Intercultural Contact and Intergenerational Transmission in Immigrant Families

Bernhard Nauck

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The impact of intergenerational transmission processes on the intercultural contact and ethnic identification of second generation adolescents is studied in five different groups of migrant families: Italian, Greek, and Turkish work migrants, German repatriates from Russia, and Russian Jewish immigrants in Israel. In each group, 400 same-sex dyads of parents and adolescents were interviewed by means of a standardized questionnaire in the language of origin or of the receiving society. Four possible outcomes of intercultural contact are distinguished: integration, assimilation, segregation, and marginalization. An explanatory model is proposed that systematically relates these possible outcomes to the availability of social and cultural capital in migrant families and to intergenerational transmission processes. The empirical analysis using structural equation modeling compares the results for each migrant group. It reveals considerable variability between migrant groups that cannot be explained by classical assimilation theory, thus demonstrating the adequacy of the suggested model.

INTERCULTURAL CONTACT AND INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

BERNHARD NAUCK
Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany

Although intergenerational transmission is one of the major mechanisms of cultural continuity, it has hardly been studied in migration research, where cohort analyses of differences in the assimilation of different immigrant generations prevail; moreover, it has never had a systematic place in theoretical models about the incorporation of immigrants in the receiving society. The following empirical analyses examine the role of intergenerational transmission processes in the social incorporation of second generation adolescents. The extent of intergenerational transmission is seen in this context as a major mechanism by which the adolescents' intra- and interethnic social contacts are shaped and their social identification is structured.

To integrate these family-related aspects of the social incorporation of immigrants, classical theoretical models of assimilation processes have to be extended and modified. As a starting point for an adequate modeling of intergenerational transmission processes, a classical action-theoretical model by Esser (1980) has been chosen. This theoretical model includes both contextual and individual mechanisms that affect the assimilation process: opportunity structures, action barriers, and action alternatives are related to the perceptions, cognitions, and evaluations of the individual actor in a simple two-level (context and individual) process model of cognitive, structural, social, and identification assimilation. According to this model, personal preconditions of the assimilation process are partly "imported" motivational and cognitive attributes that are confronted with the opportunities provided by the respective context in the receiving society and that "match" a specific social and structural placement as the starting point of an assimilation career. Discrimination is seen in this

AUTHOR'S NOTE: The comparative empirical analysis is based on data that have been collected in three research projects directed by the author: (a) "Intergenerational Relationships in Turkish Immigrant Families" as part of the special program "Consequences of Work Migration for Education and Socialization" of the German Research Council; (b) "Intergenerational Relationships in Immigrant Families" funded by the Federal Ministry of Germany for Family, Elderly, Women and Youth; and (c) "Intergenerational Relationships in Families of German Repatriates and of Russian Jews in Israel" funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

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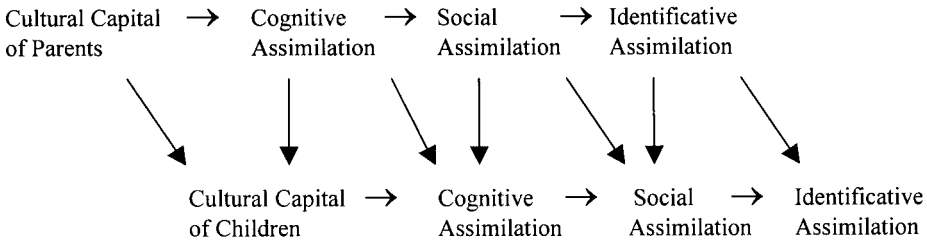

Figure 1: Intergenerational Transmission in the Assimilation Process

theoretical model as a major source of action barriers that thus restricts the action alternatives for social integration of minority members. The assimilation process itself is divided into subsequent stages of cognitive assimilation (acquisition of knowledge about the receiving society and its institutional structure; acquisition of language skills as the strategic means to get access to this knowledge); structural assimilation (social participation, placement in the occupational structure); social assimilation (informal social contact to members of the receiving society); and, if the precondition of personal integration of the various roles in the receiving society is met, identification assimilation (predominant identification with the receiving society) (Nauck, 1988). This model has its specific merits in the sequentialization of the incorporation of immigrants and in the investigation of interethnic relations. But the model has its limitations, as the contextual level is not as explicit as the actor's level and as it is strongly related to the individual situation of the ("first-generation") migrants themselves.

