model 1				
F2 x F3	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.365 ^a	.134	.127	.70128
Model 2				
F2 x F1	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.243 ^a	.059	.052	.82783
Model 3				
F2 x F4	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.261 ^a	.068	.062	.81975
Model 4				
F2 x F4 & F1 & F3	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.407 ^a	.166	.144	.76256

Table 13b. Linear regression analysis on F3 and F4 for Austrian-Polish immigrants

Model 5				
F3 x F4	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.365 ^a	.134	.127	.68434

Regression analysis was performed for German-Polish immigrants to make further investigation on the high correlation between “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2), “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3), and the strong correlation between “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3). Statistics R^2 was used for the quality of regression equation. In contrast to the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, a relatively high variance of “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) was determined by “*Family Values*” (F1) ($R^2 = .433$). A multiple regression analysis was conducted including “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) as dependent variable and F1 and F3 as predictors (see model 3). By including both value sets into the model, the prognosis probability increased to 50.8%. Model 4 represented the effect of “*Family Values*” (F1) on “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) (see table 14). All models showed a high degree of significance ($p < .001$). The representation of the non-significant models has been omitted. Only model 3 had a satisfactory result as the prognosis probability was 50.8%, and had a statistically high level of explanatory power for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2).

Table 14a. Linear regression analysis on F2 for German-Polish immigrants

Model 1				
F2 x F3	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.551 ^a	.303	.299	.66933

Model 2				
F2 x F1	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.658 ^a	.433	.429	.60778

Model 3				
F2 x F1 & F3	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.713 ^a	.508	.501	.57379

Table 14b. Linear regression analysis on F3 and F1 for German-Polish immigrants

Model 4				
F3 x F1	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.478 ^a	.229	.224	.70337

Similar to the two immigrant groups, regression models were performed for the Polish non-immigrant group. Correlations between “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2), “*Family Values*” (F1), “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4) could be investigated. A correlation could also be found between “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3). Models 1 to 3 tested the relationships between the dependent variable “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) and the independent variables F1, F3, and F4 (see table 15). However, all models showed unsatisfactory results, as the calculated forecast probability was very low. A multiple regression analysis including all three variables as predictors for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) was performed, whereby the forecast probability increased (20.7%). Model 5 showed the correlation between “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3): 33.6% of the variance of *Family Values*” (F1) were explained by the variable “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3). All presented models had a high degree of significance ($p < .001$). Non-significant models are not displayed.

Table 15a. Linear regression analysis on F2 for Polish non-immigrants

Model 1				
F2 x F3	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.410 ^a	.168	.164	.87282

Model 2				
F2 x F1	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.361 ^a	.130	.127	.92916

Model 3				
F2 x F4	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.132 ^a	.017	.013	.98561

Model 4				
F2 x F1 & F3 & F4	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.455 ^a	.207	.196	.87193

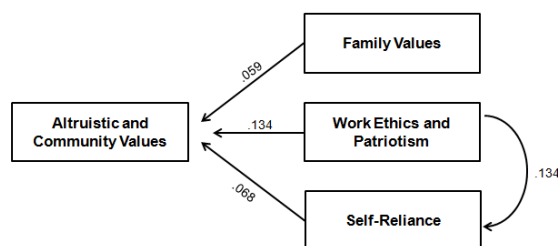
Table 15b. Linear regression analysis on F3 and F1 for Polish non-immigrants

Model 5				
F3 x F1	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	.580 ^a	.336	.334	.79906

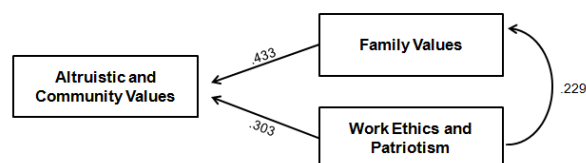
In conclusion, as the correlation of the independent variables among each other did not show strong mutual interference, high influence of the independent variables among the tested models is not present among all three groups. A relative impact on “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) by the independent variables “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) could be found among all three groups. For Austrian-Polish immigrants, the strongest impact on “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) make up all three predictors F1, F3 and F4 combined ($R^2 = .166$). In the first place comes “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3), in the second “*Self-Reliance*” (F4), and in the third “*Family Values*” (F1). For German-Polish immigrants, the strongest impact for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) could be determined for the independent variables “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) as predictors ($R^2 = .508$). “*Family Values*” (F1) with a prognosis probability of 43.3% has a higher impact than “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) with a prognosis probability of 30.3% as predictors for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2). Like for both immigrant groups, the strongest influence for “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) could be examined for all three predictors F1, F3 and F4 combined ($R^2 = .207$), with “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) having the strongest impact being a single predictor, followed by “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4). Besides the impact of independent variables on “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2), the relationship between “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) and “*Family Values*” (F1) for the German-Polish immigrant and the Polish non-immigrant group has been investigated into more detail. A stronger influence of “*Family Values*” (F1) on “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) could be found for the Polish non-immigrant group ($R^2 = .336$) compared to the German-Polish immigrant group ($R^2 = .229$). For the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, the correlation between “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4) was analyzed. The prognosis probability for “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) is only 13.4%.

Graph 17. Path models for F1, F2, F3, and F4 among all three groups

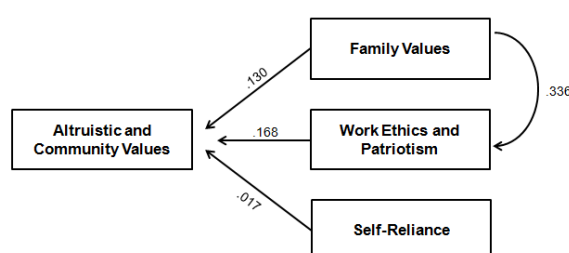
Austrian-Polish immigrant group



German-Polish immigrant group



Polish non-immigrant group



The theoretical models show certain trends in the influence of the individual factors, however, other intervening variables are not taken into account. It can be concluded that the tested independent variables serve only to a certain degree as an explanation for the value set “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2), whereby the strongest relationship can be seen among the German-Polish immigrant group. However, it must be highlighted that the ratings of the four value sets among all three groups are also influenced by external factors to a high degree. These external factors might be personality-conditioned, personal experiences, and individual life circumstances.

6.3.1.3. Summary

Comparison between groups reveals two opposing cultural effects: an *intra-cultural effect* is present among all groups, with “*Family Values*” (F1) being rated mostly positively and gaining the highest agreement. Just like in earlier studies (Boski 2001, Kwast-Welfeld 2004, Lewandowska 2008, Boski 2009, Boski 2010, Wesołowska 2013), all participants of this study assign a very important role to family, regarding strong familial bonds, intense contact with parents and relatives as well as taking care of each other as essential. An *inter-cultural effect* can be seen concerning “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2), as mean scores for both immigrant groups differ significantly from the mean score of the Polish non-immigrant

group. I can be concluded that Polish non-immigrants tend to assign less importance to an ecological lifestyle and the reduction of pollution, and show less interest in politics as well as community and social welfare. Furthermore, the value set “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) correlates highly with the other three value sets among all groups, being the strongest in the group of Austrian-Polish immigrants, followed by the Polish non-immigrant and German-Polish immigrant group. Correlation analysis reveals a moderate impact on “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) by the independent variables “*Family Values*” (F1) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) among all three groups. However, even though the theoretical models show certain trends regarding the impact of the value sets on each other, I conclude that other factors such as personality-conditioned, personal experiences, and individual life circumstances might have an even greater influence. Further sampling and data analysis needs to be undertaken in order to examine the importing external factors.

6.3.2. Intra-group level analysis

6.3.2.1. ANOVA

While the inter-group level analysis focuses on the intercultural comparison of the three groups of Austrian-Polish immigrants, German-Polish immigrants and Polish non-immigrants, the intra-group level analysis aims to investigate the differences between the grownup children and their parents of each group. Multivariate analysis discloses a significant *cultural* as well a *generational effect*. Among all groups, similar value set preference rating is present among parents: “*Family Values*” (F1), “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2), “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3), and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4). In Poland, the value sets “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2) and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) are inverted, however, the mean score difference of less than 0.1 is negligible as it can be assumed that for the Polish non-immigrant group both values sets have a relatively same importance. The cultural effect interacts with generation. Both German-Polish immigrant and Polish non-immigrant grownups exhibit a similar value preference: Factor 1 “*Family Values*” ($M_{GPI} = 2.05$, $M_{PNI} = 2.29$), Factor 4 “*Self-Reliance*” ($M_{GPI} = 2.44$, $M_{PNI} = 2.54$), Factor 2 “*Altruistic and Community Values*” ($M_{GPI} = 2.49$, $M_{PNI} = 2.95$), and Factor 3 “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” ($M_{GPI} = 3.21$, $M_{PNI} = 3.20$). The Austrian-Polish immigrant grownup group has a more differentiated value prioritization, as Factor 2 “*Altruistic and Community Values*” was rated with a mean rating score of 2.21. Thus, this value is the one with the highest importance among all four value sets for this grownup group. However, with only a mean scoring difference of 0.22, Factor 1 “*Family Values*” ($M_{API} = 2.43$) was rated on the second place. In contrast to both comparison groups, Factor 4 “*Self-Reliance*” was rated with a

mean score of 2.67 on the third place of importance. Remarkable is that while Factor 1, Factor 2 and Factor 4 obtain different importance among all three grownup groups, Factor 3 “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” is assigned with the lowest significance, whereas German-Polish immigrant and Polish non-immigrant grownups tend to rate this value set more negatively than the Austrian-Polish immigrant grownup group.

Table 15. Mean comparison of grownup children and parents

On the EQCVS's 6-point scale where 1=I totally agree, 2=I agree, 3=I slightly agree, 4=I slightly disagree, 5=I disagree and 6=I totally disagree

Family Values	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Std. Error Mean
Grownup Children API	2.3714	70	.73127	.08740
Parents API	1.9083	80	.85680	.09579
Grownup Children GPI	2.0128	78	.78301	.08866
Parents GPI	1.9325	84	.82592	.09012
Grownup Children PNI	2.2158	122	1.03313	.09353
Parents PNI	2.1190	126	.99930	.08902

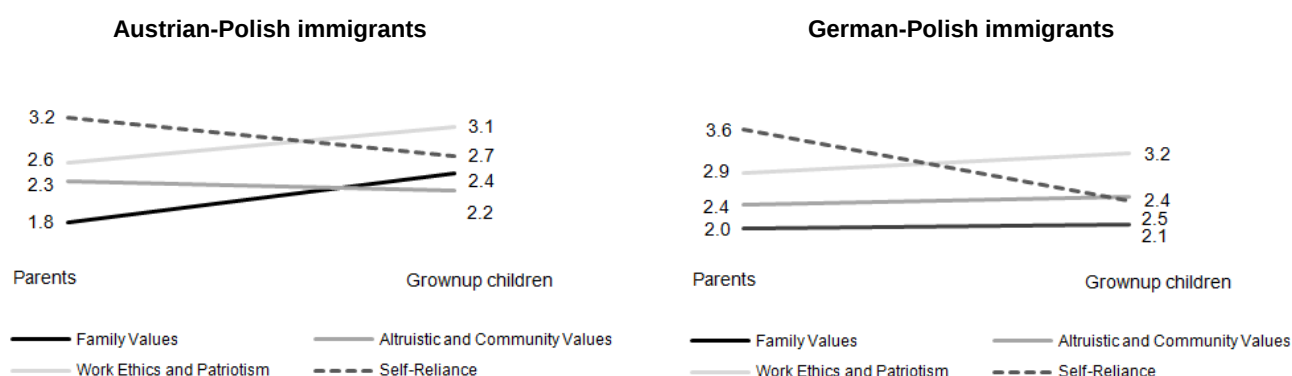
Altruistic and Community Values	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Std. Error Mean
Grownup Children API	2.2824	72	.74517	.08782
Parents API	2.3514	74	.94827	.11023
Grownup Children GPI	2.5361	83	.70521	.07741
Parents GPI	2.1358	81	.82795	.09199
Grownup Children PNI	2.8783	126	0.98261	.08754
Parents PNI	2.6421	122	.98279	.08898

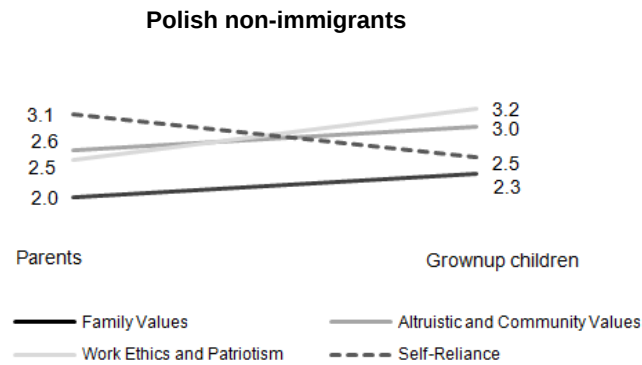
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Std. Error Mean
Grownup Children API	2.5903	72	.67891	.08001
Parents API	2.5395	76	.77304	.08867
Grownup Children GPI	2.7906	80	.63170	.07063
Parents GPI	2.5945	82	.90386	.09981
Grownup Children PNI	2.7582	122	0.69972	.06335
Parents PNI	2.4364	118	.76669	.07058

Self- Reliance	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Std. Error Mean
Grownup Children API	2.7164	76	.79077	.09071
Parents API	3.3704	78	.54570	.06179
Grownup Children GPI	2.5760	76	.54846	.06291
Parents GPI	3.1510	78	.45372	.05137
Grownup Children PNI	2.7778	122	0.66237	.05997
Parents PNI	3.3963	120	.81468	.07437

Graph 18. Generation effect: Mean rating scores of four value sets

On the EQCVS's 6-point scale where 1=I totally agree, 2=I agree, 3=I slightly agree, 4=I slightly disagree, 5=I disagree and 6=I totally disagree





6.3.2.2. Paired Samples t-Tests

Results signify that there are cultural specific differences in the ratings among the four value sets between parents and their grownup children in the Austrian-Polish immigrant, the German-Polish immigrant, and the Polish non-immigrant group. In order to test which of these differences are statistically significant, paired samples tests were undertaken. The results of the tests are presented in the table below (see table 16).

Table 16. Mean value scores for parents and their grownup children

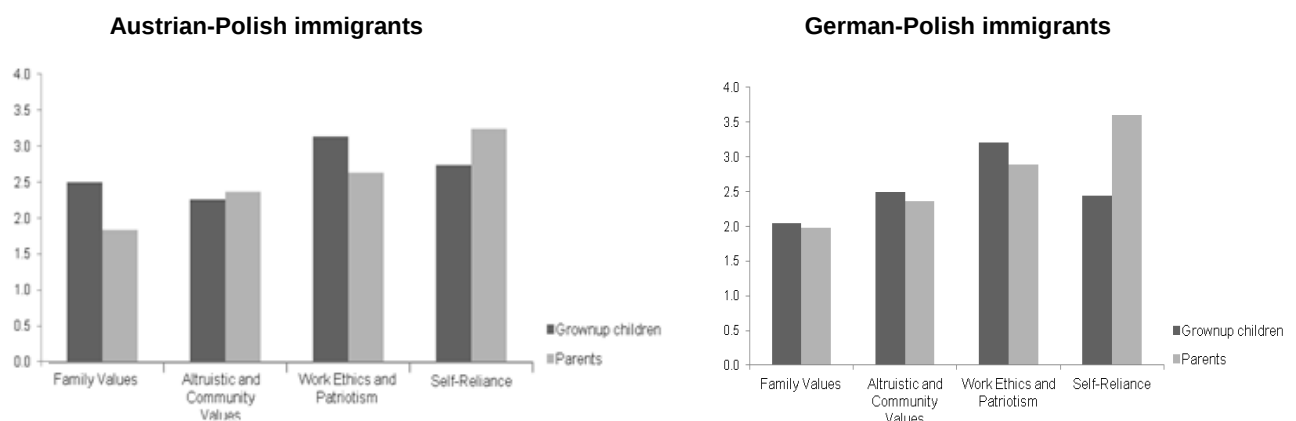
Austrian-Polish immigrants (API)	t	df	p	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Factor 1 - Family Values	3.75	62	.000	0.64	0.17
Factor 2 - Altruistic and Community Values	-0.56	62	.574	-0.11	0.20
Factor 3 - Work Ethics and Patriotism	2.56	62	.013	0.47	0.18
Factor 4 - Self-Reliance	-2.65	62	.010	-0.51	0.19
German-Polish immigrants (GPI)	t	df	p	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Factor 1 - Family Values	0.25	24	.807	0.08	0.31
Factor 2 - Altruistic and Community Values	0.35	24	.726	0.12	0.34
Factor 3 - Work Ethics and Patriotism	0.81	24	.426	0.32	0.40
Factor 4 - Self-Reliance	-4.98	24	.000	-1.16	0.23
Polish non-immigrants (PNI)	t	df	p	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
Factor 1 - Family Values	1.83	114	.070	0.33	0.18
Factor 2 - Altruistic and Community Values	1.89	114	.061	0.33	0.17
Factor 3 - Work Ethics and Patriotism	4.87	114	.000	0.71	0.15
Factor 4 - Self-Reliance	-4.23	114	.000	-0.57	0.14

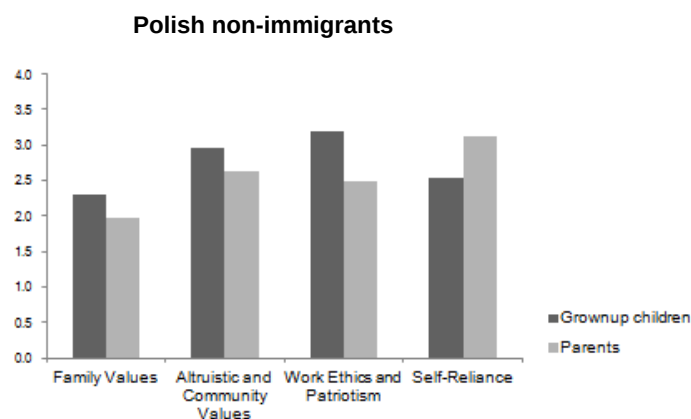
T-statistics show a nuanced result. While for the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, three value sets show significant differences between parents and their grownup children, for the German-Polish immigrant group the t-test proves only one value set significantly different between parents and their grownup children. The Polish non-immigrant group is located in-between, showing significant difference for two value sets between parents and their grownup offspring.

For Austrian-Polish immigrants, it can be concluded that the difference of means between parents and their grownup children is significant ($t = 3.75$ with 68 df, $p < .001$) concerning “*Family Values*” (F1). The same is true for the value sets “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3) and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4), with corresponding p-values of .01 and .01 ($p < .05$). Within the German-Polish immigrant group, only “*Self-Reliance*” (F4) ($p < .001$) implicates that there is a significant difference between the mean score values of parents and their grownup children. In contrast to the two immigrant groups, the t-test for the Polish non-immigrant group reveals significant differences of mean scores between parents and their offspring in terms of “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” ($p < .001$) and “*Self-Reliance*” ($p < .001$). Comparing these three inter-group differences, only the parent-child mean score difference of the value set “*Self-Reliance*” can be named as significant among all three groups.

Graph 19. Mean value ratings by two generations in groups API, GPI and PNI

On the EQCVS's 6-point scale where 1=I totally agree, 2=I agree, 3=I slightly agree, 4=I slightly disagree, 5=I disagree and 6=I totally disagree





6.3.2.3. Summary

In conclusion, this study explores the consequences of international migration on family relationships as measured by means of parent-child value similarity. Based on the assumption that immigration conditions have a positive influence on intergenerational value transmission and that relations between generations in immigrant families are characterized by significantly higher motivation than in non-immigrant families in the countries of origin (Nauck 1995, 2007), it was assumed that intergenerational value similarity is considerably stronger among Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany than in Polish non-immigrant families in Poland as measured by attitudes, orientation, and synchronicity of values between parents and children (Nauck 1995, 2007). It was assumed that there was no cultural difference in the value ratings and value primacy regarding Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany compared to Polish non-immigrant families (*hypothesis 4*).

A significant generational effect can be observed when comparing parents and children from all three groups of the present research project. "*Self-Reliance*" (F4) is rated more positively by grownup children than by their parents. It can be concluded that the younger generation is marked by a high degree of selfishness, one that particularly shows when it comes to career and financial aspects. The young generation, irrespective of the country they were born, grew up and have been socialized in, is more concerned with their own advantages such as financial prosperity and independence. Owing to an unprecedented measure of freedom, this generation is globalized and enjoys an opportunity of self-realization unimaginable for their parents who were born and grew up in Communist Poland, characterized by restrictions, scarcity, and the impossibility of travelling abroad. The young generation with Polish roots uses the current opportunities for international travel and getting ahead in life, which sometimes forces them to be selfish. However, this attitude does not

contradict their appreciation and care for long-term friendships. Another remarkable finding is that the relatively high importance of "Self-Reliance" (F4) does not contradict the equally high importance attributed to "Family Values" (F1). It is particularly noticeable that this more selfish attitude is not in conflict with the care for the individual's family, and in particular their parents. Among all groups, grownup children agree that it is the duty of children to care for their parents in old age.

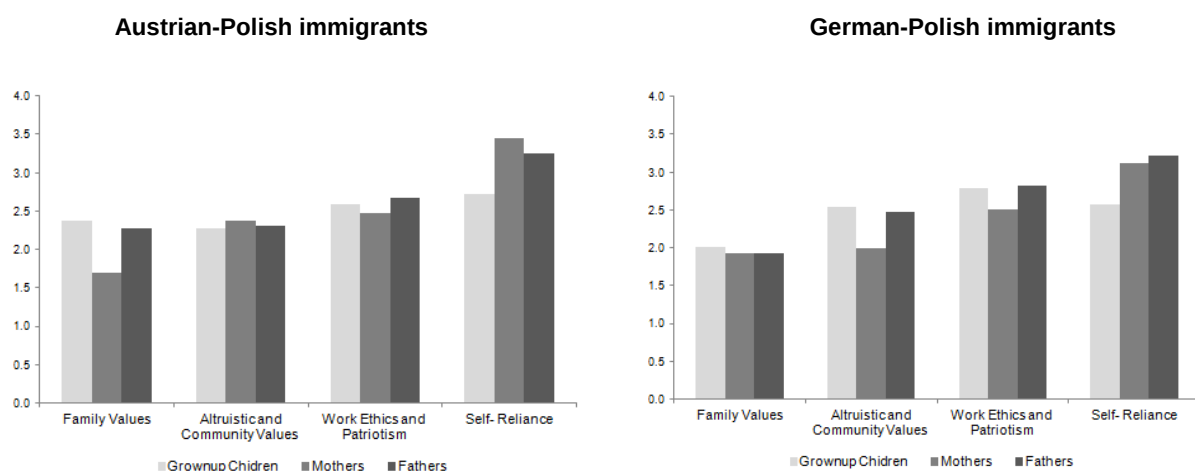
6.3.3. Dyadic analysis on a family level

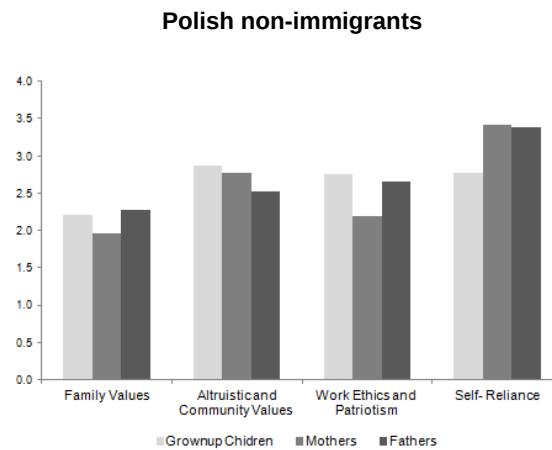
6.3.3.1. Paired Samples T-Tests

Parent-child-dyad value similarity among the three groups was measured with paired samples t-test. It was tested if value set preference of mothers/fathers differs significantly from value set preference of grownup children among all there groups. In addition, it was proven whether a correlation between the children's and parents' value set preference is present. P-values provide information whether the two condition means differ significantly (see table 17). Mean value ratings on a mother-child-level and father-child-level were calculated and are illustrated to visualize the differences between the generations on a family level (see graph 20).

Graph 20. Mean value ratings between mothers, fathers and grownup children

On the EQCVS's 6-point scale where 1=I totally agree, 2=I agree, 3=I slightly agree, 4=I slightly disagree, 5=I disagree and 6=I totally disagree





Parent-child dyadic comparison of the Austrian-Polish group shows a significant difference for "*Family Values*" (F1) between the children's and mothers' ratings. While the discrepancy between fathers and their children regarding "*Family Values*" (F1) is not significant, mothers tend to rate this value more positively ($M = 1.69$). In contrast, the mean of 3.44 for "*Self-Reliance*" (F4) implies that mothers of Austrian-Polish grownup children tend to slightly disagree with values such as personal achievements, pleasure, and independence. This is also true for the German-Polish immigrant group, but in particular, among the Polish non-immigrant group the difference between parents and their grownup children and their attitude towards "*Self-Reliance*" (F4) is visible. Both mothers ($M = 3.41$) and fathers ($M = 3.38$) rate this value set more negatively than their grownup children ($M = 2.77$).

Table 17. Dyadic comparison – Independent Samples T-Test among all three groups

Austrian-Polish immigrant: Mother-Child-Dyad

		Independent Samples Test								
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Conf. Interval of the Diff.	
									Lower	Upper
Family Values	Equal variances assumed	3.389	.068	5.371	118	.000	.67810	.12626	.42807	.92812
	Equal variances not assumed			5.542	115.364	.000	.67810	.12236	.43573	.92046
Altruistic and Community Values	Equal variances assumed	5.262	.024	-.573	118	.568	-.0925	.16163	-.4126	.22749
	Equal variances not assumed			-.538	79.439	.592	-.0925	.17202	-.4349	.24978
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Equal variances assumed	.072	.788	.913	120	.363	.12028	.13171	-.1405	.38106
	Equal variances not assumed			.894	97.157	.374	.12028	.13460	-.1468	.38742
Self-Reliance	Equal variances assumed	11.280	.001	-5.81	122	.000	-.7280	.12511	-.9757	-.4804
	Equal variances not assumed			-6.55	120.631	.000	-.7280	.11110	-.9480	-.5081

Austrian-Polish immigrant: Father-Child-Dyad

		Independent Samples Test								
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Conf. Interval of the Diff.	
									Lower	Upper
Family Values	Equal variances assumed	4.289	.041	0.565	98	.573	.10476	.18543	-.2632	.47275
	Equal variances not assumed			0.485	40.838	.630	.10476	.21579	-.3310	.54062
Altruistic and Community Values	Equal variances assumed	0.626	.431	-.145	96	.885	-.0252	.17417	-.3710	.32044
	Equal variances not assumed			-.140	41.462	.889	-.0252	.18067	-.3900	.33947
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Equal variances assumed	.069	.793	-.511	96	.610	-.0828	.16201	-.4043	.23880
	Equal variances not assumed			-.477	39.316	.636	-.0828	.17351	-.4336	.26808
Self- Reliance	Equal variances assumed	0.275	.601	-3.27	104	.001	-.5354	.16358	-.8598	-.2110
	Equal variances not assumed			-3.52	62.506	.001	-.5354	.15207	-.8394	-.2315

German-Polish immigrants: Mother-Child-Dyad

		Independent Samples Test								
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Conf. Interval of the Diff.	
									Lower	Upper
Family Values	Equal variances assumed	1.316	.253	0.572	135	.568	.08062	.14092	-.1981	.35931
	Equal variances not assumed			0.565	118.508	.573	.08062	.14276	-.2021	.36330
Altruistic and Community Values	Equal variances assumed	8.277	.005	4.049	138	.000	.54199	.13386	.27732	.80667
	Equal variances not assumed			3.892	103.185	.000	.54199	.13926	.26581	.81817
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Equal variances assumed	7.426	.007	2.256	137	.026	.28215	.12504	.03489	.52941
	Equal variances not assumed			2.162	103.017	.033	.28215	.13051	.02332	.54098
Self- Reliance	Equal variances assumed	0.547	.461	-5.68	127	.000	-.5456	.09616	-.7359	-.3553
	Equal variances not assumed			-5.73	115.595	.000	-.5456	.09527	-.7343	-.3569

German-Polish immigrants: Father-Child-Dyad

		Independent Samples Test								
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Conf. Interval of the Diff.	
									Lower	Upper
Family Values	Equal variances assumed	0.500	.481	0.445	101	.657	.07949	.17859	-.2750	.43376
	Equal variances not assumed			0.453	41.719	.653	.07949	.17557	-.2750	.43386
Altruistic and Community Values	Equal variances assumed	1.383	.242	.404	105	.687	.06392	.15830	-.2499	.37780
	Equal variances not assumed			.443	43.310	.660	.06392	.14441	-.2272	.35509
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Equal variances assumed	17.724	.000	-.141	101	.888	-.0246	.17448	-.3707	.32152
	Equal variances not assumed			-.109	26.914	.914	-.0246	.22636	-.4891	.43992
Self- Reliance	Equal variances assumed	5.176	.025	-5.59	99	.000	-.6373	.11391	-.8633	-.4113
	Equal variances not assumed			-7.83	86.815	.000	-.6373	.08142	-.7991	-.4755

Polish non-immigrants: Mother-Child-Dyad

		Independent Samples Test								
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Conf. Interval of the Diff.	
									Lower	Upper
Family Values	Equal variances assumed	0.248	.619	1.592	182	.113	.25348	.15922	-.0607	.56764
	Equal variances not assumed			1.611	126.820	.110	.25348	.15733	-.0578	.56481
Altruistic and Community Values	Equal variances assumed	1.391	.240	.675	182	.501	.10819	.16030	-.2081	.42447
	Equal variances not assumed			.654	102.926	.514	.10819	.16534	-.2197	.43611
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Equal variances assumed	.120	.730	5.081	176	.000	.57070	.11231	.34904	.79235
	Equal variances not assumed			5.116	108.631	.000	.57070	.11156	.34959	.79180
Self- Reliance	Equal variances assumed	10.080	.002	-5.49	180	.000	-.6333	.11540	-.8610	-.4056
	Equal variances not assumed			-5.03	94.784	.000	-.6333	.12583	-.8831	-.3835

Polish non-immigrants: Father-Child-Dyad

		Independent Samples Test								
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Conf. Interval of the Diff.	
									Lower	Upper
Family Values	Equal variances assumed	0.127	.722	-0.35	184	.727	-.0550	.15703	-.3648	.25482
	Equal variances not assumed			-0.35	133.368	.723	-.0550	.15477	-.3611	.25113
Altruistic and Community Values	Equal variances assumed	0.099	.753	2.408	188	.017	.35227	.14627	.06373	.64080
	Equal variances not assumed			2.487	138.285	.014	.35227	.14166	.07217	.63236
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Equal variances assumed	4.478	.036	.858	182	.392	.09691	.11294	-.1259	.31976
	Equal variances not assumed			.831	112.872	.407	.09691	.11655	-.1340	.32782
Self- Reliance	Equal variances assumed	4.484	.036	-5.45	180	.000	-.6037	.11070	-.8221	-.3853
	Equal variances not assumed			-5.17	102.313	.000	-.6037	.11689	-.8355	-.3719

Statistically significant differences between mothers and their grownup children could be found concerning “*Family Values*” ($p < .001$) as well as “*Self-Reliance*” ($p < .001$) among the Austrian-Polish immigrant group. Father-child-dyad comparison among the Austrian-Polish immigrant group shows that only the value set “*Self-Reliance*” ($p < .001$) indicates a statistically significant difference. Within the German-Polish immigrant group, mother-child-dyad comparison signals significant differences referring “*Altruistic and Community Values*” ($p < .001$) and “*Self-Reliance*” ($p < .001$). Like within the Austrian immigrant group, for father-child-dyad comparison within the German-Polish immigrant group, only the value set “*Self-Reliance*” ($p < .001$) indicates highly significant difference. Polish non-immigrant dyadic analysis shows significant differences for “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” ($p < .001$) and “*Self-Reliance*” ($p < .001$) for mother-child comparison, and significant differences for “*Self-*

Reliance" ($p < .001$) for father-child comparison, as well as "*Altruistic and Community Values*" ($p < .05$).

