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Community and Family Adaptation of Adult Second-Generation Ukrainian-Canadians:  
The Role of Acculturation, Acculturative Stress, and Personal and Social Resources

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Community and Family Adaptation of Adult Second-Generation Ukrainian-Canadians:  
The Role of Acculturation, Acculturative Stress, and Personal and Social Resources

Olena Maria Piaseckyj

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	3
Statement of the Research Problem.....	5
Theoretical Background of the Research.....	10
Overarching Research Question and Overview of Dissertation Data .....	12
The Ukrainian-Canadian Context.....	13
Adult Second-Generation post-World War II Ukrainians.....	15
STUDY 1: Multiple Psychological Sense of Community among Adult Second- Generation Ukrainian-Canadians: Exploring the Role of Acculturation, Social Support and Religiosity.....	17
Abstract.....	18
Introduction.....	19
Purpose and Research Objectives.....	33
Significance of the Study.....	34
Method.....	34
Participants.....	34
Measures.....	36
Procedure.....	40
Results.....	40
Data Preparation .....	40
Overview of the Analyses.....	41
Preliminary Analyses.....	41
Descriptive Statistics.....	41
Intercorrelations Among Study Variables.....	45
Principal Analyses.....	47
Correlates of Sense of Community.....	47
Predictors of Sense of Community.....	48
Ukrainian Sense of Community.....	48
Canadian Sense of Community.....	50
Discussion.....	51
Conclusions and Limitations.....	60
References.....	64
Table 1.....	78
Table 2.....	80
Table 3.....	81
Table 4.....	82
Table 5.....	83
Table 6.....	84

STUDY 2: Familism, Acculturation, Acculturative Family Hassles and Family Adjustment in Adult Second-Generation Ukrainian-Canadians.....	85
Abstract.....	86
Introduction.....	87
Purpose and Research Objectives.....	105
Method.....	107
Participants.....	107
Measures.....	108
Procedure.....	113
Results.....	114
Overview of the Analyses.....	114
Preliminary Analyses.....	114
Descriptive Statistics.....	114
Intercorrelations Among Study Variables.....	117
Principal Analyses.....	118
Correlates of Family Life Satisfaction.....	118
Predictors of Family Life Satisfaction.....	121
Total Family Life Satisfaction.....	122
Family Life Satisfaction With Spouse.....	123
Family Life Satisfaction With Parents.....	123
Family Life Satisfaction With Children.....	125
Discussion.....	125
Conclusions and Limitations.....	146
Significance of the Study.....	149
References.....	152
Table 1.....	174
Table 2.....	176
Table 3.....	177
Table 4.....	178
Table 5.....	179
Table 6.....	180
Table 7.....	181
Table 8.....	182
Table 9.....	183
Table 10.....	184
GENERAL DISCUSSION.....	185
Study Limitations.....	186
Conclusions.....	191
Future Research Directions.....	194
REFERENCES (GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL DISCUSSION).....	196

APPENDIX A: Demographic Questionnaire.....	207
APPENDIX B: Structural and Behavioral Familism Questionnaire.....	209
APPENDIX C: Attitudinal Familism Questionnaire.....	210
APPENDIX D: Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures Questionnaire..	212
APPENDIX E: Acculturative Family Hassles Questionnaires.....	215
APPENDIX F: Family Life Satisfaction Questionnaire .....	217
APPENDIX G: Perceived Social Support Questionnaire.....	218
APPENDIX H: Religiosity Questionnaire.....	219
APPENDIX I: Psychological Sense of Community Questionnaire.....	220
APPENDIX J: Study Information Letter.....	222
APPENDIX K: Definition of Terms for Study 1.....	224
APPENDIX L: Definition of Terms for Study 2.....	225

## ABSTRACT

Community and family domains represent important and understudied contexts of immigrant acculturation and adaptation. Adopting an ecological-contextualist perspective (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Birman, 1994; Trickett, 1996), two studies were conducted to examine the predictors of community and family adjustment in a sample of 130 adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. Study 1 examined adaptation at the community level by assessing the association between acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, perceived social support, religiosity, and sense of community with respect to two community referents: the local Ukrainian ethnic community and the residential neighbourhood. Results demonstrated that acculturation was positively associated with ingroup sense of community, such that acculturation to Ukrainian culture predicted stronger sense of community in the local ethnic community. Personal and social resources, including religiosity and perceived social support from Canadian friends and neighbours were positive predictors of neighbourhood sense of community.

Study 2 investigated adaptation at the family level by measuring the influence of acculturation variables (familism, acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures) and acculturative stressor variables (acculturative family hassles) on family life satisfaction overall. In addition, the importance of these predictors for the following three family subsystems was explored: family life satisfaction with spouses, family life satisfaction with parents and family life satisfaction with children. Results indicated that in terms of overall family life satisfaction, family life satisfaction with spouses, family life satisfaction with parents, both acculturation variables and acculturative stressor variables made significant and unique contributions to the explanation of quality of family life.

Furthermore, acculturative stressor variables were found to negatively predict total family satisfaction, marital satisfaction and parental satisfaction, over and above the effects of demographic variables and acculturation variables. In contrast, neither acculturation variables nor acculturative stressor variables significantly predicted family life satisfaction with children.

Taken together, the results of the two studies showed support for an ecological approach to the conceptualization and measurement of immigrant adaptation in community and family spheres of life, emphasizing the need to understand the relationship between acculturation and outcomes 'in context'. The findings are discussed in light of the literature and theoretical and research implications of the results are presented, along with recommendations for future research.

## INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the new millennium, no less than 30% of all Canadians were either immigrants or children of immigrants (2001 census, Statistics Canada). As the total number of immigrants in Canada continues to grow, the importance of better understanding their adaptation and that of subsequent generations is becoming increasingly evident to researchers and to service providers (Portes, 1997; Rumbaut, 1999). A major task that children of immigrants face is how to negotiate and adjust to the multicultural environment within which they reside (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990). Reviews of the immigration and adaptation literature suggest that second-generation individuals, in particular, may experience unique challenges in reconciling conflicting social norms, values and behaviours of their parents' heritage culture and those of the majority culture (Portes, 1997). While some studies suggest that immigrants may be at greater risk for maladjustment, such difficulties are not inevitable among immigrants and their children (Ullman & Tatar, 2001; Jayasuriya, Sang & Fielding, 1992; Ataca & Berry, 2002). As a consequence, there has been a growing awareness that characteristics of the individual and the situation play a role in determining immigrants' adjustment (Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005).

For example, variations in adaptation associated with culture contact have been linked to levels of adherence to ethnic and host cultures, as well as to the availability of personal resources, such as religiosity (Harker, 2001; Bankston & Zhou, 1995), and social support (Noh & Avison, 1996; Vilhjalmsson, 1994). In addition, interpersonal strains or daily hassles, encountered as part of the ongoing acculturation process (e.g., intergenerational conflicts, discrimination), have likewise been found to have a

significant impact upon the adjustment of immigrants (Dion, Dion & Pak, 1992; Liebkind, 1996ab; Gil, Vega & Dimas, 1994).

However, despite considerable evidence that long-term outcomes vary markedly across acculturating persons (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind, 2001; Harris, 2000; Portes, 1997; Zhou, 1997), much of past migration research has been weighted heavily toward studying the negative consequences of immigration, such as depression (Gonzales, Ramos, Tran & Roeder, 2006), substance abuse (Ramirez, 2004), and feelings of loneliness and alienation (Birman & Tyler, 1994). Traditionally, the literature on acculturation and adaptation has also been limited by a focus on investigating how patterns of acculturation are related to indicators of individual psychological adaptation (e.g., self-esteem; Abouguendia & Noels, 2001, general life satisfaction; Dinh, 2000), while neglecting to address other important interpersonal environments (e.g., workplace, family, community) within which immigrant adjustment takes place (Coatsworth, Maldonado, Pantin & Szapocznik 2005; Searle & Ward, 1990; Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991).

In recent years, an increasing body of research has emphasized the critical importance of studying immigrant acculturation and adaptation in areas beyond the individual sphere of life, such as in the varied cultural contexts represented by the workplace, the family, and the school and other community settings, each of which may differ in their cultural realities (Moyerman & Forman, 1992; Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991; Birman, 1998). The relevance of examining adaptation across life domains is also demonstrated in the extant research literature on the adaptation of immigrants and refugees of Eastern European descent. More specifically, recent findings have shown

that acculturation to ethnic and host cultures are differentially related to Eastern European migrants' adjustment in community (Trickett & Birman, 2005) and family (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Vinokurov, 2001) contexts. For example, with regard to adaptation at the community level, Trickett and Birman (2005) tested the unique contributions of Russian and American acculturation to Eastern European adolescents' psychological sense of community in an American school setting. Results demonstrated that, whereas Russian acculturation was unrelated to adjustment in the school setting, American acculturation predicted greater adaptation in this community context. Moreover, in another study of youth from the former Soviet Union, investigating adaptation at the family level, Birman, Trickett and Vinokurov (2002) explored the unique predictive value of ethnic and host acculturation to adaptation in a number of life spheres, including family adaptation. Results suggested that both Russian and American acculturation were positively associated with adolescents' family satisfaction with their parents and predicted greater adaptation in the family context. In contrast, among refugee elders from the former Soviet Union, Vinokurov (2001) found that only Russian acculturation was a positive predictor of family adaptation.

#### *Statement of the Research Problem*

Taken together, existing studies have generally supported the ecological-contextual model of acculturation and adaptation, outlined by Birman and colleagues (Birman, 1994; 1998; Trickett, 1996; Sasao & Sue, 1993), which suggests that a particular style of acculturation may be more adaptive in some areas of life, and unrelated, or maladaptive, in others. Current research on the acculturation and adaptation of Eastern European migrant groups, however, has also been restricted in several ways.

The first limitation concerns the characteristics of the samples studied. Given that much of the previous work on this topic has been carried out among recent first-generation refugees from the former Soviet Union in the U.S., the results of these investigations may not be generalizable to second-generation Eastern Europeans, nor to groups residing outside of the United States (Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005). As many researchers have noted, acculturation-adaptation associations may vary with different immigrant groups in differing cultural contexts or with differing historical contexts of arrival to the receiving country (Sam & Berry, 2006; Nguyen, Messe & Stollak, 1999; Coatsworth, Maldonado, Pantin & Szapocznik 2005). Moreover, although some research attention has been given to the adjustment of migrants in early or in later developmental stages of the life span (e.g., among adolescent, young adult, or elderly samples), significantly less is known about the adaptation experiences of adult immigrants of Eastern European descent in midlife.

Secondly, another major limitation of this empirical research is that family and community adaptation have been operationalized in an inconsistent manner across studies, complicating the interpretation of findings, and making it difficult to fully capture the complex and multifaceted nature of the relationship between acculturation and the outcomes of migration, in community and family spheres of life. For instance, with respect to the family context, some studies have simply used one global measure of family adaptation (Vinokurov, 2001), while others have converged on a single area of family adaptation relevant to a particular sample (e.g., the parent-child dyad among adolescent refugees) (Birman, 2006). An alternative line of research suggests that the link between acculturation and family adaptation is far more complex (Chun, 2006). For

example, some have argued that future studies of immigrant adaptation in the family sphere of life must consider the processes of acculturation not only in relation to the family as a whole, or in relation to one specific family dyad, but rather *across multiple* family groupings or “subsystems” (e.g., family dyads composed of siblings, adolescent children and adult parents, adult children and elderly parents, and marital partners), as each of these family situations may vary in their cultural demands (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Marin & Gamba, 2003; Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer & Delgado, 2005; Birman, 1998).

Additionally, with regard to the community context, the purpose of much of the existing research to date has been to explore the association between acculturation and immigrants’ community adaptation with respect to one single target cultural setting, such as the ethnic community or the ethnic church community (Sonn, 2002; Lizak, 2004) while neglecting to address the fact that immigrants have multiple memberships. For example, although many of immigrant youth today are educated in more than one school community setting (e.g., in the mainstream or majority culture school as well as in the heritage language school), the measurement of adolescent migrants’ school adaptation and school sense of community has typically been restricted to the host culture school setting.

Recently, community psychology researchers have called for more ecologically valid research that simultaneously examines community adaptation across different environments (Pretty, Andrews & Collett, 1994; Royal & Rossi, 1999; Chipuer, 2001). The notion of multiple community membership may be especially relevant for immigrants embedded in multicultural societies. Indeed, immigrants may be members of

several culturally distinct community subcontexts, each potentially requiring a varied set of cultural repertoires (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980). Consequently, scholarly attention, directed toward examining the processes of acculturation in relation to community adaptation across *multiple* cultural community settings is necessary, in order to achieve a more complete understanding of immigrant adaptation in the community sphere of life.

Additional research with Eastern European samples is needed that examines the ways in which acculturation to ethnic and host cultures are associated differentially with indices of adaptation not only *across* community and family spheres of life, but also more systematically *within* each of these social domains. Hence, by shifting the focus of inquiry from global or single measures of family and community adaptation to ones that are more ecologically and contextually valid, the understanding of the relationship between acculturation and adaptation will become much richer.

In order to address this gap in research, the main purpose of the present dissertation was to apply a contextual model of acculturation to investigating the determinants of community and family adaptation among adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. The ultimate goal of this research was to build upon prior published studies of Eastern European migrants' adaptation, by adopting a bidimensional acculturation framework, and by assessing the relationship of acculturation to immigrant outcomes in several different spheres of life (i.e., community and family). Overall, this approach is consistent with a growing emphasis on the study of positive adaptational outcomes among ethnic minorities (Ong, Phinney & Dennis, 2006).

More specifically, the current research consisted of two primary components. The purpose of the first study was to describe and compare sense of community among adult

second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians with respect to two referent communities: the ingroup or ethnic community and the outgroup or host community. A second aim was to extend previous work in the migration and mainstream literatures on the predictors of sense of community by examining the relationship between acculturation indices, social support and religiosity and the two sense of community outcomes.

The purpose of the second study was to explore the quality of family life among an adult sample of second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians with respect to overall family life satisfaction, as well as with respect to satisfaction within three family subdomains: marital satisfaction, satisfaction with parents and satisfaction with children. Because adult second-generation Ukrainians in mid-life have both Ukrainian-born parents and children who have been born and raised in the Canadian context, they represented an ideal population to examine the potential impact of acculturation and acculturative stressors on quality of family life. A second aim of the study, therefore, was to extend previous work on the multifaceted nature of family acculturation experiences by examining the relative contributions of both acculturation variables (e.g., familism, acculturation to the ethnic and host cultures) and acculturative stressor variables (e.g., acculturative family hassles) to the four areas of family adaptation (i.e., overall family life satisfaction, family life satisfaction with spouses, with parents and with children).

However, before proceeding to the two studies, a review of the relevant theoretical approaches, the overarching research question, as well as an examination of the Ukrainian-Canadian context, will be presented.

### *Theoretical Background of the Research*

As a guiding theoretical framework, the present research drew on the contextual and ecological model of the acculturation experience, outlined by Birman (1998) and colleagues (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Birman, 1994; Trickett, 1996). Acculturation refers to the ongoing processes of cultural change that occur in immigrants and their descendants as a result of continuous contact with the majority community (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936; Berry, 1980; Berry, Trimble & Olmedo, 1986) (for a review, see Berry, 1990). In recent years, due to the increased explanatory power afforded by bidimensional models of acculturation, cross-cultural psychology has witnessed considerable conceptual shift, from unidimensional toward bidimensional operationalizations of the acculturation construct (Kwak and Berry, 2001; Cortes, Rogler, Malgady, 1994; Rogler, Cortes, Malgady, 1991; Ruelas, Atkinson & Ramos-Sanchez, 1998). A number of studies have now provided support for a two-dimensional model of acculturation, showing that acculturation to the ethnic and to the host cultures can be independent and can have different relationships to outcomes (e.g., Berry, 1990; 1997; Laroche, Kim, Hui, Joy, 1996; Nguyen et al. 1999; Oetting & Beauvais, 1991; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993 ; Ward & Kennedy, 1994). Additionally, there has been a growing recognition that acculturation is comprised of multiple and distinct aspects including values, language use and competence, behavioural participation and identification, among others (Phinney, 2003; Phinney & Flores, 2002; Cuellar, Nyberg, Maldonado & Roberts, 1998; 1997; Birman & Trickett, 2001).

As described earlier, while the relationship between bidimensional acculturation and immigrant adaptation in the individual domain of life has been subject to extensive

explorations, gaps in knowledge still remain with regard to the link between acculturation and immigrant adaptation in other settings of importance to recent and to later-generation migrants. Consequently, Birman and colleagues have articulated an ecological-contextualist perspective on acculturation and adjustment (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Birman, 1994; Trickett, 1996) that stresses the need to understand the relationship between acculturation and outcomes 'in context'. According to this perspective, it is assumed that because the various situations of immigrants' lives vary in acculturative demands, or in the acculturative press they exert (Birman, 1994, 1998), different patterns of acculturation should be related to immigrant adjustment across different life spheres (Birman, Trickett, Vinokurov, 2002). For example, whereas some interpersonal and cultural contexts may require greater adherence to the behaviours, identity, values or language of the receiving society and less adherence to those of the ethnic culture, other contexts may require the inverse, and still others may demand certain levels of acculturation to one or to both cultures (Birman, 1994; 1998).

Birman (1994; 1998) and Trickett's (1996) argument compliments Bronfenbrenner's (1976; 1979) bioecological theory of human development. In this theoretical framework, that seeks to link between human functioning and the socio-cultural environment, Bronfenbrenner proposed a hierarchy of nested ecological systems influencing the developing person, progressing from the most proximal to the most distal. Within this taxonomy, the *microsystem* represents the environmental contexts closest to the individual, or the immigrant, including the workplace, the media, the community and the family, among others. On the other hand, the *mesosystem*, consists of linkages between the various contexts comprising the microsystem. Thus, the community and the

family contexts may be conceptualized as mutually interdependent microsystems within a mesosystem. The third basic structure, the *exosystem*, refers to social settings in which individuals are not active participants, but that nevertheless affect them in one of their microsystems. Finally, an example of a *macrosystem* would be the country within which the immigrant resides.

In summary, an expanding body of research using the ecological-contextualist perspective highlights the importance of examining the patterns and predictive value of acculturation *across* various life contexts, such as in the work, family and community settings. However, an implication of the ecological-contextualist approach is that it can also be used to examine the acculturation-adaptation link *within* different life domains. For example, by applying this contextualized perspective to the study of family adaptation and investigating the relationship of acculturation to ethnic and host cultures independently and across a range of family subsystems (e.g., sibling, marital and parent-child dyads), migration researchers can obtain a much more accurate portrait of immigrant adjustment at the level of the family than currently exists in the literature (Chun, 2006). Similarly, using this approach to guide the study of acculturation and community adaptation across multiple community subcontexts, can promote an appreciation of the diversity of immigrants' community experiences, and can permit the development of sense of community scales that more closely match the contextual conditions of immigrants' lives (Swindle & Moos, 1992).

#### *Overarching Research Question and Overview of Dissertation Data*

Formulation of the overarching research question used to guide the data analysis relied upon the ecological-contextualist approach to conceptualizing the acculturation-

adaptation link as well as the extant research literature demonstrating that acculturation to ethnic and host cultures were differentially related to Eastern European migrants' adjustment *across* community (Trickett & Birman, 2005; Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005) and family (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Vinokurov, 2001) contexts.

Accordingly, the following overarching question was posed:

- I. Does acculturation differentially predict outcomes *within* community and family life domains?

Based on the ecological perspective, it was expected that the unique contribution of Ukrainian and Canadian acculturation to adaptation would differ across the different *subdomains* within community (i.e., ingroup community, outgroup community) and family (i.e., marital, parental, child) spheres of life.

In order to address the above research question, data analyzed in Study 1 and Study 2 were collected from a single sample of adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadian participants (N =130) residing in the Ottawa area. Because a primary aim of the research was investigate acculturation in relation to multiple community and family adaptation indices, the Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures Questionnaire (Appendix D) was employed in both studies.

#### *The Ukrainian-Canadian Context*

The study of immigrant adaptation in community and family spheres of life is particularly timely in gaining a better understanding of Ukrainian-Canadians, for several reasons. Firstly, according to a recent census there are over one million Canadian citizens who are of Ukrainian ethnic origin, representing approximately 3.6% of the total national population (2001 census, Statistics Canada). Moreover, Ukrainian-Canadians comprise a

group that has grown by a quarter million in size since 1986 and by over half a million since 1971. As a result, Ukrainian-Canadians currently make up the sixth largest European ethnic population in Canada (2001 census, Statistics Canada). Despite the impressive and increasing size of this demographic group, Ukrainians have been altogether neglected in the cross-cultural psychology and migration literatures. Consequently, research focused on the process of acculturation among Ukrainian individuals is almost non-existent and very little is known about the psychosocial adaptation experiences of Ukrainians in Canada.

Secondly, unlike other ethnic groups whose immigration is relatively recent (e.g., Somalians), the immigration of Ukrainians to Canada has a long history, dating back to the 1890's (Martynowych, 1991). With the outbreak of World War I, this immigration movement was interrupted in 1914. Immigration resumed in the early 1920's and was again interrupted in 1939 with the outbreak of World War II. The third major wave of immigration occurred between 1947 and 1954 when approximately 40, 000 Ukrainians, displaced by World War II, found refuge in Canada (Gerus & Rae, 1985). A large proportion of these new immigrants were young unmarried or married adults who had children after gaining entry into the country. A smaller, but substantial proportion were married refugees with young families, typically fleeing in family units consisting of parents and first-born infants or small children, with subsequent children who were born in displaced persons camps or upon arrival in Canada. While the prairie provinces absorbed the bulk of the first two waves of immigration, post World War II Ukrainian immigrants settled mainly in Quebec and Ontario (Gerus & Rae, 1985). After completing

their contracts in isolated mining, forestry and agricultural areas, most migrated to urban centers such as Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa (Martynowych, 1991).

Accordingly, Ukrainian-Canadians represent an established immigrant population which, due to its long history of migration, lends itself to studies focusing on the family adaptation of individuals whose families are multigenerational in nature. Moreover, given that the number of Canadians of solely Ukrainian descent in Ottawa is now estimated to be well over 3,985 (2001 census, Statistics Canada), a better understanding of factors that facilitate the adaptation of this group at the community level is long overdue.

#### *Adult Second-Generation post-World War II Ukrainian-Canadians*

Second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians, refer to the grown children of the Ukrainian-born World War II refugees, who fled to Canada as adults. The majority of individuals comprising this second-generation cohort were born in Canada. Nevertheless, due to exceptional historical circumstances occurring as a result of World War II, a smaller percentage of individuals identifying themselves as belonging to this demographic group were born either in the country of origin (Ukraine) or an intermediary country (e.g., a camp for displaced persons in Germany) and immigrated to Canada at a very young age with their parents.

Therefore, for the purposes of the current research, second-generation Ukrainians consisted of 130 participants, with two Ukrainian-born parents, all of whom were either Canadian-born (n=83) or who came to Canada by the age of 7 (n=47), and therefore received the bulk of their education in Canada. This definition for the second-generation generally follows the one used in the literature (Rumbaut, 1997; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Portes, 1996; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), encompassing both individuals who were born in

Canada to foreign-born parents, and those that arrived with parents in early childhood (i.e., roughly ages 0-6) (Justin, 2004).

My special interest in adult second-generation children of World War II Ukrainian refugees is based on two considerations. Firstly, on a personal level, as a grandchild of World War II Ukrainian refugees this cohort represents my parents' generation. Moreover, having been raised in the city where this research was carried out, my own family and local ethnic community experiences were important factors behind my interest in investigating and documenting the community and family adaptation of Ukrainians residing in Ottawa. Secondly, on a practical level, membership in the local Ukrainian ethnic community in Ottawa is currently predominantly made up of adult second-generation children of World War II Ukrainian refugees<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the most recent available census data, Canadians of solely Ukrainian descent in Ottawa could be characterized into three major age cohorts (1996 census, Statistics Canada). The largest group, representing 65% of the total number (N=3, 675), consisted of individuals aged 25-64. The next largest group (24%) consisted of individuals aged 65 and over, and the remaining 11% were aged 0-24. Therefore, in addition to comprising a representative sample of the adult membership in the local Ukrainian ethnic community in Ottawa, the 130 individuals who participated in the present research (mean age=49.50 and age range= 32 to 64) constituted a demographically representative segment of adult Canadians of solely Ukrainian descent living in Ottawa.

Running Head: ACCULTURATION AND SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Multiple Psychological Sense of Community among Adult Second-Generation Ukrainian-  
Canadians: Exploring the Role of Acculturation, Social Support and Religiosity

Olena Maria Piaseckyj

University of Ottawa

## Abstract

While the existing acculturation and adaptation literature has explored migrants' sense of community in terms of a single community referent, the present research broadens the study of immigrant psychological sense of community by examining predictors of second-generation immigrants' sense of community in both ingroup and outgroup community settings. 130 adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians living in the Ottawa area completed a questionnaire assessing demographic variables, acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, perceived social support, religiosity, and sense of community in the local Ukrainian ethnic community as well as in the residential neighbourhood. Results demonstrated that participants experienced a moderately high sense of community with respect to both community referents. Furthermore, findings suggested that for second-generation Ukrainians, acculturation to the ethnic culture was related to stronger ethnic psychological sense of community, while personal and social resources were related to a greater psychological sense of community with respect to the outgroup. More specifically, whereas Ukrainian behavioural acculturation and Ukrainian identity acculturation positively predicted sense of community in the local Ukrainian ethnic community, religiosity and perceived social support from Canadian friends and neighbours were positive predictors of neighbourhood sense of community. Overall, the findings underscore the need for cross-cultural researchers to incorporate the possibility of multiple community memberships in studies of second-generation migrants' adaptation at the community level. Implications for future research on multiple psychological sense of community in immigrant populations are discussed.

## Multiple Psychological Sense of Community among Adult Second-Generation Ukrainian-Canadians: Exploring the Role of Acculturation, Social Support and Religiosity

In the past three decades, a sizeable body of literature has been published on the notion of “psychological sense of community”, resulting in a number of definitions and uses for the construct (Obst, Zinckiewicz & Smith, 2002). According to McMillan’s (1976) definition, sense of community refers to: “a feeling that members have of belonging and being important to each other, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met by their commitment together” (p.11). McMillan and Chavis (1986) further operationalized sense of community as consisting of four basic dimensions: membership, influence, integration, and fulfillment of needs. Since its initial development using data collected from geographical communities (e.g., residential neighbourhoods), McMillan and Chavis’ (1986) theory of sense of community has also been shown to be applicable to a wide range of non-geographical or *relational* communities, such as workplaces (Pretty & McCarthy, 1991), schools (Royal & Rossi, 1996), religious communities (Miers & Fisher, 2002), as well as ethnic communities (Fisher & Sonn, 1999; Sonn, 2002).

Traditionally, mainstream community psychology research has conceptualized psychological sense of community as the feelings of an individual for a single target community. More recently, a number of researchers have started exploring participants’ multiple senses of community (Pretty, Andrews & Collett, 1994; Royal & Rossi, 1999; Chipuer, 2001). This development has led some authors to argue for an expansion of the conceptualization and measurement of the sense of community construct to include the assessment of sense of community across multiple community referents (Brodsky, Loomis & Marx, 2002). The study of multiple senses of community is also in line with

the ecological framework, first proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1976;1979), and articulated by immigrant researchers (e.g., Birman, 1998; Birman & Tyler, 1994; Sasao & Sue, 1993), emphasizing the examination of individuals within multiple and interdependent systems (Trickett, Kelly, & Todd, 1972). According to such an ecological perspective, individuals are understood in relation to the immediate contexts (e.g., peers, families and communities) as well as in relation to the larger social contexts (e.g., cities, cultures, countries) within which they reside (Bronfenbrenner; 1976;1979).

Additionally, researchers such as Sonn (2002) have proposed that the psychological sense of community perspective is not only congruent with an ecological approach to the study of immigrants, but that it represents an important point of focus for broadening understanding of immigrant adaptation within the community domain of life. Furthermore, the idea of *multiple* senses of community may be especially relevant not only for the study of immigrants in general, but also for the study of second-generation immigrants, in particular.

For example, past research has indicated that, as children of foreign-born immigrant parents, second-generation individuals living in a multicultural society may experience greater pressure to reconcile competing demands from their traditional families of origin with those from the dominant culture (Mumford, Whitehouse & Platts, 1990). Second-generation immigrants, however, are also faced with the additional challenge of situating themselves within the multiple cultural milieus existing outside the boundaries of their immediate family environment; at the level of the community. Consequently, through intersections and contact with community members from both their ethnic community and the majority or host community, immigrants may develop

and maintain multiple psychological senses of community at one time (Sonn, 2002; Hunter & Riger, 1986). For example, second-generation individuals might have a sense of community from their neighbourhoods or their workplaces and simultaneously also derive a sense of community from belonging to a local ethnic community, through membership in an ethnic professional organization, ethnic sports team or a local ethnic church.

Despite second-generation immigrants' membership in multiple communities, available research on psychological sense of community among migrants has been very limited. The purpose of much of the existing research to date has been to explore adult immigrants' sense of community with respect to a single cultural setting (e.g., the ethnic community, the ethnic church community; Sonn, 2002; Lizak, 2004) while neglecting to address the problem of their multiple membership in more than one community, including their membership in the receiving host community. Given that immigrants may have different needs met in different community settings (Sonn, 2002) more research attention, directed toward describing the multiple contexts in which immigrants' senses of community develop as well as identifying the factors that may explain variance in immigrants' sense of community, is needed for a better understanding of immigrant acculturation and adaptation.

