McGILL UNIVERSITY

ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND FAMILY VALUES:

ATTITUDES OF SENIOR IMMIGRANTS

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for

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by

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ABSTRACT

During the last fifty years, family life has noticeably changed in industrialized countries. Among many changes, it appears that there is a shift from a "family dominated" society to a more "individualistic" society where the concept of family loses its importance, family ties weakens, and elders lose their essential roles within the family because the continuity between generations in respect to family traditions and values is stopped. Ethnic-elders have different expectations from their family members based on their ethnic-identity, family values, and the extent of their acculturation. These value differences might also influence the accessibility and provision of psycho-social services. Therefore, the purpose of the present cross-cultural study was to understand and compare different ethnic-elders' expectations from their family members and from psychosocial service providers based on their concept of perception of family values. An instrument was designed for this study implementing a 4-point-scale and vignettes. Data were collected from seniors from South Asian (Sri-Lanka), Korean, Hungarian and Jewish communities and from a group of Social Workers (N=94). Significant differences were found between group values: overall the Social Worker group was the most individualistic/non-traditional with the Jewish group next; the South Asians and Koreans were the most family-oriented/traditional; and these attitudes were the most different from those of the Social Workers. These particularities have important implications for the delivery of social services.

RÉSUMÉ

Au cours des cinquante dernières années, la vie familiale dans les pays industrialisés a remarquablement changé. Parmi plusieurs changements, il semble s'être manifesté au niveau de la société, un mouvement des valeurs privilégiant la famille vers des valeurs privilégiant l'individu où le concept de la famille perd de son importance, les liens familiaux s'affaiblissent et, les aînés perdent leur rôle essentiel au sein de la famille parce que la transmission des traditions et des valeurs familiales de génération en génération ne se fait plus. Les aînés ethniques ont différentes attentes des membres de leur famille basées sur leur identité ethnique, leurs valeurs familiales et l'ampleur de leur acculturation. Ces différentes valeurs pourraient aussi influencer l'accessibilité et le recours aux services psychosocial. Par conséquent, le but de cette étude "cross-cultural" était de comprendre et de comparer les attentes qu'ont différents aînés ethniques envers les membres de leur famille et des fournisseurs de services psychosocial basées sur le concept de perception des valeurs familiales. Un instrument fut désigné pour cette étude utilisant un barème à 4 niveaux et des vignettes. Les données furent recueillies auprès des aînés des communautés suivantes: sud-asiatique (sri-lankaise), coréenne, hongroise et juives et, auprès d'un groupe de travailleurs sociaux (N=94). Des différences significatives ont été découvertes entre groupes valeurs. En résumé, le groupe de travailleurs sociaux ressortirent comme étant les plus individualistes/non traditionnel suivi du groupe de la communauté juive; les Sud-Asiatiques et les Coréens furent les groupes les plus orientés vers la famille/traditionnel; et ces attitudes furent les plus différentes de celles des travailleurs sociaux. Ces particularités ont d'importantes implications dans le rendement de services sociaux.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem

Societies are facing many problems due to the accelerated pace of change in our lives. This is even more predominant in Canada, being a young multicultural nation with a dynamic economy. The growing socio-ethnic diversity and ageing of our population bring new challenges to the health and social care sectors. Therefore, this study offers a view on a few aspects of our complex social problems and explains some of the particularities and difficulties that ethnic seniors and service providers have to deal with, specifically in Montreal.

During the last couple of decades, the Canadian population has been experiencing a disintegration of the family constitution (Tringer, 2000) and a demographic change (Golini & Silvestrini, 1997). The family is central and sacred in all societies (Edgar, 1997), but there are differences in their structure (nuclear, clan or tribe), and in the roles, relationships, responsibilities, obligations, and expectations of different family members (Lithwick, Dulka, Simard, Yaffee, & Rowe, 2001). Ethnic families that function by traditional values might experience stress and conflict when they come in contact with a society that functions by an individualistic philosophy.

Canada has been officially declared a multicultural society and its policies have been gradually adjusted somewhat, however, services that ethnic seniors receive in Canada might not be pertinent to their immediate needs (Christensen, 1992). Ethnic seniors' problems are multi layered: face difficulties relating to their migration and settlement; and experience intergenerational conflict as their children adapt to the host society sooner than them (Christensen, 1992). Firstly, researchers found that there were

only a few agencies that have undergone organizational changes to adapt to Canada's multiethnic society (Christensen, 1992; Ottmann-Clish, 1986). Secondly, ethno-cultural and racial minorities do not access and do not receive services in an equitable manner, and these services are limited because service providers are lacking knowledge and understanding of cultural factors (Doyle, 1995; Ratliff, 1997). Lastly, Lithwick, Reis, Stones, Macnaughton-Osler and Canderan (1997) reported that the biggest conflict between some senior immigrants and the service providers of the host society is the lack of understanding of each other's cultural differences. They also said that in order to provide an appropriate and effective support to ethnic seniors to deal with their multifaceted issues, services would have to be culturally sensitive. Being culturally sensitive means, among other factors, being aware of a family's cultural heritage and the possible influences that this heritage exercises on family members (Gutheil & Tepper, 1997). In addition to this, Lithwick et al. (2001) found that there is an increased need for specific information regarding resources, types of intervention, barriers to intervention, immersion difficulties and other information specific to clients' cultures.

Four separate study areas were selected that seem to interact and influence senior immigrants and service providers: disintegration of the traditional family constitution in North America; composition of the Canadian population including demographic transition and aging process; acculturation and value differences of different ethnic communities; and difficulties in providing services to senior immigrants.

1.2. Disintegration of the traditional family constitution

Senior immigrants, upon their arrival, might be confronted with differences in both the meaning and the role of the family in comparison to their country of origin. The concept about family has a profound influence on people, regardless of their culture, which might have a branching effect on how a person relates to different issues in life. According to Edgar (1997) and Kurimay (2000), regardless of culture, the family is a unit in which men, women, and/or children care about each other, have similar interests, a shared sense of identity, and combine their various skills and strengths to work and satisfy their needs.

Families in every culture are changing in the context of time and space while they strive to maintain their values (Kurimay, 2000). Due to many factors a shift has been experienced in the last fifty years in Canada from a family dominated society (also an agricultural society) to a more individualistic (or modernized) society, where family looses its traditional importance, and creates an increased diversity of family forms (Ruggles, 1994). Contrary from the traditional family concept, presently there is less importance on getting married, raising children and there is an embracement of family in a non-tradition forms, for instance single-parent families or same-sex families (Dreman, 1997a; Eichler, 1988; Golini & Silvestrini, 1997; Goode, 1963; Young, 1995). This is due to rapid economic, social, and cultural changes (Dreman, 1997a).

As a result of these changes, there has been increasing uncertainty about how to define the family. One of the consequences of the disintegration of the family's traditional constitution could be the lack of continuity between generations in respect to family traditions and values. From this perspective the elders may lose their essential

roles within the family by not being able to pass traditions and values on to the younger generation (Tringer, 2000).

Family values and structure are likely to be affected by political and national economic interests (Weiner, 1997). In Western culture, the emphasis on achievement of materialistic goals, career-related status, individualism, and autonomy might lead to the erosion of traditional family values (Chekki, 1996; Dreman, 1997a; Goldscheider, 1997). Families now have greater mobility, and it appears that changes observed in family structure and family values are the result of modernization (Golini & Silvestrini, 1997). These changes in the role of the family have become part of the North American culture. Mainstream social workers have internalized these changing concepts and values and may not be able to adequately respond to cultures or families that have a different view or expectation. This is not to say that these changes are bad; it is only to emphasize that there are still cultures that highly maintain what is considered "traditional" family values and therefore their expectation from the family may be different from those who have internalized a more individualistic notion of obligations to family members.

Modernization

Modernization refers to economic, political and social changes (McPherson, 1995). Within the process of modernization is a breakdown of traditionalism; there is a shift from a family-kinship dominated society to one where individualism and self-actualization are emphasized (Kirkland, 1984). In this transition, the family serves as a principal place where change occurs particularly between generations, and where the continuation of traditional values and norms are fostered. Recent senior immigrants

might experience these transitions not in a gradual way, as the host society, but in a more shocking and drastic way. The interaction of social structure and individual-culture generates the processes of modernization (Kirkland, 1984). Modernity has liberated people from inherited identities, status, employments and family links, but the cost of this liberation has been a sense of disorientation and insecurity (Skolnic, 1997).

Most families cannot be considered exclusively traditional or modern. Elements of modernity may be observed within most traditional societies, and traditional cultural patterns might persist within the most modern social systems. Modernization of values of immigrant families occurs mostly through children that are born and raised in the host country. Therefore, it is possible that the first generation of immigrant families would maintain some of their traditional values and that these values might be in conflict with the values that their children develop. The degree to which a particular society or population has become modernized can be assessed through the extent to which their family values reflect traditional cultural patterns and values (Kirkland. 1984) such as respect provided to elderly members, degree of "familism", cohesion between family members, support, and integration within the family (Driedger & Chappell, 1987).

Researchers warn us that it must not be assumed that as modernization increases, ethnic assimilation will necessarily follow; assimilation happens to some, but not to all immigrants, and ethnic identity may survive for many generations. There might be many unassimilated ethnic elderly of various groups who have distinctive linguistic, cultural, religious, and social needs. Ethnic elders must be studied comparatively to see whether their patterns of behavior with respect to different cultures vary; these patterns might vary over time and across cultures (Driedger & Chappell, 1987).

1.3. Demographic transition

The fact that the elderly population is growing implies that the number of ethnic elders is also increasing. Doyle (1995) projected that the elderly population will increase to 14% of which 22% will be seniors of ethnic origin (other than French or British) by 2001. Montreal's total population in 1996 was 3,287,645 of which 2,664,475 were Canadian-born, 9,960 were aboriginals and 586,465 were of various single and multiple ethnic origins such as the British Isles, France, East-West-North-South-Europe, East-West-South-Asia, Arab countries, Africa and Latin-Central-South America (Statistics Canada, 1996).

Decline in mortality and fertility rates is called demographic transition (Golini & Silvestrini, 1997). A demographic transition can have a major effect on the age structure of a population, transforming it from a pyramid that has many young people and few older, to a rectangle that has similar proportions of people in each age category (Goldscheider, 1997; Skolnick, 1997). For instance, the elderly (65 years or older) made up 9% of the total Canadian population in 1981 (Doyle, 1995). In Quebec, this figure was 12.2% in 1996 and was projected to increase to 19.6% by 2031 (Denton, Feaver, & Spencer, 1998). Statistics Canada reported that the elderly made up 12.8% (944,474) of the total Quebec's population in 2000.

Life expectancy has increased and the population finds itself in a situation that has never existed before in history: it happens more often that people and their parents are both in senior age group (Skolnick, 1997). These lengthening familial relationships require an increase in flexibility and a reduction of hierarchy (Goldscheider, 1997). These types of situations create confusion regarding care-giving roles (Skolnick, 1997).

Ageing

According to McPherson (1995), there are universal patterns in the process of ageing, but there is a substantial variation in the status of the aged, and these factors might vary as societies change and as history evolves. It was questioned whether the elderly lose their status, and whether their emotional, physical and economic needs are met in a postindustrial society. Further, an evaluation of the meaning of old age and the status of the aged might depend on the social environment and the value structures of various age groups. Even though elderly people live with their children, their quality of life might be low since they might not be included in family conversations and activities, and their activities might be reduced to the level of domestic laborers or quasi-servants.

The role assigned to elderly people in a society and the way the children's attitudes are shaped in this regard, are factors which reflect the way a society treats its elderly (Blakemore & Boneham, 1994; Zandi, Mirle, & Jarvis, 1990). In countries where the work of elderly people has social value, the elderly are more respected (Cox, 1990). Cox found that the status of the elderly followed an S-curve throughout different societies and different historical eras. He explained that in agricultural societies, aged individuals have power and high status, while in industrial societies, they are granted less status and decision-making power. He suggested that this might be because young people in industrial societies become financially independent as they begin to work in factories and offices. This results in less dependency on family and separation from extended families and traditional restraints. According to Cox, the result of industrialization is the gradual removal of the educational function of the family, and its replacement by formal training outside the home.