The assimilation process of subsequent generations, in our case of the second-generation adolescents, can only be specified by replacing the "contextual" starting conditions (society of origin) with the family-of-origin situation of the adolescents. The family of origin is included as an intermediate contextual level, which transmits not only personal preferences and belief systems but also serves as an important locus of social control as well as the major mechanism of initial structural and social placement in the receiving society (see Figure 1). To test the theoretical assumptions, the model has to be related to empirical constructs. The assumptions about the direction in the relationships between the respective constructs in Figure 2 strictly follow assimilation theory:

1. As usual in survey analysis, no direct measures of the opportunity structure of the receiving society are available; therefore, "feelings of discrimination" by the parents is introduced as the exogenous, "contextual" variable. It is assumed that feelings of discrimination are strongly intergenerationally related and transmitted and that discrimination itself decreases social assimilation.
2. The cultural capital of the parents is the other exogenous, "individual" variable and is measured by the parents' educational level, which is assumed to have a negative effect on the retention of the language spoken in the society of origin in the migrant family and on the endogamy of its social networks (and thus a positive effect on social assimilation) and a positive effect on the school career of the child (the child's cultural capital) and the child's cognitive assimilation.
3. The retention of the language of origin in the migrant family is a strong means by which to decrease the opportunities and necessities for the language acquisition of family members as well as to shape their network structure, and thus it is a very strong part of the retention of an ethnic identification.

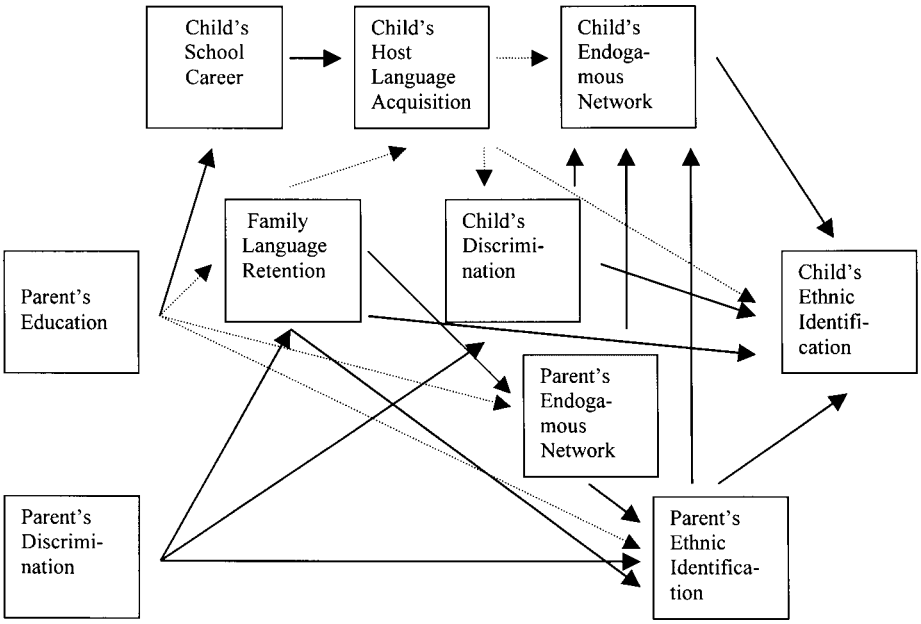

Figure 2: Intergenerational Transmission in the Acculturation Process of Second-Generation Migrants
NOTE: Solid lines represent positive relationships, and dotted lines represent negative relationships.

4. Intergenerational transmission results in a strong relationship between the social assimilation of the parents and that of the child (their exogamous social network composition) and a strong influence of the parents' identification assimilation on both the child's social assimilation and ethnic identification.

Empirical analyses based on this model examine just one result of cultural contact or acculturation caused by migration, namely, assimilation. But obviously, a variety of outcomes are possible for culture contact induced by international migration, and their relevance may increase under modern conditions of migration, where the opportunity of return, commuting, and permanent contact to members of the society of origin is available in most cases. Berry (1990) has offered a very suitable typology of "exits" of culture contact as it does not concentrate on assimilation and provides relevant alternatives as well. The basic assumption is that every cultural contact offers a scope of action alternatives, which gradually result in relatively stable behavioral patterns. Berry describes this process as acculturation strategies with four possible results: integration, assimilation, segregation, and marginalization (Berry & Kim, 1988). These results describe ways of basic orientation regarding one's own cultural identity on one hand and ways of keeping contacts with members of other cultures on the other.

These acculturation strategies are, however, not just a matter of individual choice on the part of the migrant, for they are not unconditional decisions but decisions conditioned by a number of restrictions—the readiness of the relevant actors of the receiving society to allow cultural participation across ethnic lines being one of the most important ones. Following the social theory of Coleman (1990), it may be assumed that for the migrant, the outcome of

culture contact is determined by the allocation of cultural and social capital. "The function identified by the concept of social capital is the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources they use to achieve their interests" (Coleman, 1988, p. 101). Social capital is created by the entering into social relations and generates mutual duties, expectations, and confidence through which social goods are exchanged and controlled collectively. Coleman assumes that individuals within tight, multiplex relations accumulate social capital with a higher probability than individuals within loose, monofunctional relations, as social capital used to be relatively instable and needs to be renewed and confirmed through constant interaction, which is possible with less expenditure within multiplex relations. Coleman himself drew from these assumptions immediate consequences for the formation of human capital among children: The closer the mutual relation between parents and the more frequent their physical presence, the greater their investments in shared time and joint activities with their children. The more parents are involved with school tasks, the more likely their children will have educational success. Obviously, Coleman expects that social capital is basically created not in the availability of socially far-reaching, bilateral, specific, and strategic weak ties but in the strong ties of close (and closed) relationships—at least where the creation of human capital in children is concerned. By contrast, the weak ties play only an additional, complementary role. This reliance on strong ties is perhaps the strongest (and most questionable) part of Coleman's propositions.