6.3.3.2. Correlation analysis

Correlation analysis was undertaken among young adults in order to investigate the degree of correlation between the value sets. Bivariate linear regression analysis was conducted to measure the causal or prognostic relevance of the independent variable(s) for the dependent variable. In a first step, bivariate Pearson correlations were conducted to express the strength of linkage between the four value sets. The correlation coefficient Pearson's r ranges from -1 to +1 between two continuous-level variables. A positive r value indicates a positive relationship between the two variables, while a negative r value expresses a negative relationship. No relationship between the variables can be assumed if the correlation coefficient is zero.

Correlation analysis among all three grownup adult groups reveals that the strongest correlations between the four value sets can be found among the German-Polish immigrant adult group. "*Work Ethics and Patriotism*" correlates positively with "*Family Values*" ($r = .251$), "*Altruistic and Community Values*" ($r = .376$), and "*Self-Reliance*" ($r = .320$). The strongest correlation is present for "*Family Values*" and "*Altruistic and Community Values*" ($r = .552$). Among the Austrian-Polish immigrant adult group, positive correlations could only be found between "*Altruistic and Community Values*" and "*Family Values*" ($r = .284$) as well as "*Self-Reliance*" ($r = .486$). Both immigrant groups do not show similar correlations, except the correlation between "*Family Values*" and "*Altruistic and Community Values*". This is also true for the Polish non-immigrant adult group ($r = .343$). Another similarity regarding value sets correlation is present when comparing this group with the German-Polish immigrant group. "*Work Ethics and Patriotism*" correlates positively with "*Family Values*" ($r = .514$) and "*Self-Reliance*" ($r = .352$) (see table 18).

Table 18. Bivariate correlation analysis among all three young adult groups

Austrian-Polish young immigrant adults

		Family Values	Altruistic and Community Values	Work Ethics and Patriotism	Self-Reliance
Family Values	Pearson Corr.	1	.284*	-.163	.128
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.011	.148	.257
	N	80	80	80	80
Altruistic and Community Values	Pearson Corr.	.284*	1	-.163	.486**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011		.149	.000
	N	80	80	80	80

Work Ethics and Patriotism	Pearson Corr.	-.163	-.163	1	.174
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.148	.149		.122
	N	80	80	80	80
Self- Reliance	Pearson Corr.	.128	.486**	.174	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.257	.000	.122	
	N	80	80	80	80

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

German-Polish young immigrant adults

		Family Values	Altruistic and Community Values	Work Ethics and Patriotism	Self-Reliance
Family Values	Pearson Corr.	1	.552**	.251*	.130
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.021	.237
	N	84	84	84	84
Altruistic and Community Values	Pearson Corr.	.552**	1	.376**	.134
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.224
	N	84	84	84	84
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Pearson Corr.	.251*	.376**	1	.320**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.021	.000		.003
	N	84	84	84	84
Self- Reliance	Pearson Corr.	.130	.134	.320**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.237	.224	.003	
	N	84	84	84	84

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Polish young non-immigrant adults

		Family Values	Altruistic and Community Values	Work Ethics and Patriotism	Self-Reliance
Family Values	Pearson Corr.	1	.343**	.514**	.040
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.660
	N	126	126	126	126
Altruistic and Community Values	Pearson Corr.	.343**	1	.105	.028
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.240	.758
	N	126	126	126	126
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Pearson Corr.	.514**	.105	1	.352**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.240		.000
	N	126	126	126	126
Self- Reliance	Pearson Corr.	.040	.028	.352**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.660	.758	.000	
	N	126	126	126	126

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

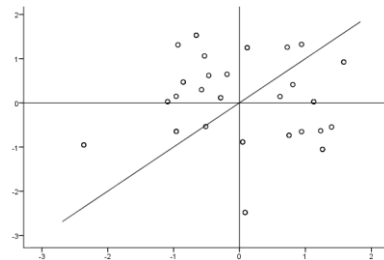
6.3.3.3. Regression analysis

Linear regression analyzes were executed among all groups. Normality and homoscedasticity were tested and ensured to be present for all models. In a first step, simple regression models were conducted, followed by adding variables into the models in order to predict the value of the dependent variable based on the value of several predictor variables. The following figure shows only those regression models which are statistically significant ($p < .001$) (see figure 13).

Figure 13. Linear Regression Analysis Models among all three grownup groups

Austrian-Polish young immigrant adults

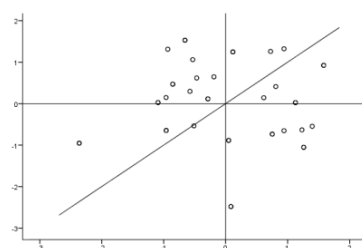
Model 1



Predictors: Self-Reliance, Family Values
Dep. Variable: Altruistic and Community Values
 $R^2 = .286$
 $n = 80$

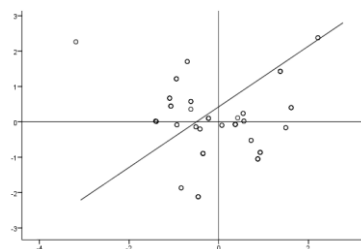
German-Polish young immigrant adults

Model 1



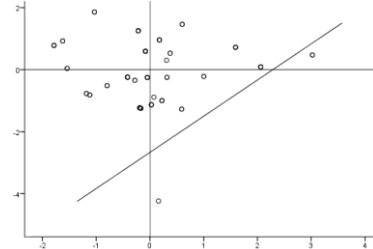
Predictors: Self-Reliance, Family Values, Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Work Ethics and Patriotism
 $R^2 = .216$
 $n = 84$

Model 2



Predictors: Work Ethics and Patriotism, Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Family Values
 $R^2 = .307$
 $n = 84$

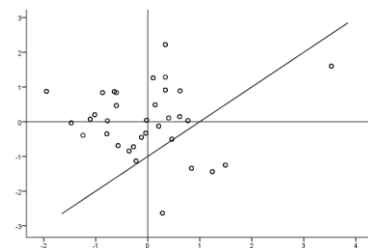
Model 3



Predictors: Work Ethics and Patriotism, Family Values
Dep. Variable: Altruistic and Community Values
 $R^2 = .364$
 $n = 84$

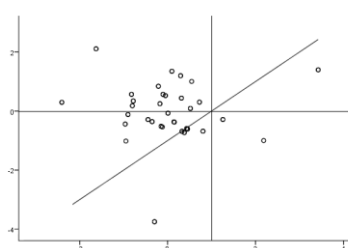
Polish young non-immigrant adults

Model 1



Predictors: Altruistic and Community Values, Work Ethics and Patriotism
Dep. Variable: Family Values
 $R^2 = .349$
 $n = 126$

Model 2



Predictors: Self-Reliance, Family Values
Dep. Variable: Work Ethics and Patriotism
 $R^2 = .375$
 $n = 126$

Inter-group comparison indicates that the strongest relationship is present among Polish young non-immigrant adults regarding "*Work Ethics and Patriotism*" (dependent variable) and "*Self-Reliance*" and "*Family Values*" (predictors) ($R^2 = .375$). 37.5% of the variance of the data is explained by the model. Even though all R^2 -values are relatively low ($50\% > R^2$),

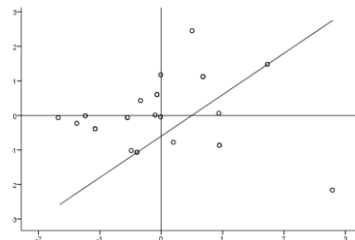
it was expected that they will be low as human values and attitudes are hard to predict. Furthermore, it was believed that the value sets taken into the models can only be seen as being partly responsible for the value sets' prioritization and ratings among the respondents.

In order to prove whether strong correlations between specific value sets are characteristic for the young generation or could also be true for their parents, the same analysis was undertaken for Polish immigrant mothers and fathers and Polish non-immigrant mothers and father. In a first step, correlation analyzes were conducted. According to Pearson's bivariate correlation, strong correlations ($p < 0.01$) could be found among all groups for both mothers and fathers. Linear regression analyzes followed in order to predict the value of the variable X (value set X) based on the value of variable Y (value set Y). Normality and homoscedasticity were tested and ensured to be present for all calculations. The following figures show the linear regression models between the value sets for both mothers and fathers among all three groups.

Figure 14. Regression analysis between value sets among mothers in all three groups

Austrian-Polish immigrant mothers

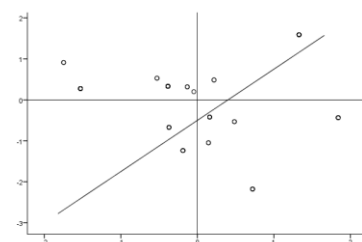
Model 1



Predictors: Altruistic and Community Values
Work Ethics and Patriotism
Dep. Variable: Family Values
 $R^2 = .230$
 $n = 50$

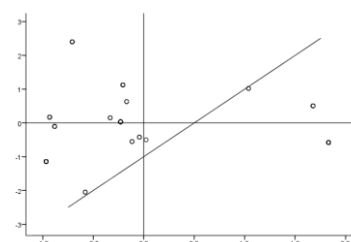
German-Polish immigrant mothers

Model 1



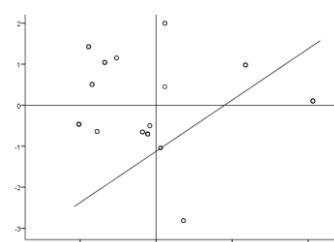
Predictors: Altruistic and Community Values
Work Ethics and Patriotism
Dep. Variable: Family Values
 $R^2 = .663$
 $n = 59$

Model 2



Predictors: Self-Reliance, Family Values
Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Work Ethics and Patriotism
 $R^2 = .592$
 $n = 59$

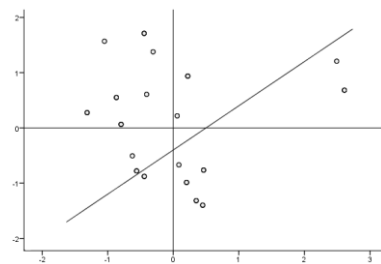
Model 3



Predictors: Family Values
Work Ethics and Patriotism
Dep. Variable: Altruistic and Community Values
 $R^2 = .367$
 $n = 59$

Polish non-immigrant mothers

Model 1



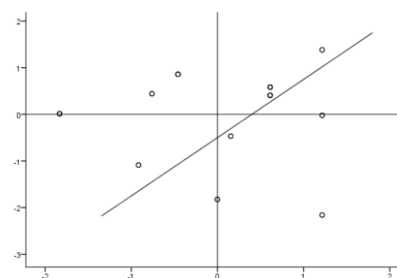
Predictors: Work Ethics and Patriotism
Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Family Values
 $R^2 = .417$
 $n = 62$

Comparison of mothers between the three groups reveals the strongest linear relationships to be present among German-Polish immigrant mothers regarding “*Family Values*” and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” and “*Altruistic and Community Values*” ($R^2 = .663$). This model explains 66.3% of the variability of the response data around its mean. Low ratings on “*Family Values*” correspond to low ratings on “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” and “*Altruistic and Community Values*”. In addition, the two other models among German-Polish immigrant mothers can be defined as the best ones compared to the models of Austrian-Polish immigrant and Polish non-immigrant mothers as R^2 is too small to fulfil the standards minimum to be seen as statistically acceptable in both cases.

Figure 15. Regression analysis between value sets among fathers in all three groups

Austrian-Polish immigrant fathers

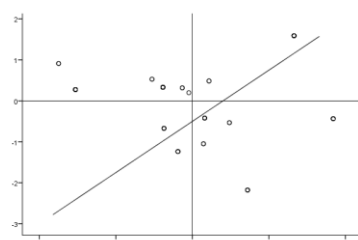
Model 1



Predictors: Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Self-Reliance
 $R^2 = .154$
 $n = 30$

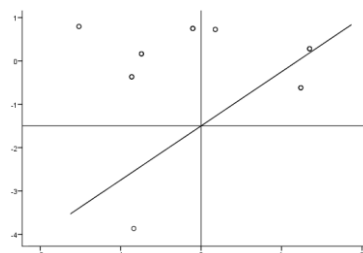
German-Polish immigrant fathers

Model 1



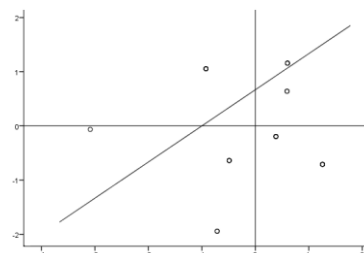
Predictors: Altruistic and Community Values
Self-Reliance
Dep. Variable: Family Values
 $R^2 = .578$
 $n = 25$

Model 2



Predictors: Self-Reliance, Family Values
Dep. Variable: Altruistic and Community Values
 $R^2 = .636$
 $n = 25$

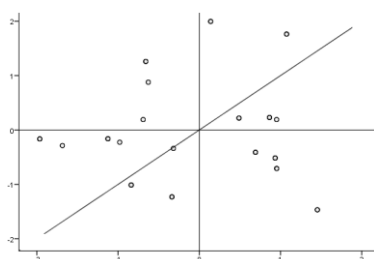
Model 3



Predictors: Family Values
Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Self-Reliance
 $R^2 = .275$
 $n = 25$

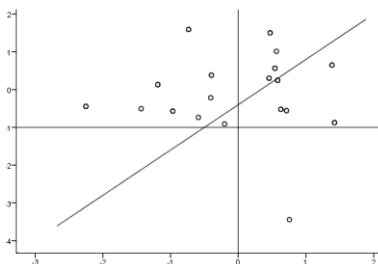
Polish non-immigrant fathers

Model 1



Predictors: Work Ethics and Patriotism, Self-Reliance
Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Family Values
 $R^2 = .166$
 $n = 64$

Model 2



Predictors: Family Values, Self-Reliance
Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Work Ethics and Patriotism
 $R^2 = .172$
 $n = 64$

Comparison of fathers discloses that only among German-Polish immigrant fathers the requirements are met by the regression models. The strongest positive correlation can be observed among this group for model 2 ($R^2 = .636$) and model 1 ($R^2 = .578$). Among both Austrian-Polish immigrant fathers and Polish non-immigrant fathers R^2 is too small to conclude that these models fit the data.

6.3.3.4. Summary

Parent-child dyadic analysis reveals a significant *generational effect* among the German-Polish immigrant and the Polish non-immigrant group. Just like previous analyses had proven before, it was again shown that regarding intergenerational value similarity and value preference, these two groups have more in common among each other than with the Austrian-Polish immigrant group. Among both the German-Polish immigrants and the Polish non-immigrants, a relatively strong, positive linear relationship between “*Family Values*”,

"*Altruistic and Community Values*" and "*Work Ethics and Patriotism*" (predictors) could be found on a dyadic mother-child and father-child level. This was however not true for the Austrian-Polish group where this relationship was solely present on mother-child level.

Immigration conditions were expected to have a positive influence on intergenerational value transmission, and parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany was assumed to be stronger than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland (*hypothesis 1*). However, this assumption could not be verified as the value-similarity between parents and their children in both immigrant groups in Austria and Germany show different characteristics. In conclusion, the results do not support the hypothesis that intergenerational value similarity among Austrian-Polish immigrant families and German-Polish immigrant families is stronger than among Polish non-immigrant families. Based on group and family analysis, I conclude that this effect may be explained by a general intergenerational discrepancy regarding life concepts and attitudes rather than cultural conditions. Both young grownup Polish immigrant and non-immigrant generations attach great importance to self-fulfilment, success in professional as well as private life, and the right to live life according to one's own believes. The wish to be successful and to realize one's dreams is also reflected in the high importance attributed to appearance and physical health. As mentioned before, the significant intergenerational difference can inter alia be explained by external conditions. In contrast to their children, the parent generation of Polish non-immigrants as well as Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany grew up in a post-war Communist Poland, characterized by scarcity and restrictions. Influenced by the political and social circumstances of a Communist regime, they did not experience the same freedom of self-realization as their children did while growing up in Austria, Germany, and Poland. Although the parents have this freedom today, the strong influence of their youth and young adulthood prevails, leading to the intergenerational gap regarding value similarity and value preference.

6.3.4. Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire (PAFS-Q)

The *Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire* (PAFS-Q) (Bray/Williamson/Malone 1984) was used to measure the second generation immigrants' level of quality of interpersonal relationships. Scales employed in this study included "*Intergenerational intimacy*" and "*Intergenerational intimidation*" in the young adults' questionnaires:

Intergenerational intimacy

Parent-child ties are an important repository for intimacy (Fingerman 2001: 26). Intimacy involves a closeness which is beneficial to both parents and children as it provides a sense of security and belonging (Fingerman 2001: 27). According to Williamson (1982: 23f.), intimacy is defined as voluntary closeness with clear boundaries. Intergenerational intimacy is characterized by recognition of the other person as an individual with strengths and weaknesses and by a deep concern for their well-being (Fingerman 2011: 28). Intimacy between parents and their grownup children is marked by two-way respect. Parents recognize that their children care for them, the offspring recognizes that their mother and father deserve to be free of worry (Fingerman 2001: 28).

This *Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire* (PAFS-Q) scale measures an individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the relationship to their mother and father as well as the degree of intimacy with each of them, with a low score result corresponding to a high intimacy. Grownup immigrant children in both Austria and Germany were asked to indicate on a 6-point scale how much they agree ("1 = I totally agree") or disagree ("6 = I totally disagree") with the statements regarding intergenerational intimacy.

Intergenerational intimidation

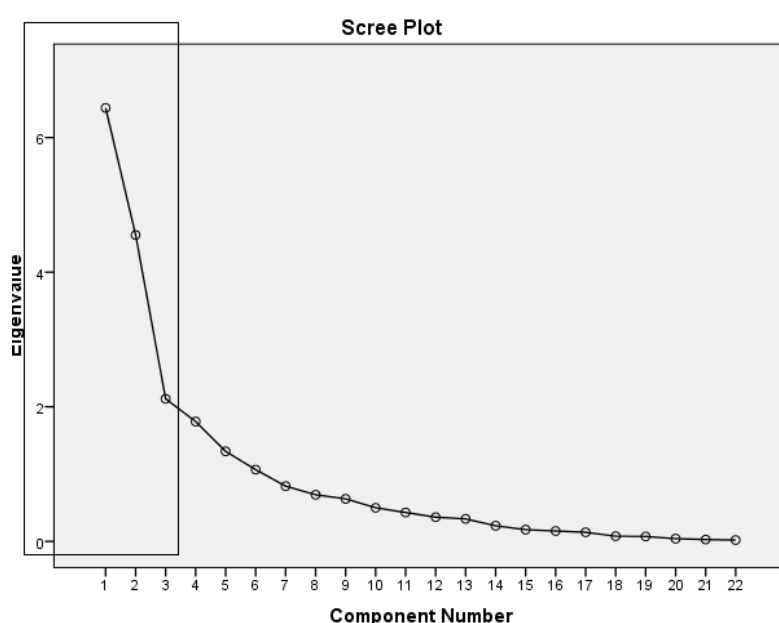
Intergenerational intimidation is the degree of personal intimidation experienced by the individual in relation to their parents, or the degree to which they yield to the wishes of their parents (Rovers 1998: 174). Intergenerational intimidation can be seen as the opposite of personal authority. If grownup individuals continue to make significant life decisions based on the concern for the approval of their parents, intergenerational intimidation occurs (Midmer 1997: 11). Low scores correspond to a high degree of personal influence of the mother/father. Young adult immigrants in Austria and Germany could indicate on a 5-point scale how often they feel the need to change their behaviour in order to meet their parents' expectations regarding different areas of their lives ("1 = Always" and "5 = Never").

6.3.4.1. Preliminary data analysis

Exploratory factor analysis was employed for the analysis of PAFS-Q data. Based on previous studies, theoretical considerations were made in advance, which led to the integration of only two of the eight scales from the PAFS-Q. The exploratory factor analysis served to prove the determined number of factors. Two factors emerged in the Varimax

rotation as well as suggested by the scree (see figure 16). A reliability analysis with Cronbach's alpha as reliability criteria was undertaken to determine the internal consistency. Referring to Schmitt (1996), a α -value of .70 was considered to be sufficient for internal consistency. "*Intergenerational intimacy*" consisted of items which could be rated on a 6-point scale, where "1 = I totally agree" and "6 = I totally disagree". "*Intergenerational intimidation*" consisted of items which could be rated on a 5-point scale, where "1 = Always" and "5 = Never". For the following analysis, the scale was recoded and reversed ("1 = Never", "2 = Sometimes", "3 = In half of the cases", "4 = Sometimes", and "5 = Always").

Figure 16: Scree plot



Reliability analysis discloses that the scale "*Intergenerational intimacy*" has a very high internal consistency ($\alpha = .925$), while the internal consistency for "*Intergenerational intimidation*" is a bit weaker ($\alpha = .828$). Table 19 represents the two scales including the items as well as the Cronbach's alpha values.

Table 19. Two scales of PAFS-Q data

Factor	Items	α
1	I meet my mother to talk about private things and spend time with her. I meet my father to talk about private things and spend time with him. I share my thoughts, feelings and beliefs with my parents. I honestly tell my mother about important events in my life. I honestly tell my father about important events in my life. I know that what I tell my mother confidentially remains between us both. I know that what I tell my father confidentially remains between us both. My parents play an equally important role in my life as I do in their lives.	Intergenerational intimacy 0.925

2	To meet my mother's expectations in terms of my education/work, I feel that I need to change my behaviour. To meet my father's expectations in terms of my education/work, I feel that I need to change my behaviour. To meet my mother's expectations in terms of my relationship/marriage, I feel that I need to change my behaviour. To meet my father's expectations in terms of my relationship/marriage, I feel that I need to change my behaviour. To meet my mother's expectations in terms of my lifestyle, I feel that I need to change my behaviour. To meet my father's expectations in terms of my lifestyle, I feel that I need to change my behaviour.	Intergenerational intimidation	0.828
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The independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the means of the two immigrant groups in order to determine whether the means differ significantly from each other. The Levene's F-test for Equality of Variances was chosen to test the assumption of homogeneity of variance ($\alpha = .05$). For "*Intergenerational intimacy*" (see table 20), the F-value for Levene's test is 18.784 with a Sig.-value of .000 ($p < .001$). Null hypothesis (no difference) for the assumption of homogeneity of variance was rejected as the Sig.-value was less than alpha of .05 ($p < .05$). There is a significant difference between the two immigrant group's variances for "*Intergenerational intimacy*". The same is true for "*Intergenerational intimidation*", for which the F-value for Levene's test is 15.319 with a Sig.-value of .000 ($p < .001$). Thus, a significant difference between the two immigrant group's variances can be assumed.

Table 20. Independent Samples T-Test among API grownup adults and GPI grownup adults

Group Statistics					
		N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error Mean
Intergenerational Intimacy	API grownup adults	74	3.0169	1.30304	.15148
	GPI grownup adults	74	2.2061	.88809	.10324
Intergenerational Intimidation	API grownup adults	76	1.6930	.67607	.07755
	GPI grownup adults	82	1.9797	.96949	.10706

Independent Samples Test									
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means					
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Conf. Interval of the Diff.
Intergenerational Intimacy	Equal variances assumed	18.784	.000	4.423	146	.000	.81081	.18331	.44852 1.1731
	Equal variances not assumed			4.423	128.78	.000	.81081	.18331	.44812 1.1735
Intergenerational Intimidation	Equal variances assumed	15.319	.000	-2.140	156	.034	-.2867	.1339	-.55129 -.02209
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.169	145.14	.032	-.2867	.1322	-.54798 -.02541

Mean comparison between the two young adult immigrant groups in Austria and Germany emphasizes that “*Intergenerational intimacy*” between German-Polish young immigrant adults and their parents ($M_{GPI} = 2.206$) scores lower compared to Austrian-Polish young immigrant adults and their parents ($M_{API} = 3.017$). The result signals that German-Polish young immigrant adults rate their intimacy and their relationship to their parents more positively than Austrian-Polish young immigrant adults. German-Polish young immigrant adults seem to be more satisfied with the relationship to their mothers and fathers as well as the degree of intimacy with them compared to their Austrian-Polish peers. Their parents play an equally important role in their lives as they do in their lives, and they agree on having a close and open relationship to both mother and father. Private things are shared between the young adults and their parents as they trust them that they would not share their secrets with others. This trust and openness seems to be weaker among the Austrian-Polish young immigrant adult group as they might feel the remaining differences in power between parents and themselves. It can be assumed that Austrian-Polish immigrant parents do not necessarily give up their responsibility or their attempts to influence their grownup children (Solomon et al. 2002: 967). Echoing Giddens (1991, 1992), a *pure relationship*, which he sees as a “*consequence of modernity*” is prevented. One conclusion that can be drawn is that among Austrian-Polish immigrant families, parents have missed to re-create ties on the basis of equality and reciprocal liking, trust and understanding to a certain extent in order to keep “*close relations*” to their children in their adulthood (Brannen et al. 1994: 181).

The German-Polish young immigrant adult group ($M_{GPI} = 1.9797$) rates “*Intergenerational intimidation*” higher than the Austrian-Polish young immigrant adult group ($M_{API} = 1.693$) on the reserved scale for “*Intergenerational intimidation*”, where “1 = Never”, “2 = Sometimes”, “3 = In half of the cases”, “4 = Sometimes”, and “5 = Always”. Lower scores correspond to a lower degree of personal influence of mother and/or father. A stronger agreement among German-Polish young immigrant adults can be observed regarding their feeling of needing to change their behaviour to meet the expectations of their parents in terms of education/work, relationship/marriage, and lifestyle.

Further analysis was made in order to investigate whether there is a relationship between “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and “*Intergenerational intimidation*” and the four value sets “*Family Values*” (F1), “*Altruistic and Community Values*” (F2), “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” (F3), and “*Self-Reliance*” (F4).

6.3.4.2. Intergenerational intimacy

Correlation and regression analysis were conducted in order to measure the linear association between “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and the four value sets. Table 21 illustrates Pearson’s correlation coefficient r for all four value sets and “*Intergenerational intimacy*”. A correlation between “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and “*Family Values*” as well as “*Altruistic and Community Values*” can be observed for both young immigrant adult groups. While among the Austrian-Polish young immigrant adults, both correlations are significant at a .01 level (2-tailed), this is only true for the correlation between “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and “*Family Values*” among German-Polish young immigrant adults

Table 21. Correlation analysis between Intergenerational intimacy and the four value sets

		Austrian-Polish young immigrant adults	German-Polish young immigrant adults
Family Values	Pearson Corr.	.568**	.342**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.003
	N	74	74
Altruistic and Community Values	Pearson Corr.	.403**	.270*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.020
	N	74	74
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Pearson Corr.	-.192	-.056
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.102	.633
	N	74	74
Self- Reliance	Pearson Corr.	-.034	.127
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.772	.281
	N	74	74

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

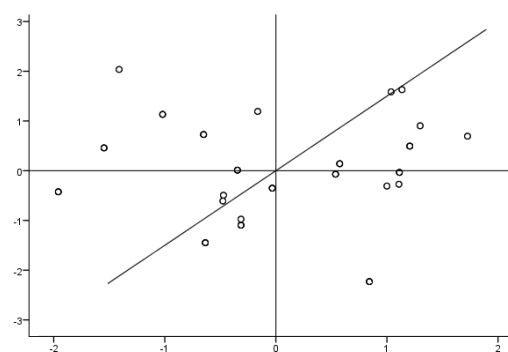
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Simple linear regression analysis was performed for “*Intergenerational intimacy*” as dependent variable and “*Family Values*” ($r = .568$) as well as “*Altruistic and Community Values*” ($r = .403$) as predictors for the Austrian-Polish immigrant group. As two explanatory variables have a linear relationship with the dependent variable, a multiple linear regression was also undertaken. The proportion of the variance declared by the two predictors is $R^2 = .380$. The remaining unexplained variance is due to other predictors that have not been captured in this model. Adding multiple predictors into the model increases the explained variance not significantly. In conclusion, both simple regression models and the multiple regression model do not explain a satisfying proportion of the variance of the total variance. Demographic factors such as gender, age, and socioeconomic status can be evaluated as other potential predictors, as well as other not determined factors in this model (see figure 14).

The same analysis was undertaken for the German-Polish young immigrant adult group regarding “*Intergenerational intimacy*” as dependent variable and “*Family Values*” ($r = .342$) and “*Altruistic and Community Values*” ($r = .270$) as predictors. Simple regression models show a too low relationship to be considered as being statistically significant. By adding multiple predictors into the model, the explained variance increases. However, the explained variance remains still low as shown below (see figure 17). None the two models of the simple regression models fit the data as the proportion of the variance explained by each regression model of the total variance is statistically not significant. The high undeclared variance of each model follows from inter alia variables, which have not been taken into consideration. No significant relationship could be found between “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and “*Family Values*” as well as “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and “*Altruistic and Community Values*”.

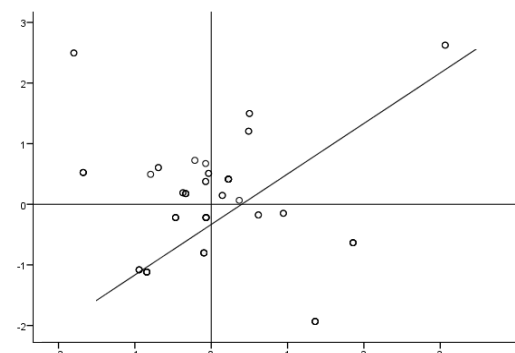
Figure 17. Multiple Regression analyses of Intergenerational intimacy

Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups



Predictors: Family Values, Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Intergenerational intimacy
 $R^2: .380$
 $n = 80$

German-Polish immigrant grownups



Predictors: Family Values, Altruistic and Community Values
Dep. Variable: Intergenerational intimacy
 $R^2: .123$
 $n = 84$

Comparison of the two immigrant young adult groups reveals a stronger relationship among Austrian-Polish immigrants than German-Polish immigrants. In fact, the explained variance of “*Intergenerational intimacy*” is too less to be seen as statistically relevant among the German group, and therefore this result can be neglected. In conclusion, low scores on “*Intergenerational intimacy*” correlate with “*Family Values*” and “*Altruistic and Community Values*”, however the relationship is very weak. Thus, other factors such as sociodemographic differentials in families or different life biographies of the respondents have a greater impact on “*Intergenerational intimacy*” between Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany than the determined value sets.

6.3.4.3. Intergenerational intimidation

Table 22 shows that the highest correlations between “*Intergenerational intimidation*” and “*Family Values*” ($r = -.260$) and “*Self-Reliance*” ($r = -.657$) could be found among German-Polish immigrant adults. Both correlations are negative, indicating that low scores on “*Family Values*” and “*Self-Reliance*” correspond to low scores on “*Intergenerational intimidation*”, which matches a low degree of personal influence of the parents. Among the Austrian-Polish immigrant adult group, only a relatively low positive correlation is present between “*Intergenerational intimidation*” and “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” ($r = .271$).

Table 22. Correlation analysis between Intergenerational intimidation and the four value sets

		Austrian-Polish young immigrant adults	German-Polish young immigrant adults
Family Values	Pearson Corr.	-.009	-.260*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.937	.018
	N	76	82
Altruistic and Community Values	Pearson Corr.	-.210	-.133
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.069	.234
	N	76	82
Work Ethics and Patriotism	Pearson Corr.	.271*	-.115
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.018	.305
	N	76	82
Self- Reliance	Pearson Corr.	-.041	-.657**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.727	.000
	N	76	82

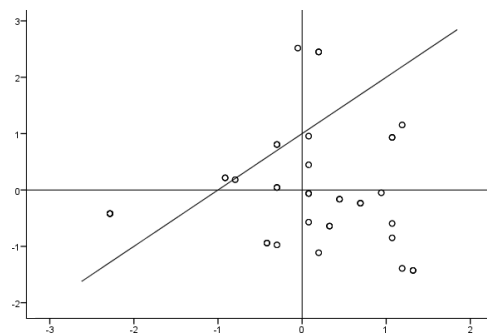
*, Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**, Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 18 illustrates the results of simple regression analysis for the Austrian-Polish immigrant young adult group and the multiple regression analysis for the German-Polish immigrant young adult group, supporting the conclusions drawn from the correlation analysis. According to the stepwise regression analysis' procedure, only among German-Polish immigrant young adults a statistically significant relationship could be found as the regression model for the Austrian-Polish immigrant group does not fit the data sufficiently. Negative correlation was found for the German-Polish immigrant sample between “*Intergenerational intimidation*” and “*Family Values*” and “*Self-Reliance*” ($R^2 = .464$). “*Family Values*” and “*Self-Reliance*” can be identified as relatively good predictors for “*Intergenerational intimidation*” for German-Polish immigrant grownups.