Puner (1979) explained that health, finances and loneliness were the three main problems that elders were facing. He added that living alone does not by itself make an elderly person feel lonely; it is more the result of losses suffered through the years. Individuals who have an active social life might still feel lonely if these activities do not bring satisfaction or gratification. Puner explained that, as people age, family life becomes a key factor and central to the existence of the person. However, this does not mean that elderly people are happier if they live with their children; what is paramount is the quality of their relationships. Nevertheless, seniors and especially some ethnic seniors might come to miss the extended family ties in increasingly industrialized societies such as Canada, because extended family provides a basic unit of social and economic solidarity, a sense of trust, belonging and stability all of which help to ameliorate some of the alienation, isolation, and uncertainty brought on by increasing modernization and social change (Assanand, Dias, Richardson, & Waxler-Morrison, 1990; Lomnitz, 1997).

Ishii-Kuntz (1990) explained that, based on previous studies, it seems that kinship interaction has little effect on the well being of the elderly. However, elderly people seemed to benefit from interacting with their friends. His main findings were that, for elderly people, it is equally important to have good relationship with family and friends. It is not the frequency of the interaction that counts, but the quality of the relationship. However, this finding might not be true for every culture. Dreman (1997b) suggested that studies that examine individual and family life should also consider cultural differences.

1.4. Acculturation of senior immigrants and their values

Elderly immigrants are dealing not only with the challenges of a normal ageing process, but also with the stresses of their migration. Migration is a complex procedure, and individuals experience the transition or acculturation differently depending on their country of origin. The values of the migrants are also altered with time. The process and consequences of migration are not universal, and much depends upon the specific characteristics and interaction between the host society and the migrant (Dreman, 1997b). Migration is a process of "push and pull" that influences both the migration and the outcome of the contact with the host country (Feagin & Feagin, 1996, p. 32).

Migration cannot be carried out without emotional and often physical stresses and trauma because the migrant or immigrant families are exposed to somewhat predictable and frequently unexpected additional stress factors (Hertz, 1994; Lithwick et al., 2001). Migrant families are highly stressed because they often have limited resources for coping with the demanding circumstances they face, and rarely receive the kind of systematic support they need from their host country. However, it seems that migrant families appear willing to accept such hardships in exchange for the promise of safety and of a better life (Dreman, 1997b).

Acculturation is a cultural phenomenon that migrants experience. It is a cultural change that results from contact between two autonomous cultural groups (Herskovits, 1958; and in many of Berry's studies). While change occurs in both host and immigrant groups, the immigrant group undergoes greater change than the host society as it adjusts to its new environment (Berry, 1990; Donà & Berry, 1994; Feagin, 1984; Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Maylonas, 1996; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993).

Berry (1990) suggested that in order to understand the relationship between cultural contact and psychological outcomes for individuals, there is a need to assess changes separately at the societal and individual level. He highlighted that there are two sources of change: internal and external. He explained that cultural change results from an internal process, whereas acculturation is due to contact with other cultures. Also, once the process of change has started, individuals and communities may vary greatly in how they deal with the acculturative influences. At the cultural level, family structures and intra-family relations may come into conflict with family norms that characterize the host society (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993).

Research in this area has shown that there are many individual differences in how people attempt to deal with acculturative changes (Berry, 1990). There are differences in how much people prefer to change (Berry, 1980; Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989), whether these changes cause stress for the individuals, whether the person is a voluntary or involuntary migrant (Berry, 1989, 1990; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987), the socio-economic and political situations in the host country, and its receptivity towards ethnic groups (Feagin & Feagin, 1996). Some preserve their ethnic identity over time (Gordon, 1981) and some even reconstruct their native environment in the new country (Wickher & Schoch, 1987).

Due to migration, elderly parents experience changes in their roles in the family (Assanand, et al., 1990; Lithwick, et al, 1997). They highlighted that, for instance, South Asian elderly parents who are sponsored by their children become dependent on them because they don't know the culture or the language of the host society. Therefore, their traditional dominance within the family is weakened, and they often feel isolated, lonely,

and sad after moving to Canada. Ujimoto, Nishio, Wong and Lam (1995) further explained that recent elderly immigrants who are not accustomed to the Canadian societal norms are more dependent on their children, and in families where there are some intergenerational conflicts, elderly parents tend to internalize their feelings and suffer the consequences in silence.

Policy of multiculturalism

The process of acculturation is also greatly affected by the nature of the host society (Feagin, 1984). Unlike the melting pot philosophy adopted by the United States, Canada embraced an official multicultural policy in 1971 (Christensen, 1992). Through this policy immigrants are integrated and encouraged to maintain their heritage culture and, at the same time, to fully participate in the larger society (Berry, 1984). Existing and migrating groups exercise pressure on one another and produce changes within each of their cultures. In most multi-ethnic societies, the individuals and groups living together question whether they should retain or lose their cultural identity and, if keeping it, would it match the dominant society (Berry, 1980). Georgas et al. (1996) performed a cross-generational study of people in Greece, first and second generation Greek immigrants, and English Canadians. Their results showed that people in Greece had the most traditional family values, followed by first and second generation of immigrants, and English Canadians had the least traditional family values. They explained that even the second generation of immigrants could have a greater degree of value maintenance if they live in a multicultural society such as Canada.

Culture and family values of different ethnic communities chosen for this study

Values represent an attitude toward objects, relationships, or services which are hierarchal in nature (Nye & Berardo, 1973), a meeting point between the individual and society (Zavalloni, 1980), and characteristics of individuals (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). Values are the internalized criteria by which individuals make decisions and set goals, judge their own and other people's behavior in society, such as ways of establishing family ties and family support for the elderly (Driedger & Chappell, 1987). Culture provides a symbolic order and shared meaning to social life and is composed of nonmaterial elements, such as norms, customs, values, beliefs and knowledge, and material elements including laws, language, art, folklore, technology and games. Some of these elements are valued by the group and are transmitted from one generation to the next through the process of socialization (McPherson, 1995). This process, however, is interrupted or influenced when a family migrates, and their values change as the result of interaction with other cultures (Georgas, 1991).

Since Montreal is a major city in Canada, it is often selected by a wide range of ethnic immigrants to live in (Statistics Canada, 1996). It was specified earlier that the outcome of migration or the level of acculturation depends on the host society, and the characteristics of different cultures (Dreman, 1997b), whether these migrants are voluntary or involuntary (Berry, 1989), and the length of time they have been in the host country (Georgas et all., 1996). The following four different ethnic communities, widely represented in Montreal typify recent immigrants (Sri-Lanka and Korean) and 'older' immigrants (Jewish and Hungarian). South Asians arrived in different waves in Canada since 1897 (Krauter & Davis, 1978), but people from Sri-Lanka arrived only in the last

decade (Morrison, Guruge & Snarr, 1999). In Montreal, 46,165 people were counted as belonging to the South Asian ethnic group in 1996. Koreans are also recent immigrants and only 3,500 Koreans were counted in Montreal up until 1996 (Statistics Canada, 1996). By contrast, Hungarians immigrated to North America in large numbers before, during and after World War I-II and after the revolution of 1956 (Nagy, 1984), and many Jewish people were even born in Canada since their ancestors immigrated a century ago (Eisen 1998-1999). Both Sri-Lanka and Korean seniors are relatively new ethnic groups in Montreal, but their way to immigration were different. Koreans immigrated voluntarily in search for better opportunities (Pyke, 2000), whereas Sri-Lanka seniors arrived as refugees escaping civil war (Morrison, Guruge, & Snarr, 1999).

South-Asian (Sri-Lanka) family values

Under the term "South-Asian," researchers referred to people with cultural origins in the Indian subcontinent, which includes Pakistan, India, Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal and South Pacific (Assanand, et al., 1990). Assanand, et al. (1990) explained that South Asia is a male-oriented society with the sex roles clearly defined: the man has the leadership, is the provider and decision-maker, whereas the woman is completely oriented towards and related to the home; decisions in the family are made by the more established and financially-secure males, and the care for ill family members is the responsibility of the wife or mother. The elderly are respected, have authority, and an important role of counselling the young, arranging marriages, and helping to raise grandchildren. They said that in traditional South Asian culture, the family is the most important social unit and its members are interdependent; it consists of the parents,

children, paternal grandparents, brothers and sisters of the father. This system is very supportive if it works well between the members. Chekki (1996) highlighted that family and community come first and individual interests are regarded as subordinate to the family. The ideal family consists of three or more generations and often they work together on a common undertaking such as agriculture, crafts or business.

However, these family values tend to change both in India and in North America, and it manifests a selective blend of both traditional and modern values and behaviour (Chekki, 1996). Economic growth and migration are causing the disruption of the conventional family structure in South Asia. There is less family support for the sick and elderly, which leads to a demand for expensive social services. An increasing number of people from urban areas find it difficult to look after their elderly relatives as tradition would expect, because long working hours, high rents, and little time and space available for the elderly (Vatikiotis, 1996). Assanand, et al. (1990) said that South Asians live only in nuclear families in Canada, but their sentiments and behaviour continue to be those of an extended family. They also suggested that health professionals who wish to understand South Asian people should recognize that there are great differences within this culture depending on the country of origin, religious affiliation, class, and degree of urbanization.

Korean family values

Confucianism has become a dominant, guiding philosophy in many aspects of Korean society; family and relationship between family members is the most important conception of self for a Korean individual (Choi, Kim, & Choi, 1993). Ujimoto, et al.

(1995) explained that Confucian philosophy includes different obligations for the children and parents. For instance, children must obey their parents, support them in old age, and succeed in a career to bring honor to parents and ancestors. They found that filial piety was the key cultural variable for successful aging. They also indicated that for Korean elderly, pride in their cultural heritage was important, but they suggested that this might have been because the Koreans were more recent immigrants than Chinese and Japanese. They explained that, in Canada, there are many Korean households that operate a small business or have dual income earners, and that the babysitting role is mostly done by the parents or grandparents. The maternal grandmother already assumes this role in Korea for a month or for 3-4 years if the daughter or daughter-in-law works (Lee & Keith, 1999). However, it seems that baby-sitting is the only role given to the elderly Koreans in Canada (Ujimoto, et al., 1995). Such a limited role does not permit the elderly to become more involved and integrated into Canadian society. This lack of involvement might lead to a sense of depression, isolation and dependence.

Hungarian family values

Hungarian families went through changes and took different shapes and forms throughout the centuries. Therefore, Hungarians from different regions of Hungary and from other parts of the World might hold different values and traditions. Andràsfalvy (2000) explained that Hungarian traditional families included parents, grandparents, and married and unmarried siblings that were living and working together. In this type of setting, family members offered child-rearing and financial support. Often, even non-blood related individuals were incorporated into the family milieu. The woman who was

about to get married asked her girlfriend, rather than a family member, to become the godmother of her future child. This way, the godmother had the responsibility to teach this child moral and traditional values. Individuals lived together only after being married. Individuals not complying with the traditional rules were regarded negatively. Furthermore, Kurimay (2000) highlighted that in certain territories the families used to be patriarchal, meaning that members of the family would ask the opinion of the oldest male of the family regarding major decisions or events. This oldest male could have been someone from the extended family such as an uncle or cousin.

These traditions have changed, and it seems that Hungarians inside and outside of their country of origin are creating more fractured families and are becoming less traditional and family oriented and more individualistic. For instance, Cseh-Szombathy (2000) showed that between 1970 and 1998 the number of marriages dropped and out of the small number of marriages, 25.8% ended up in divorce. Furthermore, the percentage of children being born outside wedlock has increased to 27% by 1998. The Hungarian population census in 1990 found that in the senior population (60 year-old and over), there were three times as many women as men who lived alone (Velkoff & Kinsella, 1993).