But if cultural capital is understood as being the amount of incorporated generalized knowledge and abilities that may be transformed into economic capital in the respective context, and if a culturally homogeneous milieu within the residential environment constitutes an essential structural condition for successful educational investments in the next generation, then a dilemma situation exists for migrant families from countries with a high cultural distance to the receiving society: The more interfamilial bonds (and possibly extended ascriptive networks) increase (from which Coleman expects positive effects on the formation of human capital within the next generation), the more the social and cultural distance to the neighborhood in the receiving society increases, so that the synergetic effects of the promotion and control of the young adults through family and neighborhood cannot take place, even in the long run.

This argument calls attention to the high social costs of migration (especially for chain-migrating family members), but the question remains whether these costs can be compensated through the endogenous social capital of the migrant family itself. Follow-up studies have therefore legitimately raised the question whether interfamilial and extrafamilial social capital have a linear additive effect on the formation of human capital within the next generation (Teachman, Paasch, & Carver, 1996). Hagan, MacMillan, and Wheaton (1996) suggest an analysis of the connection between social capital and family migration from the perspective of the life course. Together with Elder and Caspi (1990), they stress that individual destinies of family members are linked together, whereby rising occupational opportunities of one family member may be connected with risks and detractions affecting other family members (Elder & Caspi, 1990). If the basic assumptions of Coleman and Elder are linked together, then it can be assumed that family-specific social capital is formed according to the proportion of links between family members, which is used for the adjustment to the changed context after migration. As (international) migration is probably perceived to be a critical life event and a turning point in the life course, this shared experience itself will contribute to the formation of family-specific social capital. However, this effect will lose its significance over time and will be no longer relevant for children born in the host society or

within families of the second migrant generation, unless there is a strong ethnic closure in the receiving society.

Assimilation can be interpreted as the result of rational choice based on the use of cultural capital in a given opportunity structure when social capital is absent. The higher the usable cultural capital and the more assimilative opportunities exist, the more probable is the use of this choice for the social placement processes of the migrant's children. The available social capital determines whether this placement process results in assimilation or in the option of bicultural integration as a possible (but because of its resource dependency, rather improbable) outcome of culture contact for those few "cosmopolitans." These assumptions suggest that, according to the predominance of cultural or social capital within the family of origin, the outcome in the second generation results in assimilation or segregation, respectively. Therefore, the theoretical model has to include not only the individual cultural resources but also the social networks of migrant families, whereby the network composition along ethnic-national membership lines might be of strategic importance.

It is expected that migrant groups vary significantly not only according to their cultural capital but also to their social capital, as the latter's accumulation is strongly related to the duration of the existence of the minority group in the receiving context, its size, and its institutional completeness. Differences revealed in the transmission processes of migrant groups thus originate in the respective distribution of social and cultural capital.

METHOD

The empirical analysis is based on a data set from a $5 \times 2 \times 2$ design of parent-child dyads of migrant families; that is, for five different groups of migrant families, generation dyads of the same gender (mothers and daughters; fathers and sons) were surveyed.

1. The study comprises five different groups of migrant families, namely, Greek, Italian, and Turkish labor migrant families in Germany, German repatriates from Russia in Germany, and Jewish immigrants from Russia in Israel. Each migrant group has its own characteristics that have to be considered in the analysis. The groups indicate not only different nationalities and cultures of origin but also different institutional regulations with regard to residence permits, membership to different migration cohorts and waves, and different distributions of sociodemographic characteristics:

Italians are the migrant nationality in Germany with the smallest cultural distance, and they are the oldest migrant cohort as well. One consequence of Italy being a member of the European Union is that among Italians are numerous migrants with long periods of residence as well as those who shift frequently between their society of origin and Germany.

Greeks have the second smallest cultural distance and are the second oldest migrant cohort. However, only since the end of the 1980s does Greece have the same membership status in the European Union as Italy. Limitations in residential status made shifting between Greece and Germany impossible for a long time, resulting in comparably long residential periods in Germany. Recently, a larger proportion of Greek migrant workers adopted the Italian commuting pattern.