In order to address this gap in research, the present study sought to describe and compare sense of community among adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians with respect to two referent communities, the ingroup or ethnic community and the outgroup or host community. A second aim was to extend previous work in the migration and mainstream literatures on the predictors of sense of community by examining the

relationship between acculturation indices, social support and religiosity and the two sense of community outcomes.

#### *Acculturation to Ethnic and Host Cultures and Sense of Community*

The term acculturation has been used to describe the general set of processes involved in individuals' or groups' adaptation to a cultural change resulting from intercultural contact between two or more cultures (Berry, 1990; Phinney, 1990; Trickett & Birman, 2005). It is now well accepted that acculturation to ethnic and host cultures can be independent and that acculturation is multidimensional in nature, involving changes along value, behaviour, identity and language dimensions (Phinney & Flores, 2002).

Within the migration literature, several researchers have begun to examine the relationship between immigrants' level of ethnic acculturation along identity, behaviour, and language dimensions, and sense of community with regard to their ethnic community. Much of this work has been carried out by Sonn and colleagues (e.g., Fisher & Sonn, 1999; Sonn, 2002; Sonn & Fisher, 1996, 1998; Sonn, Bustello, & Fisher, 1998). For example, Sonn and Fisher (1996) conducted qualitative interviews to examine psychological sense of community among Black South African immigrants in Australia and reported that ethnic identity was associated with a feeling of shared emotional connection (a component of psychological sense of community). Sonn (2002) also highlighted the important role that ethnic behaviour plays in the creation of a sense of community among immigrants. In several studies, Sonn and colleagues found that behavioural participation in cultural activities in ethnic group settings was essential for linking immigrants with their country of origin and creating a psychological sense of

community (Sonn & Fisher, 1996; Sonn, Bustello, & Fisher, 1998). With respect to the language dimension of acculturation, Sonn and Fisher (1998) studied Chilean immigrants, and found that, in addition to behavioural participation in shared cultural celebrations and Catholicism, participants identified the Spanish language as important factor in sustaining their ethnic sense of community.

With respect to the relationship between ethnic acculturation and ethnic sense of community among immigrants of Eastern-European descent, only one study, conducted among Ukrainian-Canadians, examined the link between the dimensions of acculturation to ethnic culture and sense of community. More specifically, in a qualitative investigation of Ukrainian Catholic young adults from mixed generations residing in Western Canada, Lizak (2004) employed focus groups to examine how a number of variables, including ethnic identity, were related to Ukrainian Catholic sense of community.

The author found that there were three primary supportive aspects that increased shared sense of community among the participants: a strong sense of one's ethnic heritage and traditions (e.g., ethnic identity), behavioural participation in ethnic customs, church services and community events (e.g., cultural festivals and holidays or attendance at artistic performances) and similarity in members' beliefs, values, interests and goals (e.g., identification with symbols, signs or symbolic gestures). Although Lizak (2004) did not explicitly examine how the participants' ethnic language proficiency impacted their sense of community, she did provide evidence suggesting that participants' lack of proficiency in the ethnic language interfered with a strong sense of community. Hindrances to sense of community included challenges in participating in community

events conducted in the heritage language as well as divisions among members of the community who were more or less proficient in the ethnic language.

Overall, the studies reviewed above provide preliminary evidence to suggest that identity, behavioural and language dimensions of acculturation may play an important role in immigrants' sense of community, and that the behavioural component may be of particular importance (Lizak, 2004; Sonn & Fisher, 1996; Sonn, Bustello, & Fisher, 1998). Current research on the topic of acculturation and sense of community, however, has been restricted in several ways. Firstly, conclusions regarding the links between the different dimensions of acculturation and sense of community have been precluded by exclusive reliance on qualitative methods in much of the existing immigrant sense of community research. While qualitative methods are vital in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of sense of community among these populations, studies that assess the various dimensions of acculturation and their potential differential relationships to sense of community using quantitative methods are also warranted, in order to allow for future comparability of findings.

Secondly, another criticism of the immigrant sense of community literature is that whereas some research suggests that ethnic acculturation may be linked to ingroup sense of community (Lizak, 2004), it is currently not known whether similar associations exist between ethnic acculturation and sense of community with regard to the majority culture. Furthermore, the relationships between acculturation to the host culture and sense of community, in either ingroup or outgroup community settings, have yet to be explicitly examined among adult immigrant samples. These are important methodological considerations, given research suggesting that specific elements of the acculturation

process have been linked differentially to outcomes various spheres of life (Birman & Tyler, 1994; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002). Accordingly, a particular style of acculturation may be conceptualized as being more adaptive in some community contexts and unrelated or less adaptive, in others (Birman, 1998).

Recent research conducted with adolescent immigrants of Eastern European descent provides empirical support for this perspective. More specifically, in a study with first generation refugee adolescents from the former Soviet Union, Trickett and Birman (2005) assessed the relationship of acculturation to ethnic and host to cultures and psychological sense of community in an American school setting. Results demonstrated that, whereas overall American acculturation predicted greater school sense of community, overall Russian acculturation was negatively but not significantly ( $r = -.10$ , *ns*) correlated with school sense of community. Further analyses conducted to explore the link between distinct dimensions of acculturation (i.e., identity, behaviour, language) and sense of community, revealed that American identity was positively related to school sense of community, but none of the Russian acculturation dimensions were significant predictors of sense of community in the school setting.

Interestingly, in another study with Latino American immigrant children, Elliot (2001) examined the relationship between acculturation to Mexican and American cultures and sense of community in the school context and found ethnic acculturation did not negatively impact sense of community, but on the contrary, enhanced it. More specifically, results showed that, whereas American acculturation was not correlated with sense of community, Mexican acculturation was positively correlated with sense of community in the school. Given that a majority of the children selected for the study

attended schools that were predominantly Latino in population, the author speculated that immigrants with higher Mexican affiliations may have endorsed a greater sense of community because many of the members of the school community had similar cultural backgrounds (Gonzales & Padilla, 1997).

In summary, Trickett and Birman's (2005) and Elliot's (2001) findings regarding bidimensional acculturation and sense of community in the school are consistent with previous immigrant research demonstrating that overall host and ethnic acculturation can be independent and can have different relationships to immigrant adaptation. Moreover, a number of authors have argued for the importance of unpacking acculturation in order to distinguish the impact of separate components on a range of immigrant adjustment outcomes (Cuellar, Arnold & Gonzalez, 1995; Phinney & Flores, 2002). Therefore, it would be important for immigrant research on sense of community to also examine whether the dimensions of ethnic and host acculturation (identity, behaviour and language) vary in predicting sense of community within both the host and ethnic community settings.

#### *Perceived Social Support and Sense of Community*

In pluralistic societies, second-generation immigrants must not only decide on how to deal with the multiple and, at times, competing cultural influences in their lives, but also on how to interact in encounters with community members of their own ethnic group and community members in the host or mainstream society. Thus, in addition to dealing with acculturation to the ethnic and host cultures, second-generation immigrants are faced with the task of creating and balancing multiple social networks. Accordingly, the social dimensions of the environment, such as the availability of social support

resources, or the composition of one's support system are important variables to consider when studying immigrant adjustment process and its outcomes, including adaptation at the community level and sense of community, in particular.

The importance of social resources for sense of community among non-migrants has been recognized since its inception three decades ago. Sarason and Sarason (1974) originally suggested that the experience of social support correlates with a strong sense of community, and that through having social support individuals might get involved and invested in their community which in turn would enhance their psychological well-being. Other researchers have also theorized that social resources influence sense of community, on the grounds that the more social ties an individual has in given community, the more attached they become to that community (Sagy, Stern & Krakover, 1996).

To date, few empirical studies have examined social support and sense of community among immigrant groups. Sagy et al. (1996), however, studied factors influencing the sense of community in a sample of recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union, and found that participants with a greater number of social network members experienced greater sense of community. Moreover, Isajiw (1981) studied the social network composition of first and second-generation Ukrainians-Canadians and found that Ukrainian-Canadians, regardless of generation, had close friends from both the ethnic and host group, but that the percentage of individuals with three closest Ukrainian friends declined from 46% to 20% between the first and the second-generation. Conversely, the percentage of individuals with Anglo-Canadian first closest friends rose from 30% to 48% between the first and second generation.

Although Isajiw (1981) did not explicitly examine the link between Ukrainian-Canadians' social networks and psychological sense of community, a range of social contact and social support indices have previously been linked to sense of community in the non-migrant literature. Strong positive links have been shown between sense of community and social support from a variety of sources including: friends (Zani, Elvira, Cicognani & Albanesi, 2001), neighbours (Wilson-Doenges, 2000; Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Folwer & Williams, 1996); fellow members of a professional online community (Kruger, Macklem, Burgess et al. (2001) and students in a university residential setting Pretty (1990).

Pretty, Andrews, and Collett (1994) are among the researchers that have explored dimensions of social support and their link to *multiple* senses of community. The researchers examined adolescents' school and neighbourhood sense of community and found sense of community was related to different aspects of social support depending on the community setting; sense of community in the neighbourhood was significantly correlated with number of supports and satisfaction with supports, while sense of community in the school was significantly correlated with number of supports and tangible assistance.

Despite being related, the constructs of social support and sense of community have also been found to be distinct (Prezza, Amici, Roberti, Tedeschi, 2001). According to Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler & Williams (1996): "sense of community does not necessarily have to be rooted in actual experience, but in the perception that one is part of the 'common good' which will be accessible to you should the need arise. As a result, one may sense the support of a new environment, such as a new neighbourhood, before

having the opportunity to establish interpersonal contact". (p.366) Put simply, while sense of community has generally been conceptualized as a systems level perception of the social environment (Pretty, Conroy, Dugay, Fowler & Williams, 1996), social support has been viewed as an individual level perception of the social environment that focuses on individual sources of social support imbedded within a larger network (Felton & Shinn, 1992 ). Further, sense of community can be rated by participants even when members of the community change or may not be identifiable to them. The perception of social support, in contrast, is reliant on the existence of personal friendships with familiar individuals over prescribed periods of time.

#### *Religiosity and Sense of Community*

In addition to obtaining social resources derived from co-ethnic and majority culture friendships, immigrants may also gain valuable social and personal resources as a result of involvement in organized religion (Peters, 1990; Dhruvarajan, 1990). In both migrant and non-migrant literatures, religiosity has been operationalized as a multidimensional construct. Accordingly, the organizational or public dimension of religiosity refers to frequency of church attendance whereas the non-organizational or private dimension focuses on the personal importance that individuals assign to spiritual beliefs or prayer (Sherman & Simonton, 2001). Although the direction of the influence of religiosity on well-being has been debated, the majority of research studies have provided evidence to suggest that religiosity has positive associations with a range of mental and physical health outcomes (Chamberlain & Zika, 1992; Witter et al. (1985).

Whereas the effects of religiosity on sense of community in immigrants remain largely unexplored, the role of religiosity in building sense of community among non-

immigrant populations has been suggested in a number of qualitative studies carried out in religious community settings (Maton & Rappaport, 1984; Dokecki, Newbrough & O’Gorman, 2001; Kloos & Moore, 2000). For example, Maton and Rappaport (1984) studied factors related to religious empowerment in a Christian, nondenominational religious community setting. Results suggested that those church members who were seen by themselves and others as the most religiously empowered tended to have a strong psychological sense of community.

Religiosity has also been shown to promote a stronger sense of community among immigrants and ethnic minorities with regard to their ethnic communities. For example, Portes and Rumbaut (1996) found that Vietnamese Catholic Americans were able to develop a strong sense of community based on the Roman Catholic Church. Similarly, Lizak (2004), in her study of young adult Catholic Ukrainian-Canadians, found that religious denomination, sense of religious heritage, and church attendance, were all positive factors in increasing participants’ sense of community with respect to the local Ukrainian Catholic community.

Participation in religious activities is often encouraged by local ethnic communities and such expectations may motivate individuals to become religiously active for non-religious reasons such as to satisfy their social needs of gathering with individuals of the same ethnic background (Alanezi, 2004). Not surprisingly, whether they are recent immigrants arriving in a host country or later-generation immigrants relocating to a new city, religious institutions are often among the first and most important social institutions that immigrants seek. Indeed, in many ethnic communities, churches provide a convenient locale for a wide range of secular events that may foster a

stronger ethnic sense of community. These may include youth or senior activities and classes, cultural performances and church events selling ethnic goods and foods. Moreover, churches have also historically played a central role in the establishment of new Ukrainian ethnic communities in Canada and have often served as venues for community meetings to discuss collective goals or outgroup pressures and threats facing existing communities (Yuzyk, 1981).

*Acculturation, Perceived Social Support, Religiosity and Sense of Community*

In summary, a substantial literature suggests that acculturation, as well as social support and religiosity, may be important factors when exploring immigrants' psychological sense of community. However, in contrast to the non-migrant community psychology literature, where the issue of multiple community membership has been studied more extensively (Pretty, Andrews & Collett, 1994; Royal & Rossi, 1999, Chipuer, 2001), cross-cultural psychology researchers have thus far relied solely on measurement of immigrants' sense of community within a single cultural community setting. Furthermore, in reviewing the literature on sense of community among Eastern Europeans, in particular, it is evident that current knowledge about their adaptation in the community sphere of life is limited in at least two ways.

First, whereas some researchers have reported on the differential links of acculturation and social support in relation to Eastern European migrants' sense of community in the *host* context (Jones & Trickett, 2005; Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005) and others have assessed acculturation and religiosity with respect to Eastern European migrants' sense of community in the *ethnic* context (Lizak, 2004), existing empirical studies have neglected to systematically assess the relative contribution of all

three of these variables (i.e. acculturation, social support and religiosity) in relation to sense of community in both *host* and *ethnic* community settings simultaneously. From an ecological-contextualist perspective (Birman, 1994; 1998; Trickett, 1996; Sasao & Sue, 1993), and taking into consideration that the determinants of sense of community may differ from setting to setting (Hill, 1996), studying sense of community across different cultural community contexts is essential, in order to gain a complete appreciation of Eastern European immigrants' adaptation in the community sphere of life.

The relevance of investigating these three factors concurrently, in relation to sense of community, is also underscored by previous migration research that has shown acculturation, social support and religiosity to be differentially linked to other indices of immigrant adaptation, including: psychological distress (Amer, 2005), anxiety or depression (Antoine, 1992; Bacho, 1997) and suicidal ideation (Kimbrough, Molock & Walton, 1996). Although a limited number of studies have also focused on their differential contribution in relation to positive indices of immigrant adaptation, such as minorities' physical health screening behaviours (Springer, 1998; Martinez, 2002), willingness to seek mental health services (McGoldrick, Giordano & Pearce, 1996; Nagra, 2005; Adams, 1997), quality of life (Webb, 2001), and adaptation to aging (Borzuchowska, 2005), the relative importance of acculturation, social support and religiosity in accounting for variance in psychological sense of community remains unexplored.

Second, acculturation and social or personal resources and sense of community have largely been investigated among Eastern Europeans in adolescence (Jones & Trickett, 2005; Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005) or young adulthood (Lizak, 2004).

Because sense of community has been shown to vary with age and years of residence (Chavis, Hogge, McMillan & Wandersman, 1986; Pretty et al., 1996; Prezza, Amici et al., 2001; Skjaveland, Garling & Maeland, 1996) existing findings may not be generalizable to an older population, as sense of community may manifest itself differently among Eastern Europeans in midlife.

Finally, any further scholarship that can potentially shed light on the nature and determinants of multiple senses of community in migrant populations is especially timely, when considered in the broader context of globalization. Indeed, in today's global society, where more individuals than ever before are engaged in various forms of cross-cultural living as members of multiple relational (e.g., cultural, religious, online) and geographical communities (Ying, 2005), research that contributes to a greater understanding multiple community membership is sorely needed, both in order to inform the fostering of strong communities and for the general advancement of research in the field of cross-cultural psychology.

#### *Purpose and Research Objectives*

The main purpose of the proposed study was to further understanding of immigrant adaptation at the community level by investigating the relationship between acculturation indices, perceived social support, religiosity and sense of community among adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. Sense of community was examined with respect to two referent communities, the ingroup or local Ukrainian community and the outgroup or neighbourhood community. Examination of multiple senses of community represents a topic of considerable empirical and theoretical interest, particularly in light ecological perspectives to the study of immigrant adaptation, which

stress the role of the environmental context and the need to develop measures that match the contextual conditions, life domains, and settings of immigrants' lives (Birman & Tyler, 1994).

More specifically, the study has three main goals. The first goal was to measure the level of acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, perceived social support, religiosity and sense of community in the sample. The second goal was to assess the relationship between senses of community in the two settings. The third goal was to explore the relationships between acculturation and social and personal resources and the two indices of sense of community: Ukrainian sense of community and Canadian sense of community.

### *Significance of the Study*

The significance of the present study is two-fold. Firstly, by incorporating literatures in the areas of immigrant adjustment and psychological sense of community, this study bridges the two research fields and examines aspects of immigrant adaptation at the community level that have remained uncharted. Secondly, by simultaneously measuring psychological sense of community in both the host and the ethnic cultural contexts, the current research extends the previous work in community psychology on multiple senses of community. Consequently, it aims to provide a more inclusive and ecologically valid portrait of immigrant sense of community than is currently available.

### *Method*

#### *Participants*

One hundred and thirty second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians, male (n=50, 38%) and female (n=80, 62%), living in the Ottawa area, participated in the present

study. All of the participants were either Canadian-born (64%) or were foreign-born but migrated to Canada by the age of 7 (36%). The overwhelming majority of the respondents (97%) reported their family emigrated to Canada for political/war reasons (i.e., World War II). All of the respondents had Ukrainian-born parents, who had migrated to Canada as adults (i.e., over the age of 18). Participants had lived an average of 26.93 years ( $SD = 14.19$ ) in the Ottawa area with a range of 2 to 55 years.

The age of the respondents ranged from 32 to 64 years, with an average of 49.50 years ( $SD = 6.90$ ). The majority of the participants were married (70.7%) with 13.1% reporting single status. The remainder of the sample endorsed one of the following categories: common law (2.3%), separated or divorced (7.7%) and widowed (6.2%). For religious affiliation, 71.5% of participants were Ukrainian Catholic, 21.5% Ukrainian Orthodox, 3% Roman Catholic, and 1.5% Protestant. The sample tended to be highly educated, in that 17% had completed education at the secondary or college level, 51% had completed university at an undergraduate level and 25% had completed a graduate university degree. In terms of employment status, 84% were employed: 5.4% skilled manual, clerical or sales workers, 6.9% were semi-professionals, 9.2% were public servants not otherwise specified, 30% were small business managers and minor professionals, 22.3% were medium business managers, administrators or lesser professionals and 18.5% were higher executives, large business managers and major professionals. Others were homemakers (5.4%), unemployed (3.8%), university or college students (1.6%) or retired (6.2%).

## *Measures*

*Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures.* Acculturation was assessed with the combined use of the (GEQ) General Ethnicity Questionnaire (Tsai, Ying & Lee, 2000) adapted for the Ukrainian sample (Tsai, et al., 2000), and the American Identity Questionnaire (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). The adapted GEQ is an instrument that asks respondents to report how oriented they are to Canadian and Ukrainian cultures independently (Appendix D). Scores for the total Ukrainian Acculturation (21 items) and total Canadian Acculturation (21 items) scales were computed by summing the score for each item, with possible scores ranging from 21 to 122. Scores for the Identity (5 items), Behavioural (12 items) and Language (4 items) Acculturation subscales, were computed by summing the score of each item and dividing by the number of items in the subscale.

The Identity Acculturation subscales consisted of 5 parallel statements regarding the degree of identification with each culture (e.g., “I think of myself as being Canadian/Ukrainian”). Ukrainian and Canadian identity domains were assessed using Ukrainian and Canadian versions of American Identity Questionnaire (AIQ) (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Responses were scored on a 6 point scale, from “1” indicating strong disagreement to “6” indicating strong agreement, with total subscale scores ranging from 1 to 6.

The Behavioural Acculturation subscales asked participants to rate the extent to which they engage in behaviours associated with each culture (e.g., media, music, entertainment, holidays, recreational activities, and food) in 12 parallel items, such as “At home, I eat Canadian-type food”. Items were coded on a 6 point Likert scale, from “1”

indicating strong disagreement to “6” indicating strong agreement, with total subscale scores ranging from 1 to 6.

The Language Acculturation subscales consisted of 4 parallel items asking respondents to rate their proficiency in speaking, understanding, writing and reading Ukrainian and English. Responses were coded on a 5 point scale from “1” for not at all” to 5 “for very much”, with total subscale scores ranging from 1 to 5.

In past research (Ying Lee, Tsai, Yeh, Huang,. 2000) the GEQ has demonstrated good internal consistency reliabilities ( $\alpha = .73$  to  $.94$ ). In previous research with ethnic groups, the coefficient *alphas* for the AIQ were found to be  $.88$  (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) and  $.75$  (Neto, 2002). Cronbach’s *alphas* for the total Ukrainian and total Canadian Acculturation scales (21 items) in the current sample were  $\alpha = .94$  and  $\alpha = .89$ , respectively. For the subscales the reliability estimates were as follows: Ukrainian behaviour (12 items,  $\alpha = .90$ ), Canadian behaviour (12 items,  $\alpha = .86$ ), Ukrainian language (4 items,  $\alpha = .90$ ), English language (4 items,  $\alpha = .76$ ), Ukrainian identity (5 items,  $\alpha = .80$ ), Canadian identity (5 items,  $\alpha = .83$ ).

*Perceived Social Support.* The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet & Farley, 1988) was used in an adapted format to assess perceived emotional social support from three different sources: Social Support from Ukrainian Friends, Social Support from Canadian Friends, and Social Support from Neighbours (Appendix G). Each 4-item subscale asked respondents about level of perceived support on a six-point scale ranging from ‘strongly disagree’ “1” to ‘strongly agree’ “6” with higher scores reflecting greater perceived support. Scores for the total perceived social support scale could therefore range from 12-72 and from 4 to 24 for each

of the subscales. The MSPSS has demonstrated excellent internal consistency, with *alphas* of .91 for the total scale and .90 to .95 for the subscales and good test-retest reliability (Zimet et al. 1988). The Cronbach's *alphas* for Social Support from Ukrainian Friends (4 items), Social Support from Canadian Friends (4 items) and Social Support from Neighbours (4 items) in the current study were  $\alpha = .95$ ,  $\alpha = .93$ , and  $\alpha = .93$ , respectively. Cronbach's *alpha* for the Total Social Support scale (12 items) in the current study was  $\alpha = .85$ .

*Religiosity.* The 10-item Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire (SCSORF) (Plante & Boccaccini, 1997) and one item from the Duke Religious Index (DUREL) (Koenig et al., 1997) were used to measure Total Religiosity (Appendix H). More specifically, participants' degree of private religious behaviour, or Non-Organizational Religiosity, was assessed using the SCSORF. Items measured respondents' strength of religious faith regardless of denomination (e.g., "My religious faith is extremely important to me"), and were scored using a six-point scale ranging from 'strongly disagree' "1" to 'strongly agree' "6". Past findings have indicated a coefficient alpha of .95 and a split-half reliability of  $\alpha = .92$  for the SCSORF (Plante & Boccaccini, 1997).

Participants' degree of public religious behaviour, or Organizational Religiosity, was assessed using one item from the Duke University Religious Index (DUREL). The DUREL is a five-item scale designed to capture the major aspects of the importance of religion in an individual's life (i.e., organizational and non-organizational religious involvement) (Koenig, Parkerson, Meador, 1997; Sherman, Simonton, Adams, Latif, Plante, Burns, Poling, 2001). Participants were asked to rate their degree of

organizational religious involvement (e.g., church attendance) on a six-point scale, ranging from ‘never’ “1” to ‘more than once a week’ “6”. A Total Religiosity score was computed for each participant by summing their responses for the ten items of the Santa Clara Strength of Religious Faith Questionnaire and the one item from the Duke Religious Index (DUREL), with total scores ranging from 11 to 66. Cronbach’s *alpha* for the Total Religiosity scale (11 items) in the current study was  $\alpha = .95$ .

*Sense of Community.* The 8-item Brief Sense of Community Index (BSCI) developed by Perkins and Long (2002) was used in an adapted format to assess participants’ sense of community with respect to two referent communities (Appendix I). The Ukrainian Sense of Community scale consisted of eight statements, asking the participants about their sense of community with respect to the local Ukrainian ethnic community (e.g., “I have almost no influence on what the local Ukrainian ethnic community is like”). The Canadian Sense of Community scale consisted of eight statements asking the participants about their sense of community with respect to their neighbourhood (e.g., “I have almost no influence on what my neighbourhood is like”). Responses for all items were scored on a five-point scale with a high score indicating a strong psychological sense of community. Total scores for Ukrainian and Canadian Sense of Community scales could therefore range from 8 to 40. Previous research with the BSCI showed internal consistency with an *alpha* of .74 for the total scale (Perkins & Long, 2002)). Cronbach’s *alphas* for Ukrainian Sense of Community (8 items) and Canadian Sense of Community (8 items) in the current study were  $\alpha = .82$  and  $\alpha = .83$ , respectively.

### *Procedure*

A community-based sample of second-generation Ukrainians was recruited using non-probability, purposive sampling. In order to be included in the study, participants had to be over the age of 18 and living in the Ottawa area for 12 months prior to responding to the questionnaire. Participants were recruited through advertisements in a wide range of local newspapers, postings and flyers distributed at local schools, community centres and churches in the Ottawa area. Respondents were also recruited through personal contact at local community events and through a “snowball” procedure involving local Ukrainian religious and community leaders.

Once the voluntary, confidential, and anonymous nature of the study was discussed, any questions participants had were answered. A survey method involving standardized self-administered questionnaire was employed. Participants were given the option to fill out the questionnaire in either a web-based (n=83, 64%) or a paper and pencil format (n=47, 36%). The questionnaire required between 45 minutes to 1 hour to complete. All measures were administered in English (see Appendix A).

## Results

### *Data Preparation*

In preparation for conducting analyses for Study 1 and Study 2, dissertation data used in both studies were screened for accuracy of entry and missing values. The missing data appeared to be randomly scattered and the rate of missing data was between 0 and 5% for all cases. Missing values were estimated using a single imputation within the SPSS MVA program. With respect to the assumption of univariate normality, skewness and kurtosis as well as histograms were inspected on all study variables. For those

distributions that departed from normality, transformations were performed using either square root or logarithmic transformations, where appropriate. Cases were considered univariate outliers if they exceeded  $z = 3.29$  ( $p < .001$ , two-tailed) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Overall, few univariate outliers in the data set were found  $n < 10$  and there were no univariate outliers following the variable transformations. Additionally, following each hierarchical multiple regression conducted, Mahalanobis distance was verified to identify multivariate outliers; none were identified. Residual scatterplots were assessed to confirm that assumptions of linearity and homoscedasticity were met. Kurtosis for all variables was below 10.0. In order to rule out the problems of singularity and multicollinearity, Pearson correlations were evaluated. All variables included within the same hierarchical multiple regression had a bi-variate Pearson correlation below .85 and none had a tolerance value lower than .10.

### *Overview of the Analyses*

The following section reviews the descriptive statistics of the variables used in the current study. Secondly, statistically significant bivariate correlations between study variables are presented. Thirdly, a series of multiple regression analyses examining the relationship between predictors and sense of community outcomes is described.

### *Preliminary Analyses*

#### *Descriptive Statistics*

Preliminary descriptive analyses were carried out to explore the overall levels of acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, the levels of Ukrainian and Canadian acculturation across the dimensions of identity, behaviour and language, the overall level of perceived social support as well as perceived social support with respect to three

sources (Ukrainian friends, Canadian friends and neighbours), the total level of religiosity, as well as non-organizational religiosity and organizational religiosity. Finally, the participants' level of Ukrainian and Canadian sense of community were explored. Table 1 presents means, standard deviations, ranges and transformations (where appropriate) for variables used in the study.

*Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures.* The participants reported moderately high levels of acculturation to both Ukrainian and Canadian cultures. A paired samples t-test was conducted to determine whether there was a significant difference in mean levels of Canadian acculturation and Ukrainian acculturation. Results showed that the mean for overall Canadian acculturation ( $M=105.66$ ,  $SD=11.62$ ) was significantly greater than the mean for overall Ukrainian acculturation ( $M=85.85$ ,  $SD=19.15$ ),  $t(129)=-9.67$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Paired-samples t-tests were performed to investigate whether there were significant differences between the three domains of acculturation, for Ukrainian and Canadian cultures respectively. A Bonferroni adjustment was used to control for Type 1 error, and statistical significance was defined as a  $p$  value of less than  $.05/3$  (.017) for the paired-samples t- tests. Results indicated that Canadian identity ( $M=5.35$ ,  $SD=.73$ ) was not significantly different from Ukrainian identity ( $M=5.13$ ,  $SD=.86$ ),  $t(129)=-2.16$ ,  $p > .05$  with Bonferroni correction. However, both Canadian behavioural and Canadian language acculturation were significantly greater than their Ukrainian counterparts, such that Canadian behaviour ( $M=4.91$ ,  $SD=.76$ ) was significantly greater than Ukrainian behaviour ( $M=3.64$ ,  $SD=1.09$ ),  $t(129)=10.61$ ,  $p < .001$ , and English language ( $M=4.99$ ,

$SD = .10$ ) was significantly greater than Ukrainian language ( $M = 4.12$ ,  $SD = .90$ ),  $t(129) = -11.07$ ,  $p < .001$ .