Jewish family values

Zilahi (1994) reported that the Jewish community in North America consists of individuals from different ethno-cultural backgrounds depending on the part of the world from which they came: namely, Ashkenazim (from Europe), Sephardim (from Mediterranean basin countries), and Oriental (from Yemen, Iran and India). Jews used to

define themselves as a religious group or a "community of matrilineal descent," and were able to maintain their Jewish identity in the past by keeping their names, language and national costume (Gitelman, 1998). The philosophy of Jewish culture used to rest on several presuppositions, such as land and language (regardless what a person says or does if he does it inside the Jewish homeland in Hebrew language), and the culture being shaped by Jewish history, traditions and norms, and kept different from the culture of dominant society (Eisen, 1998-1999). But this type of philosophy was hard to maintain among Diaspora Jews.

North-American Jews, depending on their tradition, identify themselves as Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or Reconstructionist (Einstein & Kukoff, 1989). Many Jewish people, however, cannot be classified in any of the previously mentioned categories since they are secularly oriented and identify with the cultural rather than the religious aspects of the Jewish people (Zilahi, 1994). Differences between the religious movements are in the extent to which traditional religious practices are required (Einstein & Kukoff, 1989; Zilahi, 1994). Gitelman (1998) explained that it was believed that Jewishness was the fusion of religion (Judaism) and ethnicity. Judaism is strongly linked with Jewishness; however, the converse is not true, since many individuals call themselves Jews but do not follow the Orthodox religion. He stated that the content of Jewishness is shifting in many ways away from Judaism. He highlighted that, earlier, kinship was necessary but not sufficient for someone to be a Jew. These days one does not need to be born a Jew to be one. Jewishness can be transmitted not only through Jewish mothers but also through fathers, and Jewish people can keep their Jewish identity even if they marry a non-Jewish person.

In order to adapt or continue Jewish culture, Jewish people that immigrated from Central and Eastern Europe to the West had obeyed a healthy survival instinct; the Jewish people are more likely to adapt to the new society rather than to keep their tradition (Lederhendler, 1998-1999; Zuk, 1978), and they did not manifest a strong language loyalty either over time (Gitelman, 1998). For instance, the differences between traditional sex roles, generation and social class were de-emphasized, and the patriarchal tradition was minimized because the mothers often occupied an important economic role in the family (Zuk, 1978). Presently, Jewish families are described as families that exhibit a strong sense of family loyalty within its members, and have the characteristic of egalitarianism that leads to a "partner relationship" between husband and wife (Zuk, 1978, p. 104). Parents are permissive with their children and children are often included in parental decision-making. Zuk described that Jewish mothers are over-protective and they often intervene into their children's lives regardless of age. Fathers seem to be more passive within the house but not outside the family. Jewish families are quick to adapt new methods, techniques or ideas that promise benefit.

1.5. Difficulties of providing services for ethnic-elders

Some of the following issues are similar and persist in both Canada and United States even though they have different policies for practice with ethnic minorities. Ottmann-Clish (1986) explained that since the introduction of multiculturalism in Canada in 1971, Quebec society has undergone deep changes, mandates have been passed, but very little was said about how to help minority cultures. Since changes were slow, the Ministry of Social Affairs intervened and issued guidelines in 1982, which stressed the under-utilization of services by ethnic minorities. Institutions were held responsible for not communicating effectively and not having sufficient ethnic personnel. Ottmann-Clish found two years later that services were still under-used; language problems were found as one of the main reasons. Some organizations had 15 to 20 different linguistic capabilities, but often there was a mismatch between the languages spoken by personnel and clientele. Some institutions have made some effort to speed up the integration of cultural minorities: a CLSC provided intensive French courses; a hospital provided programs based on linguistic communication, interpreters, and one third of the personnel were allophones; another hospital adjusted its cooking to cultural needs and places for prayer have been set up. However, these were the exceptional cases, because most agencies did not go beyond translating programs. It was pinpointed that the problems lay in poor distribution of information, inadequate hiring practices, and lack of sensitivity to minority problems.

Based on the survey of the Settlement and Integration of Soviet Jewish immigrants in Canada from 1973 to 1978, Lightman (1984) found that immigrants would have preferred more preliminary arrangements for the reception of immigrants by the

community leadership and professional agencies. For example, help with social integration, job searching, finances and schooling could have been provided. Morrison, Guruge and Snarr (1999) examined Sri-Lanka refugees in Toronto and found that the effects of immigration are felt differently by males and females depending on their age, religion, length of residency, and presence of family in Canada. They also showed that Sri-Lankans are in the middle of transition, and during this period some of the changes led to loss of empowerment, isolation and violence against women. They specified that especially women are hindered in accessing services, and when they do, they are treated as the "other" (Morrison, Guruge, & Snarr, 1999, p. 160). It was reported that ethnic diversity of seniors increases, and the degree of family's ethnic affiliation depends on the socio-economic status, language fluency, religion, residential patterns and generational succession (Gutheil & Tepper, 1997), and value differences could also influence the type of health and social services provided to ethnic-seniors (Reshen, 1992).

Christensen (1992) stated that even though services are guided by a multicultural policy, the social work profession has not adequately reflected the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society neither in manpower nor in training programs. Doyle (1995) claimed that access to social services for ethno-cultural and racial minorities in Canada has been a neglected area even though many studies highlighted that individuals who are entitled to services do not receive them in an equal way. He added that major organizations do not effectively respond to the needs of a multicultural society, and this responsibility to ensure access for these people falls on smaller, poorer funded and understaffed "ethno-specific" agencies. He emphasized that individuals from different ethno-cultural minorities have difficulty accessing services because the style and

techniques of interactions, lack of knowledge and understanding of cultural and linguistic factors, feelings of uncertainty, powerlessness and distance from agencies that are set up to serve them. Doyle found that cultural factors either kept individuals from approaching agencies or limited the quality of assistance offered to them.

Researchers in the United States found that the ideology of health and social service agencies is individualistic: it diminishes commitment to families (Swenson, 1995), selfhood and self-actualization are rather emphasized (Quinn, 1995), and families are not included in social policy (Cohen & Lavach, 1995). Ratliff (1997) explained that interaction of refugees and social service providers creates serious ethical problems, which might increase over time. She reported that this conflict originates from communication difficulties and mutually unfamiliar value systems which could lead to ineffective or proactive interventions. She stated that various theories that provided recommendations of how to better serve the public by considering ethical, moral and value differences, brought only some degree of success. She added that in a multicultural society, moral issues in health and social services would increase as long as more disparate world-views, treatment preferences, religions, communication styles, values and family models are introduced to North American society.

Lithwick et al. (1997), also found that services in public agencies were under-used in Montreal in relation to family problems such as abuse, not only because social workers did not demonstrate enough knowledge regarding cultural differences, but also because individuals themselves were not well informed. Other personal reasons played a role, such as feeling embarrassed or ashamed to talk about these issues, dependence on a family member, linguistic difficulties, and a lack of awareness of their rights and

available resources. Some communities are more comfortable using community centers, traditional experts, or self-help networks than professional public institutions (Lithwick et al., 2001).

1.6. Purpose of the present study

As presented in the theoretical review, in Canada there has been a shift from a family dominated society to a more individualistic society (Ruggles, 1994). In addition, Canada is experiencing a demographic transition which creates an unbalance in the care-giving role (Skolnick, 1997) and status of the elderly (McPherson, 1995). Ethnic seniors, based on their initial family values, might have difficulties dealing and adjusting to these changes in society. The mainstream society in North America is individualistic by emphasizing selfhood and self-actualization, whereas many ethnic cultures are more traditional family oriented (Assanand et al., 1990; Ujimoto et al., 1995). It is questioned whether social workers having mainstream values would be influenced by this when they deliver services to seniors whose values are more traditional. Therefore, the purpose of the present study is to examine family values of four different communities in Montreal and compare them with those of social workers from a local CLSC that is specialized in senior treatment. The aim is to gain a clearer understanding of the attitudes and expectations of different elderly immigrants towards their family and practitioners. The knowledge of specific value differences and situations that might cause conflict and dissatisfaction to ethnic seniors could prevent hostility, neglect, dissatisfaction within the family, and could promote more refined services by social workers.

1.7. Hypothesis

In the present study it was hypothesized that:

1. The five groups will differ in their perception and opinions concerning general family situations in Canada depending on their initial traditional/family, individualistic or community orientedness;
2. Korean and S-Asian communities are more family oriented and hold more traditional values than Hungarian, Jewish and Social Worker groups because they are newer immigrants;
3. Elderly people from Korea and S-Asia, who came from a more traditional ethno-cultural background and who arrived recently in Canada, have more difficulty dealing with and accepting choices of their children which contradict their traditional values or roles;
4. The social worker group holds less traditional values than any of the communities; therefore, their services are less desired by more traditional/family oriented ethnic seniors. Also, less traditional seniors are more open to receive community services.

2. METHOD

2.1. Design and Strategies

A between-groups, descriptive-research technique was used. The senior groups were compared to one another, and the seniors in general were compared to the social worker group.

2.2. Sample and Procedures

The subjects were grouped into two main categories: elderly people from different communities and social workers from a community healthcare centre. Four communities were selected: Jewish, Hungarian, Korean and South-Asian. Key individuals from each community (e.g., priests, chairpersons and team coordinators) were contacted and were asked to help recruit participants. These group leaders agreed to communicate the theme of the study to their group members and to ask them if they would be willing to participate in the present study. Seniors from these specific groups could participate regardless of their gender if they were 60 years old or over.

The procedure of subject recruitment was different in every community due to special circumstances. Since the subjects were elders, weather conditions, time, and place for meetings were important factors. Since data collection took place in the winter holiday season, only those elderly people who did not travel south for the winter months were included. Questionnaires also had to be collected at different times when weather conditions did not permit some seniors to get out of the house and come to the prescheduled meetings.

South-Asian (Sri-Lanka) community

The senior members of the Sri-Lankan community regularly meet in a space reserved in a building. Here data were also gathered on two occasions. With the support of a senior member and a group coordinator from the Sri-Lanka community, the questionnaire was distributed at a prearranged meeting. Later the coordinator from the temple distributed additional questionnaires to interested seniors.

Korean community

Since only a small number of people attended the newly-formed Korean Community Center, the biggest Korean church in Montreal was approached. Again, data were gathered on two different days. The first was during a prearranged meeting with the seniors group at the church, right after a Sunday mass; seniors opted to take the questionnaires home to complete them and bring them back the following week. On the second occasion, the minister distributed the questionnaire to a group of seniors who were having an unrelated meeting at the church.

Hungarian community

The questionnaires in this community were not distributed to groups of people, since there were no specific, regular gatherings. In Montreal, there are different small Hungarian organizations and churches, but the highest concentration of elderly Hungarian people exists in the Hungarian Old Age Residence. The questionnaires were individually distributed and collected by a Hungarian couple who lived in this residence.

Jewish community

This community has a well-established, large, highly-organized community center where elderly people meet regularly and participate in different activities. Data were collected on two different days. On the first day, the chairperson at the center suggested distributing the questionnaire to elderly people who were involved in a group activity. On the second day, during lunchtime, every senior in the cafeteria was approached independently and asked to fill out the questionnaire.

Social Workers

The questionnaires were distributed and completed during a prescheduled team meeting at a local CLSC that is specialized and mainly provides services to seniors. All workers available at this time who were in direct contact with seniors, and were providing different services for them, completed the questionnaire. More questionnaires were left with the team leader for distribution to social work interns at the CLSC.

2.3. Questionnaire

An instrument designed for this study contained an information sheet and a three-part questionnaire (see Appendix A):

Information Sheet

The Information Sheet contained a short description of the study and the rights of the participants. It explained that the questionnaire was anonymous; it did not ask for the

subjects' name, or any other identifiable personal information that could interfere with present or future services.

Questionnaire

No short, recently-designed questionnaire that measured changes in traditional family values in these four specific cultures could be found, thus, for the present study a three-part questionnaire was designed based on a literature review (see Appendix A). The questionnaire was designed to measure people's attitudes and feelings regarding different family situations in Canada. The questionnaire contained 51 fixed response and 6 open-ended questions, and presented different traditional and non-traditional situations.