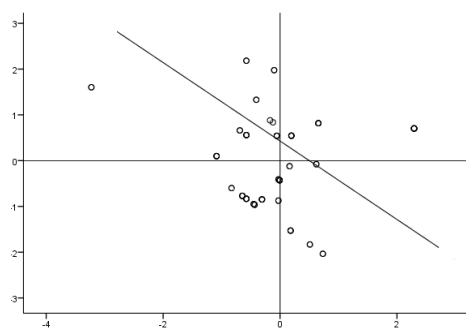
Figure 18. Multiple Regression analysis of Intergenerational intimidation

Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups



Predictors: Work Ethics and Patriotism
Dep. Variable: Intergenerational intimidation
 $R^2: .073$
 $n = 80$

German-Polish immigrant grownups



Predictors: Family Values, Self-Reliance
Dep. Variable: Intergenerational intimidation
 $R^2: .464$
 $n = 84$

6.3.4.4. Summary

Young German-Polish immigrants seem more satisfied with the relationship to their parents as well as the degree of intimacy with them than their Austrian-Polish peers. Their parents play an important a role in their lives, and they state having a close and open relationship with both their mother and father where they feel comfortable sharing private matters with their parents and consulting their opinion.

However, this trust and openness seems to be weaker among the Austrian-Polish young immigrant group as they might feel a power struggle between their parents and themselves, and a stronger wish to be independent from them. It can be assumed that among Austrian-Polish immigrant families, parents have a stronger tendency to try to influence their grownup children (Solomon et al. 2002: 967) and have to a certain extent neglected reshaping their ties to them on the basis of equality, reciprocal trust and understanding in order to keep “close relations” with their children in their adulthood (Brannen et al. 1994: 181). This result correlates with the hypothesis that inter-generational relations in immigrant families are stronger and marked by a high motivation than in non-immigrant families in the country of origin, as immigrant parents worry about losing their function as role models in their children’s lives and therefore tend to make a greater effort to transmit their culture to them (*hypothesis 1*). However, interestingly, the results relating to inter-generational value similarity in Austrian-Polish immigrant families prove that the parents’ efforts do not necessarily result in higher value similarity with their children. This fact is also reflected by

the correlation and regression analysis for “*Intergenerational intimacy* and the four value sets, showing that the relationships are too weak to be considered statistically significant.

6.3.5. Transcultural identity and Ethnic Revival

International research emphasizes that individuals who are shaped by two cultures are challenged by adopting “*different sets of cultural demands and messages, conflicting interpersonal expectations, and the potential threats of minority status and discrimination*” (Benet-Martínez/Leu/Lee/Morris 2002: 495). Two perceptions dominate the research landscape: while the first considers two cultural settings as too different to be compatible and therefore likely to cause an internal conflict within the individual, the results of this study are in line with the second perception: that second-generation immigrants are transculturals who have succeed in developing a compatible transcultural identity (Benet-Martínez/Leu/Lee/Morris 2002: 495). These individuals have grown up under the influence of two dominant cultures and developed a transcultural identity. The process of internalization of both cultural settings was undertaken through early socialization by family (*primary habitus*), institutions and peers (*secondary habitus*). The adaptation to both cultures and being able to switch between them is one of the core aspects of a transcultural identity, and it is no longer determined by civic and territorial factors. (Stolarczyk-Gembiak 2015: 192). Culture is defined as shared life practice (Göhlich 2006: 3), and can be seen as a balance between monoculturalism and multiculturalism, between the generalization of values and norms, and insular cultures.

The development of a transcultural identity does not take place in subsequent stages resulting in the formation of an inner core, but is an continuous and active process within an individual (Kreher 2016: 174). Transcultural identity is based on a dynamic, diverse and open concept and is a never-ending task for each individual. (Spreckels/Kotthoff 2007: 416). Second generation Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany grew up under the influence of two cultures. While Polish culture was mostly transmitted by their parents (*primary habitus*), at school and/or work they were strongly influenced by Austrian/German culture (*secondary habitus*). The transcultural identity is characterizes by hybridization which is understood as an process of interaction between multiple identities and the creation of something new (Kannengießer 2012: 25-26).

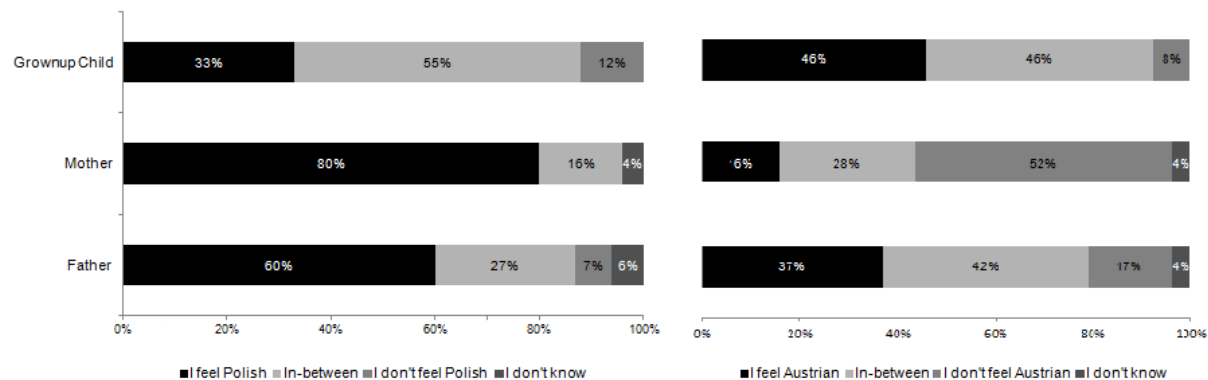
It is believed that the second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany have developed a transcultural identity while their parents’ identity remains monocultural due to

their strong sense of belonging to Poland (*hypothesis 5*). This hypothesis is tested on both an exploratory and a hypothesis-testing level.

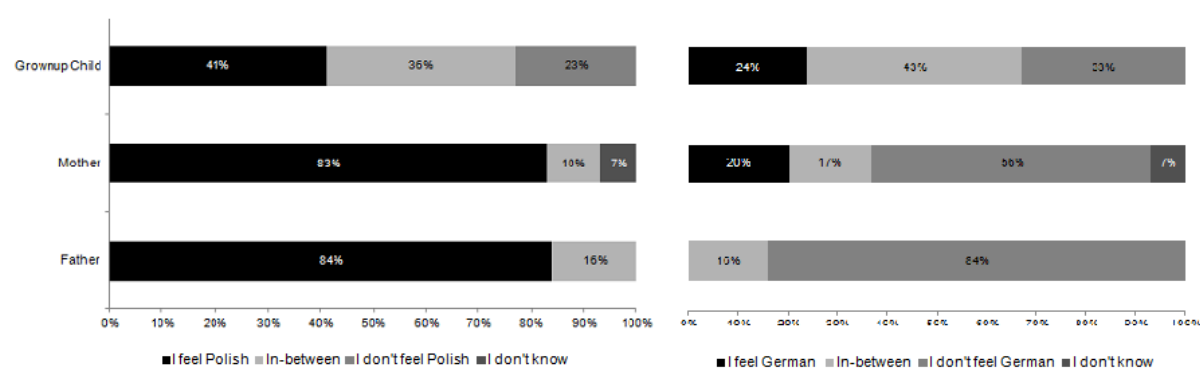
6.3.5.1. Subjective Belonging

Subjective belonging with the host country or the parents' country of origin is the basis of transcultural identity. To operationalize the cognitive dimension of identity, both the grown up children as well as their parents could answer on a 11-point scale how much they felt to be Austrian/German and Polish. The immigrant groups in Austria and Germany received both questions, while the non-immigrant group in Poland could only answer how much they felt to be Polish. In the course of data analysis, the 11-point scale was summarized into three categories to get a clearer picture about the sense of belonging of the respondents. In the original form of the scale, 1 = "I totally don't feel to be Austrian/German" and 11 = "I totally feel to be Austrian/German" (12 = "I don't know"). The new categories were as followed: "I feel Austrian/German"/"I feel Polish" (scale-point 9 to 11), "In-between" (scale-points 4 to 8) and "I don't feel Austrian/German"/"I don't feel Polish" (scale-points 1 to 3).

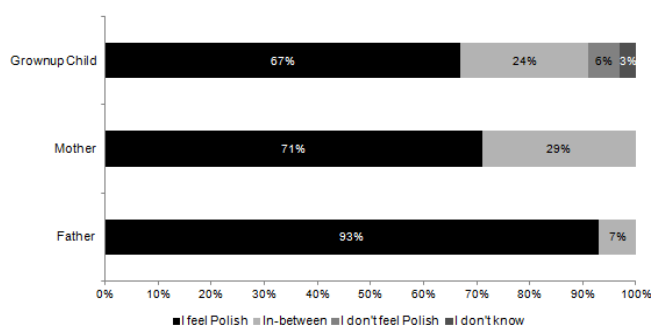
Graph 21. Feeling Polish and Feeling Austrian: Polish-Austrian immigrant group



Graph 22. Feeling Polish and German: Polish-German immigrant group

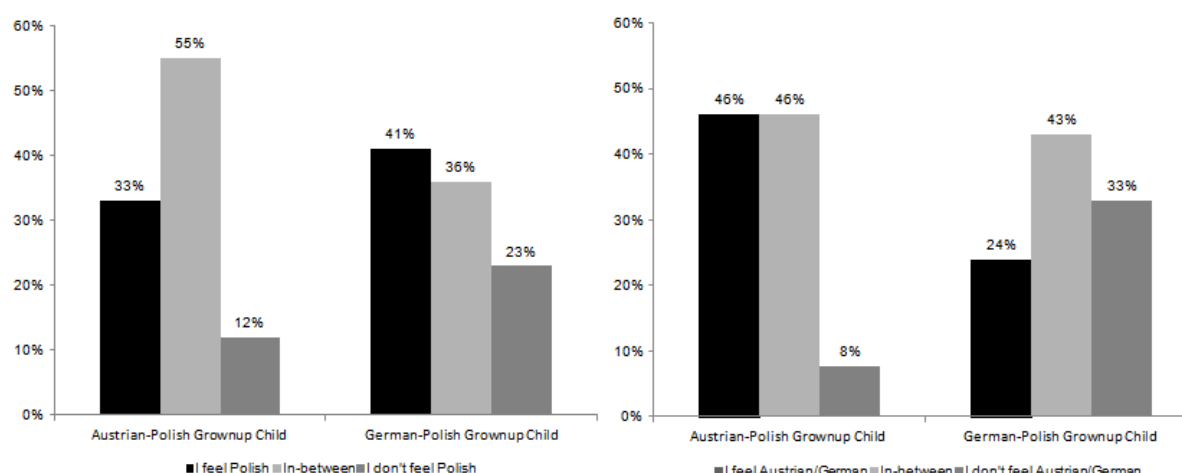


Graph 23. Feeling Polish: Polish non-immigrant group



Data analysis reveals that there is a higher proportion of Austrian-Polish immigrant grownup children feeling to be Austrian (46%) compared to those feeling to be Polish (33%). However, adding in both cases those who have answered on this scale 4 to 8 and placed themselves somewhere in-between the two categories of “Strongly feeling to be Austrian or Polish” and “Strongly feeling to not be Austrian or Polish”, 88% feel to be Polish and 92% feel to be Austrian. In contrast to their children, parents have a much stronger sense of belonging to their home country. Among the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, 80% of mothers feel to be Polish and only 16% feel to be Austrian. With the fathers, this feeling seems to be a little bit weaker: 60% answer to feel Polish and 37% to feel Austrian. In contrast to the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, among the German-Polish immigrants, belonging to Germany is generally weaker. German-Polish immigrant parents feel a very strong sense of belonging to Poland (mothers: 83%, fathers: 84%). While at least 20% of the German-Polish immigrant mothers state to feel German, no German-Polish immigrant father agrees on that. Among the German-Polish immigrant grownups, only 24% of the participants answer to feel German, while 41% answer to feel Polish. However, summing up those who state to strongly feel German and those placing themselves between the points 4 and 8 on the 11-point scale (“in-between”), the proportion is 67%, while for “feeling Polish” it is 77% (see graph 24). In order to test if there is a statistically significant difference between the Austrian-Polish immigrant grownup group and the German-Polish immigrant grownup group, a t-test for independent samples was conducted. T-test indicates no significant difference between the two immigrant groups regarding their subjective feeling of being Austrian/German ($p > .05$) and Polish ($p > .05$). This result underlines the assumption that among the second generation of Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrants a transcultural identity is present to the same extent. Based on data analysis, it cannot be asserted that there is a stronger expression of the identity in one of the two groups.

Graph 24. Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrant grownup children and their subjective cultural belonging



According to previous theoretical discussion of identity construction, the assumption that among the second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany a transcultural identity is present while among their parents, the sense of belonging to Poland is stronger and therefore a monocultural identity exists, was tested. It was assumed that second Polish immigrant generation in Austria and Germany has a transcultural identity involving a hybrid form of identity from at least two cultural contexts. Instead of excluding certain aspects of the Polish cultural context and involving only those of the Austrian or German contexts, a mixing of cultures due to the hybridization of individual cultures occurs (Welsch 1994, Kannengießer 2012). Hypothesis 5 has been verified as among the Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups, 88% feel to be Polish or at least “in-between Polish” and 92% feel to be Austrian or at least “in-between Austrian”. Among the German-Polish immigrant grownups, 77% feel to be Polish or “in-between Polish” and 67% feel to be German or “in-between German”. Feeling Polish and Austrian/German at the same time is not a contradiction for the second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany. These young grownups feel to be at home in two cultures. At the same time, this generation has shaped an ethnic revival due to globalization and transnational processes, which have cleared the way for diversity and heterogeneity (Sharaby 2011: 491).

Previous studies indicate a significant correlation between high levels of identification with the mainstream culture, language fluency and the degree of the individuals’ subjective perceptions of managing dual cultural identities (Chen/Benet-Martínez/Bond 2008: 808). In this study, there is a high proportion of bilingual respondents among the second generation

of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany. In Austria, 90% of the grownups name both German and Polish to be their mother tongues, while in Germany this proportion is around 66%. At least 15% of German-Polish immigrant grownup children name German to be their only mother tongue. However, 19% name Polish. A correlation analysis was carried out to prove whether a correlation between bilingualism and subjective belonging to Poland of the immigrant young grownups in Austria and Germany is present. No significant correlation could be found as $p > .05$. No further analysis was conducted. In conclusion, it can be stated that no significant correlation between bilingualism and the degree of sense of belonging to either Austria/Germany or Poland could be demonstrated among young Polish immigrant adults. However, further analysis was conducted in order to investigate the usage of Polish language of young Polish immigrant adults in Austria and Germany. As German studies show, language is used in different contexts, and its acquisition process might be very heterogeneous (Strobel/Seuring 2016). The native language is much more often used with parents than with siblings, and the use of (first) language with father and mother varies only slightly (Nauck 2009). German is mostly used with peers (Strobel/Seuring 2016).

In order to investigate the daily use of the language, the group of Polish immigrant young adults were asked to agree or disagree on ten statements. The aim was to examine to which extent the Polish language finds entry into the private and professional life of the respondents. Among the Austrian-Polish immigrant group, all respondents use Polish to communicate with their relatives and friends (German-Polish immigrant group: 94.9%), and 96.2% to use it to communicate with their parents (German-Polish immigrant group: 100%) (see table 23). As previously discussed, international studies reveal that in bilingual/multilingual immigrant families, younger siblings often benefit from their older siblings' knowledge and ability in regard to their oral and written language skills which they have already acquired at school and with other peers (Rosowsky 2006, Obied 2009). Older siblings may act as resources and mediators concerning language and literacy practices (Kibler et al. 2016). In this study, 80% of German-Polish immigrant young adults state to speak Polish with their siblings, among the Austrian-Polish immigrants the proportion is 41.5%⁴. Besides siblings, peers have also a very important impact. 97.4% of German-Polish immigrant young adults have Polish friends in Germany and use the Polish language when communicating with them. The same is true for at least 62.3% of Austrian-Polish immigrant young adults.

⁴ The lower proportion among the Austrian-Polish immigrant young adult group is also caused by a lower proportion of young adults with siblings.

Table 23. Usage of the Polish language of the second immigrant generation in Austria and Germany

	Bilingual Austrian-Polish immigrant young adults			Bilingual German-Polish immigrant young adults		
	N*	Mean	%	N*	Mean	%
I use the Polish language to communicate with my relatives and friends.	53	1.00	100.0%	78	1.05	94.9%
I use the Polish language to communicate with my parents.	53	1.04	96.2%	78	1.00	100.0%
I have Polish friends in Poland.	53	1.23	77.4%	78	1.36	64.1%
I watch Polish TV shows, TV series and films.	53	1.28	71.7%	78	1.49	51.3%
I have Polish friends in Austria/Germany.	53	1.38	62.3%	78	1.03	97.4%
I visited a Polish school in Austria/Germany.	53	1.42	58.5%	78	1.36	64.1%
I write letters / e-mails in Polish.	53	1.51	49.1%	78	1.51	48.7%
I read newspapers / books in Polish and visit Polish-language websites.	53	1.55	45.3%	78	1.54	46.2%
I use the Polish language to communicate with my siblings.	53	1.58	41.5%	70	1.2	80.0%
I use the Polish language in my professional life.	53	1.81	18.9%	78	1.77	23.1%

* Some respondents have not responded to this question. In addition, N is lower for some statements as the respondents do not have siblings.

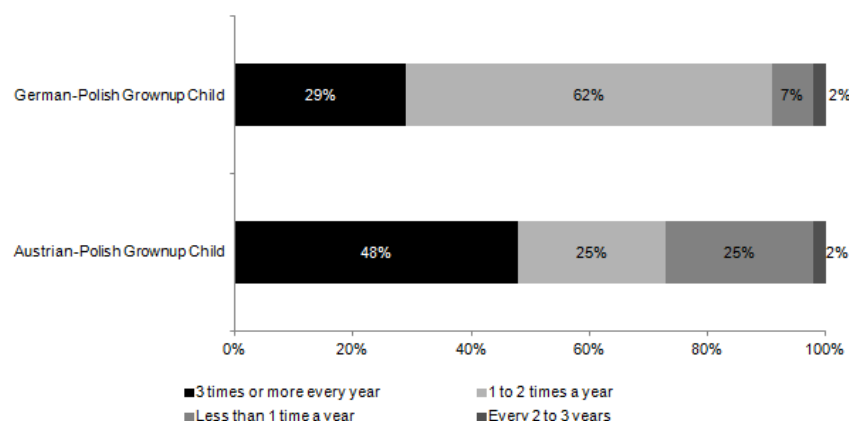
In order to test whether a significant difference between the two Polish immigrant groups is present regarding their usage of Polish language, further analysis was undertaken. An index of seven items was created. These seven items give information about the active usage of the Polish language in everyday's life situations. They are as followed: *"I use the Polish language in my professional life."*; *"I use the Polish language to communicate with my parents."*; *"I use the Polish language to communicate with my siblings."*; *"I use the Polish language to communicate with my relatives and friends."*; *"I read newspapers/books in Polish and visit Polish-language websites."*; *"I write letters/e-mails in Polish."*, and *"I watch Polish TV shows, TV series and films."* Based on variance analysis, the aggregated data shows no cultural effect as the means of the Austrian-Polish immigrant adult group and the German-Polish immigrant adult group do not differ significantly from each other ($p > .05$).

Media consumption is another essential context of language acquisition and usage (Simon/Neuwöhner 2011, Worbs 2010, Strobel/Seuring 2016). According to a quantitative study about people with Polish roots conducted in Vienna, young immigrants consume more often Austrian (German) media than Polish media, while among the older generation the consumption of Polish and/or Austrian (German) media is relatively balanced (Scharmüller 2011). The present research cannot confirm these results as no relation between language and media consumption among Polish young adult immigrants in Austria and Germany could be found. In both groups, more than half of the respondents use the Polish language passively: they watch Polish TV shows, TV series and films (Austrian-Polish immigrant

group: 71.7%, German-Polish immigrant group: 51.3%). In addition, almost half of them read Polish newspapers/books and visit Polish websites. Furthermore, the active usage of the Polish language is reflected in writing letters/e-mails in Polish. While among both immigrant groups the active and passive usage of the Polish language is relatively strong imbedded in their private lives, Polish is rarely used in their professional lives. Only 18.9% of Austrian-Polish immigrant young adults get the chance to use Polish in their work environment, among the German-Polish immigrant young adults the proportion is 23.1%.

When it comes to second generation immigrants, studies have shown that inter alia cross-border movements shape biographical reconstructions and are considered as positive chances (Apitzsch/Siouti 2007: 17). As they are set in a different environment of the host society, including new conditions, social changes and intercultural encounters (Sharaby 2011: 492), the formation of a new ethnic identity may be formed. Travelling to Poland and visiting family, relatives and friends seems to be one way to strengthen the formation of transcultural identity. Both young Polish immigrant adult groups have strong connections to Poland, reflected by intensive contacts to their families and strong relationships to peers in Poland. 77.7% of Austrian-Polish immigrant young adults and 64.1% of German-Polish immigrant young adults have Polish friends in Poland. The bond of friendship must always be cherished and nurtured in order to survive in the long term. It can be assumed that the generation of Polish immigrants have spent a certain time in Poland during their childhood and youth in order to be able to build up these friendships. This assumption is supported by the frequency of visits of Poland. Almost half of the Austrian-Polish respondents (48%) visit Poland three times a year or even more often. Among the German-Polish group, the proportion is 29%, while 62% visit Poland one to two times a year (see graph 25).

Graph 25. Second Polish immigrant generation and frequency of visits of Poland



As previously discussed, a correlation analysis was conducted in order to verify if a correlation between subjective belonging to Poland of the immigrant young grownups in Austria and Germany and the frequency of visits of Poland is present. No significant correlation could be found as $p > .05$. No further analysis was conducted. In conclusion, no significant correlation between bilingualism and the degree of sense of belonging to either Austria/Germany or Poland could be found among young Polish immigrant adults. Neither the frequency of visits to Poland nor the usage of the Polish language (bilingualism) could be investigated to be significant factors for the subjective belonging to Poland or Austria/Germany.

6.3.5.2. Identification and Recognition of Cultural Symbols (IRCS)

Apart from values and beliefs, symbolic systems are part of a natural collectivity (Lincoln/Guillot 2004: 4). Symbolic identity and value-based correlative identity make up cultural identity which is *“the content of values as guiding principles, to meaning of symbols, and to life-styles that individuals share with others, though not necessarily within recognizable groups”* (Lewandowska 2008: 211). The core of cultural identity is the personal meaning and personal evaluation of symbols and values (Boski/Antosiewicz 2004: 267). Symbols have the effect of creating identities figuratively by realizing the experience of a collective and creating a subject presupposition of the preservation of this community in the future. Historically relevant variables are used as meaning memory in order to allow the levels of meaning and recognition to be fused more easily, and symbols become action-relevant, reality-forming and binding for the social actors (Zowislo 2000: 14). Symbols can only take effect where they accentuate the existing meanings of a society. The acceptance of key symbols depends on their cognitive, affective and pragmatic relevance within the recipient culture (Zowislo 2000: 14). While natural symbols go back on archetypes and are images based on the unconscious, cultural symbols are a product of the consciousness and a historical development (Nouriani 2011: 20). Symbolic identity pertains to symbolic attributes of national identity related to symbols that are characteristic for a certain culture, such as heroes of the present and the past, symbolic sites, traditional celebrations and national events, and evolves in the process of enculturalization through attendance of visiting historical places and national events (Lewandowska 2008: 211). These cultural representations may be coded and stored in memory and may appear as associations and memories in certain situations.

Both components – values and symbols – correlate positively as individuals accept them as universal without doubting or questioning them (Boski 1992). However, migration processes

may be a drastic change and turning point in life, which might lead to these symbols and values being perceived and questioned (Lewandowska 2008: 212). Thus, cultural symbols receive great importance in the process of acculturation of immigrants into the host cultural context as they are forced to develop the consciousness. Cultural symbols carry meaning, evoke emotions and ideas from the deep unconscious, express knowledge and what is unknown and mysterious (Nouriani 2011: 20). Studies among Polish immigrant families in Canada and USA indicate that the second immigrant generation seems to maintain Polish values largely than Polish symbols (Boski 1992, Kwast-Welfeld 2004). Boski concludes that the longer the period of emigration is the weaker becomes symbolic identity. While those who have emigrated to another country show more or less weak symbolic identity, a significant gap between the importance of symbols from their parents' culture and those of the culture they were raised in marks the second immigrant generation (Lewandowska 2008: 212). In her study, Lewandowska underlines that Polish culture is strongly internalized at home (Lewandowska 2008: 214). Polish language is the main mean of communication, and Polish literature, Polish history, and past and present politics are common to discuss in family circle. She concludes that *"home is a place where tradition, ceremonies, symbols and values are assimilated through intentional or accidental learning and imitation of behaviours"* (Lewandowska 2008: 214). Through intergenerational value and symbol transmission, a competent member of cultural community may be created, identifying himself/herself with a specific hierarchy of values, knowing rituals and speaking the community's language (Lewandowska 2008: 214). However, immigrants are also exposed to the influences and effects of the host society, in particular the second immigrant generation.

6.3.5.2.1. Materials

Based on Lewandowska's study about Polish immigrants living in Great Britain, the level of *Identification and Recognition of Cultural Symbols* (IRCS) was measured via pictures of public authorities, buildings and places of present and past (Lewandowska 2008: 216). Six pictures were shown in the standardized questionnaire, whereas there were different pictures of Austrian buildings and authorities for the Polish immigrant group living in Austria, and different pictures of German buildings and authorities for the Polish immigrant group living in Germany. The Polish non-immigrant group's questionnaire also involved this part of questions. In addition to the Polish symbols, German and Austrian symbols were included according to a random principle. Polish symbols were presented by Lech Wałęsa (former president of Poland (1990-1995)), Polish Parliament House *Sejm* in Warsaw and Beata Szydło (Polish Prime Minister of Poland (2015-current)). German symbols were presented by Angela Merkel (Chancellor of Germany (2005-current)), the *Reichstag* building in Berlin,

and Erich Honecker (General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (1971-1989)). Austrian symbols were presented by Werner Faymann (Chancellor of Austria 2008-2016), Austrian Parliament Building in Vienna, and “Sisi” (Elisabeth of Germany (1854-1898) Empress of Germany, Queen of Hungary and Queen consort of Croatia and Bohemia and Queen consort of Lombardy-Venetia (1854-1866)). Cultural symbols were selected based on their availability to the respondents, in particular their increased presence in media (Polish TV, newspapers, etc.) and schools in Poland. The aim was to measure the respondents’ attachment to the symbols by verifying their knowledge and recognition of the presented symbols as well as their origin. The task was to recognize a symbol and write down its name and the country of origin. The answers were then coded: while a fully correct answer, meaning recognizing the symbol, writing its name and its country of origin, was coded with 2, a partly correct answered question was coded with 1. If neither the symbol nor the country of origin was recognized, this answer received the code 0.

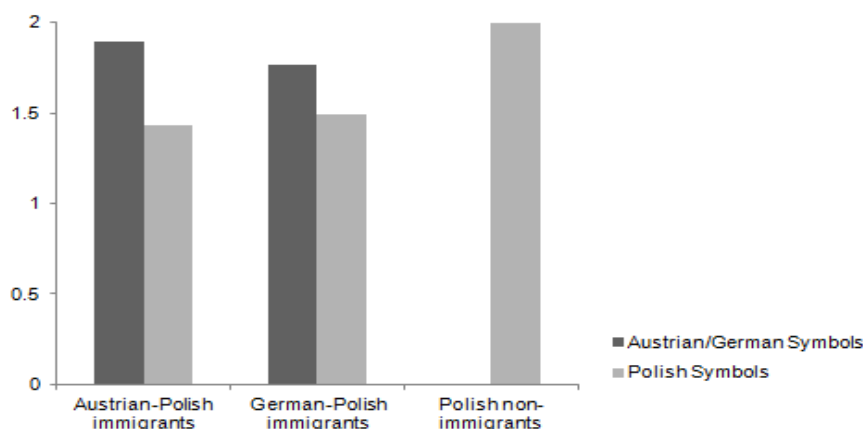
In accordance with previous results of this research project as well as theoretical constructs, the assumption has been proved whether a stronger symbolic identity with the Austrian/German cultural context or with the Polish cultural context is present among second generation immigrants in Austria and Germany. This general assumption was tested through the degree of recognition of Polish or Austrian/German symbols among the Austrian-Polish immigrant young adults and German-Polish immigrant young adults. Further analyzes were made to verify whether significant correlations between symbolic identity and the degree of usage of the Polish language as well as “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and “*Intergenerational intimidation*” are present.

6.3.5.2.2. Symbolic Identity

Based on variance analysis, the aggregated cultural symbols data shows an intra-group as well as inter-group effect (see graph 26). Both Polish immigrant groups recognize Polish symbols ($M_{API} = 1.43$, $M_{GPI} = 1.49$) to a weaker degree than they do with Austrian/German symbols ($M_{API} = 1.89$, $M_{GPI} = 1.77$). No difference could be found between the two immigrant groups, but a cultural inter-group effect is noticeable when comparing the Polish non-immigrant group with both Polish immigrant groups. The independent-samples t-test, comparing means between the Polish non-immigrant group and the Polish immigrant group (Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrants have been combined to form one group), indicates a statistically significant difference as $p < .001$. Mean comparison between Polish non-immigrant group and the Polish immigrant group also suggests that among Polish non-

immigrants, those respondents recognizing Polish symbols can name both the symbol's name as well as its country of origin ($M_{PNI} = 2.00$), while among the Polish immigrant group, this proportion is smaller ($M_{API+GPI} = 1.46$).

Graph 26. Recognition of Polish and Austrian/German cultural symbols by young adults



$n_{API} = 74$, $n_{GPI} = 78$, $n_{PNI} = 102$

Further analysis was undertaken to prove if the second generation of Polish immigrants differ significantly from their parents. These results were put in relation with those of the Polish non-immigrant group to test whether a cultural inter-group effect is present. Based on variance analysis, highly significant interactions for Polish symbols could be found among Austrian-Polish immigrants ($F(1,128) = 29.96$, $p < .001$) and German-Polish immigrants ($F(1,142) = 16.71$, $p < .001$). Among both immigrant groups, parent-child comparison shows significant differences of means for Polish symbols. Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrant parents tend to have a higher degree of recognition of Polish symbols than their offspring (see table 24). These results are congruent with those of Boski's concept of *Cultural model of Acculturation* (1992) and Lewandowska's study about Polish immigrants in Canada and USA. Similar to Boski's and Lewandowska's studies, in this study the results reveal that time significantly influences symbolic identity of Polish immigrant families. The period of emigration and living abroad in a different cultural context have a great impact on the symbolic dimension and one's identity as the longer the period of emigration is, the weaker the Polish symbolic identity becomes, and immigrants tend to adopt the symbols of the host society. In addition, discrepancy and distance between significance of symbols and cultural identification among the second generation of Polish immigrants could also be found in the present study.

Table 24. Intergenerational Mean Comparison of Austrian/German and Polish Symbols

	Austrian/German Symbols		Polish Symbols	
	M	N	M	N
Austrian-Polish immigrants				
Grownup Children	1.89	74	1.43	60
Parents	1.96	68	1.94	70
German-Polish immigrants				
Grownup Children	1.77	78	1.49	66
Parents	1.83	84	1.82	78

In addition, the recognition of Polish symbols was set into relation with the four value sets "Family Values", "Altruistic and Community Values", "Work Ethics and Patriotism", and "Self-Reliance". Neither among the young grownup immigrant group nor their immigrant parents significant correlations could be found between the recognition of Polish symbols and any of the four value sets. The same applies to the relation between Polish symbols and "Intergenerational intimacy" and "Intergenerational intimidation".

6.3.5.2.3. Symbolic Identity and Polish Language

Previous research on second immigrant generation indicates that there is a correlation between symbolic identity and the usage of the language of the parents' home country. Immigrant children tend to adopt the language of the host country faster and easier than their parents and they strengthen their communication skills through interaction with peers and contacts outside the family (Alba et al. 2002, Haug 2008, Nauck 2007, Nauck 2009, Gärtig et al. 2011). They tend to prefer to use the locally dominant language while ascribing a subordinate status to their language of origin (Dietz 2000, 2006). Under extreme circumstances, the acquired first language can even disappear entirely if the contact with the dominant second language begins before the onset of puberty.