Turks are regularly looked upon to be the migrant worker nationality with the greatest cultural distance to Germans, and they are the last significant wave of migrant workers in Germany. They are by far the largest migrant minority group in Germany; because of their number, in many urban areas they meet the structural preconditions for ethnic segregation and for the institutional completion of a minority subculture. At the same time, Turks differ from

Italians and Greeks with respect to their residential status. Limitations in residential status prevents commuting between the society of origin and Germany, but it provides (together with the gap in the two societies' welfare situation) ongoing incentives for chain migration marriage and family reunification. The ongoing incorporation of earlier migrated families is thus masked by the coinciding influx of new migrant waves.

German repatriates from Russia are the newest group of immigrants in Germany, with a first significant wave in the 1980s and an enormous increase after the breakup of the Soviet Union. They immediately get German citizenship; take part in special, extensive integration programs; and fully benefit from the German social welfare system. Their legal status is based on the concept of having German ancestry and maintaining German cultural heritage. This produces a consensual fiction of "no cultural distance." In any case, the migration to Germany is usually a final one, as remigration is normally not considered to be a realistic option. Administrative regulations have produced high residential segregation of German repatriates at least at the beginning of their stay in Germany. Currently, the repatriates seem to have a tendency toward social closure and "ethnic" segregation.

Russian immigrants in Israel may be compared with the German repatriates. Having already received a first, significant wave of Russian Jews in the early 1970s, Israel faced an increase of about 10% of their population because of the enormous immigration after the breakup of the Soviet Union. They are full citizens of the Israeli state from the very beginning, take part in even more extensive "absorption" programs, and fully benefit from the comparably extensive welfare system. Their legal status is based not on the "ius sanguinis," as in the German repatriate case, but on their believing in the Jewish religion, which also establishes a consensual fiction of no cultural distance to other members of the Israeli state. Permanence of residence in Israel is not easily predicted, especially because of their comparatively high human capital, which makes their situation different from the German repatriates. The administrative regulations in Israel assume the absorption of these immigrants into the receiving society as soon as possible. The sheer number of the newest immigrant wave, together with predominant "push" factors of migration motivation, may have created the preconditions for a group awareness of being different and, as in the German repatriate case, for "ethnic" segregation.

The study design thus contrasts two significantly different groups of immigrant families. On one hand, the classic migrant worker nationalities; on the other, the German repatriates and the Jewish emigrants to Israel, both stemming from Russia. The variations between the migrant groups in terms of human capital and acculturation strategies allow the testing of assumptions about the level and direction of change in ethnic identification and how it is transmitted intergenerationally.

2. The parent-child dyads in each migrant family consist of mother-daughter or father-son pairs (from different families). In contrast to the conventional cohort analyses of migration research, where aggregate findings of separate immigrant generations are confronted, this analysis is explicitly based on transmission processes within parent-child dyads of migrant families. The child generation contains children attending grades 7 through 9 of different school tracks; they are thus at the stage of preparing the transition to the occupational system or college. The parents in these families are almost exclusively migrants of the first generation, whereas some of the groups of juveniles represent the second generation: Among the parents, 92.6% of the Greeks, 95.6% of the Italians, 96.7% of the German repatriates, and 100% of the Turks and the Russian Israelis were born in the society of origin; among the youths, 70.9% of the Italians, 71.5% of the Greeks, and 79.8% of the Turks were born in

Germany, but only 1.1% of the German repatriates and none of the Russian Israelis were born in the receiving society.

3. The opportunity structure varies twofold in this design. With regard to the immigrant families from Russia, it varies according to the institutional structure of the receiving societies of Israel and Germany. At a second level, it varies according to the socioecological context within the respective society. Approximately one half of the respondents live in highly urbanized contexts with a comparably high density of population with the same national origin and an accordingly high opportunity for the institutional completion of an ethnic colony. The other half consists of respondents from a small-town context; this generally implies a higher living standard among immigrant families, a lower density of migrant population, and thus little opportunity for the establishment of ethnic colonies.

Every cell of this design contains at least 100 persons; specifically, the study consists of 397 interviews with Greek parent-child dyads, 406 Italian, 405 Turkish immigrant, 427 German repatriate, and 448 Russian Israeli ($N = 2,083$). The data collection took place between 1990 and 1992 for the Turkish families, between 1996 and 1997 for the Greeks and Italians, and between 1998 and 1999 for the German repatriates and the Russian Israelis. The oral interviews were carried out by means of standardized questionnaires, which were available in the language of the society of origin (Greek, Italian, Turkish, and Russian) and in German or Hebrew, respectively, being alternatively available according to the preference of the respondent. Parents and children were interviewed separately. For the construction of generation-, gender-, and group-specific questionnaires (20 different versions in two languages each), utmost attention was paid to the paralleling of the indicators for the intended constructs.