I. Background Information

- Thirteen demographic questions: age, gender, marital status, country of origin, place living prior coming to Canada, date of arrival in Canada, status of migration, reason for coming to Canada, family structure/having or not children and grandchildren, and living arrangements, person responsible for taking care of the parents, preference of living arrangement in their country of origin.
- Two multiple-response questions about the advantages and disadvantages of living with children. Each of these two questions included an open-ended sub-question asking for: other comments about the advantages and disadvantages of living with children.

II. Level of Importance - of certain issues

- Twenty-two short statements about possible family decisions. Participants were asked to rate the importance of each statement on a 4-point-scale (Not important, Important, Very important, Don't know). The following are some of the examples:

a) Parental involvement

- Children asking their parents' opinion regarding their marriage and divorce;
- Parents telling their opinion to their children regarding how to run their household;

b) Parents' independence

- Parents live independently from their children;
- Elderly parents to have time to do their own personal activities;

c) Reciprocal family relations

- To have a supportive family;
- Children to spend time with their elderly parents;

d) Marriage and relationship

- Couples being married before they have any children;
- Getting married before living with someone;

e) Financial independence

- Adult children to be financially independent from their parents;
- Parents to be financially independent from their children.

- There were also two open-ended questions asking about situations that might cause discomfort to an elderly person in regard to family, and situations that would make an elderly person happy, cared for, useful and respected.

III. Short stories/vignettes

Three vignettes that highlighted some family situations that are quite frequent in Canadian life, but could possibly conflict with traditional family values that different ethnic minorities might hold. Participants were asked what actions the characters in the vignettes should take:

- An unmarried Canadian couple in their 30s, without children, busy with their work were asked to support the 62 year-old mother who had had a series of strokes. There were four Yes/No questions and two open-ended questions asking for opinions regarding the couple's life style, and suggestions of what the mother and couple should do.
- A young immigrant couple was having difficulty dealing with their careers and parenting at the same time. They sponsored the woman's elderly parents, but they did not help the parents to get adjusted in the community and were excluding them from major family decisions. There were four Yes/No questions and one open-ended question asking what the elderly parents should do.
- A 28-year-old woman who has a three-year-old son has left her husband and asked her parents if she could move back in with them. There were six Yes/No questions and one open-ended question exploring opinions about divorce, single parenting and parental relationship.

2.4. Pre-testing

Before the actual testing took place, the English version of the questionnaire was pre-tested on an elderly Hungarian couple. Both individuals took about 20 minutes to complete it and both found it easy to understand. However, they would have preferred more details in the short stories because it would have made it easier to answer the questions. This was noted, but no changes were made to the questionnaire; as more details would have resulted in longer vignettes, and a longer time to complete.

2.5. Translation

The Korean and S-Asian communities included a significant number of elderly people who immigrated to Canada only recently and did not speak English well enough. The questionnaire was translated into Korean by a university student, and back-translated by a Korean community member. For the S-Asian group, because of financial constraints, the questionnaire was translated only into Tamil by an official translator. Tamil was chosen from many different S-Asian languages because there was a high concentration of elderly people available from Sri-Lanka who speak Tamil and who were willing to participate in the study. A fee was paid for both translations.

2.6. Analysis

Scoring Procedure

In the scoring procedure respondents' attitudes were operationalized in the following ways:

a) Coding of fixed-response questions in Part I & III (Vignettes) – A codebook was designed for the 51 fixed-response questions (see Appendix B):

- 13 Yes/No questions in Part I;
- 22 "4-point-scale" questions in Part II;
- 13 Yes/No questions in total in the Vignettes; and
- 3 multiple response questions.

b) Recoding – The answers in Part II were recoded as follows, to provide an ordinal scale more suitable for analysis:

Not important=1; Don't know=2; Important=3; and Very important=4.

c) Coding of open-ended questions in Part II & III – The answers to the 6 open-ended questions written in Korean and Tamil were translated into English. The responses were coded according to the following general plan:

Stay independent=1; Receive family support=2; Receive community support=3.

d) Overall-coding – To combine similar themes from all sections into these same three main categories.

Statistical Procedures

- For Part II (Level of Importance) factor analysis was used to find groups of questions that were strongly inter-correlated, and standardized factor scores were calculated.

- To analyse the fixed responses in the vignettes, certain responses were classified as representing a *Traditional* attitude (see Table 1), and the number of these traditional responses were counted for each person.

Table 1. Listing of Responses classed as Traditional

Type of questions	Yes	No
Vignette 1		
1. Do you agree with the couple's life style?		√
2. Is it all right that they live together without being married?		√
3. Do you think it is right to place career before family needs?		√
4. Should the elderly mother move in with the couple?	√	
Vignette 2		
1n. Do you think grandparents felt needed?	√	
1h. Do you think grandparents felt happy?	√	
2. Should the elderly parents continue to stay with their daughter?	√	
4. Should they go back to their country of origin?		√
Vignette 3		
1. Should the woman's parents allow her to move back home?	√	
2. Should the woman go back to her husband?	√	
3. Should the woman live with her parents and find work?	√	
4. Should the woman live alone, work and bring her son to a daycare?		√
5. Did the woman dishonour her family by leaving her husband?	√	
6. Does the woman's divorce bring any negative consequences on her brothers and sisters?	√	

- Following the analysis of the open-ended questions, count and compute procedures were used to combine fixed-response and open-ended questions throughout the questionnaire that reflected similar attitudes to give overall scores for the three main concepts: *Individualistic/Non-traditional*, *Family-oriented/Traditional*, and *Community-oriented*.

- One-way ANOVA was used to compare the five groups of subjects: on the factors that resulted from the factor analysis, on the counts of *Traditional* responses, and on the overall-scores.
- Correlation procedure and one-way ANOVA was applied to examine the relations between some demographic characteristics and the three above-scores.
- Data were analyzed using a statistical computer program SPSS v8.0.

3. FINDINGS

3.1. Description of sample

A total of 94 individuals made up the sample. A detailed breakdown is shown in Table 2.

- The total numbers of male and female respondents were almost equal. However, the breakdown between the groups was significantly different. In the Jewish and Hungarian communities the majority of participants were female, whereas the Korean and S-Asian samples were mostly male.
- Significantly more Jewish and Hungarian seniors were widowed, whereas the Korean and S-Asian seniors were still married. This might be due to the fact that the Koreans and S-Asians were younger participants. There were very few instances of divorce and cohabitation.
- Most respondents had lived only in their country of origin. Of those who had lived elsewhere only 13 (59.1%) specified this prior country. The Hungarian group consisted of the largest number who had lived elsewhere (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany and Yugoslavia).
- S-Asians and Koreans arrived to Canada between 1970-2000, and Jewish and Hungarian seniors between 1920-1969.
- There was a significant difference between the groups in circumstances of immigration. All S-Asians were sponsored or came as refugees, whereas the majority of Koreans arrived as immigrants. Hungarians arrived as refugees or immigrants. A high percentage of Jewish and Social Worker participants were born in Canada.

Table 2. Description of Sample (N=94) [a]

	S-Asian (N=21)		Korean (N=18)		Hungarian (N=20)		Jewish (N=23)		S. Workers (N=12)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sequences of data collection												
1st meeting	14		15		-		5		8			
2nd meeting	7		5		-		21		4			
Total	21		20		20 [b]		26		12			
Discarded questionnaires	-		2 [c]		-		3 [d]		-			
Total questionnaires analysed	21		18		20		23		12			
Gender[1]												
Male	15	71.4	10	55.6	8	40.0	9	39.1	2	16.7	44	46.8
Female	6	28.6	8	44.4	12	60.0	14	60.9	10	83.3	50	53.2
Marital Status[2]												
Married/Cohab.	13	61.9	17	94.4	3	15.0	6	26.1	7	58.3	45	49.5
Single	-	-	-	-	1	5.0	2	8.7	3	25.0	6	6.5
Sep./Divorced	1	4.8	-	-	4	20.0	-	-	2	16.7	7	7.5
Widowed	6	28.6	1	5.6	12	60.0	15	65.2	-	-	34	36.6
Missing	1	4.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1

[a] Because of some low cell frequencies, these probabilities may not all be exact.
[b] Data collected on several occasions on a one-to-one basis.
[c] Participants were younger than 60.
[d] Incomplete questionnaires - contained only background information.
[1] $\chi^2(4, N=94)=10.96, p<.03$
[2] $\chi^2(16, N=93)=58.11, p<.001$

Table 2 - Continued

	S-Asian (N=21)		Korean (N=18)		Hungarian (N=20)		Jewish (N=23)		S. Workers (N=12)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Circumstances of Immigration[1]												
Sponsored	10	47.6	6	33.3	1	5.5	2	8.7	1	8.3	20	21.3
Refugee	11	52.4	-	-	11	55.0	1	4.3	1	8.3	24	25.5
Immigrant	-	-	12	66.7	8	40.0	2	8.7	3	25.0	25	26.6
Born in Canada	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	78.3	7	58.4	25	26.6
Individuals who immigrated to Canada to help their children												
	19	-	5	-	3	-	0	-	-	-	27	-
Preferred caregiver of elderly parents[2]												
Nobody	2	9.5	-	-	2	10.0	7	30.4	1	8.3	12	12.8
Government	1	4.8	3	16.7	5	25.0	2	8.7	-	-	11	11.7
Eldest daught.	1	4.8	-	-	1	5.0	2	8.7	1	8.3	5	5.3
Eldest son	9	42.8	10	55.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	20.2
First child	3	14.3	1	5.6	-	-	3	13.1	1	8.4	8	8.5
Well estab. ch.	3	14.3	1	5.6	9	45.0	4	17.4	-	-	17	18.1
Any child	2	9.5	3	16.7	-	-	-	-	3	25.0	8	8.5
Other solution	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	50.0	6	6.4
Missing	-	-	-	-	3	15.0	5	21.7	-	-	8	8.5
Preferred Living Arrangement[3]												
Alone	2	9.5	3	16.7	8	40.0	12	52.2	5	41.7	30	31.9
Child/relatives	17	81.0	14	77.8	12	60.0	1	4.3	5	41.7	49	52.1
Other arrangm.	-	-	1	5.5	-	-	1	4.3	2	16.6	4	4.3
Missing	2	9.5	-	-	-	-	9	39.2	-	-	11	11.7

[1] $\chi^2(8, N=69)=31.15, p<.001$
[2] $\chi^2(28, N=86)=105.37, p<.001$
[3] $\chi^2(8, N=83)=31.65, p<.001$

Table 2 - Continued

	S-Asian (N=21)		Korean (N=18)		Hungarian (N=20)		Jewish (N=23)		S. Workers (N=12)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Country of origin												
Canada	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	78.3	7	58.3	25	26.6
S-Korea	-	-	14	77.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14.9
Sri-Lanka	21	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	22.3
Hungary	-	-	-	-	16	80.0	-	-	-	-	16	17.0
Europe[1]	-	-	-	-	4	20.0	5	21.7	3	25.0	12	12.7
China	-	-	1	5.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1
Costa Rica/Morocco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	16.7	2	2.2
Missing	-	-	3	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3.2
Living in other country than country of origin and the duration												
Yes	2[a]	9.5	7[b]	38.9	8[c]	40.0	2[d]	8.7	3	25.0	22	23.4
No	18	85.7	11	61.1	12	60.0	21	91.3	9	75.0	71	75.5
Missing	1	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1
Period of arrival												
Born in Canada	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	78.3	7	58.3	25	26.7
1920-1949	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	17.4	1	8.3	5	5.3
1950-1969	-	-	2	11.1	17	85.0	-	-	2	16.7	21	22.3
1970-1989	2	9.5	13	72.2	3	15.0	1	4.3	2	16.7	21	22.3
1990-2000	19	90.5	2	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	22.3
Missing	-	-	1	5.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.1

[1] Austria, former Czechoslovakia, England, France, former Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania and Russia
[a] N=2 for 6 years in India/Mid-East.
[b] N=5 between 3-13 years; N=2 for 50 years in Japan/U.S.
[c] N=4 between 2-6 years; N=3 between 8-12 in Europe.
[d] N=2 between 12-13 years in Europe.