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was then conducted to determine whether there was a significant difference between the means for the Ukrainian acculturation domains of identity, behavioural and language. Results indicated a significant main effect,  $F(1.72, 222.25) = 236.09$ ,  $p < .001$ . Bonferroni corrected post hoc paired samples t-test indicated that Ukrainian identity acculturation ( $M = 5.13$ ,  $SD = .86$ ) was significantly greater than both Ukrainian behavioural acculturation ( $M = 3.64$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ )  $t(129) = 25.81$ ,  $p < .001$ , and Ukrainian language acculturation ( $M = 4.12$ ,  $SD = .90$ )  $t(129) = 14.83$ ,  $p < .001$ . Furthermore, Ukrainian language acculturation ( $M = 4.12$ ,  $SD = .90$ ) was significantly greater than Ukrainian behavioural acculturation ( $M = 3.64$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ )  $t(129) = 5.82$ ,  $p < .001$ .

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was likewise performed to investigate whether there was a significant difference between the means for the Canadian acculturation dimensions of identity, behavioural and language. Results indicated a significant main effect,  $F(2, 258) = 26.67$ ,  $p < .001$ . Bonferroni corrected post hoc paired samples t-test demonstrated that Canadian identity acculturation ( $M = 5.35$ ,  $SD = .73$ ) was significantly greater than both Canadian behavioural acculturation ( $M = 4.91$ ,  $SD = .76$ ),  $t(129) = 7.02$ ,  $p < .001$ , and English language acculturation ( $M = 4.99$ ,  $SD = .10$ ),  $t(129) = 5.69$ ,  $p < .001$ . However, Canadian behavioural acculturation ( $M = 4.91$ ,  $SD = .76$ ) did not differ significantly from English language acculturation ( $M = 4.99$ ,  $SD = .10$ ),  $t(129) = -1.11$ ,  $p > .05$ .

*Perceived social support.* With respect to levels of perceived social support, respondents reported experiencing moderate levels of overall social support, support from neighbours, support from Ukrainian and support from Canadian friends. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to examine whether there was a significant difference between the means for perceived social support from Ukrainian friends, Canadian friends and neighbours. Results indicated a significant main effect,  $F(1.89, 243.14) = 71.85, p < .001$ . Bonferroni corrected post hoc paired samples t-tests indicated that social support from Ukrainian friends ( $M=18.16, SD=5.44$ ) was significantly greater than social support from neighbours ( $M=12.37, SD=5.50$ ),  $t(129) = 9.13, p < .001$ , but did not differ significantly from social support from Canadian friends ( $M=18.49, SD=4.70$ ),  $t(129) = .579, p > .05$ . Furthermore, social support from Canadian friends ( $M=18.49, SD=4.70$ ) was significantly greater than social support from neighbours ( $M=12.37, SD=5.50$ ),  $t(129) = 11.98, p < .001$ .

*Religiosity.* Second-generation Ukrainians reported moderate levels of religiosity overall. The mean for participants' level of non-organizational religiosity was  $M=44.56$ , ( $SD=14.23$ ). The mean for respondents' level of organizational religiosity was  $M=3.86$ , ( $SD=1$ ).

*Sense of community.* With respect to sense of community, respondents experienced a moderate level of sense of community in both cultural community contexts. A paired samples t-test was conducted to evaluate whether there was a significant difference in mean levels of Ukrainian sense of community and Canadian sense of community. The results indicated that the mean for Ukrainian sense of

community ( $M=26.15$ ,  $SD=5.38$ ) was not significantly different from the mean for Canadian sense of community ( $M=25.22$ ,  $SD=5.14$ ),  $t(129)=1.44$ ,  $p > .05$ .

#### *Intercorrelations Among Study Variables*

*Relations between demographic and study variables.* Preliminary correlational analyses were conducted to assess the relationships among the demographic variables and the variables used in the study (Table 2). Gender was negatively associated with Ukrainian sense of community ( $r = -.21$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and negatively associated with Ukrainian behavioural acculturation ( $r = -.25$ ,  $p < .01$ ), such that women were more likely to report lower Ukrainian behavioural acculturation and to experience lower ethnic sense of community. Moreover, age was significantly associated with greater Canadian identity acculturation ( $r = .24$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and greater Canadian sense of community ( $r = .19$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Thus, older participants were more likely to endorse higher levels of Canadian identity acculturation and to experience a greater sense of community with reference to their neighbourhoods. A third demographic variable, participants' birthplace, (Canadian-born, Foreign-born), was positively associated with Canadian sense of community ( $r = .21$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and with age ( $r = .66$ ,  $p < .01$ ), indicating that those individuals who were foreign-born and came to Canada with their parents by the age of 7, tended to be older than those who were born in Canada and were more likely to experience a greater Canadian sense of community.

*Intercorrelations among perceived social support variables.* The three perceived social support variables were significantly positively related to each other, yet relatively independent, with the highest correlations among them being ( $r = .33$ ,  $p < .01$ ) (Canadian friend and neighbour).

*Intercorrelations among organizational and non-organizational dimensions of religiosity.* The two dimensions of religiosity, (i.e., organizational and non-organizational) were also significantly positively associated ( $r = .72, p < .01$ ).

*Intercorrelations among Ukrainian and Canadian sense of community.* Finally, Ukrainian and Canadian sense of community were not significantly associated ( $r = .04, ns$ ).

*Intercorrelations among acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures.* Patterns of acculturation in the sample were assessed by examining the relative independence or “orthogonality” of acculturation to the two cultures for the total acculturation scores and for each of the acculturation dimensions (i.e., Ukrainian and Canadian language, Ukrainian and Canadian behaviour, Ukrainian and Canadian identity) (Birman, Trickett and Buchanan, 2005 ). To examine the “orthogonality” of acculturation in the two cultures, correlational analyses were carried out in order to determine the relationship between parallel acculturation variables (e.g., Ukrainian and Canadian identity). Results demonstrated that identity ( $r = -.06, ns$ ), language ( $r = -.14, ns$ ) and behavioural ( $r = -.06, ns$ ) dimensions of acculturation to the two cultures appeared to be orthogonal. This was also reflected in the overall acculturation scores ( $r = -.10, ns$ ) for Ukrainian and Canadian cultures.

With respect to multidimensionality, intercorrelations among the separate acculturation dimensions (identity, behaviour and language) for each of the two cultures were also conducted (Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005). For Ukrainian acculturation, identity and language were significantly positively correlated ( $r = .61, p < .01$ ). Moreover, behavioural acculturation had positive correlations with other dimensions ranging from  $r$

= .58,  $p < .01$  with language, to  $r = .81$ ,  $p < .01$  with identity. For Canadian acculturation, identity and language were not related ( $r = .02$ , *ns*) and behavioural acculturation demonstrated correlations ranging from  $r = .14$ , *ns* with language, to  $r = .56$ ,  $p < .01$  with identity.

### *Principal Analyses*

#### *Correlates of Sense of Community*

*Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures and sense of community.* With respect to acculturation to ethnic culture, overall Ukrainian acculturation was positively associated with greater Ukrainian sense of community ( $r = .75$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Moreover, with regard to acculturation to Canadian culture, overall Canadian acculturation was positively associated with greater Canadian sense of community ( $r = .22$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

*Perceived social support, religiosity and sense of community.* There was also a positive relationship between overall social support and Canadian sense of community ( $r = .41$ ,  $p < .01$ ). In terms of social support from different sources, results suggested a positive association between social support from neighbours ( $r = .50$ ,  $p < .01$ ) as well as social support from Canadian friends ( $r = .32$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and Canadian sense of community. Furthermore, social support from Ukrainian friends was positively associated with greater Ukrainian sense of community ( $r = .38$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

A positive association was found between religiosity and Ukrainian sense of community ( $r = .21$ ,  $p < .05$ ) as well as religiosity and Canadian sense of community ( $r = .20$ ,  $p < .05$ ), suggesting that increased religiosity was related to greater sense of community both with respect to the Ukrainian and Canadian community contexts.

#### *Predictors of Sense of Community*

Two hierarchical multiple regression analyses were performed to investigate the impact of demographic factors, overall acculturation to ethnic and host cultures, overall perceived social support and religiosity upon the two criterion variables: Ukrainian sense of community and Canadian sense of community. In both multiple regressions conducted, covariates consisted of the following three demographic variables: age, gender and place of birth were entered at Step 1; (for gender, 0= male, 1= female; for birthplace 0= Canadian born 1=foreign-born). Because participants' reports of the length of residence in Ottawa did not correlate significantly with either the criterion or the predictor variables in the study, this variable was not included as a covariate.

Following the entry of the demographic variables at Step 1, overall acculturation to ethnic and host cultures, overall perceived social support and religiosity were entered at Step 2. The results of the two hierarchical multiple regression analyses are presented in Tables 3 (Ukrainian sense of community) and 4 (Canadian sense of community). Post hoc multiple regression analyses were carried out in order to investigate acculturation and social support at a more differentiated level. Results of these secondary multiple regression analyses are presented in Tables 5 (Ukrainian sense of community) as well as Table 6 (Canadian sense of community).

*Predictors of Ukrainian sense of community.* Fifty nine percent (59%) of the variance in Ukrainian sense of community was accounted for by all predictor variables, ( $R^2_{\text{total}} = .59$ ,  $F(7,122) = 24.76$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (Table 3). Demographic variables (i.e., age, gender and birthplace) at Step 1 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .07$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 3.28$ ,  $p < .05$ ) were significant predictors of Ukrainian sense of community. This was primarily attributable to gender, which accounted for 5% of unique variance in Ukrainian sense of Community ( $p < .05$ )

and birthplace, which accounted for 3% of unique variance in Ukrainian sense of Community ( $p = .05$ ) at Step 1. In Step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .52$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 37.98$ ,  $p < .001$ ), overall Ukrainian acculturation accounted for 45% of unique variance in Ukrainian sense of community ( $p < .001$ ). Thus, respondents who were foreign-born, who were male, and who reported greater levels of overall Ukrainian acculturation, reported significantly greater Ukrainian sense of community.

*Predictors of Ukrainian sense of community: post hoc analysis.* In order to investigate the Ukrainian acculturation construct at a more differentiated level, a secondary hierarchical multiple regression analysis was performed using the three distinct aspects of Ukrainian Acculturation (Language, Identity, and Behavioural Acculturation) rather than the overall Ukrainian Acculturation score in the hierarchical multiple regression (Trickett & Birman, 2005; Jones & Trickett, 2005). Because none of the other demographic variables were significantly associated with either the criterion or the predictor variables, only gender was retained as a covariate for the regression analysis.

Fifty nine percent (59%) of the variance in Ukrainian sense of community was accounted for by all predictor variables, ( $R^2_{\text{total}} = .59$ ,  $F(4, 125) = 45.07$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (Table 5). The demographic variable of gender at Step 1 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .04$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 5.81$ ,  $p < .05$ ) was a significant predictor and accounted for 4% of unique variance in Ukrainian sense of Community ( $p < .05$ ) (Table 5). In Step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .55$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 55.68$ ,  $p < .001$ ), Ukrainian identity acculturation accounted for 2% of unique variance in Ukrainian sense of Community ( $p < .05$ ) and Ukrainian behavioural acculturation accounted for 9% of unique variance in Ukrainian sense of Community ( $p < .001$ ). These results suggest that participants who were male, and who reported higher Ukrainian identity and Ukrainian

behavioural acculturation, experienced significantly greater Ukrainian sense of community.

*Predictors of Canadian sense of community.* Twenty seven percent (27%) of the variance in Canadian sense of community was accounted for by all predictor variables, ( $R^2_{\text{total}} = .27$ ,  $F(7,122) = 6.490$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (Table 4). None of the demographic variables (i.e., age, gender and birthplace) predicted Canadian sense of community in Step 1 (Table 4). In Step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .22$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 9.13$ ,  $p < .001$ ), overall social support accounted for 10% of unique variance in Canadian sense of community ( $p < .001$ ) and religiosity accounted for 4% of unique variance in Canadian sense of Community ( $p < .05$ ). Therefore, second-generation Ukrainians who reported higher overall social support and greater religiosity experienced significantly greater Canadian sense of community.

*Predictors of Canadian sense of community: post hoc analysis.* Additionally, in order to examine the independent contributions of different sources of social support to Canadian sense of community, a secondary hierarchical multiple regression was run using the three sources of social support (Canadian friend, neighbour and Ukrainian friend) rather than the overall social support score (Trickett & Birman, 2005). Because age and birthplace were the only two demographic variables that were significantly associated with either the criterion or the predictor variables they were retained as covariates for the regression analysis.

Thirty four percent (34%) of the variance in Canadian sense of community was accounted for by all predictor variables, ( $R^2_{\text{total}} = .34$ ,  $F(5,124) = 12.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ) (Table 6). The demographic variables (i.e., age and birthplace) ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .05$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 3.24$ ,  $p < .05$ ) were significant predictors of Canadian sense of community at Step 1. Neither age

nor birthplace, however, accounted for a significant percentage of unique variance in Canadian sense of Community at Step 1. In step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .29$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 18.00$ ,  $p < .001$ ), social support from Canadian friends accounted for 4% of unique variance in Canadian sense of community ( $p < .05$ ) and social support from neighbours accounted for 17% of unique variance in Canadian sense of Community ( $p < .001$ ). In other words, participants who reported higher social support from Canadian friends and from neighbours experienced significantly greater Canadian sense of community.

### Discussion

The current study investigated the relationships between sense of community, acculturation, social support and religiosity among second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. In keeping with past research that has argued for a broadening of the conceptualization of an individual's sense of community to include *multiple* communities (Brodsky, Looms & Marx, 2002; Loomis, 2001), both Ukrainian sense of community and Canadian sense of community were examined.

#### *Ukrainian and Canadian Sense of Community*

With respect to the mean levels of sense of community in this sample, there was no normative information available for the newly adapted Ukrainian sense of community scale. Nevertheless, with respect to both Ukrainian and Canadian contexts, the findings suggested that participants experienced moderate levels of sense of community at levels comparable to the norms provided by the authors of the original instrument (Perkins & Long, 2002). Furthermore, the data showed no significant differences in the mean levels of Ukrainian sense of community and Canadian sense of community, suggesting that as a

group the second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians were relatively balanced with respect to their level of ingroup and outgroup sense of community.

Additionally, a non-significant correlation between Ukrainian and Canadian dimensions of sense of community, indicative of an orthogonal relationship was obtained, suggesting that experiencing a high or low level of Ukrainian sense of community did not preclude experiencing a high or low level of Canadian sense of community and that the scales measuring each of the senses of community were assessing community outcomes in different domains. In past research that measured sense of community with respect to two referent groups (Pretty, Andrews & Collett, 1994), results revealed that neighbourhood and school sense of community were significantly related ( $r = .31, p < .01$ ). In contrast to the current sample, however, in Pretty, Andrews and Collett's (1994) research there was some overlap in membership across community contexts.

In general, the findings describing sense of community are consistent with the notion of immigrants' multiple community membership (Goldstein, 2003; Sonn, 2002) and confirm that adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians can maintain multiple senses of community, thereby highlighting the relevance of describing and comparing multiple senses of community in future studies with immigrant groups. It remains to be determined, however, whether this pattern of results regarding the relationship between the two senses of community can be generalized to other immigrant samples. Further studies are needed, for example, to explore whether a similar orthogonal pattern between ethnic and neighbourhood senses of community would be observed in recent immigrants, in individuals from other generations, or in other immigrant groups in Canada (e.g., visible minorities). The exploration of multiple sense of community in immigrant

samples where ethnic and neighbourhood sense of community are negatively related, where membership in the communities overlaps, or where overall levels of sense of community differ in the two spheres of community life, represent important directions for future research.

With respect to demographic factors that contributed to the level of sense of community that the participants' experienced, the present research found that, as in other studies, age, nativity and gender were implicated. Firstly, with regard to gender, women were more likely to experience a lower sense of community in their local Ukrainian community. This finding is generally consistent with other studies demonstrating that sense of community differs between men and women in some contexts (Pretty & McCarthy, 1991), and that sense of community was lower in adolescent females compared to males (Zani, Cicognani, & Albanesi, 2001). Whereas the local Ukrainian community in Ottawa has a number of men's leagues, sports teams, as well as political or fraternal organizations, significantly fewer Ukrainian social and community clubs are available that cater specifically to the community needs women. Moreover, community activities of Ukrainian women's organizations have typically centered on carrying out the more utilitarian tasks involved in putting on large communal events (e.g., Ukrainian school concerts). Further, given the traditionally patriarchal nature of both Ukrainian culture (Newhouse, 2005) and of the Catholic Church, many of the important decisions regarding the local ethnic community have traditionally been made by its male leaders (e.g., priests). Therefore, women may feel they have significantly less influence, compared to men, over what the local ethnic community is like, and thus feel a lower sense of community.

Secondly, with respect to age and nativity, older participants were more likely to experience a greater sense of community with reference to their neighbourhoods. This finding is generally in line with previous evidence in the literature demonstrating that neighbourhood sense of community increases with years of residence in the community for non-immigrants (Chavis, Hogge, McMillan & Wandersman, 1986; Pretty et al., 1996; Prezza, Amici et al., 2001; Skjaveland, Garling & Maeland, 1996) and with increased age in immigrants (Sagy, Stern & Krakover, 1996). Older or retired individuals may have more leisure time to derive various benefits from community resources found in their neighbourhoods, and therefore report a greater sense of community.

#### *Predictors of Sense of Community*

Review of the relevant studies on the topic of immigrant adjustment at the community level suggested that acculturation, as well as social and personal resources, such as social support and religiosity, were important variables for consideration in investigating immigrants' psychological sense of community.

*Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures and sense of community.* With respect to acculturation, overall Ukrainian acculturation was found to be a positive predictor of Ukrainian sense of community. This result corroborates qualitative studies conducted by Sonn and colleagues (e.g., Fisher & Sonn, 1999; Sonn, 2002; Sonn & Fisher, 1996, 1998; Sonn, Bustello, & Fisher, 1998) demonstrating that ethnic acculturation promotes one's sense of membership in the ethnic community.

Further analyses demonstrated that Ukrainian behavioural acculturation was predictive of more positive Ukrainian sense of community. This finding is generally in accord with non-immigrant research indicating that active participation in community life

is related to greater sense of community (Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Davidson & Cotter, 1989, 1997). Moreover, the benefits of Ukrainian behavioural acculturation for ethnic sense of community can be explained by a number of factors. As several authors have noted (Sonn, 2002; Lizak, 2004) behavioural acculturation (i.e., participation in cultural activities) is an important way in which immigrants can be linked to their country of origin and feel part of a local ethnic community. Moreover, participation in shared historical events, such as cultural holidays, heritage commemorations and celebrations has been identified by immigrants as important to their sense of community in the local ethnic community (Sonn, et al. 1998).

In addition to behavioural acculturation, Ukrainian identity acculturation also appeared to have an adaptive value in maintaining and strong Ukrainian sense of community. These finding also support the conclusions of previous qualitative research conducted with Ukrainians in Canada (Lizak, 2004), who found that a strong sense of one's ethnic identity as well as members' identification with symbols, signs or symbolic gestures related to the culture of origin increased their ethnic sense of community.

While Ukrainian acculturation and Canadian acculturation did not significantly predict Canadian sense of community in the current sample, the present study did not include additional variables, such as information regarding the ethnic density of the respondents' neighbourhoods. Given that past research has suggested that the relationship between acculturation and sense of community in the host context may vary depending on ethnic density (Birman, Trickett and Buchanan, 2005; Elliot, 2001), such community characteristics may be important factors to consider, particularly in further studies of

immigrant populations residing in larger urban centers or in geographic areas with greater variability in ethnic density across neighbourhoods.

Additionally, existing research has supported the notion that the determinant factors underlying sense of community may vary for different groups (Sagy, Stern & Krakover, 1996). On this basis, it is suggested that future researchers examine the relationship between bidimensional measures acculturation and multiple community referents in immigrant samples where an orthogonal relationship between indices of acculturation and/or sense of community is not observed. It is possible, for instance, that a different pattern of predictors of sense of community could emerge in a group of recent immigrants, particularly if acculturation to ethnic culture is negatively associated with acculturation to host culture in the recent immigrant sample. For example, in the event of cultural incompatibility, greater acculturation to the ethnic culture may be a negative predictor of sense of community with respect to one's neighbourhood (e.g., if the participant is unable to speak the English language and all members of the neighbourhood are English speakers). Alternatively, greater acculturation to the host culture may be a negative predictor of sense of community within the local ethnic community (e.g., if respondents' participation is impeded by lack of ethnic language proficiency or knowledge of the local ethnic customs).

*Perceived social support and sense of community.* With regard to the relationship between perceived social support and sense of community, overall social support was found to be a significant predictor of greater Canadian sense of community. Further analyses demonstrated that both social support from Canadian friends and from neighbours contributed to Canadian sense of community. These findings are consistent

with the positive associations reported in the mainstream community psychology literature between sense of community and perceived emotional social support from friends (Zani, Elvira, Cicognani & Albanesi, 2001) as well as neighbourhood relations (Farrell, Aubry, & Coulumbe, 2004; Prezza, Amici, Roberti, Tedeschi, 2001). The results serve to highlight the importance of social resources in one's neighbourhood for the positive adaptation of immigrants in their host community. However, by measuring support from multiple sources, the current research also expands past findings by suggesting that the friendships that immigrants develop with members of the dominant society, beyond the boundaries of their neighbourhood, may also contribute to their degree of neighbourhood sense of community.

In contrast, whereas social support from Ukrainian friends was significantly positively correlated with Ukrainian sense of community, overall social support was not found to be a significant predictor of Ukrainian sense of community. This result is contrary to previous findings with immigrants suggesting that socializing in ethnic group settings with co-ethnic friends increases immigrants' ethnic sense of community (Sagy, Stern & Krakover, 1996; Trickett & Birman, 2005; Sonn & Fisher, 1996; Sonn, Bustello, & Fisher, 1998). Although the reasons for this result are not clear, this finding is in line with those reported by Pretty et al.'s (1996), suggesting that while some social support dimensions correlate with sense of community, they do not explain a significant portion of the variance. Moreover, given that the present research was limited to the assessment of perceived social support, investigation of the quantity and frequency of social interaction may be fruitful in order to provide a fuller understanding of how social resources are related to the quality of ethnic community life.

*Religiosity and sense of community.* In terms of the relationship between religiosity and sense of community, religiosity was found to be significantly positively correlated with Ukrainian sense of community. This correlational finding corroborates the results of previous quantitative studies examining sense of community in religious contexts (Maton & Rappaport, 1984; Miers & Fisher, 2002) and the results of qualitative research conducted on sense of community among Ukrainian Catholic young adults, demonstrating that public religious participation figured largely in young adults' descriptions of Ukrainian Catholic sense of community (Lizak, 2004).

The result that religiosity was not a significant predictor of Ukrainian sense of community, however, is surprising, given both the moderately high levels of church attendance and non-organizational religiosity among the participants, as well as the vital role that churches have played in maintaining Ukrainian communities and in providing a range of resources for recent and later-generation Ukrainian-Canadians (Yuzyk, 1981). One explanation for the lack of significant findings is the different manner in which ethnic sense of community has been operationalized across studies. Whereas in previous studies (e.g., Lizak, 2004) the participants were questioned regarding their sense of community in a specific religious setting i.e., “the Ukrainian Catholic community”, ethnic sense of community in the current study was defined in broader terms: “the local Ukrainian community” and was therefore not limited to a specific religious parish.

Furthermore, although few studies have examined religiosity with regard to individuals' neighbourhood sense of community, the positive association found between religiosity and Canadian sense of community is generally consistent with research suggesting that religiosity may increase general well-being in non-immigrant (Bergin,

1983; Lea, 1982; Witter et al., 1985) and immigrant (Farver, et al., 2002 ; Harker, 2001; Zhou, 1997; Levin, Chatters & Taylor, 1995) populations. For instance, Jarvis, Kirmayer, Weinfeld & Lasry (2005) examined the relationship between religious practice and psychological distress in a sample composed of five ethnocultural groups and found that overall attendance at religious services was associated with lower psychological distress. Moreover, in Harker's (2001) study examining the link between immigrant generation and adolescent well-being, frequency of private prayer predicted positive outcome.

One rationale provided for the link between religiosity and positive adjustment outcomes, including greater sense of community, is that religiosity may function by providing individuals with social connections to other community members (Koenig, 1992) as well as promoting community cohesion by uniting people around shared values and common understandings (Schumaker, 1992). Religiosity may also have a self-protective function (Blaine, & Crocker, 1995; Bradley, 1995; Ellison & George, 1994) or offer a resource to offset neighbourhood-related frustrations, thereby contributing to immigrants' adaptation and stronger sense of community in the neighbourhood. It is important to note, however, that the effect size for this result was small, suggesting that although religiosity can be supportive to immigrants' sense of community with respect to the outgroup it is not critical to attaining a positive sense of community outcome. Finally, community psychology has been criticized for its historical exclusion of religiosity in research on sense of community (Kloos & Moore, 2000; Walsh-Bowers, 2000), leading researchers such as Hill (2000) to suggest that there is a critical need for further integration of spirituality into community psychology in general, and into research on sense of community, in particular. The results regarding the link between religiosity and

Canadian sense of community, therefore, provide some preliminary empirical support for this argument.

### *Conclusions and Limitations*

In summary, the identified associations between the variables of interest in the current research point to the complexity inherent in studying multiple community membership in immigrant groups. Overall, the pattern of findings suggested that whereas acculturation was more important in explaining variations in sense of community with regard to adult second-generation Ukrainians' local ethnic community, social and personal resources were more important in explaining variations in sense of community with respect to participants' neighbourhoods. Thus, by assessing sense of community in more than one setting simultaneously, the study was able to improve on some of the limitations of prior research with adult immigrant samples, where measurement of sense of community was focused exclusively on the participants' sense of community in the ethnic cultural setting, or where immigrants' sense of community in the host community context was not considered.

By including measures of acculturation to both Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, the current study was able to provide a more differentiated picture of the antecedents of immigrants' sense of community than has been found to date in previous studies on sense of community in the ethnic community context among Ukrainian-Canadians (e.g., Lizak, 2004). Further, the analyses highlighted the importance of considering multiple sources of perceived social support (Canadian friend, Ukrainian friend and neighbour), as well as the role of religiosity, when examining the relationship between these constructs and sense of community outcomes. To date, these personal and social resources have largely

been examined as correlates of sense of community in non-immigrant adult populations (Vieno, Santinello, Pastore & Perkins, 2007). The present research thus expanded this line of investigation to an immigrant adult population.

While this study advances our understanding of the adjustment of Ukrainian-Canadians in the community domain of life, a number of study limitations must also be noted. First, 'Canadian' sense of community was measured with reference to the participants' neighbourhoods. In larger cities, or in cities with different patterns of ethnic density, participants' neighbourhoods may contain a greater number of immigrants than members of the host society, or may contain a high percentage of individuals from another minority group. Indeed, researchers such as Hill (1996) and Roussi, Rapti & Kiosseoglou (2006) have argued that future research on sense of community must take into account community level variables as correlates of sense of community, including characteristics of the community settings themselves (e.g., population size, ethnic density).

Second, the measurement of sense of community in this research was limited to 'actual' sense of community, at one point in time. Interesting directions for future research could include the assessment of 'actual' versus 'desired' sense of community, as well as the study of fluxuations in respondents' sense of community in response to a collective threat facing the community, or of changes in participants' sense of community longitudinally (e.g., starting from the time of immigration, in research conducted with recent migrant samples) (Hill, 1996).

Third, other characteristics, such as respondents' experiences of ingroup and outgroup personal discrimination, or how important it is for an individual to feel a sense

of community in a particular setting, may also have an influence on immigrants' sense of community with respect to the ethnic and host contexts (Jones & Trickett, 2005), and therefore should also be examined in future research.

Fourth, studies of neighbourhood sense of community have shown that sense of community may vary at different times of life. For example, sense of community has been shown to decrease from early to late adolescence as young people achieve greater autonomy and have the desire to explore larger areas (Pretty et al., 1996). The application of such a developmental approach to the study of sense of community among immigrants (e.g., elderly, adolescents) could represent another important area for further study.

Finally, it is important to note that the results obtained in the present study describe factors that may be related to only two of the many possible senses of community Ukrainian-Canadians may experience. Indeed, according to Wiesenfeld (1996) yet another way to conceptualize multiple psychological sense of community is to think of individuals as belonging to a series of nested communities (i.e., subcommunities within communities). Researchers have begun to address the issue of multiple psychological senses of community in nested subcommunities and to look at the relationship between the senses of community experienced within each level of community (Brodsky & Marx, 2001; Royal & Rossi, 1996; Spann, 2001). For example, although the current sample was largely of the Ukrainian Catholic denomination (75%), many Ukrainian communities in Canada may be further subdivided into Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic parishes, or into several ethnic geographic subcommunities within one city, allowing for the possibility of investigations of "micro belonging" or multiple senses of community with respect to the Ukrainian ingroup. Thus,

while the inclusion of multiple measures of psychological sense of community when studying immigrant groups is compatible with a more ecologically valid approach to research (Perkins & Long, 2002), and seems to show promise as a means of providing a more sophisticated and comprehensive understanding of immigrant adaptation at the community level, future studies should also include subcommunities when taking into consideration the various relational and geographical contexts in which acculturation processes take place (Brodsky & Marx, 2001).