The empirical model of Figure 2 is specified using a structural equation model, in which the following variables are included.

a. The manifest variable *parent's education* is based on statements about school degrees of the parents in the country of origin. Following the approach of Blossfeld and Jaenichen (1992), education is operationalized as a ratio-scaled variable according to the necessary years of schooling for the corresponding degree in the respective country; the values for the years of schooling of both parents are summed.

b. The *family language retention* is a manifest variable based on a score of parents' and children's answers about whether the language of origin is the main communication language between parents and children and between brothers and sisters. It ranges from 0 (neither parents nor children reported that this language is used in either of the relationships) to 4 (both parents and children agreed that it is used in both relationships).

c. The *child's school career* is for reasons of comparability to Esser (1990) operationalized as the completion of stages in the school track system, including attendance of a kindergarten in the receiving society, attendance of special preparatory classes for foreign pupils, as well as secondary school tracks. The higher the score, the more complete is a school career of the corresponding child in the highest school track of the receiving society. It is a manifest variable.

d. The *child's language acquisition* is a latent variable based on the subjective, ordinal-scaled statements of the child about his or her ability to understand, speak, read, and write the language of the receiving society.

e. The *parents' discrimination* and the *child's discrimination* are latent variables based on four manifest indicators for the parents (feeling *not at all* to *very strongly* discriminated against at work, in the neighborhood, when shopping, in offices) and three for the children (at school, in the neighborhood, when shopping).

f. The *parents' endogamous network* and the *child's endogamous network* are both manifest variables based on the proportion of members of their own national group (in the case of Italians, Greeks, and Turks) or their own migrant group (in the case of German repatriates and Russian Israelis) in their individual network. These data are drawn from a network generator for both generations of migrants. This generator allows the respondent to list 20 names of persons with whom he or she has daily relationships (has a close personal relationship with, discusses important personal problems with, spends his or her spare time with, to whom he or she gives help, and from whom he or she receives help). All together, 26,017 network members are listed (12,704 by parents and 13,313 by their children).

g. The *parents' ethnic identification* and the *child's ethnic identification* are latent variables based on two ordinal-scaled indicators each, concerning the choice of daughters/sons-in-law (parents') or that of a spouse (child's), and concerning the choice of first names for their grandchildren or children (in the case of the German repatriates and Russian Israelis, the latter indicator was replaced with one regarding the preference for an ethnic neighborhood and did not result in a loss in measurement quality). Ethnic identification is thus measured as a preference for a son/daughter-in-law or a spouse from one's own national/migrant group and as a preference for first names related to the culture of origin.

The empirical models are specified with the help of LISREL8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993); the estimates are based on the criteria of the maximum likelihood. The Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI), the Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index (AGFI), and the root mean square residual (RMR) are reported for each empirical model. To achieve maximum comparability, the empirical models for all groups have the same structure.

RESULTS

It is assumed that variations in the extent of intergenerational transmission of network characteristics will lead to different outcomes in the acculturation of the second generation: According to Coleman's (1990) thesis, direct effects of social control go out from overlapping close multiplex networks in both generations. Accordingly, it has to be concluded that the transmission of segregative tendencies is higher in families with high social capital and low in families with low social capital (and high cultural capital instead). In the following, the empirical test of these assumptions will be made in two steps. First, results are provided for the entire sample, thus including Italians, Greeks, Turks, German repatriates, and Russian Israelis (see Table 1). Second, the specified micro model of intergenerational transmission is compared for the respective immigrant groups, thus varying the macro differences of group-related differences in cultural and social capital and the opportunity structures of the receiving context (see Table 1).

The results from the structural equation model of the total population of migrant families already have three important implications for the theoretical discussion.

First, in general, the results confirm many of the basic assumptions of assimilation theory as formulated in the basic model. Discrimination has a weak yet positive effect on language retention in migrant families, which, in turn, significantly decreases the child's acquisition of the language of the receiving society; the child's school career has the expected positive effect on language learning. The higher the educational level of the parents, the lower is the proportion of intraethnic members in their network; family language retention instead increases the proportion of intraethnic network members. The results clearly show the "strategic" effect of family language retention on the acculturation process, as it is strongly

TABLE 1
Results of the Structural Modeling of Intergenerational Transmission in the Acculturation Process of Second-Generation Migrants