Table 2 - Continued

	S-Asian (N=21)		Korean (N=18)		Hungarian (N=20)		Jewish (N=23)		S. Workers (N=12)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ss that have children[1]												
Yes	20	95.2	18	100.0	14	70.0	17	74.0	6	50.0	75	79.8
No	-	-	-	-	6	30.0	5	21.7	6	50.0	17	18.1
Missing	1	4.8	-	-	-	-	1	4.3	-	-	2	2.1
Ss that have grandchildren[2]												
Yes	19	90.5	12	66.7	14	70.0	14	60.9	1	8.3	60	63.8
No	2	9.5	5	27.8	6	30.0	8	34.8	9	75.0	30	31.9
Missing	-	-	1	5.5	-	-	1	4.3	2	16.7	4	4.3
Ss living with their children[3]												
	13	61.9	6	33.3	-	-	-	-	6	50.0	25	26.6
Advantages[4]												
Continue tradition[5]	10	47.6	3	16.7	7	35.0	3	13.4	1	8.3	24	25.5
Expected in cult.[6]	10	47.6	4	22.2	4	20.0	-	-	2	16.7	20	21.3
Teach language	4	19.0	6	33.3	5	25.5	4	17.4	1	8.3	20	21.3
Feeling needed	9	42.9	5	27.8	6	30.0	10	43.5	5	41.7	35	37.2
Feeling respected[7]	3	14.3	1	5.5	6	30.0	8	34.8	6	50.0	24	25.5
Other advantages	-	-	2	11.1	2	10.0	1	4.3	4	33.3	9	9.6
Disadvantages[4]												
Losing authority	5	23.8	-	-	3	15.0	7	30.4	3	25.0	18	19.1
Become depend.[8]	5	23.8	4	22.2	8	40.0	15	65.2	7	58.3	39	41.5
No privacy	11	52.4	9	50.0	7	35.0	9	39.1	8	66.7	44	46.8
Other desadv.	-	-	2	11.1	1	5.0	1	4.3	1	8.3	5	5.3

[1] χ^2 (4, N=92)=18.56, p<.001; [2] χ^2(4, N=90)=20.12, p<.001; [3] χ^2(4, N=88)=32.76, p<.001;
[4]Subjects could select more than one response
[5]χ^2(4, N=91)=9.91, p<.05; [6] χ^2(4, N=91)=14.23, p<.01; [7] χ^2(4, N=91)=10.33, p<.05
[8] χ^2(4, N=91)=13.95, p<.01

- Only the S-Asians reported high numbers who came to Canada to help their children.
- In total 60.6% of the individuals answered that children should take care of their parents, and only 30.9 % of individuals chose other solutions. A high percentage of Korean and S-Asian participants responded that the eldest son should have the responsibility of taking care of the elderly parents. The Hungarians believed that the financial situation of the child counts and not birth order or gender. Only the Jewish and social worker participants suggested other sources than being dependant on their children.
- The five groups were significantly different on the preference of the living arrangement. The majority of Jewish seniors preferred to live alone, while the Koreans and S-Asians preferred mostly to live with their children or other relatives.
- S-Asians and Koreans had significantly more children than Jewish and Hungarians.
- S-Asians had significantly more grandchildren than the other groups.
- Significantly more Korean and S-Asian individuals lived with their children than Jewish and Hungarians. Six Social Workers reported living with children, but this was expected since participants were younger than 52 years old.
- The opinions of the participants were significantly different concerning the advantages and disadvantages of living with their children:

a) Advantages: Significantly more S-Asian and Hungarian than Social Worker and Jewish individuals believed that the advantages of living with their children was to *continue the tradition.* Also, significantly more S-Asians thought that it was *expected* in

their culture to live with their children. Finally, Social Workers and Jewish participants responded that they would *feel respected* if they would live with their children.

b) Disadvantages: A high number of Jewish and Social Worker participants felt that if they would live with their children, they would *become dependent* on them.

- In general, the Jewish and Hungarian participants were older than the S-Asian and Korean seniors (see Table 3).

Table 3. Distribution of age

	S-Asian	Korean	Hungarian	Jewish	S. Workers
Age (year)					
Mean	66	69	78	77	37
Min.	60	61	63	66	22
Max.	82	84	92	92	55
SD	5.21	7.21	7.31	6.21	11.52

3.2. Group Differences

Part II – Level of Importance

- As a result of the factor analysis procedure, a five-factor solution was selected that explained 57.4% of the total variance in the data and yielded interpretable factors. Table 4 shows the rotated factor matrix. The five factors were entitled: parental involvement, parental independence, reciprocal family relations, traditional values, and financial independence.

Table 4. Scores: Rotated Factor Matrix

Topic	Factor 1 Parental Involve-ment	Factor 2 Parental indepen-dence	Factor 3 Reciprocal family relations	Factor 4 Traditional values	Factor 5 Financial independence
Parents' opinion regarding marriage/divorce	**.74**				
Parents' opinion regarding household	**.73**	- .33			
Following the suggestions of elderly family members	**.70**				
Following the religious beliefs of the family	**.68**			.36	
Family needs vs. individual needs	**.50**		.32		
Parents live independently		**.83**			
Parents live with their children		**- .74**			
Elderly parents have friends in the community		**.62**	.33		
Elderly parents have time for personal activities		**.59**			
Women work outside the family		**.56**			
Parents choose marital partner for children	.39	**- .54**			
Parents included in daily activities	.42	**- .46**			
To have a supportive family			**.80**		
Grandparents baby-sit their grandchildren			**.72**		
Parents help their children	.39		**.62**		
Children spend time with their elderly parents			**.55**		
Children marry from the same culture				**.79**	
Mother stay home with her children				**.66**	
Couples marry before having children				**.63**	.45
Couples marry before living together	.42			**.52**	
Adult children to be financially independent					**.88**
Parents to be financially independent					**.72**

Note: Item loadings <.30 not shown

- The analysis showed that the groups were significantly different on three factors (see Table 5 & Figure 1): *parental involvement, parental independence* and *financial independence*. The groups scored differently on the *traditional values* too, but the difference was only close to significance. For the Hungarians, *traditional values* were the least important, whereas for the Koreans and Jewish individuals it was the most important. There was no difference for the Social Workers and S-Asians.

Vignettes – Fixed response scores

- The mean fixed response score on *Family-oriented/Traditional* value for the five groups is shown in Table 5 and Figure 2. The S-Asian group had the highest *Traditional* score, with the Korean group the second highest. The Social Worker and Jewish groups were the least traditional.

Vignettes – Open-ended questions

- The responses, for each open-ended question were originally coded and grouped into different categories. Table 6 shows some examples for each category. Following this, the categories were combined into three main themes, since they presented similar opinions, and two other themes, that were somewhat different. Through this process the fifteen original categories were reduced into five main themes: *Stay independent, Family support, Community support (Go to nursing home), Non-Traditional (Divorced only with good reason), and Traditional (No divorce).*

Table 5. Mean Scores by Group

	S-Asian (N=21)		Korean (N=18)		Hungarian (N=20)		Jewish (N=23)		S. Workers (N=12)	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Level of Importance										
Factor 1. Parental involvement[1]	16	.42[b]	17	.92[b]	18	- .28[a]	15	- .79[a]	9	- .61[a]
Factor 2. Parents independence[2]	16	-1.32[a]	17	.44[b]	18	.18[b]	15	.58[b]	9	.20[b]
Factor 3. Reciprocal family relations	16	.03	17	-.25	18	.04	15	.07	9	.23
Factor 4. Traditional values[3]	16	- .02[ab]	17	.36[b]	18	- .50[a]	15	.36[b]	9	- .22[a b]
Factor 5. Financial independence[4]	16	- .39[ab]	17	.35[bc]	18	- .43[a]	15	.19[a bc]	9	.59[c]
Vignettes – Fixed-response scores										
Factor 1. Traditional responses[5]	21	9.38[c]	18	7.28[b]	20	5.45[a]	23	4.74[a]	12	4.33[a]
Vignettes – Open-ended questions										
Factor 1. Individualistic/Non-traditional[6]	21	.24a	18	.44ab	20	.40ab	23	.83bc	12	1.33c
Factor 2. Family-oriented/Traditional[7]	21	1.62b	18	.44a	20	.25a	23	.13a	12	.25a
Factor 3. Community-oriented[8]	21	.00a	18	.61b	20	.25ab	23	.57b	12	.58b
Overall Mean Scores by Group[9]										
Factor 1. Individual/Non-traditional[10]	21	4.43[a]	18	6.28[ab]	20	7.30[b]	23	9.91[c]	12	11.75[c]
Factor 2. Family-oriented/Traditional[11]	21	11.90[c]	18	7.22[b]	20	5.90[ab]	23	4.83[a]	12	4.50[a]
Factor 3. Community-oriented	21	.52	18	.61	20	.25	23	.57	12	.58

Note: - The level of importance scores calculated by the SPSS program were standardized scores (mean=0, SD=1);
- Mean values with the same superscript are not significantly different from each other (Duncan, $p<.05$)

[1] $F(4, 70)=12.87$, $p<.001$; [2] $F(4, 70)=17.54$, $p<.001$; [3] $F(4,70)=2.45$, $p<.054$; [4] $F(4, 70)=3.27$, $p<.05$;
[5] $F(4, 89)=13.66$, $p<.001$; [6] $F(4, 89)=4.70$, $p<.01$; [7] $F(4, 89)=9.61$, $p<.001$; [8] $F(4, 89)=3.61$, $p<.01$;
[9]Combined results of the fixed responses in Part I and Vignettes, and responses to the open-ended questions in Part II and Vignettes.
[10]$F(4, 89)=13.98$, $p<.001$; [11]$F(4, 89)=19.83$, $p<.001$.