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Table 1

*Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Transformations for Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures, Perceived Social Support, Religiosity and Sense of Community (N = 130).*

Variable Name	M	SD	Range	Theoretical Range	Transformation
<u>Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures</u>					
Ukrainian Acculturation	85.85	19.15	39-121	21-122	--
Identity	5.13	.86	2.20-6	1-6	square root
Behavior	3.64	1.09	1.25-6	1-6	--
Language	4.12	.90	1-5	1-5	square root
Canadian Acculturation	105.66	11.62	66-122	21-122	square root
Identity	5.35	.73	2.60-6	1-6	logarithmic
Behavior	4.91	.76	2.50-6	1-6	square root
Language	4.99	.10	4-5	1-5	-- *
<u>Perceived Social Support</u>					
Total Social Support	49.50	10.81	12-72	12-72	--
Social Support Can. Friends	18.49	4.70	4-24	4-24	square root
Social Support Neighbors	12.37	5.50	4-24	4-24	--
Social Support Ukr. Friends	18.16	5.44	4-24	4-24	square root

*Note:* -- indicates that skewness and kurtosis were within acceptable limits, therefore, transformations were not performed. \*denotes that a ceiling effect was found due to high English language proficiency among second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians

Table 1 (continued)

*Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Transformations for Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures, Perceived Social Support, Religiosity and Sense of Community (N = 130).*

Variable Name	M	SD	Range	Theoretical Range	Transformation
<u>Religiosity</u>					
Total Religiosity	44.56	14.23	13-66	11-66	--
Non-Organizational	40.70	13.51	10-60	10-60	--
Organizational	3.86	1	2-6	1-6	--
<u>Sense of Community</u>					
Ukrainian Sense of Community	26.15	5.38	11-38	8-40	--
Canadian Sense of Community	25.22	5.14	9-37	8-40	--

*Note:* -- indicates that skewness and kurtosis were within acceptable limits, therefore, transformations were not performed.

Table 2

## Intercorrelations between Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures, Perceived Social Support, Religiosity and Sense of Community (N = 130).

Variable name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Ukrainian Acculturation	---	.89**	.97**	.72**	-.10	-.07	-.10	.07	.11	-.15	-.08	.42**	.29**	.28**	.28**	.75**	-.07
2. Ukrainian Identity	---	---	.81**	.61**	-.14	-.06	-.16	.03	.13	-.07	-.10	.42**	.28**	.28**	.24**	.68**	-.07
3. Ukrainian Behavior	---	---	---	.58**	-.06	-.05	-.06	.05	.12	-.17	-.03	.41**	.27**	.26**	.27**	.76**	-.06
4. Ukrainian Language	---	---	---	---	-.14	-.08	-.15	.14	-.02	-.11	-.20*	.25**	.22*	.21*	.21*	.43**	-.05
5. Canadian Acculturation	---	---	---	---	---	.74**	.96**	.14	.29**	.33**	.30**	.05	-.17*	-.18*	-.08	-.10	.22
6. Canadian Identity	---	---	---	---	---	---	.56**	.02	.35**	.42**	.26**	.12	-.10	-.10	.00	.01	.22
7. Canadian Behavior	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.14	.24**	.25**	.27**	.04	-.18*	-.18*	-.09	-.12	.20
8. Canadian Language	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.05	.00	.03	.10	.08	.08	.00	-.08	-.01
9. Total Social Support	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.70**	.73**	.65**	.17	.17	.10	.12	.41
10. SS Can Friend	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.33**	.25**	-.06	-.05	-.17*	-.08	.32
11. SS Neighbors	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.13	.05	.05	.08	-.08	.50
12. SS Ukr Friend	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.31**	---	.31**	.31**	.24**	.38**	.02
13. Total Religiosity	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.99**	.75**	.21*	.20*
14. Non-Org Religiosity	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.72**	.20*	.20*
15. Org Religiosity	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.22*	.17
16. Ukr Community	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.04
17. Can Community	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Note. \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; SS Can Friend = Social Support Canadian Friends; SS Neighbor = Social Support Ukrainian Friends; Non-Org Religiosity = Non-Organizational Religiosity; Org Religiosity = Organizational Religiosity; Ukr Community = Ukrainian Sense of Community; Can Community = Canadian Sense of Community

Table 3

*Hierarchical Regression of Total Perceived Social Support, Total Ukrainian**Acculturation, Total Canadian Acculturation and Total Religiosity on Ukrainian Sense**of Community (N = 130).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F (cha)
Step 1						.07	.05	.07	3.28*
Age	-.12	.09	-.15	-1.30	.01				
Gender	-2.48	.95	-.22	-2.60*	.05				
Birthplace	2.54	1.28	.22	1.98 <sup>+</sup>	.03				
Step 2						.59	.56	.52	37.98***
Total Social Support	.03	.03	.06	.89	.00				
Total Ukrainian Acculturation	.21	.02	.73	11.52***	.45				
Total Canadian Acculturation <sup>a</sup>	-.14	.25	-.04	-.55	.03				
Total Religiosity	-.00	.03	-.00	-.04	.00				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient; *t* = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry; *sr*<sup>2</sup> = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry; F value is that associated with change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry.

\**p* < 0.05; +*p* = 0.05; \*\**p* < 0.01; \*\*\**p* < 0.001

<sup>a</sup> Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Table 4

*Hierarchical Regression of Total Perceived Social Support, Total Ukrainian Acculturation, Total Canadian Acculturation and Total Religiosity on Canadian Sense of Community (N = 130).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	t	$sr^2$	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F (cha)
Step 1						.05	.03	.05	2.36
Age	.06	.09	.08	.73	.00				
Gender	.72	.92	.07	.78	.00				
Birthplace	1.57	1.23	.15	1.27	.01				
Step 2						.27	.23	.22	9.13***
Total Social Support	.17	.04	.35	4.17***	.10				
Total Ukrainian Acculturation	-.04	.02	-.16	-1.86	.02				
Total Canadian Acculturation <sup>a</sup>	.50	.31	-.14	1.60	.02				
Total Religiosity	.08	.03	.22	2.49*	.04				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient; t = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry;  $sr^2$  = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry; F value is that associated with change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry.

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

<sup>a</sup> Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Table 5

*Hierarchical Regression of Ukrainian Acculturation (Ukrainian Identity, Ukrainian Behavior and Ukrainian Language) on Ukrainian Sense of Community (N = 130).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	$sr^2$	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F (cha)
Step 1						.04	.04	.04	5.81*
Gender	-2.30	.95	-.21	-2.41*	.04				
Step 2						.59	.58	.55	55.68***
Ukrainian Identity <sup>a</sup>	4.38	1.88	.24	2.33*	.02				
Ukrainian Behavior	2.78	.53	.56	5.24***	.09				
Ukrainian Language <sup>a</sup>	-.48	1.30	-.03	-.37	.00				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient; *t* = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry;  $sr^2$  = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry; F value is that associated with change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry.

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

<sup>a</sup> Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Table 6

*Hierarchical Regression of Perceived Social Support from Canadian Friends, Neighbors and Ukrainian Friends on Canadian Sense of Community (N = 130).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F (cha)
Step 1						.05	.03	.05	3.24*
Age	.06	.09	.08	.73	.00				
Birthplace	1.57	1.23	.15	1.27	.01				
Step 2						.34	.31	.29	18.00***
Social Support Can. Friends <sup>a</sup>	1.18	.44	.22	2.69*	.04				
Social Support Neighbors	.42	.07	.44	5.71***	.17				
Social Support Ukr. Friends <sup>a</sup>	-.52	.40	-.10	-1.29	.01				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient; *t* = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry; *sr*<sup>2</sup> = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry; F value is that associated with change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry.

\**p* < 0.05; \*\**p* < 0.01; \*\*\**p* < 0.001

<sup>a</sup> Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Running Head: ACCULTURATION AND FAMILY ADJUSTMENT

Familism, Acculturation, Acculturative Family Hassles and Family Adjustment  
in Adult Second-Generation Ukrainian-Canadians

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### Abstract

The impact of acculturation variables (familism, acculturation to ethnic and host cultures) and acculturative family stressor variables (acculturative family hassles) on family adjustment was studied in adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians residing in Ottawa. A total of 130 participants completed a questionnaire regarding the above variables and family life satisfaction overall, as well as within three family subdomains: marital satisfaction, satisfaction with parents and satisfaction with children. Results indicated that both acculturation variables and acculturative stressor variables made significant and unique contributions to the explanation of quality of family life with respect to family satisfaction with spouses, with parents, and with family satisfaction overall. Additionally, acculturative stressor variables were found to negatively predict marital satisfaction, parental satisfaction, and total family satisfaction over and above the effects of demographic variables and acculturation variables. Neither acculturation variables nor acculturative stressor variables, however, significantly contributed to participants' family life satisfaction with children. Taken together, the results demonstrated the importance of acculturation variables and acculturative family stressors in some family subsystems but not others, suggesting that adaptation at the family level among second-generation Ukrainians in midlife may be best operationalized with reference to multiple family dyads. Findings are discussed within the context of the existing family acculturation literature, along with study limitations and research implications for future studies with second-generation immigrants.

## Familism, Acculturation, Acculturative Family Hassles and Family Adjustment in Adult Second-Generation Ukrainian-Canadians

Family has always figured prominently in the lives of migrants during the process of immigration and adaptation to a host society (Lay & Safdar, 2003; Booth, Crouter & Landale, 1997; Gil & Vega, 1996). For first-generation immigrants, extended family households and kinship systems often provide the tangible assistance and emotional support that is essential to the migrants' successful transition to their new cultural environment (Bastida, 2001). The family also continues to play a central role in the lives of second-generation and subsequent generation immigrants, by serving as an important context for acculturation and for the development of cultural values (Chun, 2006; Luborsky & McMullen, 1999).

Both first and second-generation immigrants, however, may experience pressures to reconcile the conflicting social norms of their ethnic culture and those of the mainstream culture, not only during interactions with members of the majority group, but also during interactions with members of their own extended family (Safdar & Lay, 2003; Cheung & Dobkins de Rios, 1982). Given the heterogeneous patterns of cultural learning represented within most immigrant families, intrafamilial tensions may develop between second-generation immigrants and their kin when acculturation unfolds at different rates for different family members (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Hines, Garcia-Preto, McGoldrick & Almeida, 1992; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Thus, for the children of immigrants, acculturation in the context of the family is a multifaceted social and psychological process that impacts both the individual and the family (Dinh, Sarason & Sarason, 1994).

Given the vital importance of the family in the immigrant experience (Phinney and Vedder, 2006; Lay & Safdar, 2003; Nauck, 2001), family acculturation has become an important area of investigation. According to recent reviews conducted by Chun & Akutsu (2003) and Santisteban and Mitrani (2003), the empirical literature on the adaptation of families can be divided into at least two major areas of inquiry: a) the study of how *acculturation variables*, such as family members' levels of acculturation and their commitment or lack of adherence to cultural values, impact individual or family adjustment outcomes, and b) the study of how *acculturative stressor variables*, such as intrafamilial stressors and strains due to the acculturation process, affect family relationships and family functioning.

Past research on immigrant family adjustment has provided empirical evidence suggesting that both acculturation variables and acculturative stressor variables may play significant roles in explaining variations in quality of family life (Vinokurov, 2001). Much of this research, however, has focused on second-generation immigrants in adolescence, with few studies giving primacy to second-generation individuals in midlife. Furthermore, operationalization of family adaptation in these studies has generally been limited to the assessment of family dyads composed of second-generation adolescents and their first-generation parents. A recent emphasis in the field of family acculturation has been the need for future studies that examine the processes of acculturation, including acculturation variables and family stressors, not only in relation to the family as a whole but also across its various groupings or "subsystems", including family dyads composed of adult children and elderly parents, marital dyads (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Marin &

Gamba, 2003; Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer & Delgado, 2005), and second-generation adults and their offspring.

In order to address this gap in research, the main aim of the current study was to explore the quality of family life among an adult sample of second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians with respect to overall family life satisfaction as well as with respect to satisfaction within three family subdomains: marital satisfaction, satisfaction with parents and satisfaction with children. Because second-generation Ukrainians in mid-life have both Ukrainian-born parents and children who have been born and raised in the Canadian context, they represented an ideal population to examine the potential impact of acculturation and acculturative stressors on quality of family life. A second aim of the study, therefore, was to extend previous work on the multifaceted nature of family acculturation experiences by examining the relative contributions of both *acculturation variables* (e.g., familism, acculturation to the ethnic and host cultures) and *acculturative stressor variables* (e.g., acculturative family hassles) to the four areas of family adaptation (i.e., overall family life satisfaction, marital satisfaction, satisfaction with parents and satisfaction with children).

#### *Acculturation Variables (Familism and Acculturation to Ethnic and Host Cultures) and Family Adaptation*

*Familism and family adaptation.* In recent years, researchers have stressed that family acculturation studies should incorporate a measurement of values in their assessment of family members' acculturation status (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2000). Additionally, others have noted the need to further examine how cultural values influence immigrant family functioning (Marin & Gamba, 2003). Values have

been defined as desirable goals and standards that serve to guide behaviour and to influence the evaluation of people or events (Phinney & Ong, 2002; Smith & Schwartz, 1997). Recognizing that culture of origin values are most often intergenerationally transmitted within families (Roosa, Morgan-Lopes, Cree & Specter, 2000), researchers have begun to emphasize the importance of understanding how the maintenance of traditional ethnic values, such as family orientation or *familism*, may impact immigrants' family adjustment in the receiving society (Romero, Robinson, Haydel, Mendoza & Killen, 2004; Baptiste, 1993; Bernal & Knight, 1993).

The cultural value of familism centers on the maintenance of close family ties and refers to an individual's perceived responsibility to assist relatives or to show family loyalty, solidarity and respect toward elders (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994). Thus, familism has been referred to as a socially oriented or collectivist value (Lucero-Liu, 2007) that may influence the quality of dyadic family relationships (Gaines, Rios & Buriel, 1997; Marin, 1993). Moreover, familism is generally viewed in the empirical literature as encompassing multiple dimensions (e.g., structural, attitudinal and behavioural) that operate within an extended family system (Lugo Steidel, 2006). For example, whereas the *structural* or demographic component of familism is characterized by the presence or absence of kin within social networks and their residential proximity, the *behavioural* component of familism focuses on the quality and quantity of social interaction as well as the level of material or emotional support expressed between family members (Ramirez & Arce, 1981). Finally, *attitudinal* familism relates to the value that individuals place on family unity, solidarity, respect and sense of mutual obligation (Marin, 1993; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006).

A number of studies have provided empirical evidence linking familism with a range of family adaptation indices in immigrants (Romero, Robinson, Haydel, Mendoza & Killen, 2004). Thus, familism is a critical factor that must be included in the study of family adaptation (Marin & Gamba, 2003). For instance, with respect to attitudinal familism (Steidel & Contreras, 2003), many studies have shown that attitudes favouring family values, such as reciprocity, are positively associated with family cohesion as well as with positive family relationships with parents (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999; Romero & Ruiz, in press), greater parent-adolescent attachment (Costa-Robles, 2002), less physical punishment of children (Ferrari, 2002), more harmonious and involved sibling relationships (Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer & Delgado, 2005), greater subjective feelings of happiness following intergenerational communication with family elders (Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000), and increased adolescent life satisfaction (Phinney & Ong, 2002).

With respect to the behavioural dimension of familism, several studies have documented a positive link between familistic behaviours, such as family social support, and more favourable individual and family adjustment outcomes during the process of acculturation (e.g., Castillo, Conoley & Brossart, 2004; Solberg, Valdez & Villareal, 1994; Aranda & Knight, 1997; Garcia-Preto, 2005; Magana, 1999; Kao & Travis, 2005; Sommers, Fagan & Baskin, 1993). Behavioural familism, however, has been found to have different implications for family functioning, depending on the family dyad being examined (Markides & Krause, 1985). For example, in a study of Puerto Rican immigrants, Bastida (1988) found that behavioural measures of familism were related to strong parent-adult child support relationships. A similar link, however, was not observed

with respect to grandparent-grandchild relationships, leading the author to speculate that the types of informal assistance provided by the adult children toward their elderly parents might not be available from or reciprocated by their own children (Silverstein & Chen, 1999).

Although the dimension of structural familism has received considerably less attention in the research literature, studies conducted with Hispanic American immigrants have demonstrated that having larger extended families and living closer to one's relatives is related to a more active maintenance of family relationships through frequent visiting and through mutual aid (Vega & Murphy, 1990). Additionally, in a study of the relationship between familism and child abuse among Latino and Anglo families, Cooney (2001) found higher levels of structural familism among non-abusive Latina mothers. Valenzuela and Dornbusch (1994) also found that greater levels of structural familism were related to better adolescent academic achievement in Latino families.

Moreover, studies that have compared the various dimensions of familism (e.g., Lugo Steidel, 2006; Cooney, 2001; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994; Elliot, 2001; Lucero-Liu, 2007) suggest differential influences on immigrant adaptation and family functioning (Marin & Gamba, 2003). In a sample of Mexican-American parents and their adolescent children, Elliot (2001) reported that of the three dimensions of familism measured, only attitudinal familism, predicted higher levels of parent-reported family life satisfaction with adolescents. Similarly, among Mexican and Anglo adolescent and parent family dyads, Valenzuela and Dornbusch (1994) found that, while behavioural and structural familism did not influence outcomes, higher adherence to attitudinal familism predicted more successful academic achievement in the Mexican adolescents. In contrast, in

previous research with Mexican immigrant married couples investigating the three dimensions of familism, only higher rates of structural and behavioural familism were associated with lower levels of relationship conflict (Lucero-Liu, 2007). Hence, whereas attitudinal familism, emphasizing mutual obligation and filial piety, may promote harmony with respect to the parent-child dyad, the proximity and assistance of supportive kin may be conducive to a more positive quality of family life within the marital dyad.

The value of examining the separate components of familism is also underscored by studies that show that the various dimensions of familism are differentially influenced by the process of acculturation (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Vanoss, Marin & Perez-Stable, 1987). For instance, whereas some studies have found that immigrants who endorse a high level of acculturation to host culture tend to display less adherence to attitudinal familism (Marin, 1993; Sabogal et al. 1987; Cortes, 1995) and to overall familism (Steidel, Contreras, 2003; Rogler & Cooney, 1984), other investigations have linked higher host acculturation to increased behavioural familism, assessed by contacts and support among family members, as immigrants' local kin networks tend to enlarge with increased length of time in the receiving country (Keefe, 1980).

Still others have obtained mixed results. Elliot (2001) conducted a study with Latino American families and found that attitudinal familism was significantly associated with American acculturation while behavioural familism was unrelated. Moreover, Elliot (2001) found that parents' behavioural familism was unrelated to cultural affiliations whereas attitudinal familism was *negatively* related to American acculturation.

Adolescents' scores on behavioural familism were similarly unrelated to cultural affiliations, but unlike their parents, a different pattern of correlations between cultural

affiliations and values was obtained, such that adolescents' scores on attitudinal measures were *positively* related to American acculturation.

Overall, the studies reviewed above provide preliminary evidence to suggest that the attitudinal, structural and behavioural dimensions of familism may influence immigrant family functioning. Current research on the topic of familism and quality of family life, however, has been restricted in several ways. First, familism has been measured in an inconsistent manner across studies (Luna, Torres de Ardon, Lim, Cromwell, Phillips & Russell, 1996, Villarreal, Blozis & Widaman, 2005). Some studies continue to employ proxy measures (e.g., intergenerational solidarity (Markides & Krause, 1985)), making it difficult to capture the complexity of the familism construct (Steidel & Contreras, 2003). Second, most researchers have combined separate aspects of familism into a single scale or have failed to address the effects of all three dimensions of familism (e.g., structural, behavioural and attitudinal) on immigrant family adjustment (Lucero-Liu, 2007). A third limitation has to do with the characteristics of the samples studied. Although previous investigations have examined familism in relation to second-generation immigrant adaptation (e.g., Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer & Delgado, 2005; Gil, Wagner & Vega, 2000) the majority of these studies have focused largely on areas of adaptation relevant to the adjustment of adolescent second-generation immigrants (e.g., teenage delinquency, academic achievement) (Pabon, 1998; Sommers, Fagan & Baskin, 1993; Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999; Rodriguez, 2002; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994).

Additionally, while the association between familism and adjustment in the context of the second-generation adolescent and first-generation parent dyad have

garnered some recent research attention (e.g., Dihn & Nguyen, 2006), the results of these investigations may not be generalizable to the relation between family orientation and family life satisfaction among second-generation adults and their elderly first-generation parents, who may have developed different expectations concerning familistic responsibilities and obligations in their old age (Wong, Yoo & Stewart, 2006). Few studies have investigated the influence of familism on family relationships relevant to the adult children of immigrants (e.g., marital relationships and relationships between adult children and elderly parents). Therefore, less is known about the manner in which the value of familism is related to the family adjustment of second-generation immigrants in the midst of adulthood or in later developmental phases of the life span. Furthermore, although some preliminary research does suggest that familism plays an important role in the marital satisfaction of adult first and second-generation immigrants (Morales, 1998; Torres-Sena, 2004; Lucero-Liu, 2007), empirical studies in this area are only beginning to emerge.

*Acculturation to ethnic and host cultures and family adaptation.* In addition to investigating cultural value orientations, such as familism, and their relation to immigrant family adjustment outcomes, a number of researchers in the field of family acculturation have emphasized the importance of other cultural processes, such as acculturation to ethnic and host cultures, in the quality of family relationships (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 1990). The term acculturation has been used to describe the process of change that both groups and individuals face due to ongoing contact with a non-native culture (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936; Sam & Berry, 2006). The process of acculturation is multidimensional in nature, involving changes not only in family value

orientations, but also in cultural behaviours, language, and identity, which can influence second-generation immigrants at the individual and familial levels (Miranda, Bilot, Peluso, Berman & Van Meek, 2006).

In past decades, immigrants' acculturation to ethnic and host cultures have been found to be associated with a range of psychological adjustment outcomes at the individual level (Moyerman & Forman, 1992; Escobar, Hoyos Nervi, & Gara, 2000; Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991). Given the well-documented evidence linking acculturation and mental health (Krishnan & Berry, 1992; Sam, 1994; Sam & Berry, 1995), it is not surprising that acculturative processes have also been found to influence the family functioning of immigrants (Miranda, Estrada, Firpo-Jimenez, 2000). In particular, when compared to non-migrant families, families undergoing the process of acculturation have tended to exhibit greater family distress (Birman, 2006ab; Sharir, 2002; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Dinh, Sarason & Sarason, 1994; Rosenthal, Demetriou & Efklides, 1989).

A number of studies have demonstrated positive relationships between immigrants' acculturation to the ethnic culture and family functioning, including stronger family bonds (Pineda, 2006), greater family cohesion within the mother-child dyad (Luo & Wiseman, 2000), and greater family cohesion overall (Keshishzadeh, 2006). In one study, Pineda (2006) examined the relationship between acculturation styles and family functioning in Mexican-American immigrant families and found that being more Mexican-oriented was related to stronger family bonds. In a sample of Chinese-American families, Luo and Wiseman (2000) reported that children's ethnic language proficiency was positively related to family cohesion within the mother-child dyad. Similarly,

Keshishzadeh (2006) found that, although American acculturation was unrelated to family adjustment in Armenian American families, Armenian acculturation was positively associated with greater family cohesion.

The evidence with regard to acculturation to the host culture and quality of family life, however, has been mixed. More specifically, there is research to suggest higher levels of host acculturation relate to poorer immigrant family functioning, including lower levels of family cohesion (Gil & Vega, 1996; Brooks, Stuewig & Lecroy, 1998), and poorer family life satisfaction (Faragallah, Schumm & Webb, 1997). In contrast, other researchers have reported that higher levels of acculturation to the majority culture were related to better family outcomes. For instance, greater American acculturation has been linked to more favourable self-assessments among adolescent Central American immigrants asked to rate themselves as culture brokers and family members (Birman, 1998) and to lower intergenerational conflict among Asian American students (Chung, 2001).

The contradictory findings reviewed thus far may be partly attributable to the fact that previous research on the relationship between acculturation and family adjustment has been plagued with a number of methodological flaws. Firstly, many studies have been limited by the use of unidimensional or linear models of acculturation. Additionally, some researchers have employed proxy variables, such as English language usage or generational status, rather than multidimensional acculturation inventories, to measure participants' levels of acculturation (Phinney & Flores, 2002). Viewing the acculturation process as a unitary dimension masks potential variations in the relationships between

behavioural, linguistic and attitudinal (e.g., identity) domains of acculturation and quality of family life.

Secondly, interpreting data across studies is complicated by the differing ways of conceptualizing and measuring family adaptation. Thirdly, while the findings reviewed suggest that acculturation may have a considerable impact on the family (Elliot, 2001; Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006), particularly on the family dyads consisting of adolescent second-generation immigrants and their parents, the influence of acculturation on family relationships relevant to adult second-generation immigrants (e.g., marital relationships and relationships between adult children and elderly parents or grandparents) have received scant research attention. In one study of Mexican American adult children and their grandparents, Silverstein and Chen (1999) found that adult immigrant grandchildren who adopted the values and behaviours of the dominant culture reported reduced emotional intimacy with their grandparents. Jeong and Schumm (1990) studied adult Korean immigrants, and found that acculturation to the host society and education were positively related to marital and overall family life satisfaction but were unrelated to parental satisfaction. In both of these investigations, however, the researchers applied unilinear operationalization of acculturation. Therefore, the specific effects of acculturation to both host and ethnic cultures on the quality of family relationships remain unclear with regard to these adult immigrant groups.

Nevertheless, such findings highlight the importance of studying whether there are differences in the link between the acculturation and family life satisfaction with different family members, such as parents, children and spouses (Cortes, 1995). Moreover, because family acculturation is an ongoing process during which members of

one family may adapt to the host society at varying speeds depending on their migration experiences and stage of life (Hines, Garcia-Preto, McGoldrick & Almeida, 1992; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), the link between acculturation and family life satisfaction needs to be examined within multiple family subsystems rather than simply within the family as a whole (Marin & Gamba, 2003).

#### *Acculturative Stressor Variables and Family Adaptation*

*Acculturative family hassles and family adaptation.* In addition to the research reviewed above, a smaller but growing body of work has focused on the intrafamilial stressors stemming from the acculturation process and the impact of such acculturative stressors on individual and family adjustment (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995; Gil & Vega, 1996; Rumbaut, 2000; Lay & Nguyen, 1998; Lay & Safdar, 2003; Abouguendia & Noels, 2001). In contrast to general, or non-acculturation-specific daily hassles experienced by everyone (e.g., time pressures, financial worries, future decisions), acculturation-related hassles are defined as the stressors and strains encountered by immigrants and their children that result from the acculturation process (Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Studies have generally supported the notion that immigrants experience both acculturation-specific and general or non-acculturation-specific daily hassles and that the combination of different types of hassles may have consequences on immigrant psychological adjustment (e.g., Lay & Nguyen, 1998; Dion, Dion & Pak, 1992; Liebkind, 1996ab; Gil, Vega & Dimas, 1994).

Acculturation-related hassles are further subdivided into those that stem from difficulties in interacting with outgroup members (e.g., discrimination-related stressors), and those that stem from contact with co-ethnic group members and family members

(Safdar & Lay, 2003). For recent or first-generation immigrants, acculturative family hassles can lead to upheavals and disruptions in family functioning and often involve daily hassles with family members due to shifts in family roles, changing responsibilities and/or financial strains subsequent to moving to a new country (Thomas, 1995; Williams & Berry, 1991; Berry, 2006b).

Among second-generation immigrants, many of whom by definition have not experienced the resettlement process, acculturative family hassles are more often ongoing conflicts or disagreements with family members about adherence or lack of commitment to culturally prescribed values, such as familism, as well as interpersonal differences regarding host or ethnic language use in the family home. Intrafamilial quarrels can also stem from disagreements about the appropriate degree of engagement in cultural norms and behaviours or level of maintenance of cultural identity with respect to host and ethnic cultures (Vega, Zimmerman, Gil, Warheit & Apospori, 1993). Moreover, acculturative family stressors are not only limited to those that are intergenerational in nature (e.g., between adult second-generation immigrants and elderly parents or native-born children). For married second-generation immigrants, acculturation-related family hassles with spouses or significant others can also occur (e.g., clashes due to discrepancies in partners' views about how to raise children culturally).

A number of research studies have examined the relationship between acculturative family stressors and individual adjustment outcomes (e.g., Gil, Vega & Dimas, 1994). For example, in a study that looked at the relationship between general and acculturation-related hassles, including family hassles, and psychological adjustment among first and second-generation South Asian immigrants in Canada, Abouguendia and

Noels (2001) found that acculturative family hassles were associated with increased psychological distress (as measured by self-esteem and depression) among second-generation individuals. In contrast, Lay and colleagues (Lay & Nguyen, 1998; Safdar & Lay (2003) examined acculturative family hassles in both a Vietnamese student immigrant sample and in an Iranian immigrant sample, but found that family hassles were unrelated to psychological adjustment (as assessed by a measure of depression). Lay and Safdar speculated that a more connected family structure in Vietnamese and Iranian cultures may have contributed to the lack of significant findings between family hassles and psychological distress (Lay & Safdar, 2003). However, the researchers did not address the possible link between acculturation-related family stressors and indices of family adjustment. Gil and Vega (1996), in contrast, examined Cuban and Nicaraguan families and found that adolescent and parent acculturation-related stressors were related to lower levels of family cohesion.

A review of the extant literature on family stressors among individuals undergoing the acculturation process has revealed a number of important methodological limitations which may also help to explain past contradictory findings. Firstly, studies such as the one conducted by Abouguendia and Noels (2001) as well as the majority of other studies in the area of acculturative family hassles, have assessed the relationship between family hassles and individual psychological outcomes, such as depression or self-esteem (Gil, Vega & Dimas, 1994; Szapocnik & Kurtines, 1980; Gil, Vega & Dimas, 1993). Thus, although some research has investigated and shown significant links in the relation between acculturation-related family hassles and indices of adaptation in second-generation immigrants, significantly fewer studies have examined how acculturative

family hassles relate to outcomes with respect to family life satisfaction (Vinokurov, 2001; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002).

Secondly, many researchers have not separated acculturation specific family hassles from acculturation non-specific family hassles and, in some cases, have simply combined items assessing both types of family hassles within broader general hassles scales or ingroup hassles scales (e.g., Roytburd, 2006; Lay & Safdar, 2003). Indeed, researchers have only recently begun to develop acculturation specific family hassles indices designed to reflect everyday experiences within immigrant families that are specifically centered on acculturation issues, and there are few studies that have assessed family stressors systematically by family member source.