In order to investigate potential relationships between symbolic identity and the usage of the Polish language among the two immigrant young adult groups, correlation coefficients r were calculated. Correlation analysis reveals that for both immigrant groups a positive association is present between the usage of Polish language and the recognition of Polish symbols ($r_{API} = .614$, $r_{GPI} = .531$). However, the correlation effect cannot be interpreted as very strong. In conclusion, it can be stated that the more the immigrant respondents use the Polish language in everyday life, the more increases the likelihood of recognition of Polish symbols.

6.3.5.2.4. Symbolic Identity and personal contacts to Polish school and Polish friends

A stable maintenance of kinship and ethnic, religious and professional contacts with the culture of origin characterizes transcultural identity (Amelina 2008: 3). Second generation immigrants are strongly influenced by multiple cultural experiences and heritage. Their cross-border movements shape their biographical reconstructions, and they are considered to be positive opportunities (Apitzsch/Siouti 2007: 17). International migration research focuses in a high degree on second generation immigrants and their school performance and educational careers. A negative correlation is often found, and scholars postulate that immigrant children are disadvantaged due to their hybrid identity and multiculturalism when comparing them with peers without migration background. In contrast, other studies show that there is no direct correlation between school performance and education level, but that the disadvantage can rather be traced back to the parents' level of education and their social status. Some few studies even highlight the positive impact of transcultural identity on school performance. Being able to attend school in two different countries and to get to know two different school systems might be a strong biographical resource for second generation immigrants who can activate this resource and use it to succeed both at school and in other social environments (Apitzsch/Siouti 2007: 17).

In this research it was tested whether attendance of a Polish school in Austria or Germany has a positive effect on the recognition of Polish symbols. In addition to regular schools of the Austrian/German education system, Polish school offers a supplementary program with the content of Polish language, history and geography. The Polish school is usually visited during the weekends, where the same curriculum is realized as in Poland. Through the regular contact with Polish language, history, geography, and culture in an educational environment, children with Polish roots receive knowledge about the home country of their parents more intensively. School as a "learning space" marks the children regarding their symbolic identity since they encounter Polish symbols during school lessons increasingly. Thus, it is assumed that among Austrian-Polish immigrant and German-Polish immigrant respondents, who attended Polish schools in Austria or Germany, a significant correlation between recognition of Polish symbols and their school attendance is present. In addition, it is also tested whether Polish friends in Poland as well as in Austria/Germany have an impact on the symbolic identity of the respondents.

Correlation analysis between the item "*I have attended a Polish school in Austria/Germany.*" and "*Polish Symbols*" among Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups show no significant relation. The same is true for "*I have Polish friends in Austria.*" and "*I have Polish friends in*

Poland." ($p > .05$). In contrast to the Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups, the German-Polish immigrant grownup group shows a relatively strong positive correlation between "*Polish Symbols*" and "*I have Polish friends in Poland.*" ($r = .720$, $p < .01$), but no relationship could be found between the attendance of Polish school and the recognition of Polish symbols. As having Polish friends in Poland means visiting Poland on a regular basis, the frequency of visits to Poland was added to the analysis. Reflecting previous results, young Polish immigrants have strong contacts to peers in Poland. 64.1% of German-Polish immigrant young adults have Polish friends in Poland, the proportion among Austrian-Polish immigrant young adults is around 77.7%. 48% of the Austrian-Polish respondents visit Poland three times a year or even more often, among the German-Polish group the proportion is 29%, while 62% visits Poland every year one to two times. Although a relation between having Polish friends in Poland and the recognition of Polish symbols could be investigated among German-Polish immigrant grownups, there is no significant correlation between Polish symbols and the frequency of visits to Poland.

In conclusion, no significant relationship between the attendance of Polish school in Austria or Germany and the recognition of Polish cultural symbols could be demonstrated. One conclusion that can be drawn is that the impact of host culture has a greater impact on shaping the immigrants' symbolic identity than the active contact with Polish symbols through the attendance of Polish school. As already discussed, time is an important factor. Living abroad in a specific cultural context has a great impact on the symbolic dimension and symbolic identity. The longer the period of emigration is, the weaker the Polish symbolic identity becomes. Also, the frequency of visits to Poland has no significant influence on symbolic identity and the recognition and importance of Polish symbols among the respondents. However, Polish friends in Poland attach value to maintain symbolic identity among German-Polish immigrant young adults. Results reveal that they have a positive effect on shaping symbolic identity among the immigrant grownup adults in Germany.

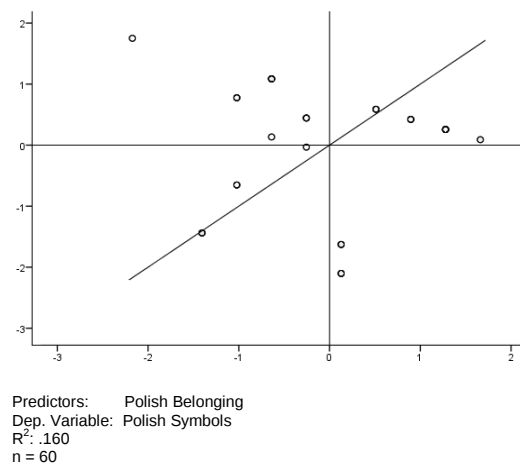
6.3.5.2.5. Symbolic Identity and Subjective Belonging

According to previous theoretical discussion and results, among the Austrian-Polish and the German-Polish immigrant grownups a transcultural identity is present. Correlation analysis indicates no significant relationship between subjective belonging to Poland and strength of symbolic identity among the German-Polish immigrant grownups. In contrast, among the Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups the subjective sense of belonging to Poland seems to have a small positive effect on the recognition of Polish symbols ($r = .400$, $p < .01$).

However, the model does not fit the data perfectly as R^2 is very small and thus unexplainable variability is very high.

Figure 19. Simple Regression analyses – Polish Symbols and Polish Belonging

Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups



6.3.5.2.6. Summary

In the present research, it was assumed that second generation Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany have a transcultural identity, characterized as a hybrid form of identity from at least two cultural contexts. Instead of excluding certain aspects of the Polish cultural context and including only those of the Austrian or German one, a mixing of the two cultures due to a hybridization process takes place (Welsch 1994, Kannengießer 2012). Hypothesis 5 was verified as among the Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups, as 88% feel “Polish” or at least “in-between Polish” and 92% feel “Austrian” or at least “in-between Austrian”. No significant difference could be found between the two immigrant groups regarding their subjective feeling of being Austrian/German and Polish. Thus, it can be concluded that a transcultural identity is present among second generation of Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrants to some extent. Furthermore, international studies indicate a significant correlation between high levels of identification with the mainstream culture, language fluency and the degree of an individuals’ subjective perceptions of managing dual cultural identities (Chen/Benet-Martínez/Bond 2008: 808). A high percentage of second-generation immigrants questioned for this research are bilingual: 90% of the respondents in Austria and 66% of those in Germany name both German and Polish as their mother tongues. In both immigrant groups, the active and passive usage of the Polish language is imbedded relatively strongly in their private lives. However, no significant correlation between

bilingualism and the degree of sense of belonging to either Austria/Germany or Poland could be found among young Polish immigrants.

When it comes to symbolic identity, the present study's results are consistent with those of previous researches. Results reveal that time has a significant influence on the symbolic identity of Polish immigrant families. The period of living in a different cultural context has a substantial impact on the symbolic dimension of an individual's identity as the longer the period is, the weaker the symbolic identity becomes. Both young Polish immigrant groups recognize Polish symbols to a lower degree than they do Austrian/German symbols, with no significant difference existing between the two immigrant groups. Further analysis was undertaken to examine whether the second generation of Polish immigrants differ significantly from their parents. These results were put in relation with those of the Polish non-immigrant group to test whether a *cultural between-group effect* is present. Based on variance analysis, highly significant interactions for Polish symbols could be found among Austrian-Polish immigrants and German-Polish immigrants. Among both immigrant groups, parent-child comparison shows significant mean differences for Polish symbols. Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrant parents tend to have a higher degree of recognition of Polish symbols than their offspring.

A main conclusion that can be drawn from these results is that the host culture has a greater impact on shaping the immigrants' symbolic identity than active contact with Polish symbols through attendance of Polish schools in the host country or the usage of the Polish language. Likewise, the frequency of visits to Poland has no significant influence on symbolic identity. However, results reveal that having Polish friends living in Poland has a positive effect on maintaining and shaping a Polish symbolic identity among young German-Polish immigrant living in Germany.

6.3.6. Intergenerational Cultural-Traditional Rituals (ICTR)

As Poland is a traditionally Catholic country, high importance is attributed in Polish culture to Advent, Christmas and especially Christmas Eve. Previous research has shown that the host society's influence is stronger among the second generation than among first generation immigrants as the formers' identity is coined more distinctly by interculturality than their parents'. Thus, second generation immigrants learn to balance between multiple cultures (Mansouri/Ben-Moshe/Johns 2015: 9). The process of their socialization in the host society results in second generation immigrants getting in touch with Austrian or German traditions and rituals. Celebrations and festivals such as Christmas are mostly celebrated within the

family and defined as family routines and rituals that refer to specific repeated practices (Spagnola 2007: 285). While family routines are characterized as instrumental communication, a momentary time commitment, repeated regularly and with no special meaning, *“family rituals involve communication with symbolic meaning, establishing and perpetuating the understanding of what it means to be a member of the group”* (Spagnola 2007: 285).

As change in routines and rituals is an inherent part of the family life cycle (Fiese 2002: 10, Spagnola 2007: 288), in this study, family rituals are measured via questions regarding family habits and practices related to Christmas. Different rituals and traditions were defined as “more Polish” or “less Polish” based on the results of the pre-tests which had been carried out in Poland and Austria beforehand. Apart from insuring high quality criteria are met, another objective of the pre-test was receiving feedback on the predetermined response options concerning Christmas celebrations. Thus, participants were explicitly invited to provide comments on the questionnaire. Comments were submitted verbally or in written form, and respondents who had provided extensive feedback were invited to participate in in-depth interviews to learn more about the views. It was important to understand the link between the written comment and the criticism behind it. The questionnaire was then revised based on these comments in order to rephrase questions and add response options.

The measuring instrument included questions on the meaning and importance of Christmas, as well as on the ways in which respondents celebrate this festival. This does not mean that rituals are restricted to the domain of religion and religious traditions. However, the objective was to verify whether Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany differ from non-immigrant families in Poland regarding their intergenerational transfer of cultural tradition-related knowledge and behaviour. The research question asked about aspects of the Christmas festival and their general relevance, as well as their personal relevance to the second immigrant generation in Austria and Germany. On group level, high correspondence with “more Polish” habits and rituals meant stronger identification with the Polish culture, while on family level, high correspondence with “more Polish” habits and rituals resulted in greater intergenerational cultural-traditional ritual similarity.

6.3.6.1. Meaning of Christmas

In a first step, a general overview about the meaning of Christmas among all three groups is given. The frequency table below (see table 25) reflects that the meaning of Christmas has become less equated with Christian values and Christian significance, but a more secular-

familial significance. With clear distance to other answers about the meaning and importance of Christmas, “Family celebration” receives the most approval. However, on the second place “Specific Christian holiday” ranks. Nevertheless, Christmas is still seen as a specific Christian holiday by at least half of the respondents. It should be emphasized that rather negative associations (ex. “*Force*”, “*Stress and Pressure to consume*”) with Christmas receive a lesser agreement than positive ones and Christmas is seen as a positive occasion in general.

Table 25. Meaning of Christmas – Group comparison

	Austrian-Polish immigrant	German-Polish immigrant	Polish non- immigrants
Family celebration	87.5%	92.9%	91.3%
Specific Christian holiday	55.6%	63.1%	46.8%
Habit	50.0%	48.8%	62.7%
Opportunity to make beloved people gifts	47.2%	54.2%	36.5%
Vacation	36.1%	51.8%	47.6%
Principles/Rules	23.6%	15.5%	20.6%
Creation of community	20.8%	33.3%	13.5%
Stress and Pressure to consume	18.1%	28.6%	7.1%
Obligation	8.3%	10.7%	19.8%
Orientation and Security	2.8%	26.2%	24.6%

To prove whether differences among group means are present, ANOVA was performed. In order to examine which groups differ from each other, the Tukey HSD test was applied for conducting post-hoc tests on the ANOVA. The following table shows the significant mean differences among the groups (see table 26). Post-hoc comparison using the Tukey HSD test reveals that the group means of “*Family celebration*” and “*Principles/Rules*” do not show any significant difference, but the remaining items. The most significant difference could be found regarding the item “*Orientation and Security*”. The Austrian-Polish immigrant group differs significantly from the German-Polish immigrant group as well as the Polish non-immigrant group ($p < .001$). Again, these two groups – German-Polish immigrants and Polish non-immigrants – show a similarity towards specific attitudes and beliefs, while the Austrian-Polish immigrant group stands out with a different answer behaviour. Austrian-Polish immigrants do not associate Christmas with orientation and security at all, while for the two other groups Christmas represents rather an important anchor and guide in life. Although German-Polish immigrants and Polish non-immigrants show matching results regarding “*Orientation and Security*”, significant mean difference between these two groups as well as the Austrian-Polish immigrant group could be found regarding “*Creation of community*” ($p < .05$). The item “*Stress and Pressure to consume*” signals significant mean differences between all three groups, whereat the difference between the immigrant groups and the non-immigrant group is statistically significant than the difference between the two immigrant

groups. Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrants tend to associate the Christmas bustle with a constantly growing focus on material consumption and feel stressed by the pressure to buy gifts on time and to meet the social obligations associated with holidays. A cultural effect becomes visible regarding “*Obligation*” and “*Habit*” as Polish non-immigrants associate Christmas with custom and obligation fulfilment against family, relatives and friends, while both immigrant groups assign less importance to these items ($p < .05$).

Table 26. ANOVA – Multiple Comparisons among all three groups

Tukey HSD

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Vacation	Austrian-Polish immigrants	German-Polish immigrants	-.16 [*]	.056	.016	-.29	-.02
Obligation	Polish non-immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.12 [*]	.036	.004	.03	.20
		German-Polish immigrants	.09 [*]	.035	.026	.01	.17
Orientation and Security	German-Polish immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.23 [*]	.044	.000	.12	.33
	Polish non-immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.22 [*]	.040	.000	.12	.31
Creation of community	German-Polish immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.13 [*]	.046	.014	.02	.24
		Polish non-immigrants	.20 [*]	.040	.000	.11	.30
Specific Christian holiday	German-Polish immigrants	Polish non-immigrants	.17 [*]	.049	.002	.05	.29
Habit	Polish non-immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.13 [*]	.052	.038	.01	.25
		German-Polish immigrants	.13 [*]	.049	.020	.02	.25
Opportunity to make beloved people gifts	Polish non-immigrants	German-Polish immigrants	-.18 [*]	.049	.001	-.30	-.07
Stress and Pressure to consume	Austrian-Polish immigrants	German-Polish immigrants	-.10 [*]	.041	.047	-.19	.00
		Polish non-immigrants	.11 [*]	.037	.010	.02	.20
	German-Polish immigrants	Austrian-Polish immigrants	.10 [*]	.041	.047	.00	.19
		Polish non-immigrants	.21 [*]	.036	.000	.12	.29

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

In addition, paired samples test were undertaken in order to test mean differences on a parent-child-dyadic level among all three groups. The table below shows the significance level for the calculated mother-child and father-child pairs (see table 27). The significance level for parent-child comparison is presented additionally. A generational effect among all three groups is visible regarding “*Opportunity to make beloved people gifts*” and “*Vacation*” ($p < .001$). All grownup adults associate Christmas with the possibility to make friends and family gifts, and to make them a joy. In addition, the young respondents see Christmas much more than holidays and job-free time than their parents. A maternal immigration effect has been identified regarding “*Creation of community*” and “*Stress and Pressure to consume*” ($p < .001$). Young immigrant grownups agree much more clearly with the perception that Christmas means stress and the pressure to consume compared to their mothers. The wish for (more) harmony and peace is reflected by the fact that the young respondents allocate largely a community-creating character to Christmas than their mothers do. However, it must

be stated that regarding “*Stress and Pressure to consume*” an intergenerational effect is also present as mean comparison shows highly significant differences among the Polish non-immigrants for both dyadic mother-child and father-child comparison ($p < .002$). Furthermore, a cultural-generational effect among all groups has been found for “*Family celebration*”: no significant differences between the generations among all groups implicit a high significance of Christmas as family celebration among. When it comes to Christmas as specific Christian holiday, a more diverse result is present, as a maternal-intergenerational effect seems to be present among the German-Polish immigrant and Polish non-immigrant group, while among the Austrian-Polish immigrants, mean difference is visible on a dyadic father-child-level. The strong generational difference is mainly shown by the fact that young people tend to distance themselves from the perception that Christmas is a Christian celebration. For them, it is important to bring others joy and to spend some quiet time with family and friends rather than having stress. In contrast, the generation of parents maintains the religious origin and meaning of Christmas.

Table 27. Significance level for parent-child-dyadic comparison

	Austrian-Polish immigrants			German-Polish immigrants			Polish non-immigrants		
	Parents	Mother	Father	Parents	Mother	Father	Parents	Mother	Father
Family celebration	.168	.444	.081	1.000	.524	.172	.189	.123	.499
Specific Christian holiday	.102	.707	.006	.025	.008	.647	.005	.003	.117
Habit	.019	.082	.030	.124	.083	.653	.436	.580	.479
Opportunity to make beloved people gifts	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.008	.000	.001	.000
Vacation	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.015	.000	.001	.018
Principles/Rules	.032	.004	.784	.672	.667	.834	.002	.006	.009
Creation of community	.000	.000	.216	.001	.000	.243	.714	.740	.338
Stress and Pressure to consume	.000	.000	.011	.174	.010	.085	.000	.002	.001
Obligation	.012	.087	.035	.012	.080	.029	.345	.331	.581
Orientation and Security	.037	.101	.200	.486	.376	.985	.145	.082	.496
N	80	50	30	84	59	25	126	62	64

In a next step, sub-groups based on the question on the general importance of Christmas were created. Respondents could answer on the question on a 4-point scale where “1 = Very important”, “2 = Rather important”, “3 = Rather not important”, and “4 = Not important at all”. Based on theoretical assumptions, three sub-groups were created to compare intergenerational cultural-traditional rituals based on respondents’ individual significance of Christmas (see table 28). In general, parents address a greater importance to Christmas than their grownup children do. Mothers tend to give greater importance to Christmas than

their children as well as fathers do (the exception forms the Austrian-Polish immigrant group).

Table 28. Distribution of “Importance of Christmas” among all groups

	Austrian-Polish immigrants			German-Polish immigrants			Polish non-immigrants		
	Grownup Adult	Mother	Father	Grownup Adult	Mother	Father	Grownup Adult	Mother	Father
Important	33%	60%	73%	58%	46%	44%	37%	58%	34%
Rather Important	44%	28%	20%	18%	37%	56%	44%	42%	63%
Not Important	23%	12%	7%	24%	17%	0%	19%	0%	3%
N	78	50	30	76	59	25	126	62	64

6.3.6.2. Christmas celebrations

Correlation analysis served to detect intergenerational differences between the way the young adults celebrate Christmas compared to their parents. Three questions about Christmas celebrations were asked. One question was related to the general character of the festival's celebration, and the other one dealt with special rituals and practices. The last one consisted of questions about eating habits, especially which menu can be found on the Christmas Eve tables of the interviewees. It is believed that food and getting together for a common, festive meal is a marker of social boundaries. Due to its centrality in human beings lives, food becomes a vehicle for (religious) rituals. At the same time, it is assumed that due to the much stronger contact to the mainstream culture, second immigrant generation of Polish families in Austria and Germany is highly shaped by multiple cultural experiences and heritage. As previous results show, among Polish second immigrant generation in Austria and Germany, a transcultural identity has been formed which is characterized by a multiplicity of elements from different origins. Thus, it was tested whether this identity is also reflected by Christmas celebrations. This was measured via mean difference of young adults and their parents. Furthermore, specific custom as well as food were identified as being more Polish than Austrian/German. Thus, analysis shall reveal whether Polish second immigrant generation in Austria and Germany tend to associate Christmas with these pre-defined more Polish custom.

Paired samples tests among all three groups reveal no significant mean differences on a mother-child and father-child level among all groups regarding both items *“I celebrate Christmas the way I know since childhood”* and *“I celebrate Christmas the way my parents have taught me”*. However, only for Polish mother-child comparison the test signals a

generational effect as $p < .05$. Another interesting item is “*I try to establish new habits and traditions*” which emphasizes the desire to include something new into the Christmas festival. This item shows the largest intergenerational gap as young Polish immigrant of the second generation want to renew the Christmas festival and to establish new habits and traditions compared to their parents (see table 29).

Table 29. Paired Samples Correlations on a dyadic level

	Austrian-Polish immigrants				German-Polish immigrants				Polish non-immigrants			
	Mother-Child dyad		Father-Child dyad		Mother-Child dyad		Father-Child dyad		Mother-Child dyad		Father-Child dyad	
	Corr.	Sig.	Corr.	Sig.	Corr.	Sig.	Corr.	Sig.	Corr.	Sig.	Corr.	Sig.
I celebrate Christmas the way I know since childhood	.014	.882	.000	1.000	.078	.357	-.026	.788	.224	.002	.131	.072
I celebrate Christmas the way my parents have taught me	.025	.788	.126	.216	-.146	.083	-.152	.114	.198	.006	-.038	.600
I try to establish new habits and traditions	.209	.025	-.098	.335	.164	.051	-.209	.029	-.257	.000	-.217	.003
In a large circle of family (grandparents, etc.)	-.075	.428	-.388	.000	-.162	.053	-.197	.040	.053	.474	-.142	.051
In my core family/In small circle	-.307	.001	.208	.040	.026	.762	.053	.583	-.134	.067	-.175	.016
n	114		98		143		109		188		190	

As an intergenerational effect could be found, it was tested if a cultural effect between the second generation with migration background and without is present as well. Independent samples tests between Austrian-Polish young adult immigrants and German-Polish young adult immigrants were performed to prove whether a significant mean difference is present for any of the five items regarding Christmas celebrations. T-test reveals that none of the items show a significant mean difference between the two immigrant groups. Thus, both immigrant groups were joined together to form one immigrant group in order to be compared to the Polish non-immigrant group of young adults. Independent samples test discloses a cultural effect as significant differences between the group means could be found regarding „*I celebrate Christmas the way I know since childhood*“ ($M_{\text{immigrants}} = .75$, $M_{\text{non-immigrants}} = .62$) and „*I celebrate Christmas the way my parents have taught me*“ ($M_{\text{immigrants}} = .71$, $M_{\text{non-immigrants}} = .57$) ($p < .05$) (see table 330). Looking deeper into data, the cultural effect is reflected by the clear indication that Polish immigrants celebrate Christmas as they have known it since their childhood, but above all, as it was taught by their parents. The proportion of non-immigrants is much lower. It seems that the Polish immigrants are aware of the fact that they are heavily influenced by their parents and that they celebrate Christmas as they know it from their parents.

Table 30. Polish young adult immigrants and Polish young adult non-immigrants

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
I celebrate Christmas the way I know since childhood	Polish immigrants	154	.75	.433	.035
	Polish non-immigrants	126	.62	.488	.043
I celebrate Christmas the way my parents have taught me	Polish immigrants	154	.71	.453	.037
	Polish non-immigrants	126	.57	.497	.044
I try to establish new habits and traditions	Polish immigrants	154	.16	.364	.029
	Polish non-immigrants	126	.24	.428	.038
In a large circle of family (grandparents, etc.)	Polish immigrants	154	.53	.501	.040
	Polish non-immigrants	126	.46	.500	.045
In my core family/In small circle	Polish immigrants	154	.56	.498	.040
	Polish non-immigrants	126	.43	.497	.044

6.3.6.3. Christmas eating habits and Christmas custom

Eating plays a central role at Christmas. Already in the Advent season it is much around food (Christmas markets, Christmas memoirs, etc.), and thus, Christmas mood is produced via food and drink. The German sociologist Daniel Kofahl (2014) emphasizes that the common Christmas family food is an important anchor, since families are often scattered and live abroad today. The collective family biography is concretized by food, and common festive food represents a break to everyday life (Kofahl 2014). In its origin, Christmas dinner has a Christian message as it signifies the break with the fasting time. In addition, in former days winter period meant food shortages, thus the Christmas dinner was the opulent meal in a poor time (Kofahl 2014). Today, Christmas is more idealized and strongly linked to childhood memories. Furthermore, food is of great emotional importance. The high effort involved in cooking and baking symbolizes its importance and is about mediating feelings. Out of the fourteen items regarding Christmas customs, four were identified as more Polish, three as less Polish and more Austrian/German, and seven as universal. The following table presents the pre-defined classifications „More Polish“, „Less Polish more Austrian/German“, and „Universal“ (see table 31).

Table 31. Pre-defined Christmas items

More Polish	Less Polish, more Austrian/German	Universal
A free place at the Christmas Eve table, reserved for an unannounced guest	Advent wreath	Barbara branch (4.12)
The first star (Christmas dinner starts only when the first star is visible in the sky)	Ring of bells as a sign that children can enter the room with the Christmas tree and gifts	Midnight mass
Breaking and sharing the Christmas wafer (oplatek) Even number of people at Christmas Eve table	Krampus (5.12)	Christmas tree Nativity scene Christmas markets Christmas carols St. Nicholas (6.12)

Parental influence has been tested regarding specific custom and special food connected to Christmas celebrations. Both custom and food were a priori identified as being more Polish

or less Polish. In addition, some custom were defined as cultural in-between as they cannot be assigned to one specific cultural context and are more or less universal (Christmas tree, Christmas carols). In terms of food, an assignment was easier. Based on qualitative interviews and feedback while conducting the pre-test, it emerged that certain dishes were particularly associated with Christmas Eve.

Using the independent samples t-test, the difference between the means of Polish young adult immigrant and Polish young adult non-immigrant groups were evaluated. The following table shows only those mean differences with a (strong) significance (see table 33). No mean difference for the item „*Even number of people at Christmas Eve table*“ could be found as among all young adults – neither immigrant nor non-immigrant – no one mentioned this item being relevant for him/her. This response behaviour suggests that this custom has already lost its importance among the younger generation and it was not passed on to the offspring by their parents. This cultural inter-group effect reflects the result that both young Polish immigrants as well as non-immigrants tend to establish new Christmas habits and that they are open to new customs compared to their parents. Young adults seem to be more open for changes and innovations when it comes to changing habits during Christmas season. This significant generational effect can also be explained by the relatively high ranking of the value set "Self-Reliance" (F4) which includes inter alia the attitude to be open to meet new people and being selfish sometimes. The possibility to travel abroad and to get in touch with other cultures emphasizes this attitude and characterizes the transculturality identity among Austrian-Polish and German-Polish young adult immigrants.

T-test signals mean differences for the items “*Advent wreath*” ($p < .01$), “*Midnight mass*” ($p < .01$), “*Krampus (5.12)*” ($p < .01$), “*Nativity scene*” ($p < .05$), and “*Christmas markets*” ($p < .01$). Among the “less Polish, more Austrian/German” as well as “universal” items, immigrants score significantly higher than the non-immigrant group regarding “*Advent wreath*” ($M_{\text{immigrants}} = .75$, $M_{\text{non-immigrants}} = .11$), “*Krampus (5.12)*” ($M_{\text{immigrants}} = .14$, $M_{\text{non-immigrants}} = .00$), “*Nativity scene*” ($M_{\text{immigrants}} = .44$, $M_{\text{non-immigrants}} = .27$), and “*Christmas markets*” ($M_{\text{immigrants}} = .61$, $M_{\text{non-immigrants}} = .11$). In contrast, only the item “*Midnight mass*” ($M_{\text{immigrants}} = .13$, $M_{\text{non-immigrants}} = .51$) indicates a reversed picture as Polish non-immigrants score much higher on this item than Polish immigrant peers in Austria and Germany.

Table 32. Independent Samples test – Christmas habits items young immigrants and non- immigrants

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Advent wreath	Equal variances assumed	39.313	.000	13.908	278	.000	.642	.046	.551	.733
	Equal variances not assumed			14.341	274.576	.000	.642	.045	.554	.730
Midnight mass	Equal variances assumed	151.395	.000	-7.505	278	.000	-.378	.050	-.477	-.279
	Equal variances not assumed			-7.225	210.893	.000	-.378	.052	-.481	-.275
Krampus- 5.12	Equal variances assumed	120.096	.000	4.566	278	.000	.143	.031	.081	.204
	Equal variances not assumed			5.050	153.000	.000	.143	.028	.087	.199
Nativity scene	Equal variances assumed	32.749	.000	3.008	278	.003	.172	.057	.059	.284
	Equal variances not assumed			3.041	275.763	.003	.172	.056	.061	.283
Christmas markets	Equal variances assumed	159.981	.000	9.893	278	.000	.499	.050	.400	.599
	Equal variances not assumed			10.311	264.446	.000	.499	.048	.404	.595

As a cultural effect on peer level was found, intergenerational mean comparison among Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrant families was undertaken to prove to which extent an intergenerational effect is present. Dyadic comparison was carried out for each cultural sample. Series of the comparison result in a matrix of p-values for whether the indicator value for mothers and fathers significantly differs from the indicator value computed for the young adults' generation. The following table represents the means among young grownup adults, mothers and fathers among Austrian-Polish immigrants, German-Polish immigrants, and Polish non-immigrants (see table 33).

Table 33. Mean Comparison – Christmas habits items

	Austrian-Polish immigrants			German-Polish immigrants			Polish non-immigrants		
	Adults	Mothers	Fathers	Adults	Mothers	Fathers	Adults	Mothers	Fathers
	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
A free place	0.63	0.91	0.71	0.9	0.93	0.88	0.67	0.81	0.69
First star	0.57	0.73	0.43	0.52	0.66	0.4	0.54	0.58	0.59
Advent wreath	0.71	0.68	0.21	0.79	0.59	0.48	0.11	0	0.06
Oplatek	0.63	1	0.93	0.93	0.91	1	0.89	0.9	0.88
Barbara branch (4.12)	0.03	0.14	0	0	0.14	0	0	0.03	0
Even number of people at table	0	0.05	0	0	0.45	0	0	0	0
Midnight mass	0.11	0.59	0.43	0.14	0.78	0.4	0.51	0.71	0.47
St. Nicholas (6.12)	0.49	0.68	0.64	0.69	0.66	0.6	0.56	0.52	0.47
Christmas carols	0.51	0.86	0.64	0.43	0.74	0.4	0.41	0.65	0.63
Krampus (5.12)	0.2	0.27	0	0.1	0.09	0	0	0.06	0
Nativity scene	0.4	0.59	0.14	0.48	0.53	0.16	0.27	0.39	0.38
Christmas markets	0.6	0.59	0	0.62	0.45	0.64	0.11	0.1	0.09
Ring of bells	0.09	0.32	0	0.05	0.09	0	0.03	0	0.06
Christmas tree	0.94	1	1	0.95	1	1	0.95	0.94	0.88
N	70	44	28	84	58	25	126	62	64

Similar to the cultural in-between group analysis of young immigrant adults and non-immigrant adults, some items do not appear to be relevant to the respondents or have lost relevance, such as the “*Barbara branch (4.12)*” and an “*Even number of people at Christmas Eve table*”, two habits that have been identified as being more Polish/universal. This result is reflected by an intergenerational effect, especially among German-Polish immigrant families ($p < .001$) (see table 34). Furthermore, the item “*Ringing of bells as a sign that children can enter the room with the Christmas tree and gifts*” receives a general rejection by all respondents as neither immigrants nor non-immigrants associate this custom with Christmas.