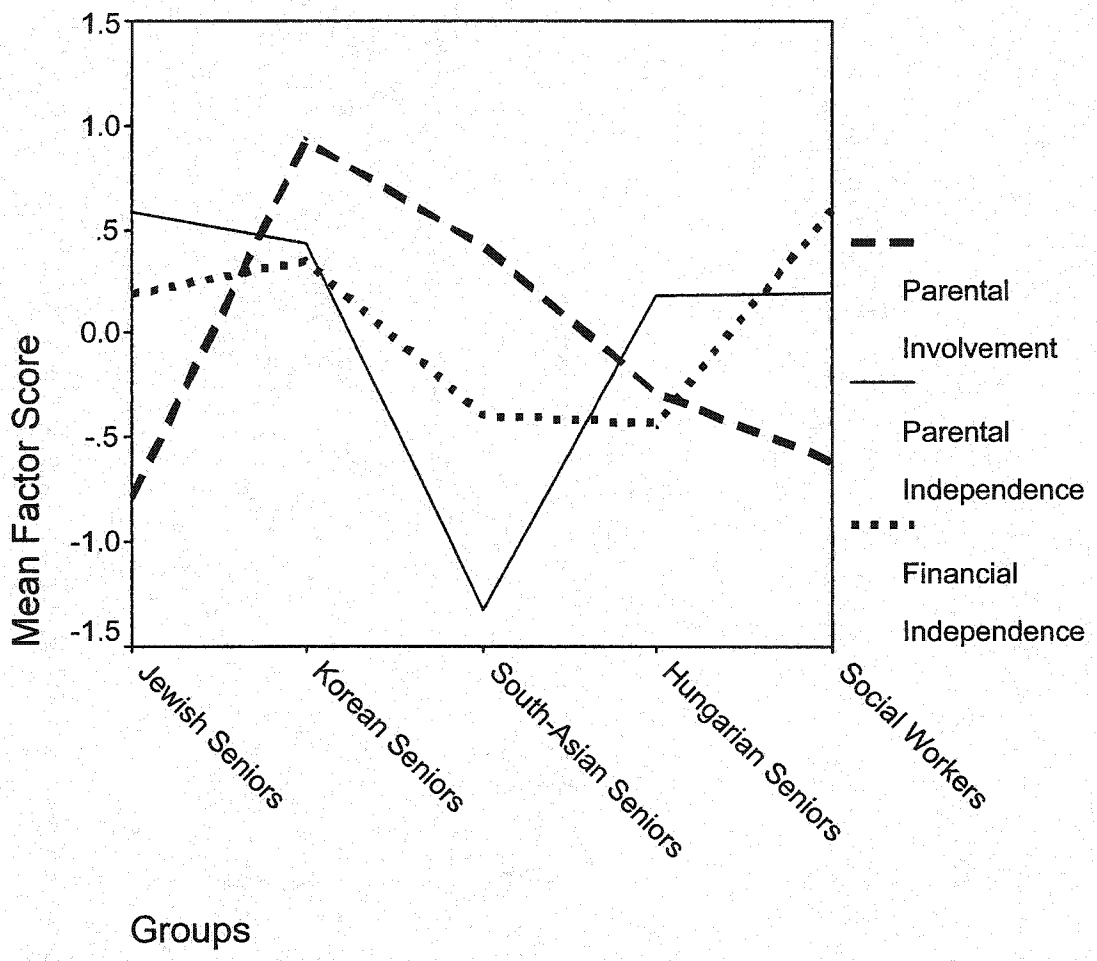


Figure 1. Factor Score by Group

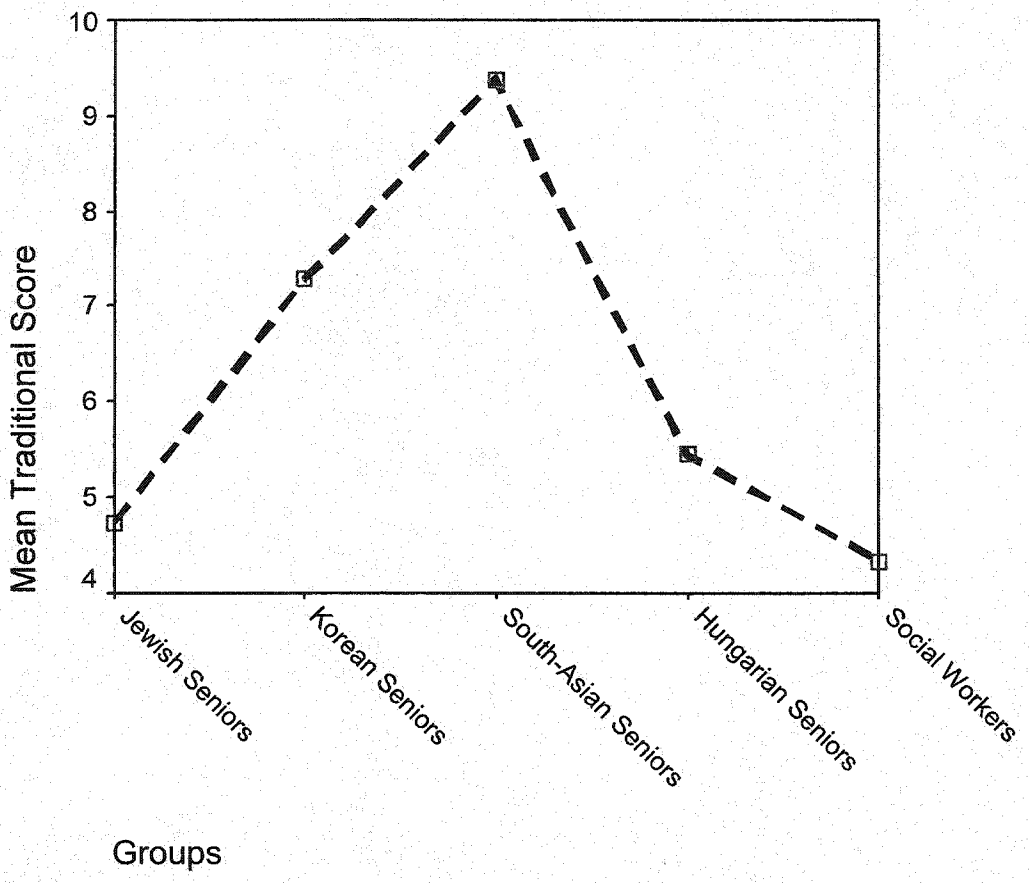


Figure 2. Traditional Score by Group

Table 6. Coding of Responses to Open-Ended Questions

Themes	Examples
Vignette 1a.	
• Stay independent:	Find home care services financed by child or mother; Mother shouldn't be a burden; Mother should not pressure the son.
• Family relations:	Mother should live with the couple; Son should know his duty of taking care of his mother.
• Go to nursing home:	Place the mother in a nursing home.
• Balance of care & Family relations:	Explore alternatives that suits everyone.
Vignette 1b.	
• Stay independent:	Stay independent and keep a positive relationship with son; Anything but to become a burden; Children can't be responsible 24/7.
• Helped by children:	Mother should be helped by children or family member; Depends on culture, values and relation between son and mother.
• Go to nursing home:	I would go in a nursing home rather than to become a burden;
Vignette 2.	
• Stay independent:	Learn the language; Find something that interests me; Stay in Canada.
• Receive family sup:	Come to an understanding with daughter; Parents be involved in decisions; Son also should help financially; Children should take care of parents and make them happy.
• Receive comm. sup:	Find help from religious organizations; Link with cultural community organizations; Find counselling or family mediator.
• Helplessness:	Parents have problems in their country and when come to Canada they suffer; Sacrifice my life for my children; Elderly parents don't want to be a burden.
Vignette 3.	
• Stay independent:	Daughter should do what is best for herself, life is short; She should arrange for daycare.
• Receive parental sup:	Parents should help until she gets on her feet; Mother and child should be in the same place.
• Divorce with reason:	Should know more details for leaving her husband; Divorce only if she has a good reason.
• No divorce:	There is no divorce in our culture.

The *Traditional* theme was further combined with *Family-support,* and the *Non-traditonal* with *Stay independent* category, because they contained only a small number of responses that correspond to the two main categories above mentioned. Table 7 shows this process. This resulted in three main themes that were used in further analyses (see Figure 3).

- Mean values for the three scores derived from responses to the open-ended questions are shown in Table 5 and Figure 4. The Social Workers and Jewish participants were significantly more *Independent/Non-traditional* and the S-Asians the least. The S-Asians were highly *Family-oriented/Traditional* and the Jewish people the least. The S-Asians and Hungarians were the least dependent on *Community support* and the Korean, Social Workers and Jewish seniors the most.

Other Open-Ended Questions

The four other open-ended questions in the measure were not analysed separately and were not included into the scoring calculation, because only a small number of seniors responded:

- Nine participants responded to question 14 (*advantages*), and five answered question 15 (*disadvantages*) of living with children.

Seventeen seniors answered question 23 (*Situation that cause discomfort*), and 36 responded to question 24 (*situations that make you happy*). Table 8 summarises the responses to these questions. S-Asians in general had significantly more language problems and were more involved with religious activities than seniors from the other groups.

Table 7. Integration of Themes into Three Main Categories

Vignette 1a.

- Balance of care & Family relations (contained 5 responses):

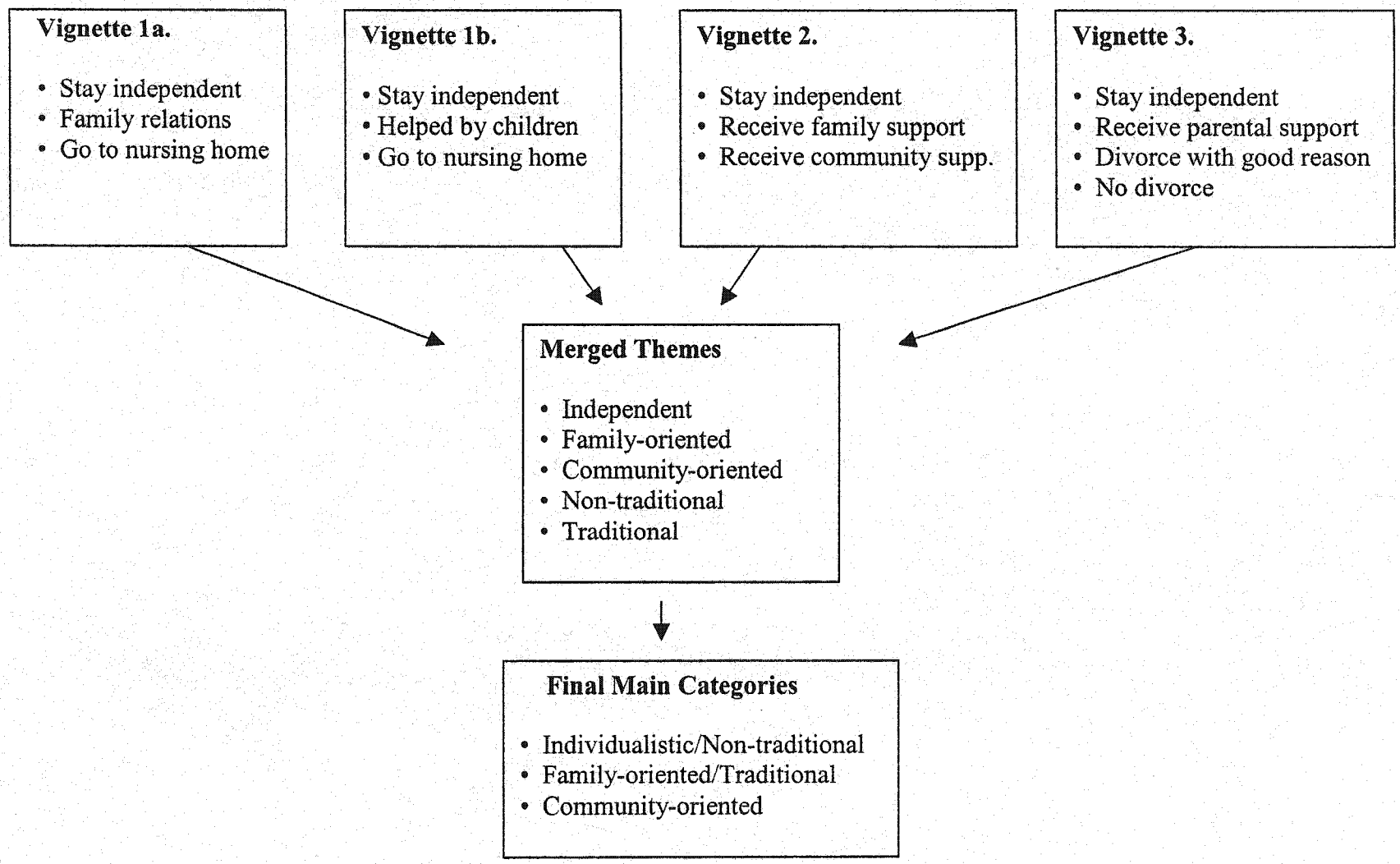
Stay independent ←	1. It may not be right but you need two salaries to survive these days.
Family support ←	2. Couple should take an interest in the mother and assure her needs are met in whatever way is comfortable for them.
	3. If both have a career and money they could provide care for the lady.
	4. Believe in balance between career and family needs.
Community support ←	5. Family should explore alternative options as well as moving in with couple because no one should feel forced to accept…dislike can lead to conflict and abuse.

Vignette 2.