Finally, existing acculturative family hassle inventories are limited, in that they have failed to capture the bidirectional and multidimensional aspects of acculturative stress. Indeed, the complexity of the acculturation process implies that at least two kinds of discrepancies in family members' rates of acculturation might be expected to occur: one with respect to the heritage culture and the other with respect to the majority culture (Birman, 2006ab). Consequently, different patterns of acculturative family stressors may emerge, along *both* cultural dimensions, between immigrants and their elderly parents, between immigrant parents and their native-born children, and between two acculturating spouses. Acculturative family hassles scales in use, however, have most often been unidirectional in nature. For instance, scales have typically assessed family stressors emerging only as a result of children being more acculturated to the host culture than their parents (without also allowing for the possibility of family stressors due to the parents' being less acculturated to the ethnic culture or more acculturated to the host

culture than their children). This is an important consideration, seeing as children have been found to be more acculturated to the ethnic culture than their parents in several migrant groups (Birman & Trickett; 2001; Farver, Bhadha & Narang, 2002).

Consequently, the effects of acculturative family hassles along both host and ethnic culture dimensions on family functioning remain to be identified and studied. Moreover, assessment of intrafamilial stressors occurring along ethnic and host dimensions is of particular relevance for studies of adult second-generation immigrants, whose families are characteristically multigenerational.

#### *Acculturation Variables, Acculturative Stressor Variables and Family Adaptation*

In summary, much evidence exists to suggest that the complex processes inherent in acculturation are further complicated within the family system (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Santisteban, Muir-Malcolm, Mitrani, & Szapocznik, 2002). However, despite previous research indicating that *acculturation variables* and *acculturative stressor variables* may combine to affect immigrant adjustment outcomes (Gil, Vega & Dimas, 1994), surprisingly limited attention has been given to the simultaneous examination of the two aforementioned sets variables and their relative contribution to indices of family adaptation (Vasilescu, 2001).

Vinokurov and colleagues (i.e., Vinokurov, 2001; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002) are among the few researchers who have studied both acculturation variables and acculturative family stressors in relation to family functioning among immigrant families of Eastern European origin. In both studies, the largest country of exit for these refugees was Ukraine. For example, in a sample of recent Russian Jewish refugee adolescents, Vinokurov, Trickett and Birman (2002) measured acculturation to Russian and American

cultures, acculturative hassles (including family hassles), non-acculturative hassles and adolescents' adaptation in a number of life spheres, including family life satisfaction. Results demonstrated that acculturative family hassles negatively predicted adolescents' family life satisfaction with parents.

Similarly, in a study of recent Soviet Jewish refugee elders, Vinokurov (2001) measured acculturation to Russian and American cultures, acculturative family hassles and family life satisfaction. Results indicated that, while acculturative family hassles were found to be significant negative predictors of family life satisfaction, Russian acculturation was a significant positive predictor of family life satisfaction. Furthermore, hierarchical multiple regression analyses demonstrated that acculturative family hassles predicted family life satisfaction over and above the effects of demographic variables and Russian and American cultural orientations (Vinokurov, 2001).

In summary, previous work has been conducted investigating the link between acculturation, acculturative stressors and the family functioning of recent immigrants of Eastern European descent. The results of these investigations, however, may not be generalizable to second or later-generation individuals or to Eastern European samples residing outside of the United States, for several reasons. Firstly, among Eastern Europeans residing in the U.S., Russian acculturation was positively related to acculturative hassles and American acculturation was inversely associated with acculturative hassles. Further, results revealed that Russian and American acculturation were negatively correlated, suggesting cultural incompatibility (Birman & Tyler, 1994). Therefore, identifying with Russian culture for these samples was in conflict with identifying with American culture. In contrast, members of the second-generation,

having largely grown up in a host society, may demonstrate an altogether different pattern of correlation between acculturation to home and host cultures (e.g., orthogonal, curvilinear). Thus, the relationship between acculturation to ethnic and host cultures and acculturative family hassles may be different in second-generation immigrants, or among migrant groups residing in a Canadian cultural context.

Secondly, the acculturative family stressors in Vinokurov, Trickett and Birman's (2002) and Vinokurov's (2001) studies centered mainly on hassles that would characteristically be experienced by recent immigrants and included family hassles due to adolescents acting as culture brokers or, in the case of Russian elders, family hassles due to insufficient familiarity with the American culture. Second-generation adults may face a broader range of acculturative family hassles or may experience family hassles that differ significantly depending on whether they are interacting with their first-generation elderly parents, their second-generation spouses or their third-generation native-born children. For example, second-generation immigrants may be faced with challenges of translating on behalf of elderly immigrant parents unable to speak English, while at the same time experiencing intergenerational tensions with their own children around use of the ethnic language in the family home. Further research with Eastern European immigrant groups is warranted, therefore, to assess the generalizability of findings reported by Vinokurov and colleagues (i.e., Vinokurov, 2001; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002) to non-American contexts and to later-generation immigrants.

#### *Purpose and Research Objectives*

Past empirical literature on immigrant adaptation has been weighted heavily toward examining the effects of acculturation and acculturative stress on individual

functioning, while neglecting to address other important contexts, such as the family (Balls Organista, Organista, & Kurasaki, 2003; Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991; Coatsworth, Maldonado, Pantin & Szapocznik 2005). More recently, there has been a growing body of research that has focused on the family adjustment of first or second-generation adolescent migrants. Although the findings suggest that acculturation and acculturative stress have important implications for the family adjustment of these adolescents, little is known about the impact of these variables on the family adaptation of second-generation individuals in mid-life.

The main aim of the present investigation was to extend the work of Vinokurov and his colleagues (Vinokurov, 2001; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002) by considering the relative contribution of acculturation variables and acculturative stressor variables to family life satisfaction among adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. More specifically, the study had three main goals. The first goal was to assess the level of familism, acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, acculturative family hassles and family life satisfaction in a sample of middle-aged Canadians of Ukrainian descent. The second goal was to examine relations between the acculturative variables (familism, acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures) and the acculturative stressor variables (acculturative family hassles). The third goal was to explore the relationships between the two sets of variables (i.e., acculturative variables and acculturative stressor variables) and the four indices of family adjustment: total family life satisfaction, satisfaction with spouse, satisfaction with parents and satisfaction with children.

## Method

### *Participants*

One hundred and thirty second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians, male ( $n=50$ , 38%) and female ( $n=80$ , 62%), living in the Ottawa area, participated in the current study. All of the participants were either Canadian-born (64%) or were foreign-born but migrated to Canada by the age of 7 (36%). The overwhelming majority of the respondents (97%) reported their family emigrated to Canada for political/war reasons (i.e., World War II). All of the respondents had Ukrainian-born parents, who had migrated to Canada as adults (i.e., over the age of 18). Participants had lived an average of 26.93 years ( $SD = 14.19$ ) in the Ottawa area with a range of 2 to 55 years.

The age of the respondents ranged from 32 to 64 years, with an average of 49.50 years ( $SD = 6.90$ ). The majority of the participants were married (70.7%) with 13.1% reporting single status. The remainder of the sample endorsed one of the following categories: common law (2.3%) separated or divorced (7.7%) and widowed (6.2%). For religious affiliation, 71.5% of participants were Ukrainian Catholic, 21.5% Ukrainian Orthodox, 3% Roman Catholic, and 1.5% Protestant. The sample tended to be highly educated, in that 17% had completed education at the secondary or college level, 51% had completed university at an undergraduate level and 32% had completed a graduate university degree. In terms of employment status, 84% were employed: 5.4% skilled manual, clerical or sales workers, 6.9% were semi-professionals, 9.2% were public servants not otherwise specified, 20.8% were small business managers and minor professionals, 22.3% were medium business managers, administrators or lesser professionals and 18.5% were higher executives, large business managers and major

professionals. Others were homemakers (5.4%), unemployed (3.8%), university or college students (1.6%) or retired (6.2%).

### *Measures*

*Structural Familism.* The proportion of kin in participants' social network (Leslie, 1992) was used to assess Structural Familism. Respondents were first asked to report the initials of up to 10 people (confidants) whom they consider important in their lives and with whom they have had at least some contact over the past year. Respondents were also asked about the nature of the relationship (e.g., friend, co-worker, family member) and ethnic background of each individual listed. Each respondent's proportion of kin was calculated by dividing the total number of kin listed in their social network by the total number of social network members listed, with a possible total score ranging from 0 to 1.

*Behavioural Familism.* Behavioural Familism was assessed with two variables: Frequency of Family Contact and Family Social Support. Firstly, Frequency of Family Contact was calculated from respondents' reported social network. More specifically, participants were asked to indicate their frequency of contact with each individual listed in their social network (including kin) and this interactional network data regarding kin was then used as a measure Frequency of Family Contact. Participants indicated how often they had contact with each of the individuals listed in their network on a six point scale ranging from yearly "1" to daily "6". The mean of the frequency of contact responses for all identified kin network members was used as an index of frequency of family contact (the frequency of contact scores, one for each family member listed, were summed and the total was divided by the number of family members in the respondent's network). Total scores could therefore range from 1 to 6.

Secondly, Family Social Support was assessed using the family subscale of the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet & Farley, 1988). The 4-item scale asked respondents about their level of perceived emotional social support on a six-point scale ranging from strongly disagree “1” to strongly agree “6”, with total scores ranging from 4 to 24. The MSPSS is scored by summing individual item scores for the subscale. Higher scores reflect greater perceived support. The MSPSS has demonstrated excellent internal consistency, with *alphas* of .91 for the total scale and .90 to .95 for the subscales and good test-retest reliability (Zimet et al., 1988). The Cronbach’s *alpha* for social support from family (4 items) in the current study was  $\alpha = .90$ .

*Attitudinal Familism.* The 23-item Family Obligations Scale (FOS) (Fuligni, Tseng, Lam, 1999) was used as an indicator of Attitudinal Familism (Appendix C). The FOS assesses respondents’ attitudes with respect to children’s duty to assist their family when living at home (e.g., “Spend time with your grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles”), respect for the family (e.g., “Treat your parents with great respect”, “Do well for the sake of your family”), and future support to the family as adults (“Help your parents financially in the future”). Participants were asked to rate their agreement with each statement on a five-point scale ranging from almost never “1” to almost always “5” for the ‘current assistance’ subscale and from not important at all “1” to very important “5” for the ‘respect for family’ and ‘future support’ subscales. Total scores could therefore range from 23 to 115.

In previous research with different ethnic groups, the coefficient *alphas* have ranged from .78 to .87 for the current assistance subscale, from .69 to .85 for the respect

for family subscale and from .72 to .82 for the future assistance subscale respectively (Fuligni et al. 1999). In the current study, Cronbach's *alpha* for the total scale (23 items) was  $\alpha = .89$ .

*Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures.* Acculturation was assessed with the combined use of the (GEQ) General Ethnicity Questionnaire (Tsai, Ying & Lee, 2000) adapted for the Ukrainian sample (Tsai, et al., 2000), and the American Identity Questionnaire (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). The adapted GEQ is an instrument that asks respondents to report how oriented they are to Canadian and Ukrainian cultures independently (Appendix D). Scores for the total Ukrainian Acculturation (21 items) and total Canadian Acculturation (21 items) scales were computed by summing the score for each item, with possible scores ranging from 21 to 122. Scores for the Identity (5 items), Behavioural (12 items) and Language (4 items) Acculturation subscales, were computed by summing the score of each item and dividing by the number of items in the subscale.

The Identity Acculturation subscales consisted of 5 parallel statements regarding the degree of identification with each culture (e.g., "I think of myself as being Canadian/Ukrainian"). Ukrainian and Canadian identity domains were assessed using Ukrainian and Canadian versions of American Identity Questionnaire (AIQ) (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Responses were scored on a 6 point scale, from "1" indicating strong disagreement to "6" indicating strong agreement, with total subscale scores ranging from 1 to 6.

The Behavioural Acculturation subscales asked participants to rate the extent to which they engage in behaviours associated with each culture (e.g., media, music, entertainment, holidays, recreational activities, and food) in 12 parallel items, such as "At

home, I eat Canadian-type food”. Items were coded on a 6 point Likert scale, from “1” indicating strong disagreement to “6” indicating strong agreement, with total subscale scores ranging from 1 to 6.

The Language Acculturation subscales consisted of 4 parallel items asking respondents to rate their proficiency in speaking, understanding, writing and reading Ukrainian and English. Responses were coded on a 5 point scale from “1” for “not at all” to “5” “for very much”, with total subscale scores ranging from 1 to 5.

In past research (Ying Lee, Tsai, Yeh, Huang,.2000) the GEQ has demonstrated good internal consistency reliabilities ( $\alpha = .73$  to  $.94$ ). In previous research with ethnic groups, the coefficient *alphas* for the AIQ were found to be  $.88$  (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) and  $.75$  (Neto, 2002). Cronbach’s *alphas* for the total Ukrainian and total Canadian Acculturation scales (21 items) in the current sample were  $\alpha = .94$  and  $\alpha = .89$ , respectively. For the subscales the reliability estimates were as follows: Ukrainian behaviour (12 items,  $\alpha = .90$ ), Canadian behaviour (12 items,  $\alpha = .86$ ), Ukrainian language (4 items,  $\alpha = .90$ ), English language (4 items,  $\alpha = .76$ ), Ukrainian identity (5 items,  $\alpha = .80$ ), Canadian identity (5 items,  $\alpha = .83$ ).

*Acculturative Family Hassles.* The Acculturative Daily Family Hassles scale used in the present study was based on the Daily Acculturative Hassles Inventories developed by Lay and Nguyen (1998), by Abouguendia and Noels (2001) and by Vinokurov, Trickett and Birman (2002). Respondents completed a 22-item measure assessing their personal experience with two types of acculturative family hassles: Ukrainian Acculturative Family Hassles, and Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles (Appendix E).

In the current study, Ukrainian Acculturative Family Hassles (11 items) were characterized as perceived differences or hassles with family members (i.e., spouses, parents or children) due to family members 'being more Ukrainian' than the participant (e.g., family members valuing maintaining Ukrainian cultural practices, speaking Ukrainian when the participant prefers to speak in English, and, in the case of the participants' children, dating members of the Ukrainian culture, or raising grandchildren according to the norms of the ethnic culture).

Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles (11 items) were characterized as perceived differences or hassles with family members (i.e., spouses, parents or children) due to family members 'being more Canadian' than the participant (e.g., family members speaking English when the participant prefers to speak in Ukrainian, dating members of the host culture, raising grandchildren according to the norms of the dominant society).

Furthermore, each of the 11-item Ukrainian and Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles scales contained spousal (3 items), parental (3 items) and child (5 items) subscales assessing the extent to which participants experienced acculturative daily hassles as a result of interacting with specific family members.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they experienced the hassles in the past few months (no=0; yes=1) and responses were summed to obtain the subscale scores for spouse, children and parents. Additionally, two total scale scores, one for the Ukrainian Acculturative Family Hassles and one for Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles were computed.

*Family Life Satisfaction.* The 18-item Family Life Satisfaction Index (FLSI) (Henry, Ostrander & Lovelace, 1992; Henry & Plunkett, 1995) developed for adolescents

was adapted for the present study. The Family Life Satisfaction Index measures the extent to which participants are satisfied with family members (e.g., parents, children, spouses or significant others). Respondents were asked to rate the extent to which they were satisfied with their family members on a five point scale ranging from strongly disagree “1” to strongly agree “5”, with total scores ranging from 6 to 30. Four variables were calculated: Total Family Life Satisfaction, Family Life Satisfaction with Spouses, Family Life Satisfaction with Parents and Family Life Satisfaction with Children. In previous research with different ethnic groups, the coefficient *alphas* were found to be .86 for the satisfaction with parents subscale (Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002). In the current study, Cronbach’s *alphas* for the spouse (6 items), parent (6 items) and child (6 items) subscales were .90, .88, and .92, respectively, with the total scale alpha of .93.

#### *Procedure*

A community-based sample of second-generation Ukrainians was recruited using non-probability, purposive sampling. In order to be included in the study, participants had to be over the age of 18 and living in the Ottawa area for 12 months prior to responding to the questionnaire. Participants were recruited through advertisements in a wide range of local newspapers, postings and flyers distributed at local schools, community centres and churches in the Ottawa area. Respondents were also recruited through personal contact at local community events and through a “snowball” procedure involving local Ukrainian religious and community leaders.

Once the voluntary, confidential, and anonymous nature of the study was discussed, any questions participants had were answered. A survey method involving standardized self-administered questionnaire was employed. Participants were given the

option to fill out the questionnaire in either a web-based (n=83, 64%) or a paper and pencil format (n=47, 36%). The questionnaire required between 45 minutes and 1 hour to complete. All measures were administered in English (see Appendix A).

## Results

### *Overview of the Analyses*

Descriptive statistics for the study variables are described first. Next, statistically significant results of the correlational analyses conducted to examine associations among all the measures used in the study are reported. Finally, a series of multiple regression analyses examining the relationship between acculturation and acculturative stress variables, and family life satisfaction is presented.

### *Preliminary Analyses*

#### *Descriptive Statistics*

Preliminary descriptive analyses were conducted in order to investigate the level of familism (structural, behavioural and attitudinal dimensions), the overall levels of acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, the total levels of Ukrainian and Canadian acculturative family hassles as well as the level of Ukrainian and Canadian family hassles with respect to three sources (spouse, parents and children). Finally, the participants' level of overall family life satisfaction as well as their marital satisfaction, satisfaction with parents and satisfaction with children were explored. Table 1 presents means, standard deviations, ranges and transformations (where appropriate) for variables used in the study.

*Familism.* The number of kin in respondents' networks ranged from 1 to 9 (theoretical range 0 to 10) ( $M=4.85$ ,  $SD=1.89$ ) and the total number of social network

members (including both kin and non-kin) ranged from 4 to 10 (theoretical range 1 to 10) ( $M=8.51$ ,  $SD=1.98$ ). Respondents reported a moderately high level of structural familism ( $M= .57$ ,  $SD= .18$ ) and attitudinal familism ( $M=74.15$ ,  $SD=11.70$ ). Additionally, participants indicated a high level of family social support and contact with family members; behavioural familism (social support) ( $M=20.20$ ,  $SD=4.43$ ) and behavioural familism (contact) ( $M=5.05$ ,  $SD=.62$ ), respectively (see Table 1).

*Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures.* The participants reported moderately high levels of acculturation to both Ukrainian and Canadian cultures. A paired samples t-test was conducted to determine whether there was a significant difference in mean levels of Canadian acculturation and Ukrainian acculturation. Results showed that overall Canadian acculturation ( $M=105.66$ ,  $SD=11.62$ ) was significantly greater than Ukrainian acculturation ( $M=85.85$ ,  $SD=19.15$ ),  $t(129) = -9.67$ ,  $p < .001$ .

*Acculturative family hassles.* Overall, with respect to acculturative family hassles, the results demonstrated that second-generation Ukrainians experienced few acculturative family hassles. A paired samples t-test was conducted to determine whether there was a significant difference in mean levels of overall Canadian family hassles and overall Ukrainian family hassles. Results showed that the mean for overall Canadian family hassles ( $M=1.16$ ,  $SD=1.48$ ) was significantly greater than the mean for Ukrainian family hassles ( $M=.40$ ,  $SD=.93$ ),  $t(120) = -5.68$ ,  $p < .001$ , suggesting that participants reported greater endorsement of hassles stemming from interactions with family members who were 'more Canadian' than the participants, than hassles stemming from interactions with family members who were 'more Ukrainian' than the participants.

Paired-samples t-tests were likewise performed to investigate whether there were significant differences between the mean levels of Canadian and Ukrainian hassles along the parental, spousal, and child dimensions. A Bonferroni adjustment was used to control for multiple testing. The results indicated that for acculturative family hassles arising from interactions with either the spouse or the child(ren), Canadian hassles were significantly greater than their Ukrainian counterparts. More specifically, the mean for Canadian spousal family hassles ( $M=.33$ ,  $SD=.65$ ) was significantly greater than the mean for Ukrainian spousal family hassles ( $M=.09$ ,  $SD=.43$ ),  $t(98)=-3.51$ ,  $p < .01$ , and the mean for Canadian child-related family hassles ( $M=.99$ ,  $SD=1.04$ ) was significantly greater than the mean for Ukrainian child related family hassles ( $M=.13$ ,  $SD=.51$ ),  $t(97)=-8.44$ ,  $p < .001$ . In contrast, the results showed that for acculturative family hassles arising from interactions with parents, Ukrainian hassles were significantly greater than their Canadian counterpart, such that the mean for mean for Ukrainian parental family hassles ( $M=.25$ ,  $SD=.59$ ) was significantly higher than the mean for Canadian parental family hassles ( $M=.08$ ,  $SD=.27$ ),  $t(91)=2.76$ ,  $p < .05$ . Table 10 shows descriptive data regarding the dichotomized acculturation-related family hassles scales.

*Family life satisfaction.* With respect to family life satisfaction, 76% of the sample had spouses or significant others ( $n=99$ ), 71% had living parents ( $n=92$ ), and 75% had at least one child ( $n=98$ ). Accordingly, 93% ( $n=121$ ) of respondents had at least one of the aforementioned family members. The remaining 7% of the sample ( $n=9$ ) had no family members (i.e., no spouses, no parents as well as no children) endorsing “not applicable” for the family life satisfaction inventory. Consequently, they were not included in analyses involving family life satisfaction variables. Second-generation

Ukrainians in the current study reported experiencing a moderately high overall level of family life satisfaction ( $M= 24.81, SD= 4.29$ ) as well as moderately high levels of family life satisfaction with spouses ( $M= 25.09, SD= 5.00$ ), parents ( $M= 23.86, SD= 5.42$ ), and children ( $M= 25.45, SD= 4.71$ ), respectively. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted to examine whether there was a significant difference between the means for family life satisfaction with respect to parents, spouses and children. Results demonstrated a non-significant main effect,  $F(1.79, 119.95) = .705, p > .05$ .

#### *Intercorrelations Among Study Variables*

*Relations between demographic and study variables.* Pearson correlations were computed (Tables 2, 3 and 4) to determine whether there were significant associations among the study variables. With regard to relations between demographic and study variables, age was found to be significantly negatively associated with attitudinal familism ( $r = -.18, p < .05$ ), suggesting that younger participants were more likely to report higher overall levels of attitudinal familism. Participants' birthplace, was positively associated with overall Ukrainian family hassles ( $r = .18, p < .05$ ) and with age ( $r = .66, p < .01$ ). Therefore, those individuals who immigrated to Canada with their parents by the age of 7, tended to be older than those who were born in Canada and tended to endorse acculturative family hassles due to family members being 'more Ukrainian' than the participant. According to the descriptive analyses, participants' endorsement of hassles due to family members being 'more Ukrainian' than themselves stemmed primarily from interactions with first-generation Ukrainian-born parents. Thus, a possible explanation for this finding is that older participants may have had older parents who had spent more time in Ukraine and had an older age of arrival to Canada.

Such participants may have been more likely to endorse hassles due to parents being 'more Ukrainian' than themselves (e.g., parents speaking to them in Ukrainian, parents valuing maintaining Ukrainian culture/religious practices more than the participants).

*Intercorrelations among familism and acculturation.* Correlational analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between total acculturation scores for Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, respectively. There was no significant relation ( $r = -.10, ns$ ). Thus, acculturation to the two cultures appeared to be orthogonal in this sample of second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians.

The three dimensions of familism were found to be intercorrelated. More specifically, structural familism (i.e., proportion of kin in the respondents networks) was positively associated with behavioural familism (i.e., family social support) ( $r = .28, p < .01$ ). Moreover, the two measures of behavioural familism (i.e., family social support and frequency of kin contact) were positively related ( $r = .26, p < .01$ ).

With respect to the correlation between acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures and the three dimensions of familism, total Canadian acculturation was not significantly related to any of the familism measures. Total Ukrainian acculturation, however, was positively associated with greater structural familism ( $r = .21, p < .05$ ) and greater attitudinal familism ( $r = .22, p < .05$ ), but was unrelated to behavioural familism ( $r = -.15, ns$ ).

### *Principal Analyses*

#### *Correlates of Family Life Satisfaction*

*Acculturation variables and family life satisfaction.* With respect to familism measures, structural familism did not correlate significantly with any of the family life

satisfaction indices. However, there was a significant positive relationship between family social support (behavioural familism) and overall family life satisfaction ( $r = .37, p < .01$ ), moreover, family social support was positively related to satisfaction with spouse ( $r = .47, p < .01$ ), to satisfaction with parents ( $r = .29, p < .01$ ) and to satisfaction with children ( $r = .23, p < .05$ ). These results suggest that increased family support was related to greater overall family satisfaction, as well as greater satisfaction with spouse, children and parents. Significant positive relationships were also found between frequency of contact with kin (behavioural familism) and satisfaction with parents ( $r = .26, p < .05$ ). Finally, a positive association was found between attitudinal familism (family obligations) and satisfaction with parents ( $r = .27, p < .01$ ), suggesting that participants who adhered to traditional familistic values were more satisfied with their relationship to parents. Although total Canadian acculturation was not significantly related to any of the family life satisfaction measures, total Ukrainian acculturation was positively associated with greater family life satisfaction with parents ( $r = .26, p < .05$ ) (Table 2).

*Acculturative stressor variables and family life satisfaction.* There was a significant negative relationship between overall Ukrainian family hassles and total family life satisfaction ( $r = -.23, p < .05$ ) (Table 3), suggesting that hassles due to the family members being more Ukrainian than the participant were related to less overall satisfaction with family life. In addition, overall Ukrainian family hassles were primarily related to decreased satisfaction with parents ( $r = -.27, p < .01$ ). In contrast, there was no significant relationship between overall Canadian family hassles and the family life satisfaction measures.

With respect to the correlation between acculturation-related family hassles stemming from interaction with specific family members and total levels of family satisfaction, a significant negative relationship was found between Ukrainian hassles arising from interactions with the spouse ( $r = -.30, p < .01$ ) and total family life satisfaction. Additionally, both Ukrainian family hassles from the parents ( $r = -.26, p < .05$ ) and Canadian hassles from the parents ( $r = -.25, p < .05$ ) were negatively correlated with total family life satisfaction.

Further, examining the relations between acculturative hassles and family life satisfaction within each of the three family subsystems, results revealed that both Ukrainian ( $r = -.23, p < .05$ ) and Canadian ( $r = -.22, p < .05$ ) hassles from the spouse were negatively related to marital satisfaction. Similarly, both Ukrainian hassles from parents ( $r = -.40, p < .01$ ) and Canadian hassles from parents ( $r = -.28, p < .01$ ) were negatively associated with satisfaction with parents. In contrast, neither Ukrainian ( $r = -.02, ns$ ) nor Canadian ( $r = -.13, ns$ ) hassles from children were significantly related to participants' satisfaction with children.

#### *Relations Among Acculturation Variables and Acculturative Stressor Variables*

Correlational analyses were performed to explore the relationship between levels of acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures and endorsement of acculturative family hassles. There was a significant positive association between acculturation to Ukrainian culture and total Canadian family hassles ( $r = .33, p < .01$ ) (Table 4). Additionally, a significant positive relation was found between acculturation to Canadian culture and total Ukrainian family hassles ( $r = .21, p < .05$ ).

Furthermore, analyses examining the correlations between acculturation-related family hassles stemming from interactions with specific family members and levels of Ukrainian and Canadian acculturation were carried out. Ukrainian acculturation was positively associated with Canadian family hassles with children ( $r = .37, p < .01$ ). Moreover, Canadian acculturation was positively correlated with Ukrainian hassles with parents ( $r = .24, p < .05$ ). This pattern of results suggests that whereas higher levels of acculturation to the ethnic culture were related to the endorsement of hassles due to children being more Canadian than the participant, higher levels of acculturation to the host culture were associated with the endorsement of hassles due to parents being more Ukrainian than the participant.

Finally, correlational analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between familism and acculturative family hassles. A significant positive correlation was found between structural familism and overall Canadian family hassles ( $r = .20, p < .05$ ) (Table 3) as well as between attitudinal familism and overall Canadian family hassles ( $r = .24, p < .01$ ). A positive association was also found between structural familism and hassles due to children being more Ukrainian than the participant ( $r = .23, p < .05$ ).

#### *Predictors of Family Life Satisfaction*

Four hierarchical multiple regressions were performed to examine the impact of demographic factors, acculturation variables and acculturative stressor variables upon the four criterion variables: total family life satisfaction, family satisfaction with spouse, family satisfaction with parents and family satisfaction with children.

For each of the four multiple regressions conducted, covariates consisted of the following two demographic variables: age and place of birth (for birthplace 0=Canadian

born 1=foreign-born), that were entered at Step 1. Following the entry of the demographic variables, six acculturation variables were entered, as a block, at Step 2. The acculturation variables consisted of structural familism, behavioural familism (i.e., family social support and frequency of family contact), attitudinal familism, total Ukrainian acculturation and total Canadian acculturation. Acculturative stressor variables were entered, as a final block, in Step 3 (i.e., overall acculturative hassles for the regression predicting total family life satisfaction; marital family hassles for family satisfaction with spouse; parental family hassles for family life satisfaction with parents and child-related hassles for family life satisfaction with children).