Table 34. Statistical significance (2-tailed p -value) of Paired t-test among generations

	Austrian-Polish immigrants		German-Polish immigrants		Polish non-immigrants	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
A free place	.001	.426	.563	.721	.047	.774
First star	.095	.204	.154	.281	.598	.481
Advent wreath	.715	.000	.007	.003	.006	.282
Oplatek	.000	.003	.524	.172	.766	.779
Barbara branch (4.12)	.028	.371	.000		.043	
Even number of people at table	.073		.000			
Midnight mass	.000	.000	.000	.005	.008	.612
St. Nicholas (6.12)	.040	.162	.713	.403	.612	.260
Christmas carols	.000	.252	.000	.802	.003	.005
Krampus (5.12)	.372	.010	.831	.111	.004	
Nativity scene	.047	.014	.565	.004	.103	.138
Christmas markets	.924	.000	.035	.851	.766	.714
Ringling of bells	.001	.112	.372	.270	.158	.321
Christmas tree	.108	.200	.090	.270	.630	.054

The habit of an Advent wreath, symbolizing the passage of the four weeks of Advent in the liturgical calendar of the Western church, seems to be more a custom in the German-speaking area, whereas in Poland it is seen as part of the Christmas period only in some cases among the non-immigrants. The same is true for Christmas markets. The cultural effect is reflected on a generational level. Especially among the German-Polish immigrant group, significant differences between mothers and their children ($p < .05$) as well as fathers and their children ($p < .05$) could be found. The same is true for Austrian-Polish immigrant fathers and their offspring ($p < .001$) and Polish non-immigrant mothers and their children ($p < .05$). The tradition of Krampus (5.12), a folklore figure who punishes misbehaving children, is more common among Austrian-Poles than the German-Poles, while in Poland this custom is not very well known at all. In contrast, the tradition of St. Nicolaus is well known and associated with Christmas among all groups. Pair wise comparison also reveals a strong intergenerational-cultural effect on a dyadic mother-child level: among all groups, mothers associate singing Christmas carols as traditional part of their Christmas festivities while their grownup children attribute less importance to it ($p_{API} < .001$, $p_{GPI} < .001$, $p_{PNI} < .05$).

A strong cultural effect has been identified for the items “*Christmas tree*” and “*A free place at the Christmas Eve table, reserved for an unannounced guest*”. While putting up and decorating a Christmas tree is a custom that is widespread and popular worldwide, leaving one extra place setting for an unannounced guest during Christmas Eve is very common in Poland and has been identified as a “more Polish” habit. In order to celebrate the tradition of hospitality and kindness, families leave an empty seat in case a family member, friend or stranger appears unexpectedly for dinner. Irrespective of whether young or old generation in Poland, Austria or Germany, this Christmas tradition is predominant among the respondents and part of their Christmas festival. A weak cultural effect is present for traditions around Christmas Eve supper. Among Polish immigrants and non-immigrants, Christmas Eve supper does not begin before the first star (*gwiazdka*) appears in the sky, followed by breaking and sharing the Christmas wafer (*opłatek*). In particular, among the parents’ generations, the tradition of *opłatek* is very common and popular. A strong generational effect is visible for visiting the midnight mass among the Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany. Mothers ($M_{API} = .59$ ($p < .001$), $M_{GPI} = .43$ ($p < .001$)) and fathers ($M_{API} = .78$ ($p < .001$), $M_{GPI} = .40$ ($p < .05$)) attach greater importance to celebrating Christmas in an institutionalized court setting and to attend church than their children ($M_{API} = .11$, $M_{GPI} = .14$).

Similar to Christmas custom, Christmas food was pre-defined being or not being more Polish. Out of the nine items, three were identified as “more Polish”, four as “less Polish and more Austrian/German”, and two as “Universal” (table 35). Based on Catholic tradition, Advent season is a period of fasting and ending with the Midnight mass on December, 25th. Christmas Eve is meatless. Furthermore, traditional dishes such as *barszcz* with dough pockets (sour beetroot soup (*barszcz z uszkami*)) or sour rye soup (*żur*) are traditionally served in Poland on Christmas Eve. Independent samples t-test helped to identify whether mean differences between Polish young adult immigrant and Polish young adult non-immigrant groups are present when comparing which Christmas dishes cannot be missed on the Christmas Eve table.

Table 35. Pre-defined Christmas items

More Polish	Less Polish, more Austrian/German	Universal
barszcz with dough pockets (or white Żur, mushroom soup, fish soup)	Fresh white sausages with sauerkraut or Italian salad (salad mayonnaise)	Noodles with poppy, sugar or honey or yeast braid with dried fruit
Fish prepared in different ways, especially carp	Fondue or raclette	Baked Apples
Kutia (sweet grain pudding)	Blood sausage and roast pork	
	Beef stew, goose with red cabbage and potato dumpling	

Significant mean differences between Austrian/German-Polish immigrant adults and Polish non-immigrant adults could be found among all Christmas food items except *barszcz* ($p > .05$). For both young adult groups, the traditional Polish rootbeet soup *barszcz* is an indispensable Christmas Eve dish ($M_{\text{immigrants}} = .94$, $M_{\text{non-immigrants}} = .97$). In contrast, blood sausages or roast pork as well as fresh white sausages with sauerkraut or Italian salad (salad mayonnaise) are not seen as traditional Christmas Eve dishes (see table 36).

Table 36. Independent Samples test – Christmas food items among young immigrants and non-immigrants

		M	F	Sig.	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error Diff.	95% Conf. Interval of Diff.	
											Lower	Upper
Barscht with dough pockets (or white Żur)	Polish immigrants	.94	6.61	0.01	0.02	-1.27	278	0.21	-0.03	0.03	-0.08	0.02
	Polish non-immigrants	.97			0.02	-1.31	273	0.19	-0.03	0.03	-0.08	0.02
Fish prepared in different ways, especially carp	Polish immigrants	.87	16.97	0.00	0.03	2.05	278	0.04	0.09	0.05	0.00	0.18
	Polish non-immigrants	.78			0.04	2.01	239	0.05	0.09	0.05	0.00	0.18
Noodles with poppy/sugar Yeast braid with dried fruit	Polish immigrants	.29	37.64	0.00	0.04	2.90	278	0.00	0.14	0.05	0.05	0.24
	Polish non-immigrants	.14			0.03	2.97	277	0.00	0.14	0.05	0.05	0.24
Baked Apples	Polish immigrants	.09	17.42	0.00	0.02	2.02	278	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.00	0.12
	Polish non-immigrants	.03			0.02	2.11	258	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.00	0.11
Kutia (sweet grain pudding)	Polish immigrants	.21	53.48	0.00	0.03	-4.09	278	0.00	-0.22	0.05	-0.33	-0.11
	Polish non-immigrants	.43			0.04	-4.01	241	0.00	-0.22	0.06	-0.33	-0.11
Beef stew, goose with red cabbage and potato dumpling	Polish immigrants	.04	15.22	0.00	0.02	-1.92	278	0.06	-0.06	0.03	-0.11	0.00
	Polish non-immigrants	.10			0.03	-1.84	208	0.07	-0.06	0.03	-0.12	0.00

Paired samples t-test was used to investigate intergenerational differences among all families on a dyadic parent-child level (see table 37). Similar to the between-peers comparison results, parents do not see fondue or raclette, fresh white sausages with sauerkraut or Italian salad (salad mayonnaise) or blood sausage/roast pork as traditional Christmas dishes. Also, the pre-defined „more Austrian/German“ item „*Beef stew, goose with red cabbage and potato dumpling*“ indicates very low mean ratings among all generations.

Table 37. Mean Comparison – Christmas food items

	Austrian-Polish immigrants			German-Polish immigrants			Polish non-immigrants		
	Adults	Mothers	Fathers	Adults	Mothers	Fathers	Adults	Mothers	Fathers
	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
Barscht with dough pockets (Żur)	.89	.91	1.00	.98	.97	1.00	.97	.97	1.00
Fish prepared in different ways, especially carp	.80	.95	1.00	.93	.83	1.00	.78	.77	.78
Noodles with poppy, sugar or honey or yeast braid with dried fruit	.11	.45	.14	.43	.69	.44	.14	.16	.09
Baked Apples	.17	.18	.29	.02	.00	.04	.03	.03	.00
Kutia (sweet grain pudding)	.06	.27	.21	.33	.66	.52	.43	.29	.31
Beef stew, goose with red cabbage and potato dumpling	.03	.00	0.14	.05	.00	0.20	.10	.10	.06
N	70	44	28	84	59	25	126	62	64

Paired samples t-tests were conducted to assess whether the mean difference between mothers and children as well as fathers and children among all groups significantly differ (see table 38). A cultural maternal effect is visible among both immigrant groups regarding “*Noodles with poppy, sugar or honey or yeast braid with dried fruit*” ($M_{API} = .45$ ($p < .001$), $M_{GPI} = .69$ ($p < .05$)) and “*Kutia*” ($M_{API} = .27$ ($p < .001$), $M_{GPI} = .66$ ($p < .001$)) as for Polish immigrant mothers these dishes are more important than for their grownup offspring, while dyadic comparison among Polish non-immigrant families do not show any statistically significant differences.

Table 38. Statistical significance (2-tailed p -value) of Paired t-test among generations

	Austrian-Polish immigrants		German-Polish immigrants		Polish non-immigrants	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Barscht with dough pockets (Žur)	.695	.063	.721	.441	.985	.151
Fish prepared in different ways, especially carp	.021	.010	.068	.172	.956	.957
Noodles with poppy, sugar or honey or yeast braid with dried fruit	.000	.700	.002	.920	.740	.338
Baked Apples	.888	.209	.236	.668	.985	.151
Kutia (sweet grain pudding)	.001	.020	.000	.092	.067	.122
Beef stew, goose with red cabbage and potato dumpling	.262	.033	.090	.015	.973	.445

6.3.6.4. Summary

As Poland is a Catholic country, Polish culture attributes high importance to Advent, Christmas, and especially the festivities surrounding Christmas Eve. Previous research shows that the host society has stronger impact on second generation immigrants than on first generation ones, as interculturality influences their identity more distinctly. Thus, the second generation has to find a balance between multiple cultures (Mansouri/Ben-Moshe/Johns 2015: 9). The process of socialization (school, peers, work, etc.) in the host society results in second generation immigrants getting in touch with Austrian or German traditions and rituals. However, celebrations and festivals such as Christmas are mostly celebrated within the family and defined as family routines and rituals that refer to specific repeated practices (Spagnola 2007: 285). As change in routines and rituals is an inherent part of the family life cycle (Fiese 2002: 10, Spagnola 2007: 288), in this study, family rituals were measured via questions regarding family Christmas habits and practices. Different rituals, customs and eating habits were defined as “more Polish” or “less Polish”. The research question dealt with aspects of the Christmas festival and their relevance in general and for the second immigrant generation in Austria and Germany in particular. On group level, high correspondence with “more Polish” habits and rituals meant stronger identification

with the Polish culture. On family level, high correspondence with “more Polish” habits and rituals resulted from a greater intergenerational cultural-traditional ritual similarity.

When it comes to the meaning of Christmas, Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrants tend to associate the hustle and bustle around Christmas time with an ever growing focus on material consumption and feel stressed by the pressure of finding the right presents and meeting social obligations associated with the holidays. A cultural effect becomes clear regarding “*Obligation*” and “*Habit*” as Polish non-immigrants living in Poland associate Christmas with traditional customs and fulfilling obligations towards family, relatives and friends, while both immigrant groups in Austria and Germany assign less importance to these items. Comparison on a parent-child-dyadic level reveals that all young respondents value the opportunity of giving gifts and bringing joy to loved ones, and spending a quiet time with family and friends, rather than going through the stress of observing Advent traditions. A strong generational difference can also be seen in the fact that young people tend to distance themselves from the perception that Christmas is a Christian celebration and regard it as a work-free holiday. In contrast, the generation of parents maintains the religious origin and meaning of Christmas.

Previous results have shown that a transcultural identity characterized by a variety of elements of different origin has formed among Polish second-generation immigrants living in Austria and Germany. The present study therefore examined whether this transcultural identity is also reflected in the ways the respondents celebrate Christmas. To this end, specific custom and dishes were identified as being more Polish than Austrian/German. Results indicate a cultural effect reflected by the clear indication that Polish immigrants celebrate Christmas the way they have known since childhood, but above all, the way it was taught to them by their Polish parents. It seems they are well aware of the fact that they are heavily influenced by their parents and they celebrate Christmas exactly as the latter do. By contrast, the non-immigrants living in Poland are less strict in their observation of their parents’ Christmas customs.

Food plays a central role in celebrating Christmas. The traditional Christmas family dinner is an important anchor, since families are often scattered and living abroad (see Kofahl 2014). The collective family biography is concretized by food and festive meal represents a break in everyday routine (Kofahl 2014). The origin of the Christmas dinner lies in the Christian tradition of breaking with the fasting time, and a rare opportunity for an opulent meal during winter time when food was scarce (Kofahl 2014). Today, Christmas is more idealized and strongly linked to childhood memories. Cultural belonging to Poland and ethnic revival are

reflected in the Christmas eating habits and traditions of the second Polish immigrant generation. While some Polish traditions such as the requirement for an even number of people at Christmas Eve table have already lost importance, others remain a crucial part of the Christmas celebrations. Even though young adults seem to be more open to change and innovations when it comes to Christmas season customs and habits, putting up a Christmas tree or leaving one extra place setting for an unannounced guest during Christmas Eve dinner which is very common in Poland remain *sine qua non* for their Christmas celebration. Cultural belonging also becomes manifest in eating habits, especially in traditional Polish dishes such as sour beetroot soup with dough pockets (*barszcz z uszkami*) or sour rye soup (*żur*) which are traditionally served on Christmas Eve in Poland.

VII. Summary

Family plays an important role in transmitting cultural heritage and historical narratives of an ethnic or national group. Thus, intergenerational value transmission is one significant way of how the cultural heritage of a society is transmitted to the next generation (Nauck 2002). When it comes to immigrant families, the migration experience may lead to the shaping of a certain family-specific social capital, and parents may respond to the circumstances of living in a new cultural context by making a greater effort to transmit their cultural values, traditions, customs etc. to their children than they would without migration experience, for fear of losing their position as role models for their offspring. The transmission of values, defined as the core of culture (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001), is the main task of culture maintenance and culture change as well as the core of an individual's identity (Schönpflug 2001). They are conceptions of the desirable standards for human conduct, and shape every-day behaviour as well as critical life decisions (Schönpflug 2001, Schwartz 1999). Intercultural encounters, where the interacting partners do not share the same values, are always prone to misunderstandings and cultural barriers arising in communication as well as other domains of everyday life. Based on previous studies on values and intergenerational relations, this study examines the influence of the migration experience and migration process on value similarity between generations of Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany. The aim is to portray the ways values are transmitted from parents to their grownup children by analyzing intergenerational relationships and their individual characteristics.

Intergenerational value transmission is defined as a vertical process of value transmission from parents to their offspring, and may occur through any kind of social learning, observation, imitation, or direct instruction (Markowitz 2001). In order to investigate intergenerational value transmission in the present study, samples were collected in three countries. The Austrian-Polish immigrant sample in Austria consisted of adults aged of 25 to 35 whose parents had immigrated to Austria during the late 1970s or 1980s and settled in their new host country. The respondents were either already born in Austria or had immigrated to Austria with their parents at a very young age. They had likewise spent their entire socialization process in Austria, including school, vocational training, studies, and work. Apart from the second generation immigrants, their parents were also asked to participate in the survey. The selection criteria regarding the heritage of the parents was without exception a Polish roots. The same sampling criteria were applied to the German-Polish group living in Germany. The third sample consisted of adults aged 25 to 35 living in

Poland who had no migration experience, and neither had their parents. Both Polish non-immigrant adults and parents have spent their socialization process in Poland, including school, studies, and work. Bi-national couples were excluded from the study, just like in the Austrian and German samples. Parent-child dyads were formed to examine to which extent value similarity was present within both immigrant groups compared to the non-immigrant group. Parent-child value similarity was measured on three levels: across cultural groups, within families, and within parent-child dyads.

The standardized questionnaire contained adapted versions of the *Emic Questionnaire of Cultural Values and Scripts (EQCVS)* (Boski et al. 1992, Boski 1999, Boski 2001), the *Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire (PAFS-Q)* (Bray/Williamson/Malone 1984), questions regarding the *Identification and Recognition of Cultural Symbols (IRCS)* (Lewandowska 2008), and a newly developed measure instrument to examine *Intergenerational Cultural-Traditional Rituals (ICTR)*. Multivariate statistics using SPSS Statistics 23 was applied for data analysis.

The following chapter contains a summary of the main findings with regard to the research questions and general conclusions based on the findings and results of this research project.

7.1. Intercultural group results

The study focuses on second-generation Polish immigrants whose parents immigrated to Austria and Germany in the late 1970s and 1980s. These grownup children were already born in Austria/Germany and/or have spent the majority of their lives in these countries, participating in the Austrian/German education system, labour market, etc. Most of their socialization process took place in Austria/Germany rather than in Poland. Taking intergenerational relationships and individual expressions into consideration, the study examined whether the migration experience of the parents had a significant impact on intergenerational value transmission. It was expected that immigration conditions had a positive influence on intergenerational value transmission and therefore parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany would be more pronounced than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland (*hypothesis 1*). Furthermore, it was assumed that there was no cultural difference in the value ratings and value primacy regarding Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany, and a strong cultural effect would be present (*hypothesis 3*). However, both assumptions could not be verified, since the value similarity between parents and their children in both immigrant groups in Austria and Germany showed different characteristics. The results do not support

the hypotheses. The present effect is therefore likely based on general intergenerational discrepancy regarding life concepts and attitudes rather than culturally conditioned.

Exploratory factor analysis was applied to examine *Emic Culture Values and scripts Questionnaire* data. The following four value sets were extracted: “*Family Values*” ($\alpha = .762$), “*Altruistic and Community Values*” ($\alpha = .725$), “*Work Ethics and Patriotism*” ($\alpha = .687$), and “*Self-Reliance*” ($\alpha = .713$). Value priority was measured between the three groups of Austrian-Polish immigrants, German-Polish immigrants, and Polish non-immigrants by means of ANOVA. The mean ratings of the four value sets were compared between the three groups as well as between the generation of parents and the generation of grownup children. An *intra-cultural effect* was observed for “*Family Values*” as this value set is rated most positively and received the highest level of agreement among all three groups, both with young adults and their parents. In conclusion, it can be stated that “family” was of superior importance to all participants of this study, regardless of whether they had been socialized in Poland or Austria/Germany: strong family relationships and intense contact with parents and relatives were seen as essential. These results correspond with those of earlier studies (Boski 2001, Kwast-Welfeld 2004, Lewandowska 2008, Boski 2009, Boski 2010, Wesolowska 2013), which have shown that people with Polish roots assign a very important role to family. However, it is crucial to emphasize that in the present study, Family Values do not correspond with Christian values, as opposed to e.g. Kwast-Welfeld’s research (2004). An *inter-cultural effect* could be proven regarding “*Altruistic and Community Values*”, as mean scores for both immigrant groups differ significantly from Polish non-immigrants. The latter tend to assign less importance to responsibility regarding an ecological lifestyle and reducing pollution. Furthermore, the Polish respondents are less interested in politics as well as in community issues and social welfare than their counterparts in Austria and Germany.

7.2. Intra-group results

Intra-group level analysis aimed at detecting differences or similarities between the grownup children and their parents on a group level. A significant *generational effect* could be found regarding “*Self-Reliance*” as this value set is rated more positively among all grownup children compared to their parents. This is true for both the Polish immigrant and the Polish non-immigrant young adults. A high degree of selfishness marks the younger generation in general, with the strife for private and professional self-realization, autonomy and enjoying life being their driving forces. They experience an unprecedented degree of freedom to shape their own lives the way they want – a freedom unimaginable for their parents who grew up in a post-war Communist Poland, characterized by restrictions, scarcity and the

impossibility of travelling abroad. The young generation with Polish roots uses the current opportunities for international travel and taking advantage of a networked and globalized world. However, the importance of "*Self-Reliance*" does not contradict the focus on "*Family Values*": a strong family cohesion and supporting one's family members are just as important to the young generation as *Self-Reliance*. It is particularly noticeable that this more selfish attitude is not in conflict with caring for the own family, and in particular for one's parents: among all three groups, grownup children agree that it is the duty of children to take care of their parents in old age.

7.3. Parent-child-dyadic results

Parent-child-dyadic analysis of value similarity among all three groups was measured with paired samples t-tests. It was tested whether the value set preference of mothers and fathers differ significantly from value set preference of their grownup children. Statistically significant difference between mothers and their grownup children could be found regarding "*Family Values*" ($p < .001$) as well as "*Self-Reliance*" ($p < .001$) among the Austrian-Polish immigrant group. Father-child-dyadic comparison within the Austrian-Polish immigrant group only shows a significant mean difference regarding "*Self-Reliance*" ($p < .001$). Within the German-Polish immigrant group, mother-child-dyadic comparison shows significant differences concerning "*Altruistic and Community Values*" ($p < .001$) and "*Self-Reliance*" ($p < .001$). The same is true for father-child comparison ("*Self-Reliance*": $p < .001$). Polish non-immigrant dyadic analysis shows significant differences for "*Work Ethics and Patriotism*" ($p < .001$) and "*Self-Reliance*" ($p < .001$) for mother-child comparison, and significant differences for "*Self-Reliance*" ($p < .001$) for father-child comparison as well as "*Altruistic and Community Values*" ($p < .05$). Analysis on dyadic level reveals that linear relationships between the value sets are much stronger among mothers and fathers than young adults. This is true for both immigrant groups and the non-immigrant group. It can be concluded that among parents, the value sets are in a stronger linear relation compared to their grownup children.

A significant *inter-cultural effect* is present among the German-Polish immigrant and the Polish non-immigrant group as these two groups seem to share more analogies regarding intergenerational value similarity and value preference with each other than with the Austrian-Polish immigrant group. Both among the German-Polish immigrant and among the Polish non-immigrant group, a relatively strong positive linear relationship between "*Family Values*", "*Altruistic and Community Values*" and "*Work Ethics and Patriotism*" (predictors) was found on a dyadic mother-child and father-child level.

7.4. Intergenerational intimacy and Intergenerational intimidation

Apart from investigating intergenerational value similarity or difference on group, family and parent-child level, the study examined whether other variables correlated with the four established value sets and could be seen as explanation for successful intergenerational value transmission and parent-child value similarity. It was tested whether a high grade of value agreement within families correlates positively with a high grade of positive and intimate relationships between parents and their children (*hypothesis 2*). Scales employed in this study included “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and “*Intergenerational intimidation*” of the *Personal Authority in the Family System Questionnaire* (Bray/Williamson/Malone 1984). Comparison of the immigrant young adult groups reveals stronger relationships among Austrian-Polish immigrants than among German-Polish immigrants. However, the variances of “*Intergenerational intimacy*” and “*Intergenerational intimidation*” are too small to be regarded as statistically relevant. Thus, other factors such as socio-demographic differentials in families or different life biographies of the respondents have a greater impact than the determined value sets.

7.5. Transcultural identity

Based on previous studies and theoretical discussion about identity construction, it was assumed that while the identity of their parent generation was monocultural due to their strong sense of belonging to their native Poland, the identity of second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany is transcultural (*hypothesis 4*). It was likewise assumed that this transcultural identity had developed as a hybrid form of identity shaped by at least two cultural contexts (Welsch 1994, Kannengießer 2012). Hypothesis 4 has been verified as among the Austrian-Polish immigrant grownups, 88% identify as Polish or at least “in-between Polish” and 92% as Austrian or at least “in-between Austrian”. Among the German-Polish immigrant grownups, 77% see themselves as Polish or “in-between Polish” and 67% as German or “in-between German”. Feeling both Polish and Austrian/German at the same time is not a contradiction for the second generation of Polish immigrants in Austria and Germany. These young grownups have shaped an ethnic revival due to globalization and transnational processes, which have cleared the way for diversity and heterogeneity (Sharaby 2011).

Previous studies indicate a significant correlation between high levels of identification with mainstream culture, language fluency and the degree of the individuals’ subjective perception of managing dual cultural identities (Chen/Benet-Martínez/Bond 2008). However,

this effect could not be proven true in the present study as no significant correlation between bilingualism and the subjectively perceived belonging to Poland was found among the young immigrants of Polish descent in Austria and Germany.

Furthermore, transcultural identity was tested regarding symbolic identity. Based on Lewandowska's study about Polish immigrants living in Great Britain, the level of identification and recognition of cultural symbols was measured via pictures of public authorities, and significant buildings and places of the present and past (Lewandowska 2008). As the core of transcultural identity is the personal meaning and personal evaluation of symbols and values rather than knowledge (Boski/Antosiewicz 2004, Zowislo 2000), symbols have the effect of creating identities figuratively by realizing the experience of a collective and creating a subject presupposition of the preservation of this community in the future. Similar to Boski's and Lewandowska's results, this study revealed that time had a significant impact on the symbolic identity of Polish immigrant families (Boski 1992, Lewandowska 2008). The longer the period of emigration, the weaker the Polish symbolic identity becomes, and immigrants tend to adopt the symbols of the host society. However, if they maintain friendships with Poles living in Poland, young German-Polish immigrants tend to attach more value to keeping their symbolic identity alive: results show that Polish friends have a positive effect on shaping symbolic identity among the immigrant grownup adults in Germany.

Thus, transcultural identity of Austrian-Polish and German-Polish second generation immigrants is weak in terms of identifying with Polish symbols, but strong in terms of Polish observing habits and customs. As it is believed that celebrations and festivals such as Christmas represent strong family routines (Spagnola 2007, Fiese 2002), family rituals were measured via questions regarding Christmas traditions and practices among all groups. Different rituals, habits and traditions were defined as being "more Polish" or "less Polish". Aiming to verify whether Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany differ from non-immigrant families in Poland regarding their intergenerational transfer of cultural tradition-related routines, a significant *cultural across-generational effect* was found as „more Austrian/German“ Christmas dishes are neither cooked nor eaten by any participants of this study. A strong Polish identity manifests itself in traditions such as Christmas festivities: although Christmas is no longer understood as a purely Christian celebration and is more and more often seen as a secular family festival, traditional Polish recipes and customs are passed on from one generation to the next. They live on or are revived by the younger generation, regardless of whether they are second generation immigrants in Austria and Germany or Polish non-immigrants in Poland.

VIII. Conclusion and Future Directions

International research about Polish immigrant families and intergenerational relationships within these families is increasingly gaining importance and attention. While there is a considerable number of studies dealing with Polish labour immigrants who moved abroad after Poland had joined the European Union in 2004, and the UK and Ireland opened their labor markets to workforce from the new EU member states, migration and family researchers have not yet fully discovered Polish immigrant families and their intergenerational relations as a worthwhile topic of study. This is true for both the international and the German-speaking research landscape, and especially Poles who have immigrated to Austria and Germany during and after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 seem to be of less interest to sociologists. Therefore, the present study is intended *inter alia* as a contribution to international research about intergenerational value similarity within Polish immigrant families, focusing on the parent generation and their second immigrant generation offspring living in Austria and Germany. Significant studies carried out by Boski, Lewandowska and Kwast-Welfeld served both as a theoretical foundation and as guidelines for questionnaire construction (Boski 1992, 2009, 2010, 2012; Lewandowska 2008, Kwast-Welfeld 2004), as well as helped integrating the present study into already existing research in order to ensure interdisciplinary comparability.

When researching intergenerational value similarities, possible and substantial changes of the political and social landscape must be taken into account. The case of Polish immigrant families in Austria and Germany is particularly challenging due to the massive political and social upheaval that took place in Poland and Europe in the course of the last decades as well as recently (Jedrzejczyk/Rassadin 2006: 45). Likewise, values are never static and invariable, but as changing constantly. A transformation process is taking place, varying in severity depending on the social group in question, creating a gap between generations as well as between rural and urban areas. Finally, immigrants themselves change in the course of their lives. It is important to note that all parents taking part in this study had been socialized in Communist Poland and therefore grew up in a similar socialization context. Therefore, I recommend for future studies to increase their sample size by including other cultural groups such as native Austrian or German families in order to investigate the impact of the socialization aspect of the parents' generation. Furthermore, increasing the sample size in general, and in particular for respondents from Austria and Germany, opens up the possibility of multi-level modelling.

While all three groups of parents were socialized in Communist Poland, this is not true for the second generation participants who grew up in three different countries (Austria, Germany, and Post-Communist Poland) and whose life cycles and social contexts differ considerably in comparison to both their parents and each other. The influence of these differing social contexts is reflected in the results of this study. While this may plausibly explain the majority of the discrepancies within intergenerational value transmission, a number of questions remains unanswered. Therefore, it must be assumed that other aspects such as personal experiences as well as individual character traits have a considerable impact on value similarities or differences between the generations.

Therefore, I recommend a more gender-orientated analysis, in particular on the young adult level. An analysis with a stronger focus on gender could help to identify family patterns of attitudes towards gender roles, to examine the conditions under which these patterns emerge, and to assess the implications of gender attitude patterns in case of family conflicts. As discussed, parents take the role of instructors and role models in the socialization process, however they also act as supporters when it comes to children's development of gender role attitudes. Some parents may directly communicate their beliefs about gender by providing guidance to their children, and reinforcing behaviours and encouraging activities related to a certain gender stereotype. I believe that more attention needs to focus on these intra-family patterns and family relationships, including cultural understandings and changing gender roles. However, as these patterns are not always verifiable through single-time-point-based analyses, I recommend longitudinal studies which would generate more in-depth results regarding social and individual transformation processes as well as the causality of relationships. Investigation results would not only offer valuable information on whether and to what extent intergenerational value similarity is present, but also on the process of value transmission from parents to their children and other factors such as gender-based behaviour. A further extension would include third generation immigrants in order to carry out a three-generation analysis. By examining value transmission over three generations in both theoretical and empirical terms, studies could enhance understanding of intergenerational behaviour as well as family structures and transmission patterns. A three-generation analysis could answer the question whether the transcultural identity found in Polish second immigrants in Austria and Germany is also present in the third generation, indicating that the case of two migrant-generation can be generalized and applied to all further generations.

Multivariate analysis indicates significant relationships between variables. However, as mentioned above, a further examination as well as more specific data sets could bring to

light even more in-depth data on the relationship between parents and children, and intergenerational value transmission. Implementing additional qualitative research could help find access to verbal material in order to better understand the heterogeneity of the sample. Therefore, I suggest a mixed-method study. Although qualitative and quantitative methods differ in procedure, it is these differences that can lead to new findings. The quantitative and qualitative results could be evaluated in an integrated way, with the results from the quantitative analysis being examined and applied to the topics identified by the qualitative analysis. Integrating both methods would not only enable us to obtain more comprehensive and complete information, but could also provide explanations for some of the unexpected, inconsistent or even misleading results of the quantitative analysis.

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Appendix I – General research process

The general research process for the entire research project, the steps of the pre-phase of survey construction and additionally undertaken qualitative interviews with young people with Polish heritage, and the quantitative data collection are illustrated below. These steps refer to the research process as a whole. Each step consists of further, detailed procedures.