	Migrant Groups					
	Total Sample	*Italians in Germany*	*Greeks in Germany*	*Turks in Germany*	*German Repatriates*	*Russian Israelis*
RMR	.057	.067	.064	.054	.052	.058
GFI	.92	.89	.87	.93	.88	.92
AGFI	.89	.84	.82	.90	.83	.89
Paths						
Child's school career → Child's host language acquisition	.20[a]	.33	.17	.26	.11	.04
Parent's education → Child's school career	.01	.26	.10	.29	.37	.13
Parent's education → Family language retention	.38	–.21	–.04	–.29	.21	.22
Parent's education → Parent's endogamous network	–.14	–.19	–.22	–.05	–.15	–.06
Parent's education → Parent's ethnic identification	.03	–.13	–.14	–.51	.02	–.26
Parent's discrimination → Family language retention	.06	.10	.00	.05	.20	–.01
Parent's discrimination → Child's discrimination	**.54**[b]	**.66**	**.67**	**.25**	**.73**	**.30**
Parent's discrimination → Parent's ethnic identification	.04	.19	.17	–.06	.23	.09
Family language retention → Child's host language acquisition	–.24	–.06	–.08	–.35	–.32	–.27
Family language retention → Child's ethnic identification	–.05	.23	–.05	.04	.18	.21
Family language retention → Parent's endogamous network	.11	.24	.19	.05	.11	.07
Family language retention → Parent's ethnic identification	.41	.52	.39	.32	.26	.20
Child's host language acquisition → Child's endogamous network	–.11	–.07	–.11	–.12	–.30	.00
Child's host language acquisition → Child's discrimination	–.20	–.14	–.16	–.25	–.24	–.07
Child's host language acquisition → Child's ethnic identification	–.24	–.21	–.30	–.25	–.16	–.26
Child's discrimination → Child's endogamous network	.05	.08	.07	.14	–.05	.13
Child's discrimination → Child's ethnic identification	.02	.05	–.14	.01	–.22	. 20
Child's endogamous network → Child's ethnic identification	.13	.17	.18	.25	.13	.10
Parent's endogamous network → Parent's ethnic identification	.21	.23	.33	.06	.00	.13
Parent's endogamous network → Child's endogamous network	**.31**	**.42**	**.47**	**.10**	**.38**	**.16**
Parent's ethnic identification → Child's endogamous network	.31	.29	.26	.50	.09	.05
Parent's ethnic identification → Child's ethnic identification	**.74**	**.89**	**.61**	**.49**	**.72**	**.24**

NOTE: RMR = root mean square residual; GFI = Goodness-of-Fit Index; AGFI = Adjusted Goodness-of-Fit Index.
a. Path coefficients.
b. Values in bold are transmission coefficients.

related to the parents' ethnic identification (b = .41). The acquisition of the language of the receiving society increases, and perceived discrimination decreases the proportion of interethnic members in the network of migrant youth. The proportion of intraethnic network members has the expected positive effect on the ethnic identification, both for parents and their adolescent children.

Second, intergenerational transmission has a massive effect on the acculturation process in migrant families. The more parents feel discriminated against in the receiving society, the more their children of the same gender do (b = .54); the higher the proportion of intraethnic members in the networks of the parents, the higher it is in the networks of their children (b = .31). Especially strong is the transmission of ethnic identification between parents and children of the same gender (b = .74).

Third, two findings, however, do not support the basic assumptions: (a) There is no direct transmission of cultural capital between generations. This result replicates previous findings from other data sets on immigrants in Germany (Nauck, Diefenbach, & Petri, 1998), where no correlations were found between the educational level of the parents and the school success of their children in migrant families, whereas the effect is quite strong in the native German reference population. (b) There is a very weak but positive relationship between the level of education and the parents' ethnic identification and a quite strong positive effect of the parent's educational level on family language retention (b = .38). This latter finding obviously contradicts classical assimilation theory, according to which those immigrants with the highest individual opportunities should assimilate fastest.

1. The results for the subsample of the *Italian migrant families in Germany* fit the general assumption of assimilation theory much better than do the results for the total sample: There is a positive effect of transmission of cultural capital between parents and children (b = .26); for example, for the "oldest" immigrant group, the social placement of the children is already related to the educational level of the parents. The level of education is negatively related to the ethnic identification of the parents (b = –.13). Family language retention is highest in those families with low cultural resources (b = –.21), as assimilation theory would predict. In addition, the results show that compared with the total sample, the institutional effect of schooling on the children's language acquisition is much higher (b = .33) than the effect of the family's language retention (b = –.06), but language retention increases its direct effect on the child's ethnic identification (b = .23). Finally, the effect of the parents' feelings of discrimination on their ethnic identification is increased (b = .19). However, important for the evaluation of the general model is that the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission are strong in the acculturation of the second generation in this relatively well-established migrant group.

2. The results for the subsample of the *Greek migrant families in Germany* basically go in the same direction as those for the Italians. The results, again, support assimilation theory, but the empirical relationships between the variables are already significantly weaker. One finding not confirming assimilation theory is that the child's ethnic identification is decreased by discrimination (b = –.14). As concerns the Italian families, the effects of intergenerational transmission within the model remain very strong and thus confirm the theoretical model in this regard.