*Predictors of total family life satisfaction.* Twenty six percent (26%) of the variance in total family life satisfaction was accounted for by all predictor variables, ( $R^2_{\text{total}} = .26$ ,  $F(10,104) = 3.59$ ,  $p < .001$ ). None of the demographic variables predicted total family life satisfaction in Step 1 (Table 5). Acculturation variables at Step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .19$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 4.14$ ,  $p < .01$  ( $p = .001$ )) were significant predictors of total family life satisfaction. This was primarily attributable to behavioural familism, which accounted for 13% of unique variance in total family life satisfaction at Step 2 ( $p < .001$ ). Additionally, the acculturative stressor variables entered at Step 3 predicted total family life satisfaction over and above the acculturation variables ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .06$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 3.95$ ,  $p < .05$ ). This was mainly due to overall Ukrainian family hassles, which accounted for 5% of unique variance in total family life satisfaction at Step 3 ( $p < .01$ ). Thus, participants who indicated higher levels of behavioural familism (as measured by family social support) and who did not report hassles due to the family members being ‘more Ukrainian’ reported significantly greater levels of overall family life satisfaction.

*Predictors of family life satisfaction with spouse.* Thirty one percent (31%) of the variance in life satisfaction with spouse was accounted for by the predictor variables, ( $R^2_{\text{total}} = .31$ ,  $F(10,86) = 3.87$ ,  $p < .001$ ). None of the demographic variables predicted marital satisfaction in Step 1 (Table 6). Acculturation variables were significant predictors of family life satisfaction with spouse at Step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .24$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 4.56$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This was primarily attributable to behavioural familism, which accounted for 18% of unique variance in marital satisfaction at Step 2 ( $p < .001$ ). Further, the acculturative stressor variables entered at Step 3 predicted family life satisfaction with spouse over and above the acculturation variables ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .07$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 4.12$ ,  $p < .05$ ). This was mainly due to Ukrainian family hassles stemming from interactions with the spouse, which accounted for 4% of unique variance in marital satisfaction at Step 3 ( $p < .05$ ). Therefore, respondents who indicated having higher levels of behavioural familism (as measured by family social support) and who did not report hassles due to spouses being 'more Ukrainian' than the participant, reported greater levels of marital satisfaction.

*Predictors of family life satisfaction with parents.* Thirty nine percent (39%) of the variance in family life satisfaction with parents was accounted for by the predictor variables, ( $R^2_{\text{total}} = .39$ ,  $F(10,77) = 4.94$ ,  $p < .001$ ). None of the demographic variables predicted family life satisfaction with parents in Step 1 (Table 7). Acculturation variables at Step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .27$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 4.97$ ,  $p < .001$ ) were significant predictors of life satisfaction with parents. This was mainly attributable to behavioural familism (frequency of family contact) and to overall Ukrainian acculturation, which accounted for 8% ( $p < .01$ ) and 6% ( $p < .05$ ) of unique variance in family life satisfaction with parents,

respectively. Furthermore, the acculturative stressor variables entered at Step 3 predicted life satisfaction with parents over and above the acculturation variables ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .12$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} = 7.36$ ,  $p < .01$ ). This was primarily due to Ukrainian parental as well as to Canadian parental hassles, which accounted for 3% ( $p < .05$ ) and 4% ( $p < .05$ ) of unique variance in parental family life satisfaction, respectively. Thus, respondents who had greater behavioural familism (i.e., greater frequency of contact with family members), who indicated higher levels of acculturation to Ukrainian culture, and who did not report hassles due to parents being 'more Ukrainian' or 'more Canadian' reported greater levels of family life satisfaction with respect to their parents.

In order to investigate the Ukrainian acculturation at a more differentiated level, a secondary regression analysis was performed using the three distinct aspects of Ukrainian Acculturation (Identity, Behaviour, Language Acculturation), rather than the total Ukrainian Acculturation score, in the hierarchical multiple regression (Trickett & Birman, 2005). Because gender was found to be significantly associated with the participants' reports of Ukrainian behavioural acculturation ( $r = -.25$ ,  $p < .01$ ), such that women were more likely to endorse lower Ukrainian behavioural acculturation, gender was included as a covariate in the secondary regression analysis. No other demographic variables were found to be significantly associated with either the predictor or criterion variables.

Results showed that nine percent (9%) of the variance in family life satisfaction with parents was accounted for by all predictor variables, ( $R^2_{\text{total}} = .09$ ,  $F(4,87) = 2.11$ ,  $p < .10$  ( $p = .086$ )). Gender was not a significant contributor to family life satisfaction with parents in Step 1 (Table 8). Acculturation variables at Step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .09$ ,  $F_{\text{change}} =$

2.81,  $p < .05$ ) were significant predictors of family life satisfaction with parents. This was mainly attributable to Ukrainian Identity acculturation, which accounted for 3% of unique variance in family life satisfaction with parents. Therefore, respondents who reported greater levels of Ukrainian identity, reported higher levels of family life satisfaction with respect to their parents.

*Predictors of family life satisfaction with children.* None of the demographic, acculturation, or acculturation stressor variables predicted family life satisfaction with children (see Table 9).

## Discussion

The purpose of the current study was to explore the acculturation and adaptation experiences of adult second-generation Ukrainian immigrants within the family domain of life. Additionally, the study aimed to refine knowledge about the factors that play a role in immigrants' family functioning by investigating the relationship of acculturation variables and acculturative stressor variables in relation to overall family life satisfaction as well as with regard to satisfaction with spouses, parents and children. Acculturation variables and acculturative stressor variables were assessed multidimensionally, in order to allow for a more complete examination of participants' acculturation patterns.

The sections below explore the findings of the study in light of the existing family acculturation literature. Evidence is reviewed supporting the need to examine family life satisfaction across multiple family dyads, along with study limitations, implications for studies with adult second-generation immigrants, and possible directions for future research.

### *Relations Among Acculturation Variables*

*Familism and acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures.* With respect to the association between familism and acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures, second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians who were more highly acculturated to Ukrainian culture tended to have a greater percentage of kin in their social support networks (structural familism) and tended to adhere more traditional family values (attitudinal familism). These findings are consistent with past research suggesting that familism is particularly important among Ukrainians (Grabowicz, 1988; Zhuravliova, 2006; Zhurzhenko, 2004; Newhouse, 2005). Ukrainian culture is characterized by a family structure emphasizing family obligations among extended family members and a sense of respect for parents and elders (Grabowicz, 1988; Zhurzhenko, 2004; Newhouse, 2005). Depending on the wave of migration and the parents' immigration experience, some Ukrainian parents may also value conforming behaviours in their children, including expecting their children to marry within the ethnic group (Grabowicz, 1988). Ukrainians are associated with a predominantly Catholic culture that has been described as being more collectivistic (Phinney & Ong, 2000; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Hofstede, 1980). Additionally, Ukrainian culture has been known to have an emphasis on family loyalty, solidarity, and reliance on an extended family system for assistance during difficult times (Newhouse, 2005). For example, every month Canadian families of Ukrainian descent financially assist their extended family networks overseas by sending an estimated 600,000 kg of parcels and millions of dollars in money transfers to family members in Ukraine and other regions (MEEST Corporation, 2001).

Although associations between structural and attitudinal aspects of familism and Ukrainian acculturation suggest that familism may be a particularly salient value in

Ukrainian culture, future investigation with other Ukrainian-Canadian samples is warranted in order to extend these findings. Nonetheless, the results support past suggestions that European-descended families (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999) may also endorse cultural values stressing interdependent kin networks and family loyalty. By describing the cultural value of familism in relation to cultural orientations in an Eastern European sample in Canada, the present study expands the familism literature by providing empirical evidence to support the cross-cultural applicability of the familism construct beyond Asian or Hispanic families in the U.S. (Kao & Travis, 2005).

Further, the lack of association between host acculturation and the behavioural dimension of familism upholds the results obtained by a number of researchers (e.g., Marin, 1993; Elliot, 2001; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Vanoss, Marin & Perez-Stable, 1987), who likewise failed to find any significant association between these variables. In their research with Hispanics, Sabogal and colleagues (1987) interpreted this finding as suggesting that behavioural familism was a familism dimension that remained strong throughout the acculturation process.

Interestingly, contrary to the suggestions of previous researchers that adherence to familistic values can be expected to decline as acculturation to the host culture increases with succeeding generations (Costa-Robles, 2002; Cuellar, Arnold & Gonzalez, 1995; Sabogal et al., 1987; Cortes, 1995; Steidel & Contreras, 2003; Rogler & Cooney, 1984), second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians in the present study maintained moderately high levels of structural, attitudinal and behavioural familism despite also adopting elements of the Canadian culture. More specifically, participants' moderately high levels of Canadian acculturation were shown to be uncorrelated with the dimensions of familism

suggesting that retaining familistic values was not incompatible with adherence to various facets of Canadian culture.

Confirming the notion that acculturation to the host culture does not inevitably weaken family values among later-generation migrants, a few studies have examined the relations between familism and cultural affiliations using a bidimensional model of acculturation and have reported similar results (Elliot, 2001; Romero, Robinson, Haydel, Mendoza & Killen, 2004). Elliot (2001), for example, found that, although attitudinal familism was negatively associated with American acculturation in first-generation Latino parents, it was positively related in the second-generation. Moreover, the second-generation reported high levels of affiliation to both ethnic and host cultures, corroborating the results of the present research. These findings highlight the need for additional research that further distinguishes between the deeper and the more superficial changes in values as families face the pressures of acculturation, particularly over successive generations (Berry, 1997ab; Berry, 2006a).

The study of the relationships between familism and cultural orientations is still relatively new (Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000; Elliot, 2001). Nevertheless, in addition to pointing to the complexity of the relationship between familism and acculturation to ethnic and host cultures (Rodriguez & Kosloski, 1998), the results presented here serve to expand upon the existing research in several ways. First, the findings are consistent with Marin and Gamba's (2003) suggestion that future research with immigrant families employ a multidimensional definition of familism while at the same time taking into consideration the respondents' acculturation levels. These methodological considerations are essential, both in order to obtain a more complete

picture of the participants' acculturation status with respect to the familism construct and to determine which dimensions of familism remain strong as immigrants undergo the process of acculturation and which dimensions of familism may be weakened or unaffected. Second, because the three dimensions of familism may have different relationships to acculturation to the ethnic and the host cultures, the results serve to reinforce the utility of also measuring acculturation bidimensionally when studying the relationship between familism and cultural orientations, particularly among members of the second-generation.

#### *Relations Between Acculturation Variables and Acculturative Stressor Variables*

*Familism and acculturative stressor variables.* For the present sample, there was a positive association between structural and attitudinal dimensions of familism and the frequency of overall hassles with family members being perceived as 'more Canadian' than the participants. This finding is consistent with previous research (Phinney & Ong, 2000; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999) suggesting that as individuals within one extended immigrant household acculturate at different rates, discrepancies in the acquisition of cultural values can develop and then serve as the basis for intergenerational or intrafamilial tensions (Vega & Gil, 1999; Vasilescu, 2001; Parrillo 1991; Cornille & Brotherton 1993; Serafica, 1990; Schwebel, Russell, Isaac & Myers, 1990). Moreover, Canadian culture has been described as having a strong emphasis on individualism and self-reliance. Thus, a possible explanation for this finding is that when participants who were more attached to traditional familistic values (stressing family interdependence and loyalty) interacted with members of their family whom they perceived to be more acculturated to the Canadian culture than themselves,

they tended to experience acculturative stressors due to family members being ‘more Canadian’.

Research conducted with Hispanic immigrants provides partial support for this explanation. For example, Gil, Wagner, and Vega (2000) studied first and second-generation adolescents in Latino families and reported significant links between the adolescents’ levels of familism and their endorsement of acculturative stressors, including stressors due to family members who were more acculturated to the Latino culture. In particular, Gil, Wagner, and Vega (2000) found that lower scores on a measure of overall familism were associated with increased acculturative stressors. However, the authors did not assess familism multidimensionally and neglected to separate acculturative family stressors from acculturative stressors due to interactions outside of the family, complicating the direct comparison of the authors’ findings with those of the current study. Furthermore, despite addressing acculturative family stressors due to family members being ‘more Latino’ than the respondents in their acculturative strains scale, Gil, Wagner, and Vega (2000) failed to measure acculturative family stressors due to family members being more acculturated to the U.S. culture than the respondents. In contrast, by employing a bidimensional approach to the measurement of acculturative family hassles, the current study was able to extend prior research by directly examining whether the two different dimensions of acculturative family stressors had differential links with the construct of familism.

Taken together, the findings point to the notion that immigrants’ adherence to values such as familism may represent an area disagreement for the families of second-generation individuals. However, the acculturative family hassles scale developed for the

present study was limited in that it contained a relatively small number of items referring specifically to family disagreements over discrepancies in family members' adherence to cultural values. Therefore, further studies with other second-generation immigrant samples in this area are warranted. For example, more research that addresses the specific nature and range of acculturative family stressors that may emerge due to differences in adoption of cultural values among second-generation immigrants and their family members might be an important area for future consideration.

*Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures and acculturative stressor variables.* Corroborating past research suggesting links between immigrants' levels of acculturation and measures of acculturative stress (e.g., Liebkind, 1996ab; Rumbaut, 1994), second-generation respondents' cultural orientations to the Ukrainian and Canadian cultures were found to be significantly associated with their level of overall acculturative family hassles. However, this pattern of correlations differed from reported findings with other Eastern European migrant groups (Vinokurov, 2001; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002). In the present sample, Ukrainian acculturation was positively associated with the endorsement of overall Canadian acculturative family hassles, while acculturation to the Canadian culture was positively associated with the endorsement of overall Ukrainian acculturative family hassles. In contrast, Vinokurov and colleagues (Vinokurov, 2001; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002) found that acculturation to the Russian culture was positively associated with the endorsement of acculturative family hassles while acculturation to the U.S. culture was inversely associated with the endorsement of acculturative family hassles.

An understanding of the differences between demographic and acculturation profiles of the two Eastern European groups may shed some light on the reasons behind this divergent pattern of findings. For example, Vinokurov (2001) sampled first-generation, foreign-born elderly Russians whose immigration to the U.S. had been relatively recent. Consequently, the acculturative family hassles assessed focused largely on stressors due to family members being 'more American' than the elders surveyed, or due to the participants' lack of familiarity with American culture. Moreover, time in the U.S. was negatively associated with frequency of acculturative family hassles, suggesting that as the Russian elders became more acculturated to the American culture, frequency of acculturative family hassles due to family members being more 'American' than themselves was attenuated (Roytburd, 2006).

In contrast, the Eastern European sample in the present study consisted of middle-aged second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians, all of whom were native-born or had arrived to Canada as very young children with their parents. Because the families of the participants were multigenerational, the types of acculturative family stressors assessed were wider ranging than those assessed previously in recent Eastern European migrants and included hassles due to family members being more acculturated to the Ukrainian culture as well as hassles due to family members being more acculturated to the Canadian culture than the respondents. Furthermore, unlike the negative relationship between ethnic and host cultural orientations reported in past studies with Eastern European samples (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Trickett & Birman, 2005; Roytburd, 2006), in second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians, the relationship between cultural orientations was orthogonal, such that experiencing a high or low level of overall

Ukrainian acculturation did not preclude experiencing a high or low level of overall Canadian acculturation.

The finding that acculturative family hassles along both dimensions were endorsed by the participants across all family members is not surprising, given that the second-generation Ukrainians in the present study were middle aged and thus interacted with kin from multiple generations. However, unlike previous research with Eastern European groups that did not differentiate hassles by family member source, the current study also investigated the relationship between participants' levels of acculturation and acculturative family hassles stemming from interactions with specific family members (parents, spouses, and children). Thus, it was possible to obtain a more differentiated picture of the relationships between family hassles and cultural orientation. In particular, overall Ukrainian acculturation was most strongly associated with experiencing overall Canadian family hassles with children (i.e., hassles due to children being 'more Canadian' than the participant), while overall Canadian acculturation was most strongly associated with experiencing overall Ukrainian-related family hassles with parents (i.e., hassles due to parents being 'more Ukrainian'). In addition to highlighting the complexities inherent in the families of second-generation adults, this pattern of findings suggests that as acculturating second-generation individuals live with the expectations and demands of various family members within their intergenerational extended households, different types of acculturative gaps, cultural issues, and family stressors may emerge within each of the family subsystems relevant to this population.

In terms of future research directions, the results provide preliminary support for the use of bi-dimensional measures of acculturative family hassles (both for heritage

culture and host culture) as well as the need to assess of acculturative family stressors member source (e.g., spouse, parents and children). Moreover, when contrasted with the extant research, the results indicate that Eastern Europeans immigrants represent a heterogeneous cultural group. Indeed, associations between acculturative family stressors and cultural orientations in Eastern Europeans can vary depending on the demographic characteristics of the immigrant sample investigated, (e.g., refugee status, generational status), the types of acculturative family stressors assessed by the researchers, and the context of acculturation (e.g., U.S. versus Canada).

#### *Predictors of Family Life Satisfaction*

Past research conducted with immigrant populations on the topic of family acculturation has suggested that both acculturation variables and acculturative stressor variables may play important roles in their overall family life satisfaction (e.g., Vinokurov, 2001) as well as in the quality of their family relationships within various family dyads (e.g., Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer & Delgado, 2005).

*Acculturation variables, acculturative stressor variables and total family life satisfaction.* With respect to total family life satisfaction, the multiple regression results provided evidence for the role of both acculturation variables and acculturative stressors in the overall family adjustment of second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. More specifically, behavioural familism was a significant predictor of total family life satisfaction, such that greater family social support was related to better family outcome. Behavioural familism has been linked to better family adjustment in previous studies. For example, in a study of Mexican American families, Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer and Delgado (2005) found that measures of behavioural familism were positively

associated with closer and more involved adolescent sibling relationships. The positive relationship between behavioural familism and overall family life satisfaction is also consistent with the well-documented finding regarding family support and increased psychological well-being among family members. A supportive family environment has been associated with reduced distress during the acculturation process (Castillo, Conoley & Brossart, 2004), less frequent use of mental health services (Vega, 1995) and enhanced the ability of immigrant families to adapt effectively to the new host society (Baptiste, 1987; Landau, 1982; Landau-Stanton, 1985; Sluzki, 1979). Based on the current results, therefore, it appears that the nuclear and extended kin network may also continue to represent a major social resource (Kao & Travis, 2005) for families at later stages of cultural transition, including the families of second-generation Canadian-born adults.

The absence of the attitudinal dimension of familism in predicting total family life satisfaction, however, was contrary to some of the previous studies suggesting that second-generation adolescents (Fuligni et al., 1999; Phinney & Ong, 2002) and adult first-generation immigrants (Liu, Ng, Weatherall & Loong, 2000) who believed in the importance of family obligations had more positive relationships with their families. In some past research, however, attitudinal familism has been conceptualized as having multiple dimensions (e.g., respect, current assistance, and future support) (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Steidel & Contreras, 2003). Therefore, significant associations with total family life satisfaction may have been masked by the use of a global measure of attitudinal familism in the present study. Moreover, the attitudinal familism scale used may have been less pertinent to the present sample demographic, considering that it was

originally developed for use with adolescent rather than with an adult immigrant population (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999).

Similarly, the absence of the structural dimension of familism in predicting total family life satisfaction was inconsistent with previous research with Hispanic immigrants (Coohey, 2001; Magana, 1999; Lucero-Liu, 2007) demonstrating that having larger extended family networks was associated with better family adjustment outcomes. For example, in a study of the relationship between familism and child abuse among Latino and Anglo mothers, Coohey (2001) showed that non-abusive Latina mothers reported higher levels of structural familism. Additionally, Magana (1999) found that structural familism predicted better maternal well-being among Puerto Rican families caring for and adult with mental retardation. A possible explanation for the lack of corroborating results may have to do with inconsistencies in the measurement of structural familism across studies. More specifically, whereas in this investigation the index of structural familism was limited to the percentage of kin in participants' social networks, some previous researchers have also included information about kin co-residence or kin geographical proximity (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994; Lucero-Liu, 2007), that were not assessed within the present research.

Overall, the pattern of findings suggesting that some aspects of familism are more important than others in explaining variations in family adaptation is consistent with past immigrant research examining familism as a multidimensional construct (e.g., Elliot, 2001; Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994; Coohey, 2001; Lucero-Liu, 2007). By applying such a measurement strategy in the current study, it was possible to determine that for adult second-generation Ukrainians, it was not their degree of adherence to familistic

attitudes nor the percentage of kin in their social network but rather a supportive family environment which played a more important role in their overall level of family life satisfaction.

Further, corroborating a study conducted with Hispanic immigrants (Heras & Revilla, 1994), participants' levels of acculturation were not significantly associated with overall family life satisfaction. The lack of overall acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures emerging as significant predictors of family adaptation, however, was inconsistent with the results of other investigations. For example, a number of past studies have demonstrated that acculturation levels to the dominant culture were either negatively (Faragallah, Schumm & Webb, 1997; Gil & Vega, 1996; Brooks, Stuewig & Lecroy, 1998) or positively (Jeong & Schumm, 1990) associated with family adjustment outcomes.

In line with the results of previous studies suggesting that acculturative family hassles were related to poorer family adjustment (Gil & Vega, 1996; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002), acculturative family hassles were significant predictors of reduced overall family life satisfaction. Moreover, by separating the measures of acculturation family hassles into Canadian and Ukrainian dimensions it was possible to determine that the hassles that were most problematic were hassles with family members (i.e., spouse, parents and children) due to family members being 'more Ukrainian' than the participant.

The absence of Canadian hassles contributing the family life satisfaction is also noteworthy. Within multigenerational families, acculturative stressors along both Canadian and Ukrainian dimensions may be difficult to avoid, as different family members and different generations may have varying rates of acculturation to ethnic and

host cultures. However, the results of the current study suggest that not all acculturative stressors may be equally problematic or have similar implications for overall family adjustment. Future studies should further examine the relative impact of different subtypes of acculturative family hassles for family adaptation in different ethnocultural groups and in different generations.

Finally, acculturative stressors were found to significantly contribute to family life satisfaction over and above the effects of demographic variables and acculturation. Thus, some portion of the total family life satisfaction experienced by second-generation adults can be properly traced to their acculturation variables, and some portion to acculturative family hassles with family members. These results corroborate the findings of previous researchers who have examined the relative impact of both sets of variables for family satisfaction. For example, in his study Russian Jewish refugee elders Vinokurov (2001) found that acculturative family hassles were negative predictors of family life satisfaction and that Russian acculturation was a positive predictor of family life satisfaction. Furthermore, hierarchical multiple regression analyses demonstrated that acculturative family hassles predicted family life satisfaction over and above the effects of demographic variables and acculturation (Vinokurov, 2001).

*Acculturation variables, acculturative stressor variables and family life satisfaction with spouse.* With regard to the relationship between acculturation variables and marital satisfaction, behavioural familism emerged as a significant predictor, such that greater social support from family was related to increased marital adaptation. In general, this finding is similar to those of previous studies examining the relationship between dimensions of familism and marital adjustment among immigrant couples. For

example, Morales (1998) examined the relationship between familism, acculturation and marital satisfaction among Latino couples. Confirming the findings obtained in the present study, results showed that acculturation levels were unrelated to marital satisfaction in the Latino couples. In terms of the relation among familism and marital satisfaction, Morales (1998) found that greater familism (i.e., behavioural and attitudinal) was positively associated with marital satisfaction. Unlike Morales' study that combined behavioural and attitudinal dimensions into an overall familism score, however, the present research assessed these dimensions separately, making it possible to determine the unique predictive utility of behavioural familism for marital outcome. In another study, Lucero-Liu (2007) studied structural, behavioural and attitudinal familism among first and second-generation Mexican immigrant couples and found that greater behavioural familism was associated with lower levels of relationship conflict. Moreover, Torres-Sena (2004) examined the relation between acculturation levels, familism and indices of marital adjustment (i.e. cohesion, conflict and spousal abuse) among Hispanic and non-Hispanic couples. Supporting the current study, results showed that behavioural familism was negatively associated with conflict, physical assault, and injury and positively associated with marital cohesion and expressiveness.

As with overall family life satisfaction, acculturative stressors were found to significantly contribute to family life satisfaction with spouse over and above the effects of acculturation and demographic variables. Although they did not examine the relative importance of acculturation and stressor variables to marital adaptation (entering both types of variables in the regression analyses simultaneously), Ataca and Berry (2002) similarly tested whether acculturation levels, marital social support, and marital stressors

predicted marital adaptation among Turkish immigrants in Canada. Corroborating the results of the current study, the researchers found that social support and marital stressors both significantly contributed to marital adaptation, such that couples who experienced greater social support and fewer marital stressors reported greater levels of marital adjustment. Although the marital stressor scale used in Ataca and Berry's (2002) study did include items reflecting circumstances and conditions of daily marital life that were undesirable (e.g., differing role expectations) the researchers failed to measure participants' endorsement marital stressors arising due to acculturation issues between married partners.

In contrast, the current study improved upon previous research by assessing acculturative marital hassles along two different dimensions (Canadian spousal hassles and Ukrainian spousal hassles) allowing for an independent examination of the relative influence of each type of possible acculturative family hassle on the quality of the marital partnership. Results showed that acculturative marital hassles of importance in the multiple regression analysis concerned hassles with the spouse due to the spouse being 'more Ukrainian' than the participant. Given that acculturative family stressors in the context of the marital dyad have not previously been measured bidimensionally the present finding is of particular interest. Taking into consideration that the majority of participants (68%) had spouses of Ukrainian or Slavic background, however, additional studies conducted with more heterogeneous samples are warranted in order to shed further light on the relationship between acculturation related spousal hassles and marital satisfaction.

*Acculturation variables, acculturative stressor variables and family life*

*satisfaction with parents.* Paralleling the results obtained with regard to the marital dyad, behavioural familism was similarly found to be a significant predictor of participants' family life satisfaction with parents. However, it was behavioural familism as measured by frequency of contact, rather than the level of family social support, that was the most important predictor of satisfaction with parents. Assuming that the majority of second-generation respondents did not live with their elderly parents, it may be that whereas emotional social support from family is more important in predicting participants' marital satisfaction, due to closer intimacy and cohabitation, it is the frequency of contact that is the more important factor in facilitating their family adaptation within the parent-adult child dyad. This interpretation is concordant with the suggestions of Wong, Yoo and Stewart (2006) who emphasized the importance of frequency of contact among adult immigrants and their elderly first-generation Korean immigrant parents, and is generally consistent with previous research (Bastida, 1988) regarding the positive link between behavioural familism and increased satisfaction within the elderly parent-adult child dyad.

Interestingly, although overall acculturation to Ukrainian culture did not influence total family life satisfaction, greater acculturation to Ukrainian culture did significantly predict greater family life satisfaction with parents. This finding corroborates past research indicating that the process of acculturation is linked to adjustment outcomes for an individual within their family (Cheung & Dobkins de Rios, 1982; Mindel & Habenstein, 1976; Sluzki, 1979). A possible explanation for the benefits of Ukrainian acculturation for family adjustment with respect to second-generation adults and their

elderly parents, who arrived to Canada as adult refugees due to World War II, is that greater Ukrainian acculturation is associated with reduced parent-child acculturation gaps thereby increasing the quality of the parent-child relationship. Some support for this explanation is found in a recent study of acculturation, acculturation gaps, and family adjustment among refugee Russian adolescents and parents (Birman, 2006ab). Birman found that adolescents' maintenance of acculturation to Russian culture with respect to language was significantly associated with better family adaptation within the parent-child dyad, from the perspective of the parents. The result is also consistent with Vinokurov's (2001) study demonstrating that Russian acculturation was a significant positive predictor of family life satisfaction in elderly Russians (Vinokurov, 2001).

Moreover, as demonstrated with overall family life satisfaction and family life satisfaction with the spouse, acculturative stressors were found to add predictive value to the acculturation variables, such that Ukrainian and Canadian acculturative family hassles with parents contributed to respondents' family life satisfaction within the parent-child dyad over and above the effects of acculturation and demographic variables. Within the parent-child dyad, acculturative parental hassles of importance concerned *both* hassles with the parents due to the parents being 'more Ukrainian' than the participant and hassles with the parents due to the parents being 'more Canadian' than the participant. In addition to confirming the relevance of including intrafamilial stressors along both ethnic and host dimensions in further research, the results also reinforce that intrafamilial stressors affecting quality of family life within this parent-child dyad may include those due to first-generation parents being more acculturated to the majority culture than their second-generation children.

A limitation of the current study was that acculturative family hassles with parents were not separated into those stemming from interactions with the mother and those stemming from interactions with the father. It remains unclear, therefore, from the available results, whether a) the participants experienced acculturative family hassles along both dimensions (Canadian and Ukrainian) from the same parent, for example, regarding different acculturative issues (e.g., language, behaviour) or b) whether one dimension of acculturative family hassles was more problematic in interactions with mothers and another dimension more problematic in interaction with fathers. This represents an area for future investigation, in light of previous research on perceived acculturation discrepancies among parents and children (Vasilescu, 2001; Dihn & Nguyen, 2006; Dinh, Sarason & Sarason, 1994) suggesting that the types of acculturative issues that emerge within the context of the parent-child dyad may differ depending on the gender of the parents and may have different implications for family life satisfaction with the parent.

*Acculturation variables, acculturative stressor variables and family life satisfaction with children.* With regard to the relationship of predictor variables and second-generation participants' satisfaction with their third-generation children, none of the acculturation variables or acculturative stressors were found to significantly predict participants' family life satisfaction in the parent-child dyad. The absence of acculturation variables in predicting respondents' satisfaction with their children was contrary to some of the previous studies suggesting that levels of familism and acculturation to ethnic and host cultures were related to variations in quality of parent-child relationships (Pineda, 2006; Luo & Wiseman, 2000; Keshishzadeh, 2006; Chung,

2001). However, unlike the current study that was limited to a second-generation sample, several of these studies included participants from multiple generations, complicating the comparability of findings.

Another possibility is that respondents' family life satisfaction with their children may have links to family and cultural processes other than those that were assessed in the current study. Given that past research has demonstrated the importance of parental involvement, parenting styles and parental expectations for their children's behaviour (Chun, 2006; Chun and Akutsu, 2003) impacting the quality parent-child relationships, these variables constitute promising factors to explore in future studies.