Figure 1. Research sequences of total project

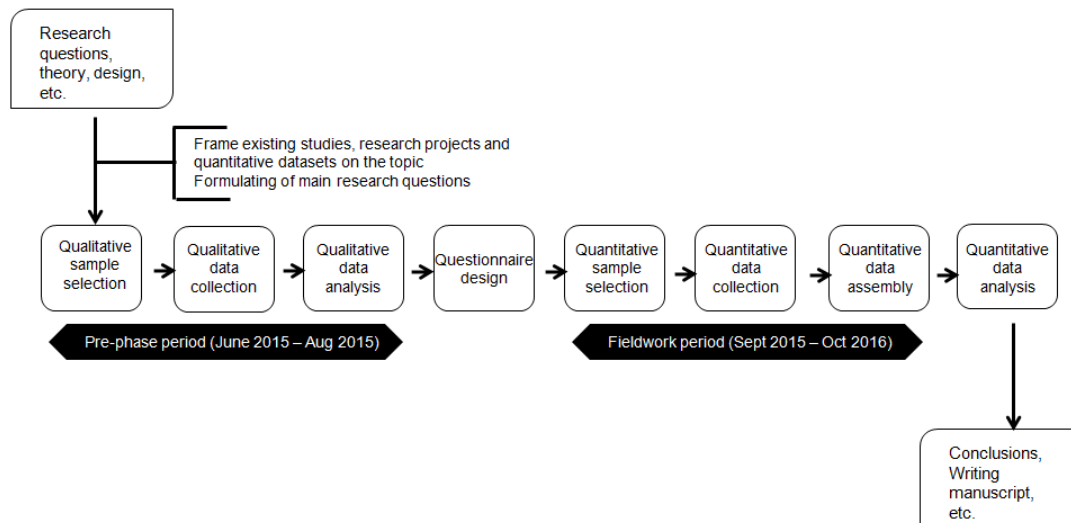
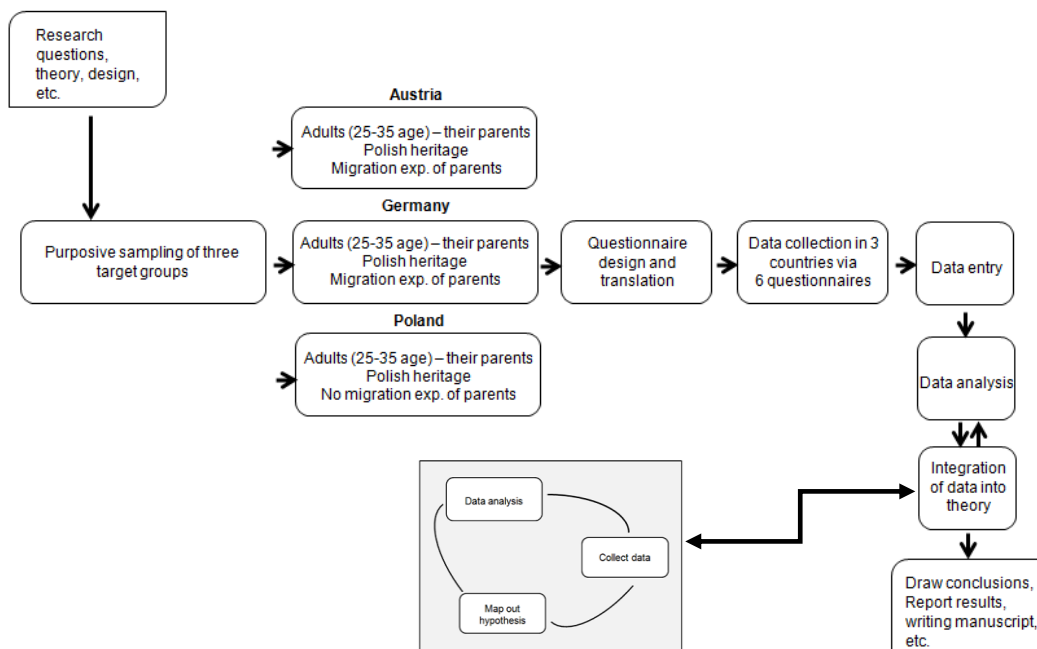


Figure 2. Research sequences of the quantitative data collection and analysis



Appendix II – Questionnaires

Questionnaire – Austrian-Polish young adult immigrants (English Translation)

Dear Participants!

The following questionnaire is being carried out as part of my doctoral studies in sociology at the University of Vienna. As part of my research, I investigate value transfer of Polish immigrants to their children. The collected data will be treated confidentially and anonymously and will not be passed on to third parties. Data is exclusively used for my doctoral thesis. If you have any questions regarding my work or this questionnaire, please feel free to contact me.

Please answer the following questions as openly as possible. There are also short keywords. The questionnaire consists of about 35 questions. You will need about 15 minutes to respond.

I look forward to your honest answers and thank you very much for your cooperation!

- 1a. Gender
☐ Female
☐ male
- 1b. Age: ____
- 1c. Your civil status is?
☐ Married
☐ Single
☐ Cohabit
☐ Widow
☐ Other: _____
- 1d. Do you have kids?
☐ No
☐ Yes, how many? ____
- 1e. In your family, you are...
☐ The firstborn
☐ A middle child
☐ The youngest child
☐ A singleton
- 1f. What is your highest level of education?
☐ Basic education (elementary school, primary school)
☐ Vocational training (vocational school)
☐ Secondary school leaving certificate/Matura/Abitur
☐ Higher education (University, College, etc.)
- 1g. What is your profession? / What is your current job? _____
- 1h. Do you currently live in the same household as your parents? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- 1i. What religious community do you belong to?
☐ Christianity
☐ Judaism
☐ Islam
☐ Hinduism
☐ Buddhism
☐ others: _____
☐ none
- 1j. How many inhabitants do you live in?
☐ Less than 10,000
☐ 10,000 - 50,000
☐ 50,000 - 100,000
☐ 100,000 - 500,000
☐ 500,000 - 1,000,000
☐ More than 1,000,000
- 1k. What is your nationality?

- 1l. In which state are you resident?

- 2a. What is your father's highest degree of education?
☐ Basic education (elementary school, primary school)
☐ Vocational training (vocational school)
☐ Secondary school leaving certificate/Matura/Abitur
☐ Higher education (University, College, etc.)
- 2b. What is/was your father's job?

- 3a. What is your mother's highest degree of education?
☐ Basic education (elementary school, primary school)
☐ Vocational training (vocational school)
☐ Secondary school leaving certificate/Matura/Abitur
☐ Higher education (University, College, etc.)
- 3b. What is/was your mother's job?

4. To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

Please answer the following questions from different areas of life by marking the degree of your agreement/disagreement of the given statements on a six-point scale.

	1 totally agree	2	3	4	5	6 totally disagree
When I am abroad, I prefer to stay in a hotel rather than with relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I maintain a strong family cohesion and appreciate the support of my family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I'm worried about my family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I do not mind living with my parents until I start a family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is the duty of children to care for their parents in old age	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It is important to me to have children and start a family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I appreciate and care for long-lasting friendships	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I do not like being involved in the affairs of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I like meeting new people	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The law must be fully respected	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I care about the common good, insofar as it relates to me personally	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I'm interested in international politics	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am interested in the politics of the country, where I live	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Everyone has the right to live on their own lifestyle, their own views and a self-determined partnership / family life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Everyone should first look after the well-being of their own family before taking care of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Good hospitality is important to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I feel responsible for the society I live in	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I do what I can to reduce ecological damage and pollution	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I try to help those who need my help	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I like going to the theater, reading books or listening to music	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tradition is a nice thing, but something I can do without	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I have patriotic feelings for the country where I live	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes I am emotionally touched by the cultural symbols of my nation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Constant improvement and increasing my professional qualifications are one of my goals in life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I have always worked hard, because actually one can only succeed in life with hard work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Social commitment to only „polish up“ one's resume, is perfectly fine	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My dream is to live in great financial prosperity one day	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Questions of faith and religious practice have no meaning to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My children are/will be raised with the principles of Christian faith and morality	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am not a big spender	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
To get ahead in life, you have to be selfish sometimes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I'm done with the today's task, I start immediately with tomorrow's task	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	1 totally agree	2	3	4	5	6 totally disagree
I attach great importance to my external appearance	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
What I think and feel, I speak out loud	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Financial independence is very important to me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I like to have fun. After all, you only live once!	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
With serenity and calm one can achieve more in life than with aggression and hurry	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes, life also requires bringing sacrifices	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
For important decisions, I ask my parents for advice	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
To stay in good physical condition, I exercise sports regularly and pay attention to my diet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes I'm jealous of the success of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5a. Which languages do you know?

Please specify all languages in which you are at least able to write and speak.

5b. And which of the languages would you consider your native language(s)?

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____

5c. When and where do you use the Polish language? _____

	Yes	No
I use the Polish language in my professional life.	☐	☐
I use the Polish language to communicate with my parents.	☐	☐
I use the Polish language to communicate with my siblings.	☐	☐
I use the Polish language to communicate with my relatives and friends.	☐	☐
I read newspapers / books in Polish and visit Polish-language websites.	☐	☐
I write letters / e-mails in Polish.	☐	☐
I watch Polish TV shows, TV series and films.	☐	☐
I have Polish friends in Austria.	☐	☐
I have Polish friends in Poland.	☐	☐
I visited a Polish school in Austria.	☐	☐

5d. How often do you visit/travel to Poland?

☐ 3 times or more a year ☐ 1 to 2 times a year ☐ Less than 1 time a year ☐ Every 2 to 3 years ☐ Never

	Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Totally	Don't know
To what extent would you describe yourself as a Pole?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
To what extent would you describe yourself as an Austrian?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. How satisfied are you with the relationship and frequency of contacts with the following persons?

How satisfied are you with	Totally satisfied	2	3	4	Totally not satisfied
... the relationship with her father?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... the relationship with her mother?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... the frequency of contacts (phone, Skype, personal visits, etc) with your father?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... the frequency of contacts (phone calls, Skype, personal visits, etc) with your mother?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Please specify who or what you see at the pictures below and from to which country the person or the object is related to.

If you do not know the answer, please write "I do not know" or leave the box blank.



_____ (country)



_____ (country)



_____ (country)



_____ (country)



_____ (country)



_____ (country)

8. Some people often tend to adapt their behavior to the expectations of others.

To what extent do you feel that you need to change your behavior to meet the expectations of your parents?

To meet the expectations ...

	Always	In most cases	In half of the case	Sometimes	Never
... of my mother in terms of my education / work I feel that I need to change my behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... of my father in terms of my education / work I feel that I need to change my behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... of my mother in terms of my relationship / marriage I feel that I need to change my behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... of my father in terms of my relationship / marriage I feel that I need to change my behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... of my mother in terms of my lifestyle I feel that I need to change my behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... of my father in terms of my lifestyle I feel that I need to change my behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... of my mother in terms of my appearance I feel that I need to change my behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... of my father in terms of my appearance I feel that I need to change my behavior	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. What does Christmas mean to you?

Multiple answers

- ☐ Vacation
- ☐ Obligation
- ☐ Family celebration
- ☐ Orientation and Security
- ☐ Creation of community
- ☐ Principles/Rules
- ☐ Specific Christian holiday
- ☐ Habit
- ☐ Opportunity to make beloved people gifts
- ☐ Stress and Pressure to consume
- ☐ Other: _____

	Important	Rather Important	Rather not Important	Not Important
10. How Important Is Christmas to you ?	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. How do you celebrate Christmas ?

Multiple answers

- ☐ I celebrate Christmas the way I know since childhood
- ☐ I celebrate Christmas the way my parents have taught me
- ☐ I try to establish new habits and traditions
- ☐ In a large circle of family (grandparents, etc.)
- ☐ In my core family/in small circle
- ☐ Other: _____

12. Which of the following traditions do you personally associate with Advent season and Christmas?

Multiple answers

- ☐ A free place at the Christmas Eve table, reserved for an unannounced guest
- ☐ The first star (Christmas dinner starts only when the first star is visible in the sky)
- ☐ Advent wreath
- ☐ Breaking and sharing the Christmas wafer (oplatek)
- ☐ Barbara branch (4.12)
- ☐ Even number of people at Christmas Eve table
- ☐ Midnight mass
- ☐ St. Nikolaus (6.12)
- ☐ Christmas carols
- ☐ Krampus (5.12)
- ☐ Nativity scene
- ☐ Christmas markets
- ☐ Ringing of bells as a sign that children can enter the room with the Christmas tree and gifts
- ☐ Christmas tree
- ☐ Other: _____

13. Which of the following dishes can not be missed on your Christmas table?

Multiple answers

- ☐ Barscht with dough pockets (or white Żur, mushroom soup, fish soup)
- ☐ Fresh white sausages with sauerkraut or Italian salad (salad mayonnaise)
- ☐ Fondue or Raclette
- ☐ Fish prepared in different ways, especially carp
- ☐ Blood sausage and roast pork
- ☐ Noodles with poppy, sugar or honey or yeast braid with dried fruit
- ☐ Baked Apples
- ☐ Kutia (sweet grain pudding)
- ☐ Beef stew, goose with red cabbage and potato dumpling
- ☐ Other: _____

	Poland	Austria	Don't know
14. This summer, the UEFA EURO 2016 takes place in France. Imagine watching the quarterfinals with friends. In this game Poland and Austria face each other. Which team do you want to win?	☐	☐	☐

15. Please answer on the following questions from different areas of life on a six-point scale.

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	I totally agree	2	3	4	5	I totally disagree
Sometimes I wonder how much my parents love me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I meet my mother to talk about private things and spend time with her.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I meet my father to talk about private things and spend time with him.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I share my thoughts, feelings and beliefs with my parents.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I honestly tell my mother about important events in my life.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I honestly tell my father about important events in my life.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I know that what I tell my mother confidentially remains between us both.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I know that what I tell my father confidentially remains between us both.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe den Eindruck, dass meine Eltern etwas anderes denken als sie mir gegenüber sagen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My parents play an equally important role in my life as I do in their lives.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My mother often tries to change some of my character traits.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My father often tries to change some of my character traits.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
My current problem would not be so serious had my parents acted differently in the past.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I am worried that my parents are not able to get along without me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Thank you very much for your participation!

Please feel free to contact me (monika.potkanski@gmail.com)

Questionnaire – Austrian-Polish Immigrant Parents

Szanowni Państwo!

Poniższa ankieta jest przeprowadzana w celu uzyskania danych do mojej pracy doktorskiej w ramach studiów z zakresu socjologii na Uniwersytecie Wiedeńskim.

Pytania zawarte w niniejszym badaniu dotyczą postrzegania wartości i tradycji, a także pewnych zwyczajów przekazywanych w rodzinach. Interesują mnie Pana/Pani opinie i poglądy na ten temat.

Część pytań ma charakter zamknięty – z gotowych odpowiedzi należy wybrać tę, która najlepiej opisuje Pana/Pani zdanie na dany temat. Pozostałe pytania wymagają sformułowania odpowiedzi własnymi słowami i wpisanie jej w miejsce wyznaczone kropkami. Ankieta zawiera około 35 pytań i udzielenie na nie odpowiedzi powinno zająć Panu/Pani około 10 minut.

Bardzo proszę o udzielanie odpowiedzi szczerych i wyzerpujących, w pełni zgodnych z Pana/Pani poglądami i przekonaniami.

Informuję również, że badanie jest w pełni anonimowe, a jego wyniki będą wykorzystane wyłącznie do celów naukowych.

Dziękuję bardzo za pomoc i poświęcony czas.

- 1a. Płeć
☐ kobieta
☐ mężczyzna
- 1b. Wiek: ____
- 1c. Jaki jest Pana/Pani stan cywilny?
☐ W związku małżeńskim
☐ Wolny
☐ W konkubinacie
☐ Wdowiec/wdowa
☐ Inne: _____
- 1d. Czy posiada Pan/Pani dzieci?
☐ Nie
☐ Tak - proszę podać liczbę posiadanych dzieci: _____
- 1e. Którym z kolei dzieckiem jest Pan/Pani w swojej rodzinie?
☐ Najstarsze
☐ Środkowe/Jedno ze środkowych
☐ Najmłodsze
- 1f. Jakie jest Pana/Pani wykształcenie?
☐ Podstawowe
☐ Zawodowe
☐ Średnie
☐ Wyższe
- 1g. Jaki jest Pana/Pani zawód? / Czym się Pan/Pani obecnie zajmuje? _____
- 1h. Czy mieszka Pan/Pani obecnie ze swoimi rodzicami? ☐ Tak ☐ Nie
- 1i. Jakiego jest Pan/Pani wyznania?
☐ Chrześcijaństwo
☐ Judaizm
☐ Islam
☐ Hinduizm
☐ Buddyzm
☐ Inne: _____
☐ Żadne
- 1j. Ile mieszkańców ma Pana/Pani miejsce zamieszkania?
☐ Miasto/wieś z mniej niż 10.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 10.000 - 50.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 50.000 - 100.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 100.000 - 500.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto od 500.000 - 1.000.000 mieszkańców
☐ miasto z więcej niż 1.000.000 mieszkańców
- 1k. Jakiego kraju posiada Pan/Pani obywatelstwo (-a)? _____
- 1l. W jakim województwie Pan/Pani mieszka? _____

2. W jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z poniższymi stwierdzeniami?

Proszę wskazać w sześciopunktowej skali w jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z następującymi stwierdzeniami dotyczącymi różnych obszarów życia.

	Całkowicie się zgadzam	2	3	4	5	Całkowicie się nie zgadzam
Gdy jestem za granicą, wolę zatrzymać się w hotelu niż u krewnych lub znajomych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Podtrzymuję silne więzi rodzinne i doceniam wsparcie mojej rodziny	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Martwię się o rodzinę i bliskich	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Całkowicie się zgadzam	2	3	4	5	Całkowicie się nie zgadzam
Nie mam nic przeciwko temu, żeby mieszkać z rodzicami aż do czasu założenia własnej rodziny, a nawet i później	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jest to obowiązkiem dzieci, aby opiekować się rodzicami na starość	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Posiadanie dzieci i założenie rodziny jest dla mnie ważne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cenię sobie i pielęgnuję długoletnie przyjaźnie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nie lubię być wciągany/a w sprawy innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię spotykać nowych ludzi, szczególnie z innych krajów	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Prawo należy przestrzegać bez wyjątków	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sprawy publiczne obchodzą mnie o tyle, o ile dotyczą mnie osobiście	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interesuję się polityką międzynarodową	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interesuję się polityką kraju, w którym mieszkam	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Każdy ma prawo do własnego stylu życia, odmiennych form obyczajowości i seksu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Każdy powinien najpierw zadbać o dobro i pomyślność własną i własnej rodziny, a dopiero potem martwić się o innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dobra gościnność jest ważna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czuję się odpowiedzialny/a za społeczność, w której żyję	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Robię co mogę, aby zredukować i zapobiec zanieczyszczeniu środowiska naturalnego	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Staram się pomagać tym, którzy tej pomocy potrzebują	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię teatr, czytanie książek lub słuchanie muzyki	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tradycja to przyjemna rzecz, ale spokojnie mógłbym/mogłabym się bez niej obejść	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mam patriotyczne sentymenty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czasami wzruszają mnie symbole mojej przynależności narodowej	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moim celem życiowym jest stałe doskonalenie się i podnoszenie kwalifikacji zawodowych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zawsze ciężko pracowałem/am, bo tak naprawdę to tylko ciężką pracą można dojść do czegoś	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sądzę, że wykonywanie prac społecznych, aby poprawić życie jest absolutnie na miejscu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moim marzeniem jest zostać „człowiekiem dużych pieniędzy”	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Do spraw wiary i praktyk religijnych nie przykładam większego znaczenia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Swoje dzieci będę wychowywał/a (wychowywałem/am) w zgodzie z zasadami wiary i moralności chrześcijańskiej	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jestem oszczędny/a - nie lubię wydawać pieniędzy na rzeczy niepotrzebne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Żeby dać sobie radę w życiu, trzeba być czasami egoistą i nie zwracać uwagi na innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gdy zrobię to, co musiałem/am działać, od razu zabieram się za jutrzejsze zadania	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Przywiązuję dużo wagi do zewnętrznego wyglądu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
To, co czuję i myślę, mówię wprost	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Niezależność finansowa jest dla mnie bardzo ważna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię się dobrze zabawić - w końcu żyje się tylko raz!	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opanowaniem i spokojem więcej w życiu osiągniesz niż agresją i pośpiechem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Życie wymaga czasami też poświęceń i przynosi cierpienia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Przy podejmowaniu ważnych decyzji, pytam się o zdanie rodziców/rodziny/partnera	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Żeby utrzymać się w dobrej formie fizycznej, regularnie ćwiczę i uważam na to, co jem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czasami jestem zazdrośny/a o powodzenie innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3a. Jakle zna Pan/Pani języki?

Proszę wymienić wszystkie znane Panu/Pani języki

3b. Jaki język (jakie języki) uważa Pan/Pani za swój język (swoje języki) ojczysty/ie?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

4. Proszę napisać, co lub kogo widać na danym obrazku i z którego kraju obiekt pochodzi?

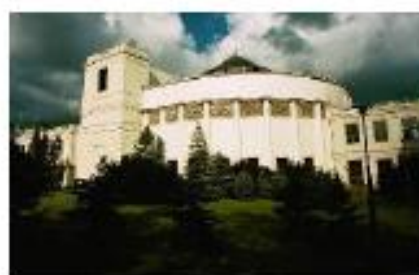
Jeśli nie zna Pan/Pani odpowiedzi, proszę napisać "nie wiem".



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	w ogóle										bardzo	nie wiem
	nie											
W jakim stopniu czuje się Pan/Pani Polakiem/Polką?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
W jakim stopniu czuje się Pan/Pani Austriakiem/Austriaczką?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. Jak ocenia Pan/Pani zadowolenie oraz częstotliwość kontaktów w następujących relacjach?

	Całkowicie zadowolony/a	2	3	4	Całkowicie nie zadowolony/a
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z relacji z <u>ojcem</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z relacji z <u>matką</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z częstotliwości kontaktów (telefon, skype, itd.) z <u>ojcem</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z częstotliwości kontaktów (telefon, skype, itd.) z <u>matką</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Co dla Pana/Pani oznacza Boże Narodzenie ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Urlop | ☐ Przestrzeganie zasad |
| ☐ Obowiązek/przymus | ☐ Szczególne święto chrześcijańskie |
| ☐ Uroczystość rodzinna | ☐ Zwyczaj |
| ☐ Bezpieczeństwo | ☐ Okazja aby ukochanej osobie sprawić radość |
| ☐ Tworzenie społeczności | ☐ Stres i presja konsumpcyjna |
| | ☐ Inne: _____ |

	Bardzo ważne	Ważne	Raczej nieważne	Nieważne
7. Jak ważne są dla Pana/Pani święta Bożego Narodzenia ?	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. Jak Pan/Pani obchodzi Boże Narodzenie ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- ☐ Świątuję Boże Narodzenie w sposób, który znam od dzieciństwa
- ☐ Świątuję Boże Narodzenie tak, jak nauczyli mnie moi rodzice i dziadkowie
- ☐ Próbuję wprowadzać nowe zwyczaje i tradycje
- ☐ W dużym kręgu rodziny (babcia, wujek, ciocia, itd.)
- ☐ W rodzinie małej (w niewielkim zakresie)
- ☐ Inaczej: _____

9. Które z poniższych tradycji są dla Pana/Pani częścią Bożego Narodzenia ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Wolne miejsce przy stole wigilijnym dla przygodnego gościa | ☐ Święty Mikołaj (6.12) |
| ☐ Pierwsza Gwiazda (wieczorem wigilijną rozpoczyna się wtedy, gdy na niebie ukaze się pierwsza gwiazda) | ☐ Śpiewanie kolęd |
| ☐ Wieniec adwentowy | ☐ Krampus (5.12) |
| ☐ Łamanie się opłatkiem | ☐ Szopki |
| ☐ Gałązka Barbary (4.12) | ☐ Targi bożonarodzeniowe |
| ☐ Parzysta ilość osób przy stole wigilijnym | ☐ Dzwoneczek, jako znak tego, że dzieci mogą wejść do pokoju z choinką i prezentami |
| ☐ Pasterka | ☐ Choinka |
| | ☐ Inne: _____ |

10. Które z poniższych potraw muszą znaleźć się na Pana/Pani wigilijnym stole?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- ☐ Barszcz z uszkami (czasami biały żurek, zupa grzybowa, zupa owocowa lub zupa rybna)
- ☐ Świeże klebaski ciepłe z kiszoną kapustą lub z włoską sałatką (majonez sałatkowy)
- ☐ Fondue albo raclette
- ☐ Przyrządzane na różne sposoby ryby, z których najbardziej tradycyjne są potrawy z karpia
- ☐ Kaszanka i pieczeń wieprzowa
- ☐ Kuskil z makiem, cukrem i miodem lub chałka z kompołem z suszonych owoców
- ☐ Pieczone jabłka
- ☐ Kutia lub makówki
- ☐ Wołowina duszona, gęś z czerwoną kapustą i kuskami
- ☐ Inne: _____

	Polsce	Austrijakom	Niem wiem
W 2016 roku we Francji odbędą się Mistrzostwa Europy w Piłce Nożnej. Proszę wyobrazić sobie, że w ćwierćfinale grają przeciw sobie Polska i Austria, a Pan/Pani ogląda ten mecz z przyjaciółmi. Komu będzie Pan/Pani kibicować?	☐	☐	☐

Bardzo dziękuję za udział w ankiecie.

Chętnie odpowiem na wszelkie pytania dotyczące mojego badania. Jeśli pragnie się Pan/Pani skontaktować ze mną, aby dowiedzieć się więcej o mojej pracy, proszę o przesłanie maila na adres: monika.potkanaki@gmail.com.

Questionnaire – Austrian-Polish young adult immigrants

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren!

Die folgende Befragung wird im Rahmen meines Doktoratsstudiums der Soziologie an der Universität Wien durchgeführt. Im Rahmen meiner Doktorarbeit untersuche ich die Werteübertragung von Migrant/Innen aus Polen auf Ihre Kinder.

Die gewonnenen Daten werden vertraulich und anonym behandelt und nicht an Dritte weitergegeben. Sie dienen ausschließlich der Untersuchung im Praxistell meiner Doktorarbeit. Sollten Sie Fragen bezüglich meiner Arbeit oder dieses Fragebogens haben, können Sie gerne Kontakt mit mir aufnehmen.

Bitte beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen so offen wie möglich. Bei den Freitexten reichen kurze Stichworte. Der Fragebogen besteht aus etwa 35 Fragen. Zur Beantwortung benötigen Sie etwa 15 Minuten.

Ich freue mich auf Ihre ehrlichen Antworten und bedanke mich sehr herzlich für Ihre Mitarbeit!

1a. Geschlecht

- ☐ weiblich
☐ männlich

1b. Alter: _____

1c. Wie ist Ihr Familienstand?

- ☐ verheiratet
☐ Single
☐ zusammenlebend
☐ Witwe/r
☐ anderes: _____

1d. Haben Sie Kinder?

- ☐ nein
☐ ja. Wieviele? _____

1e. In Ihrer Familie, sind Sie...

- ☐ der/die Erstgeborene/r
☐ ein mittleres Kind
☐ das jüngste Kind
☐ ein Einzelkind

1f. Was ist Ihre höchste abgeschlossene Ausbildung?

- ☐ Grundausbildung (Grundschule/Volksschule)
☐ Berufsausbildung (Berufsschule)
☐ Mittlere Reife/Abitur/Matura
☐ Höhere Ausbildung (Universität, Fachhochschule, etc.)

1g. Welchen Beruf üben Sie aus? / Welcher Beschäftigung gehen Sie momentan nach? _____

1h. Wohnen Sie momentan im selben Haushalt wie Ihre Eltern? ☐ ja ☐ nein

1i. Welcher Religionsgemeinschaft gehören Sie an?

- ☐ Christentum
☐ Judentum
☐ Islam
☐ Hinduismus
☐ Buddhismus
☐ andere: _____
☐ keiner

1j. Wie viele Einwohner hat Ihr gegenwärtiger Wohnort?

- ☐ weniger als 10.000
☐ 10.000 - 50.000
☐ 50.000 - 100.000
☐ 100.000 - 500.000
☐ 500.000 - 1.000.000
☐ mehr als 1.000.000

1k. Welche Staatsangehörigkeit haben Sie?

1l. In welchem Bundesland sind Sie wohnhaft?

2a. Was ist die höchste abgeschlossene Ausbildung Ihres Vaters?

- ☐ Grundausbildung
☐ Berufsausbildung (Berufsschule)
☐ Mittlere Reife/Abitur/Matura
☐ Höhere Ausbildung (Universität, Fachhochschule, etc.)

2b. Welchen Beruf übte Ihr Vater aus? /
Welcher Beschäftigung gehörte Ihr Vater nach?

3a. Was ist die höchste abgeschlossene Ausbildung Ihrer Mutter?

- ☐ Grundausbildung
☐ Berufsausbildung (Berufsschule)
☐ Mittlere Reife/Abitur/Matura
☐ Höhere Ausbildung (Universität, Fachhochschule, etc.)

3b. Welchen Beruf übte Ihre Mutter aus? /
Welcher Beschäftigung gehörte Ihre Mutter nach?

4. Inwieweit stimmen Sie den folgenden Aussagen zu?

Bitte beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen aus verschiedenen Bereichen des Lebens, indem Sie den Grad Ihrer Zustimmung/Ablehnung der vorgegebenen Aussagen auf einer Sechs-Punkte-Skala markieren.

	Ich stimme voll und ganz zu	2	3	4	5	Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu
Wenn ich im Ausland bin, ziehe ich es vor, in einem Hotel zu übernachten anstatt bei Verwandten	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich pflege einen starken Familienzusammenhalt und schätze die Unterstützung meiner Familie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mache mir Sorgen um meine Familie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe nichts dagegen, mit meinen Eltern zusammen zu wohnen, bis ich eine eigene Familie gründe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Es ist die Pflicht der Kinder, ihre Eltern im hohen Alter zu pflegen und für sie zu sorgen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kinder zu haben und eine eigene Familie zu gründen sind sehr wichtig für mich	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich schätze und pflege langjährige Freundschaften	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mag es nicht, in die Angelegenheiten anderer hineingezogen zu werden	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mag es, neue Menschen kennenzulernen, vor allem aus anderen Ländern	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Das Gesetz muss ausnahmslos eingehalten werden	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich kümmere mich um das Gemeinwohl, insofern es mich auch persönlich betrifft	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe Interesse an internationaler Politik	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich interessiere mich für die Politik des Landes, in dem ich lebe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jeder hat das Recht, auf einen eigenen Lebensstil, eigene Ansichten und eine selbstbestimmte Partnerschaft/Familienleben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jeder sollte sich zuerst um das Wohl der eigenen Familie kümmern, bevor er/sie sich um andere kümmert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gute Gastfreundschaft ist mir wichtig	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich fühle mich für die Gesellschaft, in der ich lebe, verantwortlich	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich tue, was ich kann, um die Umweltbelastung und Umweltverschmutzung durch meinen Lebensstil zu reduzieren	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich versuche, denjenigen zu helfen, die meine Hilfe benötigen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mag es, ins Theater zu gehen, Bücher zu lesen/ Musik hören	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tradition ist eine schöne Sache, aber etwas, auf das ich ruhig verzichten kann	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich hege patriotische Gefühle für das Land, in dem ich lebe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Manchmal bin ich von kulturellen Symbolen des Landes, in dem ich lebe, emotional berührt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Die ständige Verbesserung und die Erhöhung meiner beruflichen Qualifikationen sind eines meiner Ziele im Leben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe immer hart gearbeitet, denn eigentlich kann man nur mit harter Arbeit etwas im Leben erreichen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Soziales Engagement, um einzig und allein seinen Lebenslauf „aufzubessern“, ist völlig in Ordnung	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mein Traum ist es, eines Tages in großem finanziellen Wohlstand zu leben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fragen des Glaubens und der religiösen Praxis haben für mich keine Bedeutung	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meine Kinder sollen (wurden) mit den Grundsätzen des christlichen Glaubens und der Moral erzogen (werden)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich bin sparsam.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Um im Leben voranzukommen, muss man manchmal egoistisch sein und keine Rücksicht auf andere nehmen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wenn ich mit der heutigen Aufgabe fertig bin, fange ich sofort mit der morgigen Aufgabe an	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Ich stimme voll und ganz zu	2	3	4	5	Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu
Ich lege sehr viel Wert auf mein äußeres Erscheinungsbild	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Das, was ich denke und fühle, spreche ich direkt aus	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Finanzielle Unabhängigkeit ist für mich sehr wichtig	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mag es, Spaß zu haben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mit Gelassenheit und Ruhe erreicht man mehr im Leben als mit Aggression und Eile	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Manchmal erfordert das Leben auch, Opfer zu bringen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bei wichtigen Entscheidungen frage ich meine Eltern/Familie/Partner um Rat	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Um in guter körperlicher Verfassung zu bleiben, treibe ich regelmäßig Sport und achte auf meine Ernährung	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Manchmal bin ich auf den Erfolg anderer eifersüchtig	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5a. Welche Sprachen beherrschen Sie?

Bitte geben Sie alle Sprachen an, in denen Sie zumindest einfache schriftliche Texte lesen und einfache Alltagskonversationen führen können.

5b. Und welche der Sprachen würden Sie als Ihre Muttersprache(n) bezeichnen?

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____

5c. Wann und wo Sie verwenden Sie die polnische Sprache? _____

	Ja	Nein
Ich benutze die polnische Sprache in meinem Berufsleben.	☐	☐
Ich verwende das Polnische, um mit meinen Eltern zu kommunizieren.	☐	☐
Ich verwende das Polnische, um mit meinen Geschwistern zu kommunizieren.	☐	☐
Ich verwende das Polnische, um mit meinen Verwandten und Freunden zu kommunizieren.	☐	☐
Ich lese Zeitungen/Bücher auf Polnisch und besuche polnischsprachige Internetseiten.	☐	☐
Ich schreibe Briefe/E-Mails auf Polnisch.	☐	☐
Ich sehe mir polnische Fernsehsendungen, TV-Serien und Filme an.	☐	☐
Ich habe polnische Freunde in Österreich.	☐	☐
Ich habe polnische Freunde in Polen.	☐	☐
Ich habe eine polnische Schule an meinem österreichischen Wohnort besucht.	☐	☐

5d. Wie oft besuchen Sie Polen?