3. As practically all *Turkish families in Germany* (especially the parents' generation) have entirely intraethnic social networks (Nauck, Kohlmann, & Diefenbach, 1997), the estimates related to these two variables drop drastically, which leads to a total underestimation of close networks (and intergenerational transmission related to it) for this migrant group. Nevertheless, the remaining empirical results support assimilation theory at least as strongly as did the

results for the Italian subsample. Finally, the indirect effect of the parents' cultural resources on the children's language acquisition is strengthened in both directions via schooling success and family language retention. Compared with Italian and Greek migrant families, the extent of intergenerational transmission in Turkish migrant families is obviously decreased yet still strong. This difference is caused by higher intergenerational differences in the level of assimilation in Turkish migrant families in Germany than those in Italian or Greek ones (Nauck, 1995, 1997, 1999).

4. The results for the *German repatriate families* differ from those of the migrant families in some respects. Most important, there is a significant positive relationship between the parents' education and the retention of the Russian language in the family ($b = .21$), which, in turn, decreases the child's language acquisition quite strongly ($b = –.32$). On the other hand, the educational level has only an indirect effect on the parents' ethnic identification via family language retention ($b = .26$); it is also influenced by the parents' feelings of discrimination ($b = .23$) but not by the ethnic composition of the parents' network. The second significant deviance from the assimilation model is the relationship between the child's discrimination and his or her ethnic identification: As with the Greek families, the ethnic identification of the children decreases when they feel they are discriminated against. In general, German repatriate families are no exception from the general result that intergenerational transmission is the most important effect in the acculturation process: The more the parents feel discriminated against, the more their children do ($b = .73$); the higher the parents' ethnic identification, the higher their children's ($b = .72$). The weaker relationship between their ethnic network structure ($b = .38$) may again be due to a lack of variance because of the high proportion of intraethnic network members, especially in the parents' generation.

5. Another quite different picture is provided by the results for the *Russian Jewish immigrant families in Israel*. As with the German repatriate families, the parents' education influences positively the retention of the Russian language ($b = .22$), which itself significantly decreases the child's language acquisition ($b = –.27$), whereas the institutional effect of schooling (and the parents' transmission of cultural capital via school success) is rather small. Low levels of discrimination, small network sizes, and generally high proportions of network members being immigrants from Russia also lead to the effect that neither discrimination nor network structure have the same strong effects on the acculturation process. Intergenerational transmission processes are also less strong in this empirical model (.30 for discrimination, .16 for network composition, and .24 for ethnic identification) yet still significant. However, both the ethnic identification of the parents and their children are highly predictable within this model, in both cases according to the general theoretical assumptions of assimilation theory.

DISCUSSION

The presented empirical results on the acculturation process in immigrant families of different origin and in different immigrant contexts have revealed the following.

a. There are systematic variations between the respective immigrant groups and generations with regard to the antecedent conditions, namely, the available cultural capital to be invested in the acculturation process (economic capital is of no importance for these groups as these enter the immigrant context normally without any economic capital) and the respective opportunity structure of the receiving society.

b. There are systematic variations between the members of the parents' and children's generation, but both linked together through intergenerational transmission processes to a varying degree according to family cultures and acculturation strategies. These level differences lead to different outcomes with regard to social assimilation, namely, the ethnic composition of the individual networks in both generations, and to identification assimilation.

c. However, the empirical results have also revealed that there are systematic variations in the direction and intensity of the relationships between the variables in the empirical models.

The first categories of results can easily be explained by assimilation theory with varying group levels of resources and opportunity structures in different historical or geographic contexts, and the second categories when adding some basic assumptions about cultural differences between the respective immigrant groups. The latter class of results, on the other hand, is quite difficult to explain and raises some serious questions challenging assimilation theory in general: Why do some immigrant groups perform cultural retention although discrimination is obviously lacking and the immigrants have all the cultural means to assimilate, as is the case for the German repatriates and the Russian Israelis? Why does high cultural capital lead predominantly to fast assimilation with regard to language acquisition in some cases, for example, in Turkish and Italian families in Germany, but in others to a high family language retention, as in German repatriate and Russian Israeli families? Why do feelings of discrimination lead to a decrease of ethnic identification in some groups, like Turkish parents and Greek and German repatriate youths, but to an increase in other groups or generations?

A possible solution may be to look for systematic variations in the available social capital of migrant families, which is comparatively high in both generations of the Turkish migrant families and comparatively low in Russian Israeli families (Nauck, 2001, in press). This seems to suggest that those immigrant families with low cultural capital and low opportunities offered by the receiving society try to compensate for them with the nurtured social capital. Thus, they rely on the offers from close, multiplex relationships and consequently end up in a comparatively segregated, return-oriented milieu. This is the case for those Turkish families who do not follow the assimilation or integration track like other Turkish families with higher cultural capital, who invest it either in the receiving society alone or—in the seldom case of extremely high resources—in both the receiving and the return context. On the other hand, Russian Israeli families (and Greek families in Germany) seem to have great difficulties in transferring their (high) cultural capital to their offspring, that is, assimilation and investment in relationships with the receiving society do not pay off for them and remain low. This is all the more true when the families' cultural capital is higher. Accordingly, language retention is highest in those Russian Israeli families with the highest cultural capital.