Moreover, in terms of the predictive utility of acculturative stressors (e.g., Canadian family hassles) on parent-child satisfaction, several explanations might account for the lack of significant findings. Firstly, the samples used in previous research investigating the relationships between acculturative stressors and family adjustment have consisted largely of recent first-generation immigrant parents and their adolescent children. In such dyads, children have been shown to acculturate to the new culture at a faster rate than their parents (Phinney & Ong, 2000; Elliot, 2001; Birman & Trickett, 2001; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznik & Hernandez, 1988; Liebkind, 1996ab), thus pronounced discrepancies in rates of acculturation may be observed.

In contrast, relatively fewer studies to date have examined the relationship between acculturative family hassles and family adaptation among family dyads consisting of second-generation parents and their third-generation children. Given that both second-generation participants and their third-generation children were native born, the degree of dissonance in rates of acculturation to the host culture (Portes, 1997) may

have been lower or practically non-existent in this parent-child dyad. Suggestions made by Phinney, Ong and Madden (2000) that acculturation gaps between parents and their children in immigrant families may differ in size depending on the cohort that the parents and children belong to (e.g., foreign-born parents and foreign-born children, foreign-born parents and native-born children, etc.) provide support for this explanation. Moreover, second-generation adult Ukrainians themselves exhibited significantly greater levels of overall acculturation to Canadian culture than overall acculturation to Ukrainian culture. Therefore, despite being endorsed by the participants, it is possible that child-related Canadian family hassles were not important enough to affect their level of satisfaction with their third-generation children, because the participants' themselves adhered to many aspects of the Canadian culture.

Secondly, the lack of association between acculturative family hassles stemming from children and family life satisfaction within the parent-child dyad may have been due to participants' encouragement of acculturation to the Canadian culture in their children, irrespective of their own levels of acculturation. In this respect, the results of the current study corroborate research conducted by researchers such as Elliot (2001), Buchanan (2000) and Baccallao and Smokowski (2007) demonstrating a non-significant relationship between perceived intrafamilial acculturative gaps and family adjustment. For example, Baccallao and Smokowski (2007) conducted a qualitative study with Mexican immigrants in the U.S. in order to determine how changes after immigration affect family functioning and family member interactions. Parent-adolescent acculturation gaps were viewed as an asset in this population as adolescents helped parents navigate within the new cultural system. Moreover, among Russian Jewish

immigrants from the former Soviet Union residing in the U.S., Buchanan (2000) assessed actual acculturation gaps between mothers and adolescent children in relation to indices of family adjustment. Despite Russian adolescents being significantly less acculturated to Russian culture and more acculturated to American culture than their mothers, parent-child acculturation gaps did not significantly predict family adjustment. Qualitative data in Buchanan's study (2000) indicated that gaps in acculturation were perceived as manageable or even beneficial within the parent-child dyads. In summary, the non-significant findings between acculturative family stressors and second-generation Ukrainians' satisfaction with their third-generation children contribute to the literature by demonstrating that the existence of acculturative family hassles due to perceived intergenerational discrepancies in levels of acculturation may not necessarily lessen levels of parental satisfaction with their children.

#### *Conclusions and Limitations*

The purpose of this study was to build upon previous research conducted with Eastern European migrant families (Vinokurov, 2001; Vinokurov, Trickett & Birman, 2002) by considering the relation between acculturation variables and acculturation stressor variables to the family life satisfaction of adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. The results converge on two main conclusions. Firstly, corroborating previous findings (Vinokurov, 2001), both acculturation variables and acculturative stressors were significant predictors of total family life satisfaction. Moreover, although acculturative stressor variables constituted a weaker predictor, they accounted for a significant proportion of variation in family life satisfaction above and beyond that explained by the acculturation variables. Taken together, these findings underscore the impact of

acculturative family stressors and indicate a need for continuing research on both of these sets of factors in future studies of immigrant family adaptation.

Second, the results demonstrate that in order to capture the dynamic and multidimensional nature of family acculturation in this population, family adaptation among second-generation adults may be better represented with reference to multiple family dyads. Indeed, the pattern of associations between predictor and outcome variables was different depending on the family subsystem being investigated.

Although the current research advances our understanding of the adjustment of second-generation individuals in the family domain of life, there remain a number of study limitations, which must be addressed in future investigations. First, considering that many family adjustment inventories being employed with immigrant groups (e.g., Family Adaptation and Cohesion Evaluations Scales (FACES) Olson, Sprenkle & Russell, 1979) have received criticism (Franklin, Streeter & Springer, 2001), the Family Life Satisfaction Index (Henry, Ostrander & Lovelace, 1992; Henry & Plunkett, 1995) was adapted for the current study. However, the questionnaire was initially developed for use with adolescents and thus the wording of items in the scale may have proved to be less relevant for an adult sample. Therefore, future research should be aimed at developing reliable and valid instruments for assessing adult immigrants' family life satisfaction within various family subsystems.

Second, the questionnaire adapted to assess Ukrainian and Canadian family hassles also faced several methodological limitations, that could be improved in future studies. More specifically, the family hassles subscales were designed so that the items covered a range of acculturation-related disagreements among family members (e.g.,

differences around language use, differences due to cultural behaviours and practices). However, some items regarding hassles with children centered on children's behaviours around dating and raising grandchildren (e.g., "Differences with my children because of their choice to marry/date a person of Ukrainian heritage", "Differences with my children because they are raising my grandchildren too Ukrainian"). Given the mean average age of participants ( $M = 49.50$  years,  $SD = 6.90$ ), it is possible that a number of participants did not have grandchildren or had children who were too young to date/marry and therefore these items would not have been applicable to them. Thus, future studies should consider the mean age of the participants when designing acculturative family hassles subscales, in order to ensure that all items are relevant to the age group of the respondents and/or their family members. In addition to including non-acculturation related family hassles, future studies should also include both frequency and severity of family hassles, a greater number of items per subscale, as well as a broader range of acculturative family hassles subscales.

Third, with regard to the measure of attitudinal familism used in the study, the finding that age was significantly negatively correlated with attitudinal familism, such that younger participants reported greater attitudinal familism, was contrary to some previous cross-generational research. For example, past studies demonstrated that values regarding attitudinal familism were stronger among first-generation youth than among third-generation youth (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999) and stronger among foreign-born adults (Diaz-Guerrero & Szalay, 1991; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Vanoss, Marin & Perez-Stable, 1987). One possible explanation for this divergent finding is the overall item content of the attitudinal familism scale used. In the attitudinal familism

questionnaire employed in the present research the majority of items focused on participants' attitudes regarding the familial duties and responsibilities of "children and teenagers living at home". Given that, in contrast to younger participants in the current sample, older respondents may have already had adult children living beyond the home, the scale may have failed to fully capture older participants' acculturation status with respect to the attitudinal familism value. Future research using inventories to assess attitudinal familism among middle aged second-generation migrants, therefore, could improve on this limitation through the development and inclusion of additional items centering specifically on the familial duties and responsibilities of "adult children who are living independently".

Finally, the present research was restricted to the sole use of self-report measures. In addition to having a greater chance of incurring social desirability bias, self-report methods may have other disadvantages, for instance, errors due to participants' reliance on retrospective recall when completing the acculturative family hassles scales. Moreover, the study examined participants' self-perceptions of their own adherence to family values and levels of acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian cultures. Future studies would benefit from inclusion of acculturation measurements as well as data from other family members (e.g., parents, children and spouse) as they may have rated the second-generation Ukrainians' acculturation processes differently.

#### *Significance of the Study*

Despite these limitations, the significance of the present study is threefold. Firstly, by adopting multidimensional operationalizations of both acculturation variables and acculturative stressors, the current study was able to address and improve upon

several of the methodological weaknesses in past studies. Secondly, in response to calls for future studies to address how patterns of acculturation and acculturative stress are related to indicators of adaptation within family subgroupings (Marin and Gamba, 2003; Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006) and in line with an ecological perspective for the study of immigrant adaptation (Trickett, 1996; Trickett, Watts & Birman, 1993; Trickett, Watts & Birman, 1994), the present research was designed to examine both overall family life satisfaction and satisfaction with respect to several family subsystems (e.g., marital, parental and child dyads) among second-generation Ukrainians. Consequently, the study went beyond previous research to provide a more precise, comprehensive and differentiated understanding of the link between acculturation variables, acculturative stressors and family adjustment than has generally been found in the family acculturation literature.

Thirdly, much of the research on the topic of family adaptation in second-generation migrants has been restricted to adolescents, rendering only a partial snapshot of the family acculturation experiences of children of immigrants. It is hoped that the current study represents a step toward increasing knowledge about how adult children of Ukrainian World War II refugees have adapted in the context of a multigenerational family environment. As an established ethnic group in Canada, Ukrainian-Canadians represent a population which lends itself well to studies focusing on second-generation adults. Moreover, given the fact that Canadians of Ukrainian descent now constitute well over 3.8% of the country's population, an in-depth understanding of factors that have facilitated their adaptation is particularly timely. Therefore, the current study extends the existing research on Eastern Europeans by shedding light on the family adaptation of

Ukrainian-Canadians, a sociodemographic segment of the population that to date had been understudied in the cross-cultural psychology and migration literatures.

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Table 1

*Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Transformations for Acculturation Variables (Familism and Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures), Acculturative Stressor Variables (Ukrainian and Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles) and Family Life Satisfaction (N = 130).*

Variable Name	M	SD	Range	Theoretical Range	Transformation
<u>Familism</u>					
Structural (n=123)	.57	.18	.10-1	0-1	--
Behavioral (Contact) (n=122)	5.05	.62	3-6	1-6	--
Behavioral (Social Support)	20.20	4.43	4-24	4-24	square root
Attitudinal	74.15	11.70	47-105	23-115	--
<u>Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures</u>					
Ukrainian Acculturation					
Identity	85.85	19.15	39-121	21-122	--
Behavior	5.13	.86	2.20-6	1-6	square root
Language	3.64	1.09	1.25-6	1-6	--
	4.12	.90	1-5	1-5	square root
Canadian Acculturation					
Identity	105.66	11.62	66-122	21-122	square root
Behavior	5.35	.73	2.60-6	1-6	logarithmic
Language	4.91	.76	2.50-6	1-6	square root
	4.99	.10	4-5	1-5	-- *

*Note:* -- indicates that skewness and kurtosis were within acceptable limits, therefore, transformations were not performed. \* denotes that a ceiling effect was found due to high English language proficiency among second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians

Table 1 (continued)

*Means, Standard Deviations, Ranges, and Transformations for Acculturation Variables (Familism and Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures), Acculturative Stressor Variables (Ukrainian and Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles) and Family Life Satisfaction (N = 130).*

Variable Name	M	SD	Range	Theoretical Range	Transformation
<u>Acculturative Family Hassles</u>					
Family Hassles Ukrainian (n=121)	.40	.93	0-7	0-11	dichotomized
Hassles Spouse Ukrainian (n=99)	.09	.43	0-3	0-3	dichotomized
Hassles Parents Ukrainian (n=92)	.25	.59	0-2	0-3	dichotomized
Hassles Children Ukrainian (n=98)	.13	.51	0-4	0-5	dichotomized
Family Hassles Canadian (n=121)	1.16	1.48	0-7	0-11	dichotomized
Hassles Spouse Canadian (n=99)	.33	.65	0-3	0-3	dichotomized
Hassles Parents Canadian (n=92)	.08	.27	0-1	0-3	dichotomized
Hassles Children Canadian (n=98)	.99	1.04	0-5	0-5	dichotomized
<u>Family Life Satisfaction (FLS)</u>					
FLS Total (n=121)	24.81	4.29	9.7-30	6-30	mean and square root
FLS Marital (n=99)	25.09	5.00	8-30	6-30	square root
FLS Parental (n=92)	23.86	5.42	6-30	6-30	square root
FLS Child (n=98)	25.45	4.71	6-30	6-30	square root

Table 2

*Intercorrelations between Acculturation Variables (Structural, Behavioral and Attitudinal) Familism and Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures and Family Life Satisfaction*

Variable name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Ukrainian Acculturation	---	.89**	.97**	.72**	-.10	-.07	-.10	.07	.21*	.15	-.17	.22*	.09	.07	.26*	.03
2. Ukrainian Identity	---	---	.81**	.61**	-.14	-.06	-.16	.03	.17	.17	-.13	.23**	.07	.05	.30**	.01
3. Ukrainian Behavior	---	---	---	.58**	-.06	-.05	-.06	.05	.20*	.15	-.15	.25**	.11	.10	.24*	.04
4. Ukrainian Language	---	---	---	---	-.14	-.08	-.15	.14	.20*	.03	-.16	.00	.00	.00	.16	.01
5. Canadian Acculturation	---	---	---	---	---	.74**	.97**	.14	-.15	.14	.01	.08	.10	.19	-.05	.15
6. Canadian Identity	---	---	---	---	---	---	.57**	.02	-.02	.18*	.02	.13	.14	.23*	.05	.14
7. Canadian Behavior	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.14	-.16	.13	.02	.05	.09	.16	-.07	.14
8. Canadian Language	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.00	.03	-.06	-.05	-.07	-.08	-.07	-.04
9. Structural Familism	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.28**	.00	.14	.12	.11	.13	-.01
10. Behavioral Familism SS	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.26**	.27**	.37**	.47**	.29**	.23*
11. Behavioral Familism C	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.11	.07	.03	.26*	.12
12. Attitudinal Familism	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.12	.10	.27**	.11
13. FLS Total	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.79**	.85**	.85**
14. FLS Marital	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.35**	.56**
15. FLS Parental	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.57**
16. FLS Child	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Note. \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; Behavioral Familism SS = Behavioral Familism (Social Support); Behavioral Familism C = Behavioral Familism (Contact); FLS = Family Life Satisfaction

Table 3

## Intercorrelations between Acculturative Stressor Variables (Ukrainian and Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles), Acculturation Variables (Structural,

## Behavioral and Attitudinal Familism) and Family Life Satisfaction

Variable name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. FamilyHassUkr	---	.41**	.75**	.57**	.18	.00	.38**	.18	.01	-.08	.00	.00	-.23*	.00	-.27**	-.10
2. HassSpouseUkr		---	.18	.16	-.10	.08	.12	-.11	-.05	-.10	.02	-.08	-.30**	-.23*	-.20	-.22*
3. HassParentUkr			---	-.11	.05	.10	.30**	.10	-.13	-.15	.00	-.11	-.26*	.09	-.40**	-.01
4. HassChildUkr				---	.16	-.10	.10	.18	.23*	.04	-.15	.11	.01	.02	.10	-.02
5. FamHassCan					---	.47**	.25*	.96**	.20*	.10	.17	.24**	-.02	.00	.07	-.11
6. HassSpouseCan						---	.12	.35**	.02	-.13	.05	.09	-.11	-.22*	-.02	-.13
7. HassParentCan							---	.22	.07	-.13	-.18	.11	-.25*	-.22	-.28**	-.11
8. HassChildCan								---	.15	-.01	.04	.19	-.10	.04	-.06	-.13
9. Structural Familism									---	.28**	.00	.14	.11	.11	.13	-.01
10. BehavioralFamilismSS										---	.26**	.27**	.37**	.47**	.29**	.23*
11. BehavioralFamilism C											---	.11	.07	-.03	.27*	.12
12. Attitudinal Familism												---	.12	.10	.27**	.11
13. FLS Total													---	.79**	.85**	.85**
14. FLS Marital														---	.35*	.56**
15. FLS Parent															---	.57**
16. FLS Child																---

Note. \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; FamilyHass Ukr = Family Hassles Ukrainian; HassSpouseUkr = Hassles Spouse Ukrainian; HassParent Ukr = Hassles Parent Ukrainian; HassChild Ukr = Hassles Children Ukrainian; FamilyHass Can = Family Hassles Canadian; HassSpouseCan = Hassles Spouse Canadian; HassParent Can = Hassles Parent Canadian; HassChild Can = Hassles Children Canadian; Behavioral Familism SS = Behavioral Familism (Social Support); Behavioral Familism C = Behavioral Familism (Contact); FLS = Family Life Satisfaction

Table 4

*Intercorrelations between Acculturative Stressor Variables (Ukrainian and Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles) and Acculturation Variables (Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures)*

Variable name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Ukrainian Acculturation	---	.89**	.97**	.72**	-.10	-.07	-.10	.07	.04	.01	-.23*	.22*	.33**	.04	.13	.37**
2. Ukrainian Identity	---	---	.81**	.61**	-.14	-.06	-.16	.03	.00	-.05	-.22*	.15	.30**	.04	.10	.33**
3. Ukrainian Behavior	---	---	---	.58**	-.06	-.05	-.06	.05	.04	.01	-.21*	.23*	.31**	.02	.13	.34**
4. Ukrainian Language	---	---	---	---	-.14	-.08	-.15	.14	.07	.04	-.16	.17	.25**	.06	.08	.32**
5. Canadian Acculturation	---	---	---	---	---	.74**	.96**	.14	.21*	-.03	.24*	.06	-.02	-.06	-.15	.02
6. Canadian Identity	---	---	---	---	---	---	.56**	.02	.12	-.02	.11	.11	-.10	-.13	-.33**	-.05
7. Canadian Behavior	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.14	.21*	-.05	.26*	.02	.02	.00	-.05	.05
8. Canadian Language	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-.02	.03	-.06	.04	.05	-.03	.04	.08
9. FamilyHassUkr	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.41**	.75**	.57**	.18	.00	.38**	.18
10.HassSpouseUkr	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.18	.16	-.10	.08	.12	-.11
11.HassParentUkr	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-.11	.05	.10	.30**	.10
12.HassChildUkr	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.16	-.10	.09	.18
13.FamHassCan	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.47**	.25*	.96**
14.HassSpouseCan	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.12	.35**
15.HassParentCan	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.22
16.HassChildCan	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*Note.* \* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ .; FamilyHass Ukr = Family Hassles Ukrainian; HassSpouseUkr= Hassles Spouse Ukrainian; HassParent Ukr = Hassles Parent Ukrainian; HassChild Ukr = Hassles Children Ukrainian; FamilyHass Can= Family Hassles Canadian; HassSpouseCan= Hassles Spouse Canadian; HassParent Can = Hassles Parent Canadian; HassChild Can = Hassles Children Canadian

Table 5

*Hierarchical Regression of Acculturation Variables (Familism and Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures) and Acculturative Stressor Variables (Total Ukrainian Acculturative Family Hassles, Total Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles) on Total Family Life Satisfaction (N = 121).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F (cha)
Step 1						.01	-.01	.01	.74
Age	.00	.02	.03	.21	.00				
Birthplace	.17	.22	.10	.77	.01				
Step 2						.20	.14	.19	4.14***
Structural Familism	.17	.49	.03	.36	.00				
Behavioral Familism SS <sup>a</sup>	.41	.10	.39	4.15***	.13				
Behavioral Familism Contact <sup>a</sup>	.09	.14	.06	.61	.00				
Attitudinal Familism	.00	.01	.01	.09	.00				
Total Ukrainian Acculturation	.00	.00	.09	.95	.01				
Total Canadian Acculturation <sup>a</sup>	.02	.06	.03	.30	.00				
Step 3						.26	.19	.06	3.95*
Family Hassles Ukrainian <sup>a</sup>	-.49	.18	-.25	-2.67**	.05				
Family Hassles Canadian <sup>a</sup>	-.05	.17	-.03	-.30	.00				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient; *t* = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry; *sr*<sup>2</sup> = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry; F value is that associated with change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry.

\**p* < 0.05; \*\**p* < 0.01; \*\*\**p* < 0.001

<sup>a</sup> Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Table 6

*Hierarchical Regression of Hierarchical Regression of Acculturation Variables (Familism and Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures) and Acculturative Stressor Variables (Ukrainian Family Hassles with Spouse, Canadian Family Hassles with Spouse) on Family Life Satisfaction with Spouse (N = 99).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F(cha)
Step 1						.01	-.01	.01	.44
Age	-.01	.02	-.04	-.26	.00				
Birthplace	.24	.28	.12	.86	.01				
Step 2						.24	.18	.24	4.56***
Structural Familism	.09	.62	.02	.15	.00				
Behavioral Familism SS <sup>a</sup>	.54	.12	.46	4.56***	.18				
Behavioral Familism Contact <sup>a</sup>	-.09	.17	-.05	-.55	.00				
Attitudinal Familism	-.00	.01	-.02	-.18	.00				
Total Ukrainian Acculturation	.00	.01	.03	.30	.00				
Total Canadian Acculturation <sup>a</sup>	.07	.07	.10	1.05	.01				
Step 3						.31	.23	.07	4.12*
Hassles Spouse Ukrainian <sup>a</sup>	-.90	.41	-.21	-2.24*	.04				
Hassles Spouse Canadian <sup>a</sup>	-.33	.20	-.15	-1.64	.02				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient; *t* = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry; *sr*<sup>2</sup> = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry; F value is that associated with change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry.

\**p* < 0.05; \*\**p* < 0.01; \*\*\**p* < 0.001

<sup>a</sup> Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Table 7

*Hierarchical Regression of Acculturation Variables (Familism and Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures) and Acculturative Stressor Variables (Ukrainian Family Hassles with Parents, Canadian Family Hassles with Parents) on Family Life Satisfaction with Parents (N = 92).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	$t$	$sr^2$	$R^2$	Adj. $R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	F (cha)
Step 1						.00	-.02	.00	.02
Age	.00	.02	.02	.14	.00				
Birthplace	.02	.31	.01	.05	.00				
Step 2						.27	.20	.27	4.97***
Structural Familism	.62	.61	.11	1.02	.01				
Behavioral Familism SS <sup>a</sup>	.24	.15	.18	1.65	.02				
Behavioral Familism Contact <sup>a</sup>	.59	.20	.31	2.91**	.08				
Attitudinal Familism	.01	.01	.13	1.26	.01				
Total Ukrainian Acculturation	.02	.01	.27	2.56*	.06				
Total Canadian Acculturation <sup>a</sup>	-.09	.07	-.13	-1.26	.01				
Step 3						.39	.31	.12	7.36***
Hassles Parents Ukrainian <sup>a</sup>	-.56	.28	-.21	-2.01*	.03				
Hassles Parents Canadian <sup>a</sup>	-.89	.38	-.24	-2.30*	.04				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient;  $t$  = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry;  $sr^2$  = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in  $R^2$  at entry; F value is that associated with change in  $R^2$  at entry.

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

<sup>a</sup>Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Table 8

*Hierarchical Regression of Acculturation Variables (Ukrainian Identity, Ukrainian Behavior and Ukrainian Language) on Family Life Satisfaction with Parents (N = 92).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>sr</i> <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	F (cha)
Step 1						.00	-.01	.00	.02
Gender	-.03	.22	-.02	-.15	.00				
Step 2						.09	.05	.097	2.81*
Ukrainian Identity <sup>a</sup>	1.07	.64	.27	1.67 <sup>+</sup>	.03				
Ukrainian Behavior	.04	.17	.04	.24	.00				
Ukrainian Language <sup>a</sup>	-.05	.48	-.02	-.11	.00				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient; *t* = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry; *sr*<sup>2</sup> = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry; F value is that associated with change in R<sup>2</sup> at entry.

\**p* < 0.05; \*\**p* < 0.01; \*\*\**p* < 0.001; +*p* < 0.10

<sup>a</sup> Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Table 9

*Hierarchical Regression of Acculturation Variables (Familism and Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures) and Acculturative Stressor Variables (Ukrainian Family Hassles with Children, Canadian Family Hassles with Children) on Family Life Satisfaction with Children (N = 98).*

Variables	B	SEB	$\beta$	$t$	$sr^2$	$R^2$	Adj. $R^2$	$\Delta R^2$	F (cha)
Step 1						.01	-.01	.01	.64
Age	-.02	.02	-.12	-.90	.01				
Birthplace	.31	.28	.15	1.10	.01				
Step 2						.11	.02	.09	1.50
Structural Familism	-.22	.65	-.04	-.34	.00				
Behavioral Familism SS <sup>a</sup>	.26	.13	.23	2.04	.04				
Behavioral Familism Contact <sup>a</sup>	.19	.20	.11	.97	.01				
Attitudinal Familism	.01	.01	.09	-.71	.01				
Total Ukrainian Acculturation	.00	.01	.04	.32	.00				
Total Canadian Acculturation <sup>a</sup>	.04	.08	.06	.55	.00				
Step 3						.14	.04	.03	1.52
Hassles Children Ukrainian <sup>a</sup>	-.21	.39	-.06	-.53	.00				
Hassles Children Canadian <sup>a</sup>	-.36	.23	-.18	-1.60	.03				

*Note.* B = unstandardized beta coefficient; SE B = standard error of the beta coefficient;  $\beta$  = standardized beta coefficient;  $t$  = value associated with the coefficient for each variable at entry;  $sr^2$  = semipartial correlation (unique variance in the criterion variable accounted for by the predictor at entry);  $\Delta R^2$  = change in  $R^2$  at entry; F value is that associated with change in  $R^2$  at entry.

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

<sup>a</sup> Transformed versions of these variables were used; see Table 1 for details of data transformation.

Table 10

*Dichotomized Acculturative Stressor Variables (Ukrainian and Canadian Acculturative Family Hassles) (N = 130).*

Variable Name	Endorsers		Non-Endorsers		Not Applicable	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Family Hassles Ukrainian	30	23%	91	70%	9	7%
Family Hassles Canadian	66	51%	55	42%	9	7%
Hassles Spouse Ukrainian	5	4%	94	72%	31	24%
Hassles Spouse Canadian	25	19%	74	57%	31	24%
Hassles Parents Ukrainian	16	12%	76	56%	38	29%
Hassles Parents Canadian	7	5%	85	65%	38	29%
Hassles Children Ukrainian	9	7%	89	69%	32	25%
Hassles Children Canadian	61	47%	37	28%	32	25%

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

The purpose of the present research was to extend prior studies on Eastern European migrants' adaptation, by applying a bidimensional acculturation framework, and by investigating the relationship of acculturation to the adaptation of adult second-generation Ukrainians in two spheres of life: the community and the family. Moreover, in response to the calls in the community psychology and migration literatures for more studies examining the determinants of multiple senses of community (Brodsky, Loomis & Marx, 2002) as well as family adjustment across several family dyads (Chun & Akutsu, 2003; Marin & Gamba, 2003; Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer & Delgado, 2005), the present research implemented a contextual-ecological perspective to the study of immigrant acculturation and adaptation.

Previous empirical evidence on the adjustment of immigrants of Eastern European descent suggested that acculturation to ethnic and host cultures may be differentially related to indices of adjustment in family (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Vinokurov, 2001) and community (Trickett & Birman, 2005; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005) realms of life. To investigate this in greater depth, while addressing some of the limitations of existing research, two studies were undertaken.

The goal of the first study was to better understand the role of acculturation in relation to community adaptation. In addition to Ukrainian and Canadian acculturation, social support and religiosity were also examined as predictors of sense of community with respect to both the local ethnic community and to the participants' neighbourhoods. The second study undertook to evaluate the potential differential effects which

acculturation had upon the respondents' family adaptation. More specifically, the study evaluated the relative contributions of both acculturation variables (i.e., Ukrainian and Canadian acculturation, familism) and acculturative stressor variables (i.e., acculturative family hassles) to four areas of family adaptation: overall family life satisfaction, marital satisfaction, satisfaction with parents and satisfaction with children.

### *Study Limitations*

Several limitations of the present research warrant notice. First, the moderate sample size ( $N = 130$ ) may have limited the power of the analyses. A second limitation concerns the lack of variation in the measurement method that was used. Future researchers could improve on this work by applying a mixed-method approach to data collection and by employing larger samples to further clarify the complexity of the acculturation-adaptation link in community and family contexts. Third, the present data were correlational in nature and thus precluded making any inferences regarding causality. Fourth, a related problem was that information on the variables measured was collected at one point in time and was therefore cross-sectional. Additional research that examines similar variables longitudinally, as well as investigations that compare samples in more than one geographic location, would provide evidence regarding the generalizability of these findings, and allow for a clearer picture of interrelationships between acculturation and immigrant community or family adaptation. Fifth, the findings of this research may not be generalizable to Canadians of Ukrainian descent living in other cities with different levels of ethnic density, to Ukrainian immigrants from different generations or other waves of migration, or to other Eastern European ethnic groups. Moreover, given that a large percentage of the participants were highly educated, and that

many were employed as civil servants, it may be helpful to replicate the research among samples with greater demographic heterogeneity, residing in other contexts. It is also important to note that although the present sample was representative of middle-aged adults solely of Ukrainian descent residing in Ottawa in terms of age (2001 census, Statistics Canada), it may not have been as representative of this population with respect to other demographic characteristics (e.g., educational achievement). Finally, the use of non-probability purposive sampling may also have limited the generalizability of the results.

*Ukrainian and Canadian Acculturation and Adaptation within Community and Family Spheres of Life*

These limitations notwithstanding, there are several general implications of this research. First, the overarching research question asked whether acculturation would differentially predict outcomes *within* community and family life domains. As expected, results demonstrated that the unique contribution of Ukrainian and Canadian acculturation to adaptation differed across the different *subdomains* within community and family spheres of life. The findings, therefore provided some support for the utility of the ecological-contextual perspective as a fitting framework in which to explore the complexities of the acculturation-adaptation relationship. Second, when placed in the context of the past research literature on the relationship between ethnic and host acculturation styles and community or family adaptation among Eastern Europeans, the current results suggested both some similarities as well as a number of fundamental differences.