- Being helpless (contained 5 responses):

Stay independent ←	1. Elderly parents don't want to be a burden, but children care only about money.
Family support ←	2. Sacrifice my life for my children - (two times)
	3. There are problems in the country of origin and when parents come to Canada to help children they suffer - (two times)

Figure 3. Merged themes of the Open-ended Questions



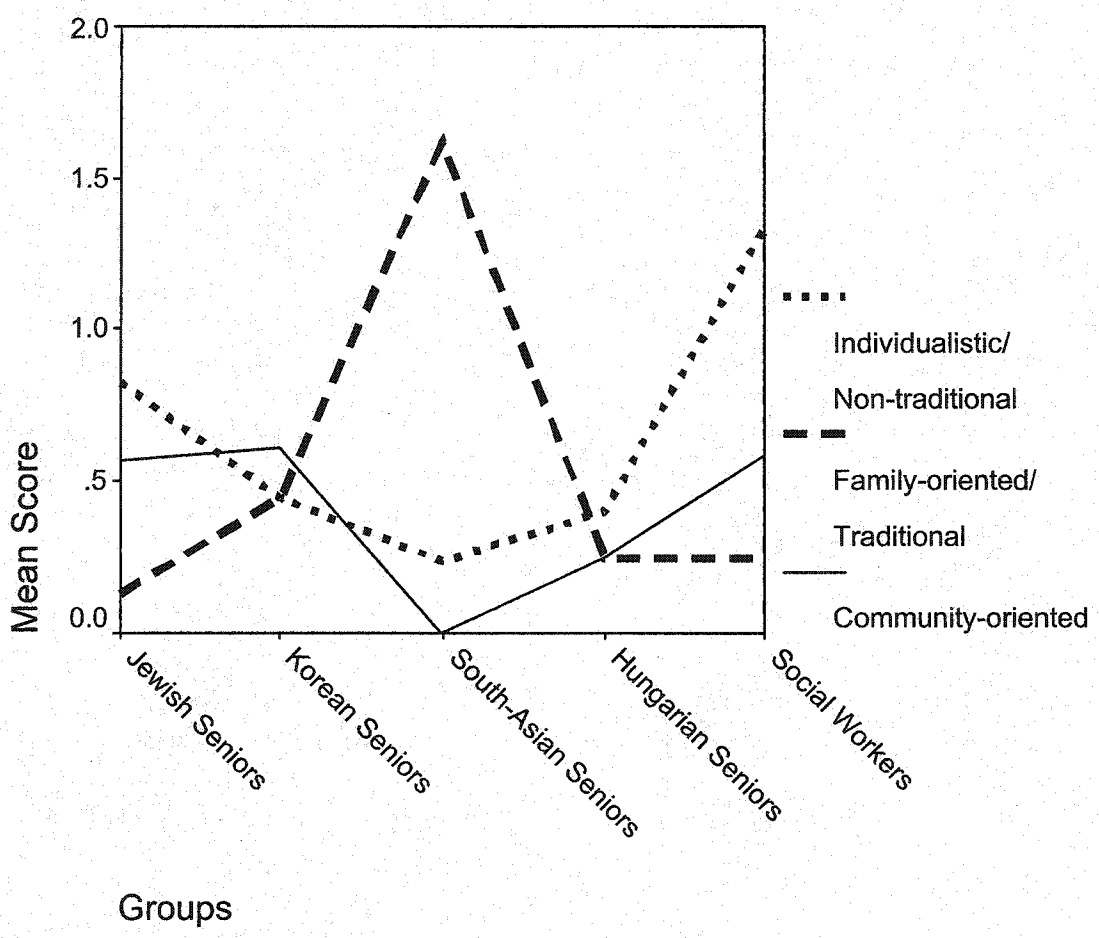


Figure 4. Vignette scores for Open-ended Questions by Group

Table 8. Responses to other open-ended questions

	N
Advantages	
• having more security	6
• possibility of helping with grandchildren	
• being part of the family	
• not being alone	
• avoiding institutionalization	
• there are no advantages of living with children	3
Disadvantages	
• elderly parents might feel "as a burden" to their children, if they would be living with them	3
• living with children is part of their culture and only in Western society would it be considered a disadvantage	2
Situations that cause discomfort	17
• language problem[1] - major issue for the S-Asian seniors	
• family relation[2] - mostly S-Asians and Social Workers	
• loss of independence	
• feeling lonely	
Situation that make you feel happy	36
• independent/useful	
• family/friend relations/respect	
• relation to religious/community organizations[3]	
• health	

[1] $F(4, 88)=4.01, p<.01$
[2] $F(4, 89)=3.37, p<.05$
[3] $F(4, 87)=8.39, p<.001$

Combined Scores

- The mean scores for the open-ended question were very small by themselves. Therefore, an overall mean score was calculated by combining fixed responses from Part I and from Vignettes with open-ended responses from Part II and Vignettes. The classifications of responses into the three main categories are presented in Tables 9, 10 & 11. Following this procedure, mean values were calculated for the three variables, which are shown in Table 5 and Figure 5 show mean values for the combined scores. The results yielded significant differences between the groups for the *Independent/Non-traditional* and *Family-oriented/Traditional* variables: S-Asians scored the highest on *Family-oriented/Traditional* variable in contrast to Social Workers who scored highest on *Individual/Non-traditional* values. Jewish people scored the second highest on *Individual/Non-traditional* values. Jewish participants scored just as low on the *Family-oriented/Traditional* values as Social Workers. Koreans and Hungarians did not fall into any of the extremes specifically. The accumulative results did not show a significant difference between the groups for *Community-oriented* value.

Table 9. Individualistic/Non-traditional Combined score: Fixed-response & Open-ended

Questions	Values 1	2
In part I – responses to Q-15 (disadvantages):		
1. I would use my authority if I lived with my children.	√	
2. I would become dependent if I lived with my children.	√	
3. I would not have privacy if I lived with my children.	√	
In part II – responses to Q-23 & 24:		
4. Loosing my independence causes me discomfort.	√	
5. Keeping my independence and staying active makes me feel happy.	√	
In part III – fixed responses in vignette 1a:		
6. Agree with the couple's life-style.	√	
7. It is all right to live together without being married.	√	
8. It is right to place career before family needs.	√	
9. The elderly mother should move in with the couple.		√
In part III – fixed responses in vignette 2:		
10. The grandparents are taken advantage of.	√	
11. The grandparents feel isolated.	√	
13. The grandparents feel dependent on their daughter.	√	
14. The grandparents should stay with their daughter.		√
15. The grandparents should stay with their son.		√
16. The grandparents should go back to their country of origin.	√	
In part III – fixed responses in vignette 3:		
17. The woman should go back to her husband.		√
18. The woman should live alone, work and bring her son to a daycare.	√	
19. The woman dishonour her family by leaving her husband.		√
20. The woman's divorce bring a negative consequence on her siblings.		√
Non-traditional responses to the open-ended questions in the three vignettes:		
21. Individualist/Non-traditional – scenario 1a.	√	
22. Individualist/Non-traditional – scenario 1b.	√	
23. Individualist/Non-traditional – scenario 2.	√	
24. Individualist/Non-traditional – scenario 3.	√	

Table 10. Family-oriented/Traditional Combined scores: Fixed-response & Open-ended

Questions	Values 1	2
In part I – responses to Q-14 (advantages):		
1. The advantage to live with your children is to continue tradition.	√	
2. The advantage to live with your children is expected in my culture.	√	
3. The advantage to live with your children is to teach the language.	√	
4. The advantage to live with your children is to feel needed.	√	
5. The advantage to live with your children is to feel respected.	√	
In part II – responses to Q-23 & 24:		
6. Feeling lonely causes discomfort to me.	√	
7. Family-related problems cause discomfort to me.	√	
8. Good relation with my family makes me happy.	√	
9. Feeling respected by family members makes me happy.	√	
In part III – fixed-responses in vignette 1a:		
10. Agree with the couple's life style.		√
11. It is all right to live together without marriage.		√
12. It is all right to place career before family needs.		√
13. The elderly mother should move in with the couple.	√	
In part III - fixed responses in vignette 2:		
14. The grandparents feel respected.	√	
15. The grandparents feel needed.	√	
16. The grandparents feel happy that they can help.	√	
17. The elderly parents should live with their daughter.	√	
18. The elderly parents should live with their son.	√	
19. The grandparents should go back to their country of origin.		√
In part III - fixed responses in vignette 3:		
20. The woman should go back to her husband.	√	
21. The woman dishonoured her family by leaving her husband.	√	
22. The woman's divorce brought a negative consequence on her siblings.	√	
Traditional responses to the open-ended questions in the three vignettes:		
23. Family-oriented/Traditional – scenario 1a.		√
24. Family-oriented/Traditional – scenario 1b.		√
25. Family-oriented/Traditional – scenario 2.		√
26. Family-oriented/Traditional – scenario 3.		√

Table 11. Community-oriented Combined score: Fixed-response & Open-ended

Questions	Values 1	3
In part I – responses to Q-23 & 24:		
1. Not speaking the language causes me discomfort.	√	
2. It makes me happy to be connected to religious/community organizations.	√	
Community-oriented responses to the open-ended questions in the three vignettes:		
3. Community-oriented – scenario 1a.		√
4. Community-oriented – scenario 1b.		√
5. Community-oriented – scenario 2.		√
6. Community-oriented – scenario 3.		√

3.3. Relation between Demographic characteristics and Value scores

The correlation of the demographic characteristics with the three main overall value scores is shown in Table 12. Since most of the variables in the demographics were nominal, only gender and time of arrival were used in the correlation. *Gender* was coded as male=1 and female=2; and for the *Time of arrival* the actual date of arrival was entered.

- *Individualistic/Non-traditional* value showed a high positive correlation with *Gender,* meaning that female ethnic seniors were more individualistic. The same value showed a significant negative correlation with the *Time of arrival*; more recent immigrants were less individualistic.

- There has been a positive significant correlation between *Family-oriented/Traditional* value and the *Time of arrival*; more recent immigrants were more family-oriented.

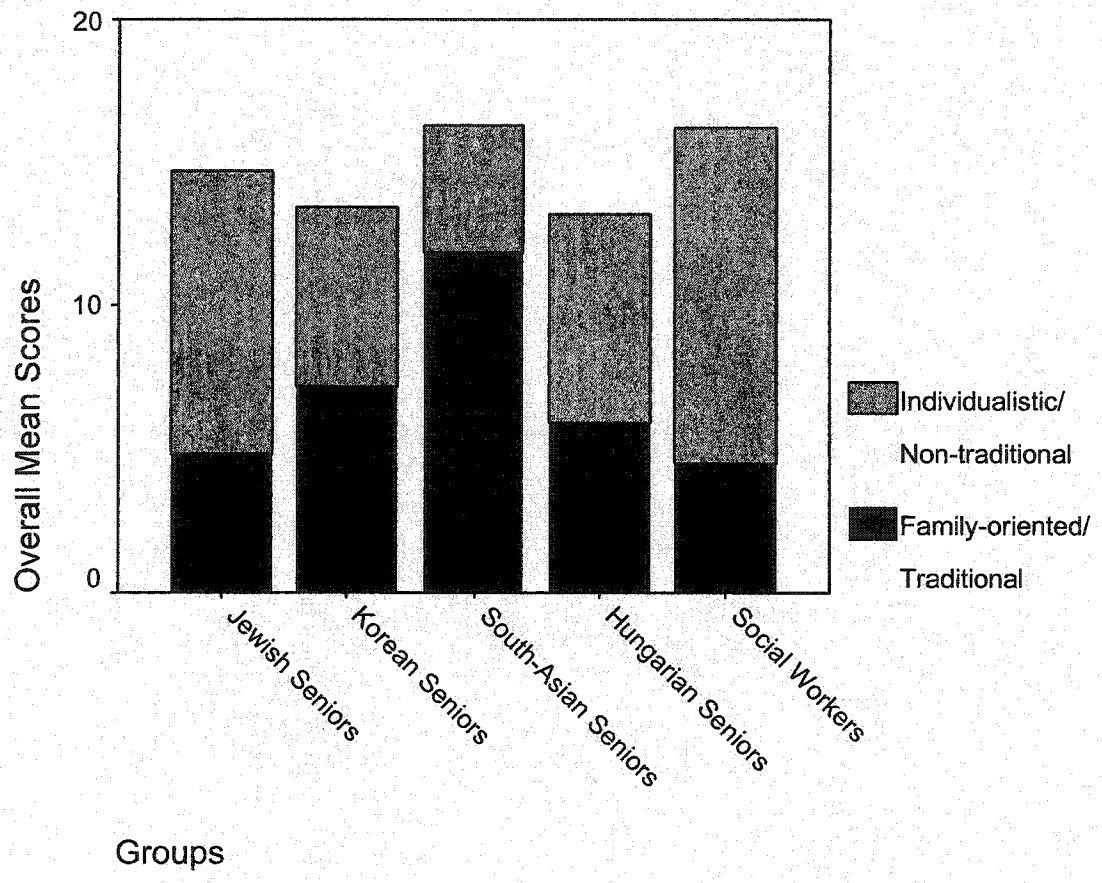


Figure 5. Overall Scores for Traditional and Non-traditional Variables

Table 12. Correlation of Mean Scores with Sample Characteristics

Values	Sample Description	
	Gender N=94	Time of arrival N=68
Individualistic/Non-traditional	.48**	-.44**
Family-oriented/Traditional	- .10	.51**
Community-oriented	.10	.23

** p<.01 (2-tailed)
* p<.05 (2-tailed)

- Finally, *Community-oriented* value was not significantly correlated with any of the demographic characteristics.