☐ 3 mal oder häufiger im Jahr ☐ 1- bis 2 mal im Jahr ☐ Seltenere als 1 mal im Jahr ☐ Alle 2 bis 3 Jahre ☐ Nie

	Überhaupt nicht	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Sehr	Weiß nicht
Inwieweit würden Sie sich nach Ihrer persönlichen Einschätzung als <u>Polin/Polin</u> bezeichnen?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Inwieweit würden Sie sich nach Ihrer persönlichen Einschätzung als <u>Österreicher / Österreicherin</u> bezeichnen?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Wie zufrieden sind Sie mit der Beziehung und Häufigkeit der Kontakte mit den folgenden Personen?

Wie zufrieden sind Sie mit....	Sehr zufrieden	2	3	4	Gar nicht zufrieden
... der Beziehung zu Ihrem <u>Vater</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... der Beziehung zu Ihrer <u>Mutter</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... der Häufigkeit der Kontakte (Telefon, Skype, pers. Besuche, usw.) mit Ihrem <u>Vater</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... der Häufigkeit der Kontakte (Telefonate, Skype, pers. Besuche, usw.) mit Ihrer <u>Mutter</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Bitte geben Sie an, wen oder was Sie auf den folgenden Bildern erkennen und aus welchem Land die Person bzw. das Bauwerk stammt.

Falls Sie die Antwort nicht wissen, bitte schreiben Sie "weiß ich nicht" oder lassen das Kästchen frei.



_____ (Land)



_____ (Land)



_____ (Land)



_____ (Land)



_____ (Land)



_____ (Land)

8. Viele Menschen neigen oft dazu, ihr Verhalten den Erwartungen anderer anzupassen. Inwieweit empfinden Sie, dass Sie ihr Verhalten ändern müssen, um den Erwartungen ihrer Eltern gerecht zu werden?

Um den Erwartungen ...

	Immer	In den meisten Fällen	In der Hälfte der Fälle	Manchmal	Nie
... meiner Mutter in Bezug auf meine/n Ausbildung/Arbeit gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meines Vaters in Bezug auf meine Ausbildung/Arbeit gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meiner Mutter in Bezug auf meine Beziehung/Ehe gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meines Vaters in Bezug auf meine Beziehung/Ehe gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meiner Mutter in Bezug auf meinen Lebensstil gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meines Vaters in Bezug auf meinen Lebensstil gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meiner Mutter in Bezug auf mein Aussehen zu erfüllen, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meines Vaters in Bezug auf mein Aussehen zu erfüllen, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Was bedeutet für Sie Weihnachten ?

Mehrfachantwort möglich

- ☐ Urlaub
- ☐ Pflicht/Zwang
- ☐ Familienfest
- ☐ Orientierung und Sicherheit
- ☐ Schaffung von Gemeinschaft
- ☐ Grundsätze/Regeln einhalten
- ☐ Spezifischer christlicher Feiertag
- ☐ Gewohnheit
- ☐ Gelegenheit, lieben Menschen Geschenke zu machen
- ☐ Stress und Konsumzwang
- ☐ Sonstiges: _____

	Sehr wichtig	Eher wichtig	Eher nicht wichtig	Überhaupt nicht wichtig
10. Wie wichtig ist für Sie Weihnachten ?	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. Wie verbringen Sie Weihnachten ?

Mehrfachantwort möglich

- ☐ Ich feiere Weihnachten auf die Weise, die ich seit der Kindheit kenne
- ☐ Ich feiere Weihnachten auf die Weise, die mir meine Eltern beigebracht haben
- ☐ Ich versuche, neue Gewohnheiten und Traditionen zu etablieren
- ☐ In einem großen Kreis von Familie (Großmutter, Onkel, Tante, etc.)
- ☐ In meiner Kernfamilie/im kleinen Kreis
- ☐ Anders: _____

12. Welche der folgenden Traditionen gehören für Sie persönlich unbedingt zur Adventszeit bzw. dem Weihnachtsfest ?

Mehrfachantwort möglich

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Ein freier Platz beim Weihnachtstisch, reserviert für einen unangemeldeten Gast | ☐ Weihnachtslieder |
| ☐ Der erste Stern (Weihnachtessen beginnt erst, wenn der erste Stern am Himmel sichtbar ist) | ☐ Krampus (5.12) |
| ☐ Adventskranz | ☐ Weihnachtskrippen |
| ☐ Brechen und Teilen der Weihnachtskugeln (opalek) | ☐ Weihnachtsmarkt in der Adventszeit |
| ☐ Barbara-Zweig (4.12) | ☐ Weihnachtsglöckchen als ein Zeichen, dass die Kinder das |
| ☐ Gerade Anzahl der Menschen beim Tisch am Hl. Abend | ☐ Zimmer mit dem Weihnachtsbaum und den Geschenken betreten können |
| ☐ Mette | ☐ Weihnachtsbaum |
| ☐ Hl. Nikolaus (6.12) | ☐ Sonstiges: _____ |

13. Welche der folgenden Speisen dürfen nicht auf Ihrem Weihnachtstisch fehlen?

Mehrfachantwort möglich

- ☐ Barsch mit Teigtaschen (oder weißer Zurek, Pilzsuppe, Fischsuppe)
- ☐ Frische Weißwürste mit Sauerkraut oder Italienischer Salat (Salat-Mayonnaise)
- ☐ Fondue oder Raclette
- ☐ Auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise zubereiteter Fisch, vor allem Karpfen
- ☐ Blutwurst und Schweinebraten
- ☐ Nudeln mit Mohn, Zucker oder Honig oder Hefe-Zopf mit Trockenfrüchten
- ☐ Bratäpfel
- ☐ Kutia
- ☐ Rindfleisch-Eintopf, Gans mit Rotkohl und Kartoffelknödel
- ☐ Sonstiges: _____

	Polen	Österreich	Weiß nicht
14. Im Sommer dieses Jahres findet die UEFA EURO 2016 in Frankreich statt. Stellen Sie sich vor, dass Sie das Viertelfinale mit Freunden anschauen. In diesem Spiel stehen sich Polen und Österreich gegenüber. Welche Mannschaft soll Ihrer Meinung nach gewinnen?	☐	☐	☐

15. Bitte beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen aus verschiedenen Bereichen des Lebens auf einer Sechs-Punkte-Skala.

Inwieweit stimmen Sie den folgenden Aussagen zu?

	Ich stimme voll und ganz zu	2	3	4	5	Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu
Manchmal frage ich mich, wie sehr mich meine Eltern lieben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich treffe meine <u>Mutter</u> , um über private Dinge zu sprechen und mit ihr Zeit zu verbringen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich treffe meinen <u>Vater</u> , um über private Dinge zu sprechen und mit ihm Zeit zu verbringen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich teile mit meinen Eltern meine Gedanken, Gefühle und Überzeugungen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich erzähle meiner <u>Mutter</u> ehrlich von wichtigen Ereignissen in meinem Leben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich erzähle meinem <u>Vater</u> ehrlich von wichtigen Ereignissen in meinem Leben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich weiß, dass das, was ich meiner <u>Mutter</u> vertraulich sage, zwischen uns beiden bleibt.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich weiß, dass das, was ich meinem <u>Vater</u> vertraulich sage, zwischen uns beiden bleibt.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe den Eindruck, dass meine Eltern etwas anderes denken als sie mir gegenüber sagen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meine Eltern spielen in meinem Leben eine ebenso wichtige Rolle wie ich in ihrem Leben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meine <u>Mutter</u> versucht oft, einige meiner Charaktereigenschaften zu ändern.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mein <u>Vater</u> versucht oft, einige meiner Charaktereigenschaften zu ändern.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mein aktuelles Problem wäre nicht so ernst, hätten meine Eltern in der Vergangenheit anders gehandelt.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mache mir Sorgen, dass meine Eltern nicht in der Lage sind, ohne mich auszukommen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Ich bedanke mich sehr herzlich für Ihre Teilnahme!

Gern stehe ich Ihnen für Fragen und Rücksprache zur Verfügung (monika.potkanski@gmail.com).

Questionnaire – German-Polish Immigrant Parents

Szanowni Państwo!

Poniższa ankieta jest przeprowadzana w celu uzyskania danych do mojej pracy doktorskiej w ramach studiów z zakresu socjologii na Uniwersytecie Wiedeńskim.

Pytania zawarte w niniejszym badaniu dotyczą postrzegania wartości i tradycji, a także pewnych zwyczajów przekazywanych w rodzinach. Interesują mnie Pana/Pani opinie i poglądy na ten temat.

Część pytań ma charakter zamknięty – z gotowych odpowiedzi należy wybrać tę, która najlepiej opisuje Pana/Pani zdanie na dany temat. Pozostałe pytania wymagają sformułowania odpowiedzi własnymi słowami i wpisanie jej w miejsce wyznaczone kropkami. Ankieta zawiera około 35 pytań i udzielenie na nie odpowiedzi powinno zająć Panu/Pani około 10 minut.

Bardzo proszę o udzielanie odpowiedzi szczerych i wyzerpujących, w pełni zgodnych z Pana/Pani poglądami i przekonaniami.

Informuję również, że badanie jest w pełni anonimowe, a jego wyniki będą wykorzystane wyłącznie do celów naukowych.

Dziękuję bardzo za pomoc i poświęcony czas.

- 1a. Płeć
☐ kobieta
☐ mężczyzna
- 1b. Wiek: ____
- 1c. Jaki jest Pana/Pani stan cywilny?
☐ W związku małżeńskim
☐ Wolny
☐ W konkubinacie
☐ Widowiec/wdowa
☐ Inne: _____
- 1d. Czy posiada Pan/Pani dzieci?
☐ Nie
☐ Tak - proszę podać liczbę posiadanych dzieci: _____
- 1e. Którym z kolei dzieckiem jest Pan/Pani w swojej rodzinie?
☐ Najstarsze
☐ Środkowe/Jedno ze środkowych
☐ Najmłodsze
- 1f. Jakie jest Pana/Pani wykształcenie?
☐ Podstawowe
☐ Zawodowe
☐ Średnie
☐ Wyższe
- 1g. Jaki jest Pana/Pani zawód? / Czym się Pan/Pani obecnie zajmuje? _____
- 1h. Czy mieszka Pan/Pani obecnie ze swoimi rodzicami? ☐ Tak ☐ Nie
- 1i. Jakiego jest Pan/Pani wyznania?
☐ Chrześcijaństwo
☐ Judaizm
☐ Islam
☐ Hinduizm
☐ Buddyzm
☐ Inne: _____
☐ Żadne
- 1j. Ile mieszkańców ma Pana/Pani miejsce zamieszkania?
☐ Miasto/wieś z mniej niż 10.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 10.000 - 50.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 50.000 - 100.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 100.000 - 500.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto od 500.000 - 1.000.000 mieszkańców
☐ miasto z więcej niż 1.000.000 mieszkańców
- 1k. Jakiego kraju posiada Pan/Pani obywatelstwo (-a)? _____
- 1l. W jakim województwie Pan/Pani mieszka? _____

2. W jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z poniższymi stwierdzeniami?

Proszę wskazać w sześciopunktowej skali w jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z następującymi stwierdzeniami dotyczącymi różnych obszarów życia.

	Całkowicie się zgadzam	2	3	4	5	Całkowicie się nie zgadzam
Gdy jestem za granicą, wolę zatrzymać się w hotelu niż u krewnych lub znajomych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Podtrzymuję silne więzi rodzinne i doceniam wsparcie mojej rodziny	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Martwię się o rodzinę i bliskich	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Całkowicie się zgadzam	2	3	4	5	Całkowicie się nie zgadzam
Nie mam nic przeciwko temu, żeby mieszkać z rodzicami aż do czasu założenia własnej rodziny, a nawet i później	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jest to obowiązkiem dzieci, aby opiekować się rodzicami na starość	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Posiadanie dzieci i założenie rodziny jest dla mnie ważne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cenię sobie i pielęgnuję długoletnie przyjaźnie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nie lubię być wciągany/a w sprawy innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię spotykać nowych ludzi, szczególnie z innych krajów	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Prawo należy przestrzegać bez wyjątków	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sprawy publiczne obchodzą mnie o tyle, o ile dotyczą mnie osobiście	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interesuję się polityką międzynarodową	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interesuję się polityką kraju, w którym mieszkam	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Każdy ma prawo do własnego stylu życia, odmiennych form obyczajowości i seksu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Każdy powinien najpierw zadbać o dobro i pomyślność własną i własnej rodziny, a dopiero potem martwić się o innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dobra gościnność jest ważna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czuję się odpowiedzialny/a za społeczność, w której żyję	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Robię co mogę, aby zredukować i zapobiec zanieczyszczeniu środowiska naturalnego	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Staram się pomagać tym, którzy tej pomocy potrzebują	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię teatr, czytanie książek lub słuchanie muzyki	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tradycja to przyjemna rzecz, ale spokojnie mógłbym/mogłabym się bez niej obejść	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mam patriotyczne sentymenty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czasami wzruszają mnie symbole mojej przynależności narodowej	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moim celem życiowym jest stałe doskonalenie się i podnoszenie kwalifikacji zawodowych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zawsze ciężko pracowałem/am, bo tak naprawdę to tylko ciężką pracą można dojść do czegoś	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sądzę, że wykonywanie prac społecznych, aby poprawić życie jest absolutnie na miejscu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moim marzeniem jest zostać „człowiekiem dużych pieniędzy”	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Do spraw wiary i praktyk religijnych nie przykładam większego znaczenia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Swoje dzieci będę wychowywał/a (wychowywałem/am) w zgodzie z zasadami wiary i moralności chrześcijańskiej	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jestem oszczędny/a - nie lubię wydawać pieniędzy na rzeczy niepotrzebne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Żeby dać sobie radę w życiu, trzeba być czasami egoistą i nie zwracać uwagi na innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gdy zrobię to, co musiałem/am działać, od razu zabieram się za jutrzejsze zadania	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Przywiązuję dużo wagi do zewnętrznego wyglądu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
To, co czuję i myślę, mówię wprost	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Niezależność finansowa jest dla mnie bardzo ważna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię się dobrze zabawić - w końcu żyje się tylko raz!	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opanowaniem i spokojem więcej w życiu osiągniesz niż agresją i pośpiechem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Życie wymaga czasami też poświęceń i przynosi cierpienia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Przy podejmowaniu ważnych decyzji, pytam się o zdanie rodziców/rodziny/partnera	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Żeby utrzymać się w dobrej formie fizycznej, regularnie ćwiczę i uważam na to, co jem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czasami jestem zazdrośny/a o powodzenie innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3a. Jakże zna Pan/Pani języki?

Proszę wymienić wszystkie znane Panu/Pani języki

3b. Jaki język (jakie języki) uważa Pan/Pani za swój język (swoje języki) ojczyste?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

4. Proszę napisać, co lub kogo widać na danym obrazku i z którego kraju obiekt pochodzi?

Jeśli nie zna Pan/Pani odpowiedzi, proszę napisać "nie wiem".



_____ (kraj)

_____ (kraj)

_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)

_____ (kraj)

_____ (kraj)

	0 w ogóle nie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 bardzo	nie wiem
W jakim stopniu czuje się Pan/Pani Polakiem/Polką?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
W jakim stopniu czuje się Pan/Pani Niemcem/Niemką?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5. Jak ocenia Pan/Pani zadowolenie oraz częstotliwość kontaktów w następujących relacjach?

	Całkowicie zadowolony/a	2	3	4	Całkowicie nie zadowolony/a
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z relacji z <u>ojcem</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z relacji z <u>matką</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z częstotliwości kontaktów (telefon, skype, itd.) z <u>ojcem</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z częstotliwości kontaktów (telefon, skype, itd.) z <u>matką</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Co dla Pana/Pani oznacza Boże Narodzenie ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Urlop | ☐ Przestrzeganie zasad |
| ☐ Obowiązek/przymus | ☐ Szczególne święto chrześcijańskie |
| ☐ Uroczystość rodzinna | ☐ Zwyczaj |
| ☐ Bezpieczeństwo | ☐ Okazja aby ukochanej osobie sprawić radość |
| ☐ Tworzenie społeczności | ☐ Stres i presja konsumpcyjna |
| | ☐ Inne: _____ |

	Bardzo ważne	Ważne	Raczej nieważne	Nieważne
7. Jak ważne są dla Pana/Pani święta Bożego Narodzenia ?	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. Jak Pan/Pani obchodzi Boże Narodzenie ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- ☐ Świątuję Boże Narodzenie w sposób, który znam od dzieciństwa
- ☐ Świątuję Boże Narodzenie tak, jak nauczyli mnie moi rodzice i dziadkowie
- ☐ Próbuję wprowadzać nowe zwyczaje i tradycje
- ☐ W dużym kręgu rodziny (babcia, wujek, ciocia, itd.)
- ☐ W rodzinie małej (w niewielkim zakresie)
- ☐ Inaczej: _____

9. Które z poniższych tradycji są dla Pana/Pani częścią Bożego Narodzenia ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Wolne miejsce przy stole wigilijnym dla przygodnego gościa | ☐ Święty Mikołaj (6.12) |
| ☐ Pierwsza Gwiazda (wieczór wigilijny rozpoczyna się wtedy, gdy na niebie ukaze się pierwsza gwiazda) | ☐ Śpiewanie kolęd |
| ☐ Wieniec adwentowy | ☐ Krampus (5.12) |
| ☐ Łamanie się opłatkiem | ☐ Szopki |
| ☐ Gałązka Barbary (4.12) | ☐ Targi bożonarodzeniowe |
| ☐ Parzysta ilość osób przy stole wigilijnym | ☐ Dzwoneczek, jako znak tego, że dzieci mogą wejść do pokoju z choinką i prezentami |
| ☐ Pasterka | ☐ Choinka |
| | ☐ Inne: _____ |

10. Które z poniższych potraw muszą znaleźć się na Pana/Pani wigilijnym stole?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- ☐ Barszcz z uszkami (czasami biały żurek, zupa grzybowa, zupa owocowa lub zupa rybna)
- ☐ Świeże kiełbaski clejące z kiszoną kapustą lub z włoską sałatką (majonez sałatkowy)
- ☐ Fondue albo raclette
- ☐ Przyrządzane na różne sposoby ryby, z których najbardziej tradycyjne są potrawy z karpia
- ☐ Kaszanka i pieczeń wieprzowa
- ☐ Kluski z makiem, cukrem i miodem lub chałka z kompotem z suszonych owoców
- ☐ Pieczone jabłka
- ☐ Kutia lub makówki
- ☐ Wołowina duszona, gęś z czerwoną kapustą i kluskami
- ☐ Inne: _____

	Polsce	Niemcom	Niem wiem
W 2016 roku we Francji odbędą się Mistrzostwa Europy w Piłce Nożnej. Proszę wyobrazić sobie, że w ćwierćfinale grają przeciw sobie Polska i Niemcy, a Pan/Pani ogląda ten mecz z przyjaciółmi. Komu będzie Pan/Pani kibicować?	☐	☐	☐

Bardzo dziękuję za udział w ankiecie.

Chętnie odpowiem na wszelkie pytania dotyczące mojego badania. Jeśli pragnie się Pan/Pani skontaktować ze mną, aby dowiedzieć się więcej o mojej pracy, proszę o przesłanie maila na adres: monika.potkanski@gmail.com.

Questionnaire – German-Polish young adult immigrants

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren!

Die folgende Befragung wird im Rahmen meines Doktoratsstudiums der Soziologie an der Universität Wien durchgeführt. Im Rahmen meiner Doktorarbeit untersuche ich die Werteübertragung von Migrant/Innen aus Polen auf ihre Kinder.

Die gewonnenen Daten werden vertraulich und anonym behandelt und nicht an Dritte weitergegeben. Sie dienen ausschließlich der Untersuchung im Praxistell meiner Doktorarbeit. Sollten Sie Fragen bezüglich meiner Arbeit oder dieses Fragebogens haben, können Sie gerne Kontakt mit mir aufnehmen.

Bitte beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen so offen wie möglich. Bei den Freitexten reichen kurze Stichworte. Der Fragebogen besteht aus etwa 35 Fragen. Zur Beantwortung benötigen Sie etwa 15 Minuten.

Ich freue mich auf Ihre ehrlichen Antworten und bedanke mich sehr herzlich für Ihre Mitarbeit!

1a. Geschlecht

- ☐ weiblich
☐ männlich

1b. Alter: _____

1c. Wie ist Ihr Familienstand?

- ☐ verheiratet
☐ Single
☐ zusammenlebend
☐ Witwe/r
☐ anderes: _____

1d. Haben Sie Kinder?

- ☐ nein
☐ ja. Wieviele? _____

1e. In Ihrer Familie, sind Sie...

- ☐ der/die Erstgeborene/r
☐ ein mittleres Kind
☐ das jüngste Kind
☐ ein Einzelkind

1f. Was ist Ihre höchste abgeschlossene Ausbildung?

- ☐ Grundausbildung (Grundschule/Volksschule)
☐ Berufsausbildung (Berufsschule)
☐ Mittlere Reife/Abitur/Matura
☐ Höhere Ausbildung (Universität, Fachhochschule, etc.)

1g. Welchen Beruf üben Sie aus? / Welcher Beschäftigung gehen Sie momentan nach? _____

1h. Wohnen Sie momentan im selben Haushalt wie Ihre Eltern? ☐ ja ☐ nein

1i. Welcher Religionsgemeinschaft gehören Sie an?

- ☐ Christentum
☐ Judentum
☐ Islam
☐ Hinduismus
☐ Buddhismus
☐ andere: _____
☐ keiner

1j. Wie viele Einwohner hat Ihr gegenwärtiger Wohnort?

- ☐ weniger als 10.000
☐ 10.000 - 50.000
☐ 50.000 - 100.000
☐ 100.000 - 500.000
☐ 500.000 - 1.000.000
☐ mehr als 1.000.000

1k. Welche Staatsangehörigkeit haben Sie?

1l. In welchem Bundesland sind Sie wohnhaft?

2a. Was ist die höchste abgeschlossene Ausbildung Ihres Vaters?

- ☐ Grundausbildung
☐ Berufsausbildung (Berufsschule)
☐ Mittlere Reife/Abitur/Matura
☐ Höhere Ausbildung (Universität, Fachhochschule, etc.)

2b. Welchen Beruf übte Ihr Vater aus? / Welcher Beschäftigung gehörte Ihr Vater nach?

3a. Was ist die höchste abgeschlossene Ausbildung Ihrer Mutter?

- ☐ Grundausbildung
☐ Berufsausbildung (Berufsschule)
☐ Mittlere Reife/Abitur/Matura
☐ Höhere Ausbildung (Universität, Fachhochschule, etc.)

3b. Welchen Beruf übte Ihre Mutter aus? / Welcher Beschäftigung gehörte Ihre Mutter nach?

4. Inwieweit stimmen Sie den folgenden Aussagen zu?

Bitte beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen aus verschiedenen Bereichen des Lebens, indem Sie den Grad Ihrer Zustimmung/Ablehnung der vorgegebenen Aussagen auf einer Sechs-Punkte-Skala markieren.

	Ich stimme voll und ganz zu	2	3	4	5	Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu
Wenn ich im Ausland bin, ziehe ich es vor, in einem Hotel zu übernachten anstatt bei Verwandten	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich pflege einen starken Familienzusammenhalt und schätze die Unterstützung meiner Familie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mache mir Sorgen um meine Familie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe nichts dagegen, mit meinen Eltern zusammen zu wohnen, bis ich eine eigene Familie gründe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Es ist die Pflicht der Kinder, ihre Eltern im hohen Alter zu pflegen und für sie zu sorgen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kinder zu haben und eine eigene Familie zu gründen sind sehr wichtig für mich	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich schätze und pflege langjährige Freundschaften	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mag es nicht, in die Angelegenheiten anderer hineingezogen zu werden	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mag es, neue Menschen kennenzulernen, vor allem aus anderen Ländern	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Das Gesetz muss ausnahmslos eingehalten werden	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich kümmere mich um das Gemeinwohl, insofern es mich auch persönlich betrifft	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe Interesse an internationaler Politik	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich interessiere mich für die Politik des Landes, in dem ich lebe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jeder hat das Recht, auf einen eigenen Lebensstil, eigene Ansichten und eine selbstbestimmte Partnerschaft/Familienleben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jeder sollte sich zuerst um das Wohl der eigenen Familie kümmern, bevor er/sie sich um andere kümmert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gute Gastfreundschaft ist mir wichtig	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich fühle mich für die Gesellschaft, in der ich lebe, verantwortlich	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich tue, was ich kann, um die Umweltbelastung und Umweltverschmutzung durch meinen Lebensstil zu reduzieren	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich versuche, denjenigen zu helfen, die meine Hilfe benötigen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mag es, ins Theater zu gehen, Bücher zu lesen/ Musik hören	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tradition ist eine schöne Sache, aber etwas, auf das ich ruhig verzichten kann	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich hege patriotische Gefühle für das Land, in dem ich lebe	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Manchmal bin ich von kulturellen Symbolen des Landes, in dem ich lebe, emotional berührt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Die ständige Verbesserung und die Erhöhung meiner beruflichen Qualifikationen sind eines meiner Ziele im Leben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe immer hart gearbeitet, denn eigentlich kann man nur mit harter Arbeit etwas im Leben erreichen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Soziales Engagement, um einzig und allein seinen Lebenslauf „aufzubessern“, ist völlig in Ordnung	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mein Traum ist es, eines Tages in großem finanziellen Wohlstand zu leben	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Fragen des Glaubens und der religiösen Praxis haben für mich keine Bedeutung	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meine Kinder sollen (wurden) mit den Grundsätzen des christlichen Glaubens und der Moral erzogen (werden)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich bin sparsam.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Um im Leben voranzukommen, muss man manchmal egoistisch sein und keine Rücksicht auf andere nehmen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wenn ich mit der heutigen Aufgabe fertig bin, fange ich sofort mit der morgigen Aufgabe an	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Ich stimme voll und ganz zu	2	3	4	5	Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu
Ich lege sehr viel Wert auf mein äußeres Erscheinungsbild	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Das, was ich denke und fühle, spreche ich direkt aus	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Finanzielle Unabhängigkeit ist für mich sehr wichtig	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mag es, Spaß zu haben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mit Gelassenheit und Ruhe erreicht man mehr im Leben als mit Aggression und Eile	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Manchmal erfordert das Leben auch, Opfer zu bringen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Bei wichtigen Entscheidungen frage ich meine Eltern/Familie/Partner um Rat	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Um in guter körperlicher Verfassung zu bleiben, treibe ich regelmäßig Sport und achte auf meine Ernährung	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Manchmal bin ich auf den Erfolg anderer eifersüchtig	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5a. Welche Sprachen beherrschen Sie?

Bitte geben Sie alle Sprachen an, in denen Sie zumindest einfache schriftliche Texte lesen und einfache Alltagskonversationen führen können.

5b. Und welche der Sprachen würden Sie als Ihre Muttersprache(n) bezeichnen?

1 _____
2 _____
3 _____

5c. Wann und wo Sie verwenden Sie die polnische Sprache? _____

	Ja	Nein
Ich benutze die polnische Sprache in meinem Berufsleben.	☐	☐
Ich verwende das Polnische, um mit meinen Eltern zu kommunizieren.	☐	☐
Ich verwende das Polnische, um mit meinen Geschwistern zu kommunizieren.	☐	☐
Ich verwende das Polnische, um mit meinen Verwandten und Freunden zu kommunizieren.	☐	☐
Ich lese Zeitungen/Bücher auf Polnisch und besuche polnischsprachige Internetseiten.	☐	☐
Ich schreibe Briefe/E-Mails auf Polnisch.	☐	☐
Ich sehe mir polnische Fernsehsendungen, TV-Serien und Filme an.	☐	☐
Ich habe polnische Freunde in Österreich.	☐	☐
Ich habe polnische Freunde in Polen.	☐	☐
Ich habe eine polnische Schule an meinem österreichischen Wohnort besucht.	☐	☐

5d. Wie oft besuchen Sie Polen?

☐ 3 mal oder häufiger im Jahr ☐ 1- bis 2 mal im Jahr ☐ Seltenere als 1 mal im Jahr ☐ Alle 2 bis 3 Jahre ☐ Nie

	überhaupt nicht	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Sehr	Weiß nicht
Inwieweit würden Sie sich nach Ihrer persönlichen Einschätzung als <u>Polin/Polin</u> bezeichnen?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Inwieweit würden Sie sich nach Ihrer persönlichen Einschätzung als <u>Österreicher / Österreicherin</u> bezeichnen?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Wie zufrieden sind Sie mit der Beziehung und Häufigkeit der Kontakte mit den folgenden Personen?

Wie zufrieden sind Sie mit....	Sehr zufrieden	2	3	4	Gar nicht zufrieden
... der Beziehung zu Ihrem <u>Vater</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... der Beziehung zu Ihrer <u>Mutter</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... der Häufigkeit der Kontakte (Telefon, Skype, pers. Besuche, usw.) mit Ihrem <u>Vater</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... der Häufigkeit der Kontakte (Telefonate, Skype, pers. Besuche, usw.) mit Ihrer <u>Mutter</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Bitte geben Sie an, wen oder was Sie auf den folgenden Bildern erkennen und aus welchem Land die Person bzw. das Bauwerk stammt.

Falls Sie die Antwort nicht wissen, bitte schreiben Sie "weiß ich nicht" oder lassen das Kästchen frei.



(Land)



(Land)



(Land)



(Land)



(Land)



(Land)

8. Viele Menschen neigen oft dazu, ihr Verhalten den Erwartungen anderer anzupassen.

Inwieweit empfinden Sie, dass Sie ihr Verhalten ändern müssen, um den Erwartungen Ihrer Eltern gerecht zu werden?

Um den Erwartungen ...

	Immer	In den meisten Fällen	In der Hälfte der Fälle	Manchmal	Nie
... meiner Mutter in Bezug auf meine Ausbildung/Arbeit gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meines Vaters in Bezug auf meine Ausbildung/Arbeit gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meiner Mutter in Bezug auf meine Beziehung/Ehe gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meines Vaters in Bezug auf meine Beziehung/Ehe gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meiner Mutter in Bezug auf meinen Lebensstil gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meines Vaters in Bezug auf meinen Lebensstil gerecht zu werden, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meiner Mutter in Bezug auf mein Aussehen zu erfüllen, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... meines Vaters in Bezug auf mein Aussehen zu erfüllen, fühle ich, dass ich mein Verhalten ändern muss	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Was bedeutet für Sie Weihnachten ?

Mehrfachantwort möglich

- ☐ Urlaub
- ☐ Pflicht/Zwang
- ☐ Familienfest
- ☐ Orientierung und Sicherheit
- ☐ Schaffung von Gemeinschaft
- ☐ Grundsätze/Regeln einhalten
- ☐ Spezifischer christlicher Feiertag
- ☐ Gewohnheit
- ☐ Gelegenheit, lieben Menschen Geschenke zu machen
- ☐ Stress und Konsumzwang
- ☐ Sonstiges: _____

	Sehr wichtig	Eher wichtig	Eher nicht wichtig	Überhaupt nicht wichtig
10. Wie wichtig ist für Sie Weihnachten ?	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. Wie verbringen Sie Weihnachten ?