*Ukrainian acculturation and adaptation within community and family spheres of life.* With regard to acculturation and adaptation in the community sphere of life, supporting previous findings (Lizak, 2004), the results of Study 1 emphasized the positive role of acculturation to the ethnic culture for community adaptation. Overall Ukrainian acculturation uniquely contributed to community adjustment with respect to the ingroup context, explaining 45% of variance in Ukrainian sense of community. Moreover, by applying a multidimensional model of acculturation, it was possible to determine that, of the three components of Ukrainian acculturation (i.e., identity, behaviour and language), Ukrainian behavioural acculturation, and to a lesser extent Ukrainian identity acculturation, proved to be the most important predictors of Ukrainian sense of community.

Further, with respect to acculturation adaptation in the family sphere of life, in line with previous research (Vinokurov, 2001; Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005), the results of Study 2 demonstrated the adaptive role of acculturation to the ethnic culture for family adaptation. In particular, overall Ukrainian acculturation uniquely contributed to family adjustment with respect to participants' quality of family life within the adult child- elderly parent family dyad, explaining 6% of variance in family life satisfaction with parents. Implementing a multidimensional model of acculturation further revealed that Ukrainian identity acculturation was the most important contributor to family life satisfaction with parents.

*Canadian acculturation and adaptation within community and family spheres of life.* Several studies with Eastern Europeans have additionally found that acculturation to the host culture may be helpful in both the community sphere of life, with respect to a

greater degree of sense of community in the host school community setting (Trickett & Birman, 2005; Jones & Trickett, 2005), as well as in the family sphere of life, with regard to better quality of family life in the parent-child dyad (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002). Among the adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians surveyed in the present research, however, overall acculturation to Canadian culture did not significantly predict adaptation, either with respect to the two community referents or with regard to the three family dyads investigated.

There may be several reasons for these divergent findings. On a demographic level, whereas the current sample consisted of second-generation adults raised in the context of the host country, participants in much of prior research were recent, first-generation immigrants, in the midst of adolescence (Trickett & Birman, 2005; Jones & Trickett, 2005).

With respect to the community sphere of life, measurement of Eastern European adolescents' adaptation in the host community context was therefore restricted to the school setting. The positive association between the adolescents' level of American acculturation and their school sense of community may have been a function of the 'acculturative press' exerted by the American school setting as well as the high value placed on academic achievement among Eastern European migrants, having recently arrived in the United States (Trickett & Birman, 2005).

In contrast, in the current sample of later-generation middle-aged respondents, the host community setting was not the school, but rather the Canadian neighbourhood, which, compared with the American school setting, may have different in acculturative demands and thus exerted less 'acculturative press' on the second-generation participants

to adopt elements of the host culture in order to feel a strong sense of Canadian community. Indeed, results demonstrated that factors other than Canadian acculturation, such as support from members of the mainstream culture, were most instrumental in enhancing community adjustment with regard to the neighbourhood community context.

With respect to the family sphere of life, past measurement of Eastern European adolescents' adaptation in the family ecological domain was largely centered on the family dyad consisting of the adolescents and their mothers or fathers (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002). Greater acculturation to American culture may have helped adolescents function more successfully in the family setting because the Russian Jewish immigrant parents, having a short length of residence in the U.S., required their children to take on a culture brokering role (e.g., translating at medical appointments) (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002).

On the other hand, in the current sample of second-generation participants in midlife, family adaptation was assessed with respect to the family dyad consisting of adult children and elderly parents. Thus, participants' adoption of elements of the Canadian culture may not have been as critical for the achievement of greater quality of family life with their aging parents, who had a more lengthy time of residence in the host country. Indeed, results demonstrated that Ukrainian acculturation, rather than Canadian acculturation, as well as other factors, including frequency of family contact, were the most significant contributors to participants' family adjustment in the context of this parent-child dyad.

The differing pattern of results between the present study and previously reported findings therefore underscores the importance of attending to the 'acculturative press'

(Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005; Trickett & Birman, 2005) exerted by various community and family subcontexts encountered by immigrants of Eastern European descent. Moreover, understanding the life circumstances, length of residence in the host country, and developmental life stage of migrants is a critical step for investigators toward further delineating the role of acculturation in immigrants' community and family adaptation.

### *Conclusions*

In summary, the findings demonstrated that for adult second-generation Ukrainians, acculturation to Ukrainian culture played a significant role in predicting adjustment in both community and family spheres of life, whereas Canadian acculturation did not uniquely contribute to community or family adaptational outcomes. The results of the present research provided evidence to support the ecological theoretical perspective, stressing that immigrant acculturation and adaptation must be understood as contextual phenomena (Birman, Trickett & Buchanan, 2005; Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Birman, 1994; Trickett, 1996).

In particular, with regard to the community sphere of life, whereas a number of past studies have examined the relationship of acculturation to community adjustment within a single cultural community referent (e.g., Lizak, 2004; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Trickett & Birman, 2005), the simultaneous examination of community adaptation across multiple cultural community subcontexts has been virtually overlooked as a field of inquiry by cross-cultural psychology researchers. Because many second-generation immigrants value and devote time to their participation in more than one cultural community setting, this lack of research indicates a serious gap in our knowledge about

immigrants and their adaptation at the level of community. Accordingly, guided by an ecological-contextualist theoretical framework, the present research advanced existing literature by directing focus away from global or single definitions of community adjustment toward more context-specific ones.

In a similar manner, with regard to the family sphere of life, in the majority of studies that have been conducted in the area of family acculturation family outcomes have often been restricted to a single source of information relevant to the sample under study (e.g., total family life satisfaction, family life satisfaction with respect to the parent-child family dyad). The present research was consequently designed to extend knowledge in this area by simultaneously investigating the predictors of family life satisfaction in more than one family subgrouping. This allowed for a for a much richer formulation, both conceptually and empirically, of the acculturation-family adaptation relationship.

Secondly, in addition to supporting the ecological-contextual model for studying immigrant adaptation, the present findings also converge with a growing academic interest on the study of positive adjustment indices and resilience among later-generation ethnic minorities (Harker, 2001; Ong, Phinney & Dennis, 2006). Whereas investigating the association between acculturation and immigrant maladjustment has been the focus of much scholarly work in cross-cultural psychology (Gonzales, Ramos, Tran & Roeder, 2006), the relation between the processes of acculturation and second-generation immigrants positive adjustment indices has received comparatively less research attention. Thus, an important finding in the present research was that adult second-generation Ukrainians reported moderate levels of sense of community both ingroup and

host cultural contexts as well as moderately high levels of family life satisfaction overall and across parental, marital and child dyads.

Additionally, in the present research adaptational outcomes across community and family spheres of life were found to be significantly associated<sup>2</sup>. The positive relationships between community and family domains of adjustment thus also provide compelling support for Bronfenbrenner's (1979) bioecological theory of human development. Bronfenbrenner's theory argues for the study of adaptation within the broader social contexts relevant to immigrants and emphasizes the examination of the individual as being embedded within multiple and interdependent *microsystems* (e.g., community, family, workplace). Accordingly, this approach conceptualizes the *mesosystem* as consisting of linkages between several different *microsystems*. Applied to the present research, therefore, the community and the family contexts may be viewed as mutually supportive *microsystems* within a larger *mesosystem*.

A third and final contribution of the current research was to build on prior work on the determinants of adjustment among immigrants of Eastern European descent. More specifically, the current focus was on the adult second-generation children of World War II, Ukrainian-born refugees, residing in the Canadian context, whereas previous researchers had primarily studied recent adolescent (Jones & Trickett, 2005; Trickett & Birman, 2005; Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002) or recent elderly (Vinokurov, 2001) first-generation Jewish Russian immigrants from the former Soviet Union residing in the United States. By highlighting discrepancies between the findings presented here and

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<sup>2</sup> Greater sense of community with respect to the local Ukrainian community was positively linked to greater overall family life satisfaction ( $r = .25, p < .01$ ) as well as to second-generation Ukrainians' family life satisfaction with their children ( $r = .23, p < .05$ ) and with their parents ( $r = .38, p < .01$ ).

those of other studies, this research not only underlined the diversity that exists within the Eastern European ethnic population but also affirmed that in order to arrive at a contextualized understanding of the acculturation-adaptation relationship among Eastern European immigrants, it is critical to attend to a range of community and family subcontexts (Trickett & Birman, 2005).

### *Future Research Directions*

In conclusion, the present research represents only an initial attempt to shed light on the nature and predictors of adult second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians' adaptation in family and community spheres of life. Several issues regarding the association between acculturation and adjustment in community and family realms have yet to be fully resolved. Investigators should devote future studies to more fully developing the construct of acculturation to match the ecological and contextual conditions of immigrants' lives. Specifically, little has been done to adapt the measurement of certain components of acculturation (e.g., behaviour, language) and specific acculturation items to the community and family contexts. Additional research on the nature and operationalization of community and family adaptation is also necessary. For example, it is essential for investigators to develop more accurate instruments to assess community and family adaptation among immigrants at different developmental life stages. Researchers could also help advance knowledge in this area by obtaining more qualitative information on the community and family contexts and subcontexts in which their participants are embedded. Further research would also benefit from examining gender differences with respect to community and family adaptation among Ukrainian-Canadians. In addition, longitudinal studies are needed to assess the process of

community and family adaptation long-term and across generations. Finally, expanding the research nationally could also contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of factors influencing the community and family adjustment of Ukrainians in Canada.

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11. For how many years (in total) have you lived in Ottawa/Hull? \_\_\_\_ years
12. Please choose the label that best describes how you view yourself?
- \_\_\_\_ a Ukrainian
- \_\_\_\_ a Ukrainian-Canadian
- \_\_\_\_ a Canadian-Ukrainian
- \_\_\_\_ a Canadian
- \_\_\_\_ Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_
- 
13. As a child/teenager, did you attend Ukrainian language classes? Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_
- If Yes, between what ages? \_\_\_\_\_
14. Please indicate your country of birth:
- \_\_\_\_ Canada
- \_\_\_\_ Ukraine
- \_\_\_\_ Other (please specify: e.g., D.P. camp in Germany): \_\_\_\_\_
15. If you were NOT born in Canada,
- what was your age at departure from your country of birth? \_\_\_\_\_
- and your age on arrival in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_

Please answer the following questions regarding your family history:

1. Father's country of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Approximate year of father's arrival in Canada: 19\_\_\_\_ and his age on arrival: \_\_\_\_\_
  3. Paternal Grandfather's country of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
  - Paternal Grandmother's country of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
  4. Mother's country of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
  5. Approximate year of mother's arrival in Canada: 19\_\_\_\_ and her age on arrival: \_\_\_\_\_
  6. Maternal Grandfather's country of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
  - Maternal Grandmother's country of birth: \_\_\_\_\_
  7. Why did your family leave Ukraine? Please choose the most important reason.
- \_\_\_\_ Political/war reasons
- \_\_\_\_ Family reasons (e.g. reunifications)
- \_\_\_\_ Economic reasons
- \_\_\_\_ Education reasons
- \_\_\_\_ Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX B: Structural and Behavioral Familism Questionnaire

### Social Network Characteristics and Frequency of Family Contact

We would like to ask you some questions about your social relationships in general. First, we would like to know about people who are important to you and with whom you have had at least some contact with over the past year. Please list up to 10 people who are most important to you. Start with the most important person. Describe your relationship to each individual listed (e.g., spouse, parent, child, neighbour, friend, co-worker etc...) and their ethnic background (e.g., Ukrainian, English-Canadian, Polish, Chinese, French-Canadian etc...). Finally, please rate how often you have contact with each of the individuals listed using the following scale:

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Every few Months	Twice a Year	Yearly

Relationship to you

Ethnic background

Frequency of contact with you

### Family Social Support

We are also interested in how you feel about your social network, (e.g. spouse/significant other, immediate family). Read each statement carefully and indicate your level of agreement or disagreement using the following scale:

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. My family really tries to help me.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. I get the emotional help and support I need from my family.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. I can talk about my problems with my family.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. My family is willing to help me make decisions.

APPENDIX C: Attitudinal Familism Questionnaire

Please indicate how important it is according to you that **children and teenagers living at home** do the following: **Please answer the following questions even if you do NOT have children or teenagers.**

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Not important At all	A little Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important

Respect Subscale

- \_\_\_ 1. Treat parents with great respect
- \_\_\_ 2. Follow parents' advice about choosing friends
- \_\_\_ 3. Do well for the sake of the family
- \_\_\_ 4. Follow parents' advice about choosing a job or major in college/university
- \_\_\_ 5. Treat grandparents with great respect
- \_\_\_ 6. Respect older brothers and sisters
- \_\_\_ 7. Make sacrifices for the family

Please read each statement carefully and indicate how often you think **children and teenagers living at home** should do the following activities using the scale below:

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Almost Never	Sometimes	Frequently	Very Frequently	Almost Always

Assistance Subscale

- \_\_\_ 1. Spend time with grandparents, cousins, aunts, and uncles
- \_\_\_ 2. Spend time at home with their family
- \_\_\_ 3. Run errands that the family needs done
- \_\_\_ 4. Help brothers and sisters with homework
- \_\_\_ 5. Spend holidays with family
- \_\_\_ 6. Spend time with family on weekends
- \_\_\_ 7. Help take care of brothers and sisters
- \_\_\_ 8. Eat meals with family
- \_\_\_ 9. Help take care of grandparents
- \_\_\_ 10. Do things together with brothers and sisters

Please indicate how important it is according to you that **adult children** do the following, using the scale below.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Not important At all	A little Important	Somewhat Important	Important	Very Important

Future Support Subscale

- \_\_\_ 1. Help parents financially
- \_\_\_ 2. Live at home with parents until married
- \_\_\_ 3. Help take care of brothers and sisters
- \_\_\_ 4. Spend time with parents even after they no longer live with them
- \_\_\_ 5. Live or go to college/university near their parents
- \_\_\_ 6. Have parents live with them

APPENDIX D: Acculturation to Ukrainian and Canadian Cultures Questionnaire

Please indicate in the left margin your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement using the scale below. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers since people have different experiences and opinions.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

Identity Acculturation Subscale

- \_\_\_ 1. I think of myself as being Ukrainian.
- \_\_\_ 2. I feel good about being Ukrainian.
- \_\_\_ 3. Being Ukrainian plays an important part in my life.
- \_\_\_ 4. I feel I am part of Ukrainian culture.
- \_\_\_ 5. I have a strong sense of being Ukrainian.

Behavioral Acculturation Subscale

- \_\_\_ 1. I attend Ukrainian cultural events performances (e.g., dances, art shows, lectures).
- \_\_\_ 2. I engage in Ukrainian recreational activities (e.g., dance, music, sports).
- \_\_\_ 3. I celebrate Ukrainian festivals/holidays (e.g., religious, cultural)
- \_\_\_ 4. I listen to Ukrainian music.
- \_\_\_ 5. At home, I eat Ukrainian-type food.
- \_\_\_ 6. I go to restaurants that serve Ukrainian food.
- \_\_\_ 7. I watch Ukrainian television programmes, videos, documentaries or movies.
- \_\_\_ 8. I read Ukrainian magazines/newspapers.
- \_\_\_ 9. I belong to Ukrainian clubs, cultural organizations or professional organizations.
- \_\_\_ 10. I listen to Ukrainian radio.
- \_\_\_ 11. I read Ukrainian novels or books.
- \_\_\_ 12. I dress in a Ukrainian way during religious holidays and celebrations.

Language Acculturation Subscale

Please use the following scale to answer the questions below.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Much	Very Much

- \_\_\_ 1. How fluently do you speak Ukrainian?
- \_\_\_ 2. How fluently do you understand Ukrainian?

- \_\_\_ 3. How fluently do you write Ukrainian?  
 \_\_\_ 4. How fluently do you read Ukrainian?

Please indicate in the left margin your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement using the scale below. There are no right or wrong answers since people have different opinions.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

Identity Acculturation Subscale

- \_\_\_ 1. I think of myself as being Canadian.  
 \_\_\_ 2. I feel good about being Canadian.  
 \_\_\_ 3. Being Canadian plays an important part in my life.  
 \_\_\_ 4. I feel I am part of Canadian culture.  
 \_\_\_ 5. I have a strong sense of being Canadian.

Behavioral Acculturation Subscale

- \_\_\_ 1. I attend Canadian cultural events and performances (e.g. dances, art shows, lectures).  
 \_\_\_ 2. I engage in Canadian recreational activities (e.g., dance, music, sports)  
 \_\_\_ 3. I celebrate Canadian festivals/holidays (e.g., dance, music, sports)  
 \_\_\_ 4. I listen to Canadian music  
 \_\_\_ 5. At home, I eat Canadian-type food.  
 \_\_\_ 6. I go to restaurants that serve Canadian-type food.  
 \_\_\_ 7. I watch Canadian television programmes, videos, documentaries or movies.  
 \_\_\_ 8. I read Canadian magazines/newspapers.  
 \_\_\_ 9. I belong to Canadian clubs/cultural or professional organizations.  
 \_\_\_ 10. I listen to Canadian radio.  
 \_\_\_ 11. I read Canadian novels or books.  
 \_\_\_ 12. I dress in a Canadian way during religious holidays and celebrations.

Language Acculturation Subscale

Please use the following scale to answer the questions below.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Much	Very Much

- \_\_\_ 1. How fluently do you speak English?  
 \_\_\_ 2. How fluently do you understand English?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. How fluently do you write English?
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. How fluently do you read English?

APPENDIX E: Acculturative Family Hassles Questionnaire

Listed below are a number of ways in which a person can feel hassled. Hassles are irritants that can range from minor annoyances to fairly major pressures, problems or difficulties. They can occur rarely or frequently. Some have only a slight effect, whereas others have a strong effect. For each item, indicate whether you experienced the hassle in the **PAST FEW MONTHS** by circling **yes** or **no**.

Ukrainian Family Hassles With Spouse

	<b>Was it a hassle?</b>	
	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Differences with my spouse because he/she values maintaining Ukrainian cultural/religious practices more than me		
My spouse (or significant other) speaking to me in Ukrainian when I prefer that they speak to me in English	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Being perceived as too "mainstream Canadian" by my spouse (or significant other)	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>

Ukrainian Family Hassles With Parents

Differences with my parent(s) because they value maintaining Ukrainian cultural/religious practices more than me	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
My parent(s) speaking to me in Ukrainian when I prefer that they speak to me in English	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Being perceived as too "mainstream Canadian" by my parent(s)		

Ukrainian Family Hassles With Children

Differences with my child(ren) because they are raising my grandchildren too "Ukrainian"	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
My child(ren) speaking to me in Ukrainian when I prefer that they speak to me in English	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Differences with my child(ren) because they value maintaining Ukrainian cultural/religious practices more than me	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Differences with my child(ren) because of their choice to marry/date a person of Ukrainian heritage	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Being perceived as too "mainstream Canadian" by my child(ren)	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>

APPENDIX E: Acculturative Family Hassles Questionnaire (continued)

Canadian Family Hassles With Spouse

	<b>Was it a hassle?</b>	
	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Differences with my spouse because he/she values maintaining Ukrainian cultural/religious practices less than me		
My spouse (or significant other) speaking to me in English when I prefer that they speak to me in Ukrainian	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Being perceived as too "Ukrainian" by my spouse (or significant other)	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>

Canadian Family Hassles With Parents

Differences with my parent(s) because they value maintaining Ukrainian cultural/religious practices less than me	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
My parent(s) speaking to me in English when I prefer that they speak to me in Ukrainian	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Being perceived as too "Ukrainian" by my parent(s)	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>

Canadian Family Hassles With Children

Differences with my child(ren) because they are raising my grandchildren too "mainstream Canadian"	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
My child(ren) speaking to me in English when I prefer that they speak to me in Ukrainian	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Differences with my child(ren) because they value maintaining Ukrainian cultural/religious practices less than me	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Differences with my child(ren) because of their choice to marry/date a person of non-Ukrainian heritage	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>
Being perceived as too "Ukrainian" by my child(ren)	<b>yes</b>	<b>no</b>

Have we missed any stressors?

If so, please specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Also, has there been any change in your life recently that affected how you answered this scale?

If so, please tell us what it was: \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX F: Family Life Satisfaction Questionnaire

Please indicate in the left margin your level of agreement or disagreement with each statement using the scale below. Remember, there are no right or wrong answers since people have different opinions. The term "spouse" includes marriage partner, common law partner, and significant other.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

**If you do not have a spouse, please indicate not applicable.**

- \_\_\_ 1. I am satisfied with how much my spouse approves of me and the things I do
- \_\_\_ 2. I am satisfied with the amount of freedom my spouse gives me to make my own choices
- \_\_\_ 3. I am satisfied with the ways my spouse wants me to think and act
- \_\_\_ 4. I am satisfied with the amount of influence my spouse has over my actions
- \_\_\_ 5. I am satisfied with the ways my spouse tries to control my actions
- \_\_\_ 6. I am satisfied with my overall relationship with my spouse

**If both of your parents are deceased, please indicate not applicable.**

- \_\_\_ 7. I am satisfied with how much my parents approve of me and the things I do
- \_\_\_ 8. I am satisfied with the amount of freedom my parents give me to make my own choices
- \_\_\_ 9. I am satisfied with the ways my parents want me to think and act
- \_\_\_ 10. I am satisfied with the amount of influence my parents have/has over my actions
- \_\_\_ 11. I am satisfied with the ways my parents try to control my actions
- \_\_\_ 12. I am satisfied with my overall relationship with my parents

**If you do not have children, please indicate not applicable.**

- \_\_\_ 13. I am satisfied with how much my children approve of me and the things I do
- \_\_\_ 14. I am satisfied with the amount of freedom my children give me to make my own choices
- \_\_\_ 15. I am satisfied with the ways my children want me to think and act
- \_\_\_ 16. I am satisfied with the amount of influence my children have over my actions
- \_\_\_ 17. I am satisfied with the ways my children try to control my actions
- \_\_\_ 18. I am satisfied with my overall relationship with my children



APPENDIX H: Religiosity Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions about your religious faith using the scale below.

1. How often do you attend religious services (e.g., church)?

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
Never	Once a year	A few times a year	A few times a month	Once a week	More than once a week

Please answer the following questions using the scale below. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement for each statement.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

- \_\_\_ 1. My religious faith is extremely important to me.
- \_\_\_ 2. I pray daily.
- \_\_\_ 3. I look to my faith as a source of inspiration.
- \_\_\_ 4. I look to my faith as providing meaning and purpose in my life.
- \_\_\_ 5. I consider myself active in my faith or church/temple/place of worship.
- \_\_\_ 6. My faith is an important part of who I am as a person.
- \_\_\_ 7. My relationship with God is extremely important to me.
- \_\_\_ 8. I enjoy being around others who share my faith.
- \_\_\_ 9. I look to my faith as a source of comfort.
- \_\_\_ 10. My faith impacts many of my decisions.

APPENDIX I: Psychological Sense of Community Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions using the scale below. Indicate your level of agreement or disagreement for each statement.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

- \_\_\_ 1. I can recognize most of the people in the local Ukrainian ethnic community.
- \_\_\_ 2. Very few of the people in the local Ukrainian ethnic community know me.
- \_\_\_ 3. I have almost no influence on what the local Ukrainian ethnic community is like.
- \_\_\_ 4. Members of the local Ukrainian ethnic community and I want the same things from the community
- \_\_\_ 5. If there is a problem in this community its members can get it solved.

6. In general, would you say that members of the local Ukrainian ethnic community watch after each other and help out when they can, or do they pretty much go their own way?

\_\_\_ Go own way    \_\_\_ Mostly go own way    \_\_\_ A little of both    \_\_\_ Mostly watch After    \_\_\_ Watch after

7. Would you say that it is very important, somewhat important or not important to you to feel a sense of community with other members of the local Ukrainian ethnic community?

\_\_\_ Not at all Important    \_\_\_ A little Important    \_\_\_ Somewhat Important    \_\_\_ Important    \_\_\_ Very Important

8. In general, would you say that you feel a strong sense of community with others in the local Ukrainian community, very little sense of community, or something in between?

\_\_\_ Very little    \_\_\_ Little    \_\_\_ Something in between    \_\_\_ Strong    \_\_\_ Very strong

Please answer the following questions using the scale below.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

- \_\_\_ 1. I can recognize most of the people in my neighborhood.
- \_\_\_ 2. Very few of the people in my neighborhood know me.
- \_\_\_ 3. I have almost no influence on what my neighborhood is like.
- \_\_\_ 4. Members of my neighborhood and I want the same things from this neighborhood.
- \_\_\_ 5. If there is a problem in my neighborhood its members can get it solved.

6. In general, would you say that members of your neighborhood watch after each other and help out when they can, or do they pretty much go their own way?

\_\_\_ Go own way    \_\_\_ Mostly go own way    \_\_\_ A little of both    \_\_\_ Mostly watch After    \_\_\_ Watch after

7. Would you say that it is very important, somewhat important or not important to you to feel a sense of community with other members of your neighborhood?

\_\_\_ Not at all Important    \_\_\_ A little Important    \_\_\_ Somewhat Important    \_\_\_ Important    \_\_\_ Very Important

8. In general, Would you say that you feel a strong sense of community within your neighborhood, very little sense of community, or something in between?

\_\_\_ Very little    \_\_\_ Little    \_\_\_ Something in between    \_\_\_ Strong    \_\_\_ Very strong

**APPENDIX J: Study Information Letter**



# Université d'Ottawa • University of Ottawa

École de psychologie      School of Psychology

## INFORMATION LETTER

Project researcher: Olena Piaseckyj,  
Thesis supervisor: Dr. Marta Young, tel: 562-5800, ext. 4141, email: myoung@uottawa.ca

Thank you for your interest in the study on the adaptation of Second-Generation Ukrainians in Ottawa. The study is being conducted by Olena Piaseckyj, doctoral candidate at the University of Ottawa in the School of Psychology. The purpose of the research is to gain a better understanding of the cultural and psycho-social integration of Ukrainians in Canada. Beneficial implications of this study include developing more effective, accessible, and culturally sensitive community mental health programmes.

Your participation will consist essentially of filling out a questionnaire that takes 30 min. to an hour to complete. If you decide to complete the questionnaire, you will be asked questions about your desire to maintain your heritage culture and to participate in the Canadian culture, stressors you may be experiencing, your social relationships, your feelings about yourself and your life, and your values.

Since some of these questions deal with personal aspects of yourself and your life, you might feel uncomfortable. You can refuse to participate in the study and you are free to withdraw from the project at any time. You may also choose not to answer certain questions without prejudice. All information collected in the study will remain strictly confidential. Furthermore, anonymity will be assured by identifying your questionnaire with a number that cannot be traced back to you.

As well, the collected information will be used solely for research purposes. In reporting findings, the researchers will discuss a summary of the results obtained from all participants in the study. The data from the questionnaires will be kept in a secure, locked storage room on the University of Ottawa campus for ten years at which time they will be shredded.

Any information requests or complaints about the ethical conduct of the project may be addressed to the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research at the University of Ottawa (tel: 562-5387, email: ethics@uottawa.ca).

If you have any questions or concerns about this research project, or if you are interested in receiving a summary of the findings of this study, feel free to contact the researcher Olena Piaseckyj at

Please feel free to detach this letter and keep it for your information.

### APPENDIX K: Definition of Terms for Study 1

**Acculturation:** The general set of processes involved in individuals' or groups' adaptation to a cultural change resulting from intercultural contact between two or more cultures (Berry, 1990; Phinney, 1990; Trickett & Birman, 2005). Acculturation to ethnic and host cultures can be independent and multidimensional in nature, involving changes along value, behavior, identity and language dimensions (Phinney & Flores, 2002).

**Perceived Social Support:** An individual's subjective evaluation of the adequacy of social support provided by social network members (i.e. availability of people on whom one can rely; people who let one know that they are cared about, valued, and loved; Sarason, Levine, Basham and Sarason, 1983). Social support may be received from various sources (e.g. friends, neighbors) (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet & Farley, 1988).

**Religiosity:** The personal importance that an individual assigns to spiritual beliefs, meditation or prayer (i.e., the non-organizational, intrinsic or private dimension) as well as the individual's frequency of church attendance (i.e. the, organizational, extrinsic or public dimension) (Sherman & Simonton, 2001).

**Sense of Community:** "a feeling that members [of a community] have of belonging and being important to each other, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met by their commitment together" (p.11). (McMillan, 1976).

## APPENDIX L: Definition of Terms for Study 2

**Acculturation:** The general set of processes involved in individuals' or groups' adaptation to a cultural change resulting from intercultural contact between two or more cultures (Berry, 1990; Phinney, 1990; Trickett & Birman, 2005). Acculturation to ethnic and host cultures can be independent and multidimensional in nature, involving changes along value, behavior, identity and language dimensions (Phinney & Flores, 2002).

**Familism:** A cultural value centering on the maintenance of close family ties and referring to an individual's perceived responsibility to assist relatives or to show family loyalty, solidarity and respect toward elders (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994).

**Structural familism:** The demographic dimension of familism, characterized by the proportion or percentage of kin within an individual's social network (Valenzuela & Dornbusch, 1994).

**Behavioral familism:** The quantity of social interaction between family members (frequency of family contact) as well as the level of perceived social support provided by kin (family social support) (Ramirez & Arce, 1981).

**Attitudinal familism:** The value that an individual places on family unity, solidarity, respect, and sense of mutual obligation (Marin, 1993; Parra-Cardona et al., 2006).

**Acculturative stressors:** The stressors and strains encountered by immigrants and their children that result from the acculturation process (e.g., discrimination) (Lay & Nguyen, 1998).

Acculturative family hassles: The daily intrafamilial stressors or strains occurring among family members due to the acculturation process (Safdar & Lay, 2003).

Ukrainian Acculturative family hassles: Daily hassles with family members (e.g., spouses, parents or children) due to family members 'being more Ukrainian' than the participant.

Canadian Acculturative family hassles: Daily hassles with family members (e.g., spouses, parents or children) due to family members 'being more Canadian' than the participant.

Family Life Satisfaction: An individual's perceived level of satisfaction with his or her family members.