In general, the inclusion in acculturation models of intergenerational transmission processes in migrant families is a forceful complement to conventional analyses in migration research that refer to either the acculturation process within one life course or to the comparison of aggregates of migrant generations. Methodologically, the inclusion of intergenerational transmission processes is a backward enlargement of the explanation model. It is thus not a theoretical alternative but an extension with the aim to increase its content without changing the nomological core. This extension is especially suitable for the better understanding of the antecedents of acculturation processes, as the major variations were theoretically expected and actually take place in the first parts of the model, whereas the second part remains comparably stable for all investigated migrant groups.

The empirical analysis has shown clearly to what strong extent processes of intergenerational social placement and acculturation processes are knitted together and what strong

importance (generalized) cultural capital has on the process: The educational level of the parents has a strong, far-reaching influence on the acculturation process of their children. It has a direct influence on language retention in the family (although varying in its direction in the respective migrant group), on the course of the children's school career and their language acquisition, and it influences indirectly the social and identification assimilation (intraethnic network composition and ethnic identification). The cultural capital, which families are able to invest in intergenerational transmission processes after an international move, seems to be of strategic importance for the course and speed of the acculturation processes in both generations. The impact of the contextual opportunity structures remains relatively small in this empirical analysis. This is partly the effect of indirect measurement via perceived discrimination and some additional assumptions about macro effects of migration waves and the institutional structure of the respective immigration context. Moreover, the level of perceived discrimination is rather low in all investigated groups. Therefore, the results may be due to the specific constellation in the marginal conditions, and they may be understood as an investigation into the variations of culture contact, when major barriers and discrimination in the receiving context are missing. The results point out that at least in the case of the Turkish migrants in Germany, the German repatriates, and the Russian Israelis, a comparably stable, conflict-free, and at the same time socially segregated coexistence of minority and majority seems to exist. Comparative studies should show whether this would be similar for migrant minorities with intensive discrimination experiences. The examples of the Italians and Greek families in Germany show that intensified social contacts with members of the receiving society are not necessarily related to assimilation in the sense of a replacement of the culture of origin by the culture of the receiving society: Family language retention prevails and offers the double option of the integration mode of acculturation at least to the second generation. The examples of the repatriates in Germany and the Russian Israelis show that variations in ethnic identity may be studied not only as a consequence of culture contact, which is normally done in migration research, but as an antecedence as well: At least parts of these two groups migrate because of their initially high ethnic identification with the receiving society. Accordingly, culture contact may decrease identification, especially if discrimination is perceived.

Further theoretical thoughts regarding the incorporation process of migrants into the receiving society (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, & Reitz, 1990) should concentrate on the transmission of cultural and social capital in migrant families and their strategies of intergenerational social mobility within the system of social inequality in both societies. Even though intergenerational status transmission is a phenomenon often described in mobility research (Mayer & Blossfeld, 1990), such transmission processes are seldom taken into consideration in migration research and acculturation models (Alba, 1990; Alba, Handl, & Müller, 1994; Isajiw, 1990). This extended perspective relates migration systematically to the predominantly dramatic changes in the resource and opportunity constellations that confront parents in their investment strategies for their offspring. It assumes that intrafamilial intergenerational relationships, as the strongest of all relationships, become even more important in the migration process for plausible reasons: Weak ties may be nonexistent in the migrant situation or more cost intensive and less gainful. Migration, as a long-term, costly family enterprise, may only be justified as an investment for and in the offspring.

A full action-theoretical understanding of this high-cost situation would then imply the modeling of the relationship of the varying economic, social, and cultural intergenerational transfers relative to the probability of expected outcomes in the receiving society alone (as in the case of German repatriates), in the receiving society and the society of origin (as in the

case of Italian, Greek, and Turkish migrant families in Germany), and perhaps in other receiving contexts (as it may be the case for some Russian Israelis). Such a model has to take into account that children may be different intermediate goods in the respective social context: They may serve as a means for economic security when providing additional family income or providing transfer payments of material help in later life stages; they may also serve as a means for social recognition, based on the self-created close, individual relationship when providing emotional support and understanding or as a positional good that provides status among others. Children may lose their specific quality as an intermediate good in the receiving context and may regain it in the case of return. Which kind of intermediate goods children are for their parents in the respective context, therefore, has far-reaching implications for the intensity, extent, and duration of parental investment and for the shape of intergenerational transmission.

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Bernhard Nauck is a professor of sociology at the Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany. His main areas of interest are family, population, life course, and migration, with special emphasis on cross-cultural and cross-national comparisons.