Mehrfachantwort möglich

- ☐ Ich feiere Weihnachten auf die Weise, die ich seit der Kindheit kenne
- ☐ Ich feiere Weihnachten auf die Weise, die mir meine Eltern beigebracht haben
- ☐ Ich versuche, neue Gewohnheiten und Traditionen zu etablieren
- ☐ In einem großen Kreis von Familie (Großmutter, Onkel, Tante, etc.)
- ☐ In meiner Kernfamilie/im kleinen Kreis
- ☐ Anders: _____

12. Welche der folgenden Traditionen gehören für Sie persönlich unbedingt zur Adventszeit bzw. dem Weihnachtsfest ?

Mehrfachantwort möglich

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Ein freier Platz beim Weihnachtstisch, reserviert für einen unangemeldeten Gast | ☐ Weihnachtslieder |
| ☐ Der erste Stern (Weihnachtessen beginnt erst, wenn der erste Stern am Himmel sichtbar ist) | ☐ Krampus (5.12) |
| ☐ Adventskranz | ☐ Weihnachtskrippen |
| ☐ Brechen und Teilen der Weihnachtskugeln (opalek) | ☐ Weihnachtsmarkt in der Adventszeit |
| ☐ Barbara-Zweig (4.12) | ☐ Weihnachtsglöckchen als ein Zeichen, dass die Kinder das |
| ☐ Gerade Anzahl der Menschen beim Tisch am Hl. Abend | ☐ Zimmer mit dem Weihnachtsbaum und den Geschenken betreten können |
| ☐ Mette | ☐ Weihnachtsbaum |
| ☐ Hl. Nikolaus (6.12) | ☐ Sonstiges: _____ |

13. Welche der folgenden Speisen dürfen nicht auf Ihrem Weihnachtstisch fehlen?

Mehrfachantwort möglich

- ☐ Barsch mit Teigtaschen (oder weißer Zurek, Pilzsuppe, Fischsuppe)
- ☐ Frische Weißwürste mit Sauerkraut oder Italienischer Salat (Salat-Mayonnaise)
- ☐ Fondue oder Raclette
- ☐ Auf unterschiedliche Art und Weise zubereiteter Fisch, vor allem Karpfen
- ☐ Blutwurst und Schweinebraten
- ☐ Nudeln mit Mohn, Zucker oder Honig oder Hefe-Zopf mit Trockenfrüchten
- ☐ Bratäpfel
- ☐ Kutia
- ☐ Rindfleisch-Eintopf, Gans mit Rotkohl und Kartoffelknödel
- ☐ Sonstiges: _____

	Polen	Deutschland	Weiß nicht
14. Im Sommer dieses Jahres findet die UEFA EURO 2016 in Frankreich statt. Stellen Sie sich vor, dass Sie das Viertelfinale mit Freunden anschauen. In diesem Spiel stehen sich Polen und Deutschland gegenüber. Welche Mannschaft soll Ihrer Meinung nach gewinnen?	☐	☐	☐

15. Bitte beantworten Sie die folgenden Fragen aus verschiedenen Bereichen des Lebens auf einer Sechs-Punkte-Skala .

Inwieweit stimmen Sie den folgenden Aussagen zu?

	Ich stimme voll und ganz zu	2	3	4	5	Ich stimme überhaupt nicht zu
Manchmal frage ich mich, wie sehr mich meine Eltern lieben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich treffe meine <u>Mutter</u> , um über private Dinge zu sprechen und mit ihr Zeit zu verbringen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich treffe meinen <u>Vater</u> , um über private Dinge zu sprechen und mit ihm Zeit zu verbringen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich teile mit meinen Eltern meine Gedanken, Gefühle und Überzeugungen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich erzähle meiner <u>Mutter</u> ehrlich von wichtigen Ereignissen in meinem Leben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich erzähle meinem <u>Vater</u> ehrlich von wichtigen Ereignissen in meinem Leben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich weiß, dass das, was ich meiner <u>Mutter</u> vertraulich sage, zwischen uns beiden bleibt.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich weiß, dass das, was ich meinem <u>Vater</u> vertraulich sage, zwischen uns beiden bleibt.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich habe den Eindruck, dass meine Eltern etwas anderes denken als sie mir gegenüber sagen.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meine Eltern spielen in meinem Leben eine ebenso wichtige Rolle wie ich in ihrem Leben.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meine <u>Mutter</u> versucht oft, einige meiner Charaktereigenschaften zu ändern	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mein <u>Vater</u> versucht oft, einige meiner Charaktereigenschaften zu ändern	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mein aktuelles Problem wäre nicht so ernst, hätten meine Eltern in der Vergangenheit anders gehandelt	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Ich mache mir Sorgen, dass meine Eltern nicht in der Lage sind, ohne mich auszukommen	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Ich bedanke mich sehr herzlich für Ihre Teilnahme!

Gerne stehe ich Ihnen für Fragen und Rücksprache zur Verfügung (monika.potkanski@gmail.com).

Questionnaire – Polish non-immigrant Parents

Szanowni Państwo!

Poniższa ankieta jest przeprowadzana w celu uzyskania danych do mojej pracy doktorskiej w ramach studiów z zakresu socjologii na Uniwersytecie Wiedeńskim.

Pytania zawarte w niniejszym badaniu dotyczą postrzegania wartości i tradycji, a także pewnych zwyczajów przekazywanych w rodzinach. Interesują mnie Pana/Pani opinie i poglądy na ten temat.

Część pytań ma charakter zamknięty – z gotowych odpowiedzi należy wybrać tę, która najlepiej opisuje Pana/Pani zdanie na dany temat. Pozostałe pytania wymagają sformułowania odpowiedzi własnymi słowami i wpisanie jej w miejsce wyznaczone kropkami. Ankieta zawiera około 35 pytań i udzielenie na nie odpowiedzi powinno zająć Panu/Pani około 10 minut.

Bardzo proszę o udzielanie odpowiedzi szczerych i wyzerpujących, w pełni zgodnych z Pana/Pani poglądami i przekonaniami.

Informuję również, że badanie jest w pełni anonimowe, a jego wyniki będą wykorzystane wyłącznie do celów naukowych.

Dziękuję bardzo za pomoc i poświęcony czas.

- 1a. Płeć
☐ kobieta
☐ mężczyzna
- 1b. Wiek: ____
- 1c. Jaki jest Pana/Pani stan cywilny?
☐ W związku małżeńskim
☐ Wolny
☐ W konkubinacie
☐ Wdowiec/wdowa
☐ Inne: _____
- 1d. Czy posiada Pan/Pani dzieci?
☐ Nie
☐ Tak - proszę podać liczbę posiadanych dzieci: _____
- 1e. Którym z kolei dzieckiem jest Pan/Pani w swojej rodzinie?
☐ Najstarsze
☐ Środkowe/Jedno ze środkowych
☐ Najmłodsze
- 1f. Jakie jest Pana/Pani wykształcenie?
☐ Podstawowe
☐ Zawodowe
☐ Średnie
☐ Wyższe
- 1g. Jaki jest Pana/Pani zawód? / Czym się Pan/Pani obecnie zajmuje? _____
- 1h. Czy mieszka Pan/Pani obecnie ze swoimi rodzicami? ☐ Tak ☐ Nie
- 1i. Jakiego jest Pan/Pani wyznania?
☐ Chrześcijaństwo
☐ Judaizm
☐ Islam
☐ Hinduizm
☐ Buddyzm
☐ Inne: _____
☐ Żadne
- 1j. Ile mieszkańców ma Pana/Pani miejsce zamieszkania?
☐ Miasto/wieś z mniej niż 10.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 10.000 - 50.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 50.000 - 100.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto 100.000 - 500.000 mieszkańców
☐ Miasto od 500.000 - 1.000.000 mieszkańców
☐ miasto z więcej niż 1.000.000 mieszkańców
- 1k. Jakiego kraju posiada Pan/Pani obywatelstwo (-a)? _____
- 1l. W jakim województwie Pan/Pani mieszka? _____

2. W jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z poniższymi stwierdzeniami?

Proszę wskazać w siedciopunktowej skali w jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z następującymi stwierdzeniami dotyczącymi różnych obszarów życia.

	Całkowicie się zgadzam	2	3	4	5	Całkowicie się nie zgadzam
Gdy jestem za granicą, wolę zatrzymać się w hotelu niż u krewnych lub znajomych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Podtrzymuję silne więzi rodzinne i doceniam wsparcie mojej rodziny	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Martwię się o rodzinę i bliskich	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Całkowicie się zgadzam	2	3	4	5	Całkowicie się nie zgadzam
Nie mam nic przeciwko temu, żeby mieszkać z rodzicami aż do czasu założenia własnej rodziny, a nawet i później	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jest to obowiązkiem dzieci, aby opiekować się rodzicami na starość	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Posiadanie dzieci i założenie rodziny jest dla mnie ważne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cenię sobie i pielęgnuję długoletnie przyjaźnie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nie lubię być wciągany/a w sprawy innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię spotykać nowych ludzi, szczególnie z innych krajów	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Prawo należy przestrzegać bez wyjątków	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sprawy publiczne obchodzą mnie o tyle, o ile dotyczą mnie osobiście	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interesuję się polityką międzynarodową	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interesuję się polityką kraju, w którym mieszkam	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Każdy ma prawo do własnego stylu życia, odmiennych form obyczajowości i seksu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Każdy powinien najpierw zadbać o dobro i pomyślność własną i własnej rodziny, a dopiero potem martwić się o innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dobra gościnność jest ważna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czuję się odpowiedzialny/a za społeczność, w której żyję	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Robię co mogę, aby zredukować i zapobiec zanieczyszczeniu środowiska naturalnego	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Staram się pomagać tym, którzy tej pomocy potrzebują	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię teatr, czytanie książek lub słuchanie muzyki	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tradycja to przyjemna rzecz, ale spokojnie mógłbym/mogłabym się bez niej obejść	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mam patriotyczne sentymenty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czasami wzruszają mnie symbole mojej przynależności narodowej	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moim celem życiowym jest stałe doskonalenie się i podnoszenie kwalifikacji zawodowych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zawsze ciężko pracowałem/am, bo tak naprawdę to tylko ciężką pracą można dojść do czegoś	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sądzę, że wykonywanie prac społecznych, aby poprawić życie jest absolutnie na miejscu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moim marzeniem jest zostać „człowiekiem dużych pieniędzy”	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Do spraw wiary i praktyk religijnych nie przykładam większego znaczenia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Swoje dzieci będę wychowywał/a (wychowywałem/am) w zgodzie z zasadami wiary i moralności chrześcijańskiej	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jestem oszczędny/a - nie lubię wydawać pieniędzy na rzeczy niepotrzebne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Żeby dać sobie radę w życiu, trzeba być czasami egoistą i nie zwracać uwagi na innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gdy zrobię to, co musiałem/am działać, od razu zabieram się za jutrzejsze zadania	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Przywiązuję dużo wagi do zewnętrznego wyglądu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
To, co czuję i myślę, mówię wprost	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Niezależność finansowa jest dla mnie bardzo ważna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię się dobrze zabawić - w końcu żyje się tylko raz!	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Opanowaniem i spokojem więcej w życiu osiągniesz niż agresją i pośpiechem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Życie wymaga czasami też poświęceń i przynosi cierpienia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Przy podejmowaniu ważnych decyzji, pytam się o zdanie rodziców/rodziny/partnera	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Żeby utrzymać się w dobrej formie fizycznej, regularnie ćwiczę i uważam na to, co jem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czasami jestem zazdrośny/a o powodzenie innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3a. Jakie zna Pan/Pani języki?

Proszę wymienić wszystkie znane Panu/Pani języki

3b. Jaki język (jakie języki) uważa Pan/Pani za swój język (swoje języki) ojczyste?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

4. Proszę napisać, co lub kogo widać na danym obrazku i z którego kraju obiekt pochodzi?

Jeśli nie zna Pan/Pani odpowiedzi, proszę napisać "nie wiem".



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	w										bardzo	nie wiem
	ogóle											
	nie											
W jakim stopniu czuje się Pan/Pani Polakiem/Polką?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Jak ocenia Pan/Pani zadowolenie oraz częstotliwość kontaktów w następujących relacjach?

	Całkowicie zadowolony/a	Raczej zadowolony/a	Średnio zadowolony/a	Raczej niezadowolony/a	Całkowicie nie zadowolony/a
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z relacji z <u>ojcem</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z relacji z <u>matką</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z częstotliwości kontaktów (telefon, skype, itd.) z <u>ojcem</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z częstotliwości kontaktów (telefon, skype, itd.) z <u>matką</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Co dla Pana/Pani oznacza Boże Narodzenie ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Urolop | ☐ Przestrzeganie zasad |
| ☐ Obowiązek/przymus | ☐ Szczególne święto chrześcijańskie |
| ☐ Uroczystość rodzinna | ☐ Zwyczaj |
| ☐ Bezpieczeństwo | ☐ Okazja aby ukochanej osobie sprawić radość |
| ☐ Tworzenie społeczności | ☐ Stres i presja konsumpcyjna |
| | ☐ Inne: _____ |

	Bardzo ważne	Ważne	Raczej nieważne	Nieważne
8. Jak ważne są dla Pana/Pani święta Bożego Narodzenia ?	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Jak Pan/Pani obchodzi Boże Narodzenie ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- ☐ Świątuję Boże Narodzenie w sposób, który znam od dzieciństwa
- ☐ Świątuję Boże Narodzenie tak, jak nauczyli mnie moi rodzice i dziadkowie
- ☐ Próbuję wprowadzać nowe zwyczaje i tradycje
- ☐ W dużym kręgu rodziny (babcia, wujek, ciocia, itd.)
- ☐ W rodzinie małej (w niewielkim zakresie)
- ☐ Inaczej: _____

10. Które z poniższych tradycji są dla Pana/Pani częścią Bożego Narodzenia ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Wolne miejsce przy stole wigilijnym dla przygodnego gościa | ☐ Święty Mikołaj (6.12) |
| ☐ Pierwsza Gwiazda (wieczór wigilijny rozpoczyna się wtedy, gdy na niebie ukaze się pierwsza gwiazda) | ☐ Śpiewanie kolęd |
| ☐ Wieniec adwentowy | ☐ Krampus (5.12) |
| ☐ Łamanie się opłatkiem | ☐ Szopki |
| ☐ Gałązka Barbary (4.12) | ☐ Tangi bożonarodzeniowe |
| ☐ Parzysta ilość osób przy stole wigilijnym | ☐ Dzwoneczek, jako znak tego, że dzieci mogą wejść do pokoju z choinką i prezentami |
| ☐ Pastierka | ☐ Choinka |
| | ☐ Inne: _____ |

11. Które z poniższych potraw muszą znaleźć się na Pana/Pani wigilijnym stole?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- ☐ Barszcz z uszkami (czasami biały żurek, zupa grzybowa, zupa owocowa lub zupa rybna)
- ☐ Świeże kiełbaski cielęce z kiszoną kapustą lub z włoską sałatką (majonez sałatkowy)
- ☐ Fondue albo raclette
- ☐ Przyrządzane na różne sposoby ryby, z których najbardziej tradycyjne są potrawy z karpia
- ☐ Kaszanka i pieczeń wieprzowa
- ☐ Kluski z makiem, cukrem i miodem lub chałka z kompołem z suszonych owoców
- ☐ Pieczone jabłka
- ☐ Kutia lub makówki
- ☐ Wołowina duszona, gęś z czerwoną kapustą i kluskami
- ☐ Inne: _____

	Polsce	Niemcom	Niem wiem
W 2016 roku we Francji odbędą się Mistrzostwa Europy w Piłce Nożnej. Proszę wyobrazić sobie, że w ćwierćfinale grają przeciw sobie Polska i Niemcy, a Pan/Pani ogląda ten mecz z przyjaciółmi. Komu będzie Pan/Pani kibicować?	☐	☐	☐

Bardzo dziękuję za udział w ankiecie.

Chętnie odpowiem na wszelkie pytania dotyczące mojego badania. Jeśli pragnie się Pan/Pani skontaktować ze mną, aby dowiedzieć się więcej o mojej pracy, proszę o przesłanie maila na adres: monika.potkanski@gmail.com.

Questionnaire —Polish non-immigrants young adults

Szanowni Państwo!

Poniższa ankieta jest przeprowadzana w celu uzyskania danych do mojej pracy doktorskiej w ramach studiów z zakresu socjologii na Uniwersytecie Wiedeńskim.

Pytania zawarte w niniejszym badaniu dotyczą postrzegania wartości i tradycji, a także pewnych zwyczajów przekazywanych w rodzinach. Interesują mnie Pana/Pani opinie i poglądy na ten temat.

Część pytań ma charakter zamknięty – z gotowych odpowiedzi należy wybrać tę, która najlepiej opisuje Pana/Pani zdanie na dany temat. Pozostałe pytania wymagają sformułowania odpowiedzi własnymi słowami i wpisanie jej w miejsce wyznaczone kropkami. Ankieta zawiera około 35 pytań i udzielenie na nie odpowiedzi powinno zająć Panu/Pani około 10 minut.

Bardzo proszę o udzielanie odpowiedzi szczerych i wyzerpujących, w pełni zgodnych z Pana/Pani poglądami i przekonaniami.

Informuję również, że badanie jest w pełni anonimowe, a jego wyniki będą wykorzystane wyłącznie do celów naukowych.

Dziękuję bardzo za pomoc i poświęcony czas.

- 1a. Płeć ☐ kobieta ☐ mężczyzna
- 1b. Wiek: ____
- 1c. Jaki jest Pana/Pani stan cywilny? ☐ W związku małżeńskim ☐ Wolny ☐ W konkubinacie ☐ Wdowiec/wdowa ☐ Inne: _____
- 1d. Czy posiada Pan/Pani dzieci? ☐ Nie ☐ Tak - proszę podać liczbę posiadanych dzieci: _____
- 1e. Którym z kolei dzieckiem jest Pan/Pani w swojej rodzinie? ☐ Najstarsze ☐ Środkowe/Jedno ze środkowych ☐ Najmłodsze
- 1f. Jaki jest Pana/Pani wykształcenie? ☐ Podstawowe ☐ Zawodowe ☐ Średnie ☐ Wyższe
- 1g. Jaki jest Pana/Pani zawód? / Czym się Pan/Pani obecnie zajmuje? _____
- 1h. Czy mieszka Pan/Pani obecnie ze swoimi rodzicami? ☐ Tak ☐ Nie
- 1i. Jakiego jest Pan/Pani wyznania? ☐ Chrześcijaństwo ☐ Judaizm ☐ Islam ☐ Hinduizm ☐ Buddyzm ☐ Inne: _____ ☐ Żadne
- 1j. Ile mieszkańców ma Pana/Pani miejsce zamieszkania? ☐ Miasto/wieś z mniej niż 10.000 mieszkańców ☐ Miasto 10.000 - 50.000 mieszkańców ☐ Miasto 50.000 - 100.000 mieszkańców ☐ Miasto 100.000 - 500.000 mieszkańców ☐ Miasto od 500.000 - 1.000.000 mieszkańców ☐ Miasto z więcej niż 1.000.000 mieszkańców
- 1k. Jakiego kraju posiada Pan/Pani obywatelstwo (-a)? _____
- 1l. W jakim województwie Pan/Pani mieszka? _____
- 1m. Jaki wykształcenie ma Pana/Pani ojciec? ☐ Podstawowe ☐ Zawodowe ☐ Średnie ☐ Wyższe
- 1n. Jaki zawód wykonuje/wykonywał ojciec? / Czym się zajmuje/zajmował? _____
- 1o. Jaki wykształcenie ma Pana/Pani matka? ☐ Podstawowe ☐ Zawodowe ☐ Średnie ☐ Wyższe
- 1p. Jaki zawód wykonuje/wykonywał matka? / Czym się zajmuje/zajmował? _____

2. W jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z poniższymi stwierdzeniami?

Proszę wskazać w sześciopunktowej skali w jakim stopniu zgadza się Pan/Pani z następującymi stwierdzeniami dotyczącymi różnych obszarów życia.

	Całkowicie się zgadzam	2	3	4	5	Całkowicie się nie zgadzam
Gdy jestem za granicą, wolę zatrzymać się w hotelu niż u krewnych lub znajomych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Podtrzymuję silne więzi rodzinne i doceniam wsparcie mojej rodziny	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Martwię się o rodzinę i bliskich	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nie mam nic przeciwko temu, żeby mieszkać z rodzicami aż do czasu założenia własnej rodziny, a nawet i później	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jest to obowiązkiem dzieci, aby opiekować się rodzicami na starość	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Posiadanie dzieci i założenie rodziny jest dla mnie ważne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cenię sobie i pielęgnuję długoletnie przyjaźnie	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Nie lubię być wciągany/a w sprawy innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię spotykać nowych ludzi, szczególnie z innych krajów	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Prawo należy przestrzegać bez wyjątków	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sprawy publiczne obchodzą mnie o tyle, o ile dotyczą mnie osobiście	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interesuję się polityką międzynarodową	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Interesuję się polityką kraju, w którym mieszkam	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Każdy ma prawo do własnego stylu życia, odmiennych form obyczajowości i seksu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Każdy powinien najpierw zadbać o dobro i pomyślność własną i własnej rodziny, a dopiero potem martwić się o innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Dobra gościnność jest ważna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czuję się odpowiedzialny/a za społeczność, w której żyję	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Robię co mogę, aby zredukować i zapobiec zanieczyszczeniu środowiska naturalnego	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Staram się pomagać tym, którzy tej pomocy potrzebują	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię teatr, czytanie książek lub słuchanie muzyki	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tradycja to przyjemna rzecz, ale spokojnie mógłbym/mogłabym się bez niej obejść	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Mam patriotyczne sentymenty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czasami wzruszają mnie symbole mojej przynależności narodowej	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moim celem życiowym jest stałe doskonalenie się i podnoszenie kwalifikacji zawodowych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Zawsze ciężko pracowałam/am, bo tak naprawdę to tylko ciężką pracą można dojść do czegoś	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sądzę, że wykonywanie prac społecznych, aby poprawić byt jest absolutnie na miejscu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Moim marzeniem jest zostać „człowiekiem dużych pieniędzy”	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Do spraw wiary i praktyk religijnych nie przykładam większego znaczenia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Swoje dzieci będę wychowywał/a (wychowywałam/am) w zgodzie z zasadami wiary i moralności chrześcijańskiej	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jestem oszczędny/a - nie lubię wydawać pieniędzy na rzeczy niepotrzebne	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Żeby dać sobie radę w życiu, trzeba być czasami egoistą i nie zwracać uwagi na innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Gdy zrobię to, co musiałam/am dzisiaj, od razu zabieram się za jutrzejsze zadania	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Przywiązuję dużo wagi do zewnętrznego wyglądu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
To, co czuję i myślę, mówię wprost	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Niezależność finansowa jest dla mnie bardzo ważna	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lubię się dobrze zabawić - w końcu żyję tylko raz!	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Całkowicie się zgadzam	2	3	4	5	Całkowicie się nie zgadzam
Opanowaniem i spokojem więcej w życiu osiągniesz niż agresją i pośpiechem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Życie wymaga czasami też poświęceń i przynosi cierpienia	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Przy podejmowaniu ważnych decyzji, pytam się o zdanie rodziców/rodziny/partnera	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Żeby utrzymać się w dobrej formie fizycznej, regularnie ćwiczę i uważam na to, co jem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Czasami jestem zazdrośny/a o powodzenie innych	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3a. Jakie zna Pan/Pani języki?

Proszę wymienić wszystkie znane Panu/Pani języki

3b. Jaki język (jakie języki) uważa Pan/Pani za swój język (swoje języki) ojczyste/a?

1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

4. Proszę napisać, co lub kogo widać na danym obrazku i z którego kraju obiekt pochodzi?

Jeśli nie zna Pan/Pani odpowiedzi, proszę napisać "nie wiem".



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)



_____ (kraj)

	0 w ogóle nie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 bardzo	nie wiem
W jakim stopniu czuje się Pan/Pani Polakiem/Polką?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. Jak ocenia Pan/Pani zadowolenie oraz częstotliwość kontaktów w następujących relacjach?

	Całkowicie zadowo- lony/a	Raczej zadowo- lony/a	Średnio zadowo- lony/a	Raczej niezadowo- lony/a	Całkowicie nie zadowo- lony/a
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z relacji z <u>ojcem</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z relacji z <u>matką</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z częstotliwości kontaktów (telefon, skype, itd.) z <u>ojcem</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Jak bardzo jest Pan/Pani zadowolony/a z częstotliwości kontaktów (telefon, skype, itd.) z <u>matką</u> ?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Wiele osób często stara się dostosować swoje zachowanie do oczekiwań innych.

Czy odczuwa Pan/Pani, że ...

	Zawsze	W większości przypadków	W połowie przypadków	Czasami	Nigdy
... oczekiwania Pana/Pani matki w stosunku do Pana/Pani szkoły/pracy pozostają niespełnione?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... oczekiwania Pana/Pani ojca w stosunku do Pana/Pani szkoły/pracy pozostają niespełnione?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... oczekiwania Pana/Pani matki w stosunku do Pana/Pani związku/matrimonia pozostają niespełnione?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... oczekiwania Pana/Pani ojca w stosunku do Pana/Pani związku/matrimonia pozostają niespełnione?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... oczekiwania Pana/Pani matki w stosunku do Pana/Pani stylu życia pozostają niespełnione?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... oczekiwania Pana/Pani ojca w stosunku do Pana/Pani stylu życia pozostają niespełnione?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... oczekiwania Pana/Pani matki w stosunku do Pana/Pani wyglądu pozostają niespełnione?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
... oczekiwania Pana/Pani ojca w stosunku do Pana/Pani wyglądu pozostają niespełnione?	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Co dla Pana/Pani oznacza Boże Narodzenie ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- | | |
|---|---|
| ☐ Urlop | ☐ Przestrzeganie zasad |
| ☐ Obowiązek/przymus | ☐ Szczególne święto chrześcijańskie |
| ☐ Uroczystość rodzinna | ☐ Zwyczaj |
| ☐ Bezpieczeństwo | ☐ Okazja aby ukochanej osobie sprawić radość |
| ☐ Tworzenie społeczności | ☐ Stres i presja konsumpcyjna |
| | ☐ Inne: _____ |

	Bardzo ważne	Ważne	Raczej nieważne	Nieważne
8. Jak ważne są dla Pana/Pani święta Bożego Narodzenia ?	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Jak Pan/Pani obchodzi Boże Narodzenie ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- ☐ Świątuję Boże Narodzenie w sposób, który znam od dzieciństwa
- ☐ Świątuję Boże Narodzenie tak, jak nauczyli mnie moi rodzice i dziadkowie
- ☐ Próbuję wprowadzać nowe zwyczaje i tradycje
- ☐ W dużym kręgu rodziny (babcia, wujek, ciocia, itd.)
- ☐ W rodzinie małej (w niewielkim zakresie)
- ☐ Inaczej: _____

10. Które z poniższych tradycji są dla Pana/Pani częścią Bożego Narodzenia ?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ Wolne miejsce przy stole wigilijnym dla przygodnego gościa | ☐ Święty Mikołaj (5.12) |
| ☐ Pierwsza Gwiazda (wieczór wigilijny rozpoczyna się wtedy, gdy na niebie ukaże się pierwsza gwiazda) | ☐ Śpiewanie kolęd |
| ☐ Wieniec adwentowy | ☐ Krampus (5.12) |
| ☐ Łamanie się opłatkiem | ☐ Szopki |
| ☐ Gałązka Barbary (4.12) | ☐ Tangi bożonarodzeniowe |
| ☐ Parzysta ilość osób przy stole wigilijnym | ☐ Dzwoneczek, jako znak tego, że dzieci mogą wejść do pokoju z choinką i prezentami |
| ☐ Pasterka | ☐ Cholinka |
| | ☐ Inne: _____ |

11. Które z poniższych potraw muszą znaleźć się na Pana/Pani wigilijnym stole?

Wielokrotna odpowiedź możliwa

- ☐ Barszcz z uszkami (czasami biały żurek, zupa grzybowa, zupa owocowa lub zupa rybna)
- ☐ Świeże kiełbaski cięte z kiszoną kapustą lub z włoską sałatką (majonez sałatkowy)
- ☐ Fondue albo raclette
- ☐ Przyrządzane na różne sposoby ryby, z których najbardziej tradycyjne są potrawy z karpia
- ☐ Kaszanka i pieczeń wieprzowa
- ☐ Kluski z makiem, cukrem i miodem lub chałka z kompotem z suszonych owoców
- ☐ Pieczone jabłka
- ☐ Kutia lub makówki
- ☐ Wołowina duszona, gęś z czerwoną kapustą i kluskami
- ☐ Inne: _____

	Polsce	Niemcom	Niem wiem
W 2016 roku we Francji odbędą się Mistrzostwa Europy w Piłce Nożnej. Proszę wyobrazić sobie, że w ćwierćfinale grają przeciw sobie Polska i Niemcy, a Pan/Pani ogląda ten mecz z przyjaciółmi. Komu będzie Pan/Pani kiblicować?	☐	☐	☐

Bardzo dziękuję za udział w ankiecie.

Chętnie odpowiem na wszelkie pytania dotyczące mojego badania. Jeśli pragnie się Pan/Pani skontaktować ze mną, aby dowiedzieć się więcej o mojej pracy, proszę o przesłanie maila na adres: monika.potkanski@gmail.com.

Abstract (German version)

Eine wesentliche Aufgabe kultureller Übertragung ist das Fortbestehen der Gesellschaft zu wahren sowie die Weitergabe von kulturspezifischen Kenntnissen und Überzeugungen. Werte, definiert als harter Kern der Kultur (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001), bilden die Kernaufgabe zur Kulturaufrechterhaltung und Kulturveränderung (Schönpflug 2001). Werte liefern Maßstäbe für das menschliche Handeln und regulieren dadurch das tägliche Verhalten sowie wichtige und kritische Lebensentscheidungen (Schönpflug 2001). Die generationsübergreifende Wertübertragung ist somit ein wesentlicher Weg der Kulturübertragung (Nauck 2001). Wenn es einen Wettbewerb zwischen verschiedenen kulturellen Merkmalen gibt und die nächste Generation vor der Entscheidung steht, Werte und Traditionen der Elterngeneration zu verabschieden oder diese anzunehmen, gewinnt die Bedeutung der Beziehung zwischen den Generationen an Bedeutung. Solche Prozesse finden sich vor allem in Eltern-Kind-Beziehungen wieder, in denen eine Migrationserfahrung vorherrschend ist. (Internationale) Migration kann als kritisches Lebensereignis und Wendepunkt im Leben verstanden werden, und die gemeinsam durchlebte Erfahrung kann zur Herausbildung von bestimmtem, familienspezifischen sozialen Kapital führen (Nauck 2001: 162). Im Rahmen dieser Studie werden Pol/innen fokussiert, deren Eltern nach Österreich bzw. Deutschland immigriert sind und die in Österreich/Deutschland sozialisiert wurden. Hierbei wird von der Annahme ausgegangen, dass die kulturelle Transmission in Migrantenfamilien im Wettbewerb zur dominierenden kulturellen Transmission der Aufnahmegesellschaft steht und (daher) – verglichen mit Familien ohne Migrationserfahrung – stärker motiviert ist (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001, Nauck 1997).

Ziel dieser Studie ist es, die Konsequenzen der internationalen Migration auf familiäre Beziehungen zu erforschen, die an der dyadischen Eltern-Kind-Werteähnlichkeit unter österreichisch-polnischen und deutsch-polnischen Einwanderern gemessen werden. Der *innerkulturelle Effekt* äußert sich durch die hohe und positive Bewertung von *Familienwerten* seitens aller Befragten, bezogen auf Migrationshintergrund und Generation. Der *zwischenkulturelle Effekt* kommt durch die starke Ablehnung der polnischen Nicht-Migrantengruppe und die deutliche Zustimmung beider Migrantengruppen zu *altruistischen und gemeinschaftlichen Werten* zum Ausdruck.

Abstract (English version)

Cultural transmission ensures a society's continuity and maintains its culture-specific knowledge and beliefs. The transmission of values, defined as the hard core of culture (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001), are the main task for culture maintenance and cultural change as well as the hard core of an individual's identity (Schönpflug 2001). Thus, intergenerational transmission of values is one significant way of transmitting cultural heritage (Nauck 2001). International research emphasizes that migration may be an important turning point in life and the migration experience may lead to the shaping of a certain family-specific social capital. Consequently, some immigrant parents might fear losing their position as role models for their children and respond to the circumstances of living in a new cultural context by making an even greater effort to transmit their cultural values, traditions, customs etc. to their offspring than they would do if they had not emigrated. The focus of this paper is on Poles, whose parents immigrated to Austria or Germany and who were socialized in Austria/Germany. The study assumes that immigration conditions have a positive influence on intergenerational value transmission and therefore parent-child value similarity in Polish immigrant families living in Austria and Germany is stronger than in Polish non-immigrant families living in Poland without any migration experience (Phalet/Schönpflug 2001, Nauck 1997).

This study aims at exploring the consequences of international migration on family relationships as measured by parent-child-dyadic value similarity among Austrian-Polish and German-Polish immigrant families. An *intra-cultural effect* is present for *Family Values* as this value set is rated most positively and with the highest agreement among all three cultural groups. A *inter-cultural effect* has been identified for *Altruistic and Community Values* as mean scores for both immigrant groups significantly differ from Polish non-immigrants.