4. DISCUSSION

4.1. Summary of key findings in relation to hypotheses

The main findings supported most of the hypotheses:

The results showed that S-Asian and Korean seniors' initial beliefs, expectations and attitudes towards societal changes were more traditional and were more family oriented than the Social Workers, Jewish and Hungarian seniors'. Some of their traditional attitudes were reflected in: desiring the least to be independent, preferring to live with their children rather than staying alone or having other type of arrangements, scoring high on parental involvement, expecting the eldest son to take on care-giving responsibilities, claiming that the advantage of living with their children is to continue the tradition and is expected in their culture, and reporting only small disadvantage of living with their children.

Therefore, this implies that seniors with traditional attitudes have more difficulty accepting societal changes and they would be in conflict with their adult children who were born in Canada and social workers whose attitudes are more individualistic, similarly to the mainstream.

The S-Asian and Korean seniors presented similar attitude towards all situations, except the Koreans were the most community oriented of all five groups and the S-Asians the least. This contradictory result suggests that some traditional-oriented seniors might be open to receive community support whereas others might not. However, the results clearly showed that more individualistic seniors and Social Workers are less dependent on family relations and family support, and are more open to community service.

4.2. Limitations of the study

Sample size

- One of the limitations of the present study was the small sample size (N=94), and the fact that it was a non-probability convenience sample. Only those seniors completed the questionnaire who were available and willing at that time of the year (weather conditions and holyday seasons), an average of about 20 persons per group. This limits the possibility of generalizing the results to the respective ethnic communities.

Sample selection

- Data were not collected from clients of social workers. Therefore, there was no client-worker matching between the Social Worker participants and community members. This made it impossible to clearly examine whether value difference between social workers and their clients would in fact interfere in the type of service clients receive and desire.

Data collection

- A significant limitation of the present study was the difficulty of data collection. Since the data were not collected in a standardized and uniform fashion in all five groups, extraneous variables such as selection bias might have been introduced. Data collection, especially at the Korean and Hungarian communities, did not conform to research procedure guidelines; these results should be interpreted with caution.
- Since data collection was not standardized, and the researcher was not present when some of the questionnaires were filled out, it is not certain that these study

participants completed the questionnaire by themselves without any influence from others. Also some of the questionnaires were only half completed, and in a few cases the answers to different questions were contradictory, possibly reflecting incomplete understanding.

- The confounding of demographic characteristics, such as gender, date of arrival and circumstances of immigration were not controlled, therefore conclusions regarding these variables could be very interpretive. The results showed that more men participated in the S-Asian and Korean groups, and at the same time they were also the most recent immigrants or refugees. This result implies that S-Asian and Korean seniors are more traditional not only because they are initially more family oriented, but also because men might be more dependent on family support and these seniors in general are still in a transition period.

Questionnaire

- The reliability and validity of the questionnaire designed for this study have not been established. The questions and the scenarios were based on literature review and consultation with professional colleagues; none were previously shown to measure traditionalism or cultural values. In addition, the Korean and S-Asian questionnaires might contain biases relating to translation and interpretation of the scenarios.
- The questionnaire did not specifically ask seniors about their preference of services, their likes and dislikes, and their suggestions. This limits the possibility of identifying specific problems and suggesting improvements that are closely relevant to these specific needs.

Coding of open-ended questions

- Open-ended questions were coded by one person. Since interpretation of the responses to the open-ended questions was necessarily subjective, it is possible that some bias in interpretation might have occurred.

4.3. Implications for research

Study design

- A longitudinal study method could be used to examine acculturation or changes in values by collecting data at different points in time from the same subjects and compare the results. In future studies, the same elderly immigrants should complete the questionnaire before coming to Canada, a short period after their arrival and again after a longer period of their stay.
- Another suggestion would be to use cross-generational study by examining only one or two communities, but incorporating the children and possibly the grandchildren of the elderly immigrants into the study. A cross-generational study could provide a clearer understanding of stresses and conflicts that might arise between generations due to changes in family values.

Data collection

- Future studies should allow for the difficulty of collecting data from ethnic seniors. Data collection should happen at the time of the year when the availability of seniors is maximized. The lack of mobility of elders should be allowed for.

Gender difference

- Future studies should match cultural groups for demographic variables. For instance, gender difference could become a confounding variable, but it can be controlled, if it is incorporated appropriately into their research analyses.

Selection or design of appropriate measure

- It would be better if validated instruments could be found. Nevertheless, the idea of using short-stories/vignettes in studies that analyze family value differences seems to work well and it is recommended for future studies. However, studies that have more financial support and technical expertise might use video-clips instead of written scenarios. Visual presentations are easier to understand and have less room for misinterpretation.
- Furthermore, both Doyle (1995) and Lithwick, et al. (1997) found that it was important to involve seniors and make them active participants of their studies. The participants were involved in finding the problems, collecting information, making the necessary changes, and becoming advocates for the recommended changes. Therefore, in similar studies to this one, the content of the scenarios could be generated through a group of discussion with the study participants. This procedure might produce a measuring tool that is culturally specific and more in tuned with the feelings and reality of the elderly immigrants.

4.4. Implications for practice

The present study was not designed with the purpose to make specific recommendations in terms of programs or training for Social Workers, but was intended to point out some components of value differences, which might be important for Social Workers to be aware of and to apply to their practice, if their goal is to provide a more sensitive and refined service. Therefore, Social Workers might find it useful to know the following particularities about their Jewish, Hungarian, Korean and Sri-Lanka senior clients:

Immigrant vs. refugee

- The results showed that S-Asian seniors who are more traditional were also mostly refugees and sponsored by their children, which implies, with the additional findings, that S-Asian seniors would be the most resistant to acculturation, and therefore, their values would be the most different from Social Workers.

Voluntary vs. involuntary migrants

- Individuals who immigrate and are voluntary migrants experience acculturation differently from individuals who are refugees and involuntary migrants (Berry, 1989; Berry 1990; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). For instance, the present study showed that S-Asians who were mostly refugees experienced more difficulty and required more specific services than Jewish or Hungarian seniors who immigrated to Canada many decades ago.

Recent vs. older immigrant

- Since S-Asian seniors are more recent migrants they would need the most support to get adjusted and learn the language, but they would be the most difficult to offer support to, because they are not open to receive outside services and rely mostly on family relations and help, which might not be there to the same capacity as in their country of origin.

Marital issues

- Seniors from Sri-Lanka in general would have more difficulty accepting and dealing with family issues that result from family disintegration and modernization. They were absolutely against divorce, disapproved couples living together or having children without marriage.

Male or female migrant

- The results indicated that men were more family oriented than women, but also these men were from the Sri-Lanka and Korean communities. Therefore, it is not clear whether gender influences traditional values, but still might be something that social workers should take into consideration in their interventions. McDaniel and McKinnon (1993) also suggested that men need more encouragement and help in seeking out support systems and rely more on their family ties.

Indicators of traditional values

- S-Asian seniors were the most traditional out of the five groups; meaning family relation, parental involvement, preference of living arrangement were all indicating that seniors from S-Asia or more specifically from Sri-Lanka do not want to live by themselves and do not prefer to receive outside support in terms of care-giving. For these seniors it would be a major trauma in their lives, if they would be forced to live in a group home. They would feel ashamed and abandoned by their children who might be more acculturated and already have a different view about care-giving responsibilities. Similarly to this finding, Ujimoto et al. (1995) said that the influence of traditional cultural values might impact on a person's social interaction pattern that would create a situation in which the elderly may feel powerless. They pointed out that Korean elderly are totally dependent on their children or grandchildren and that they do not have the cognitive and social skills to participate and adjust to the larger society. Similarly, S-Asian elders being the most family-oriented/traditional out of the four communities would be the most vulnerable and prone to isolation, and to become highly dependent on family members. This study did not compare level of religiousness and family orientedness, however Jensen and Jensen (1993) found that individuals who were more religious were also higher on valuing the traditional family role. Therefore, future studies that plan to examine family values should also include in their analysis, religiosity.

Community-orientedness

- One of the main results in the present study implies that seniors from Jewish and Hungarian communities would benefit more from public services since they have more

individualistic values. The Korean seniors, even though presented to be traditional, were also strongly community oriented. Jewish seniors often preferred to live by themselves or to go to a nursing home rather than to depend on their children. Cox (1990) also projected that in a post-industrial society the elderly people will decide whether or not to invest time and energy in family, recreation, volunteering, education or politics. It seems that Jewish and Hungarian seniors who were born or came many decades ago to Canada are already modernized, and it is their own choice to live with their children or to live alone and fulfill a more individualistic role in the community.

Values of the social workers

- It was found that the social workers, similarly to the mainstream population, had a more individualistic attitude towards family related issues. However, it should be specified that these results reflect only the beliefs of the social workers and not their practice.

Language barriers

- Korean and mostly Sri-Lankan seniors reported that they have difficulty with both official languages in Canada. Lack of language knowledge could place elders in a more vulnerable position, make them more prone to different types of abuse, and lead them to isolation.

4.5. Summary of implications for research and practice

- To prepare a more structured and standardized data collection;
- To use a validated and reliable research tool that is adopted to present circumstances and fits the purpose of the study;
- To have a visual rather than written presentation of the short scenarios;
- To control for confounding variables originated from demographic characteristics;
- To incorporate research findings mentioned under 'implications for practice' into every day social work practice;
- To provide training regularly for service providers, in order to increase knowledge and awareness of ethnic differences; and
- To compare values of the social workers with the values of their clients, and see if the expectations of the clients are met by the services provided by their workers.

4.6. Main conclusion and recommendations

The present study had numerous limitations, and it is possible that only the most obvious were mentioned. However, the goal of this quantitative research was to examine family value differences between different ethnic communities and social workers, and to see whether these differences would influence the support requested by ethnic seniors and offered by social workers. Therefore, taking into consideration all the limitations, the present study still provided clear evidence that there is a possibility to have a value difference or value conflict between specific ethnic seniors and service providers which might hinder client-worker interaction and the delivery of a more culturally sensitive and desired service. More specifically, these differences were reflected in the seniors'

opinions regarding parental involvement and parental independence; in general the S-Asians were very traditional contrary to Social Workers and Jewish seniors who were more individualistic. Furthermore, as also marked by Berry et al. (1987), this study showed that refugees (involuntary migrants), experience more migration-related stress, and acculturation might be more difficult for them; therefore, they require more support. In conclusion, as a small contributing part, the present findings confirmed that differences in family values needs to be taken into consideration and addressed by agencies whose goal is to provide ethnic-sensitive support.

Social workers cannot be experts in all cultures. However, they should be aware of the limitations imposed on their work by the scope of their cultural understanding. Therefore, social workers, especially in Montreal where there is a high concentration of ethnic seniors, should begin their work by: identifying the concept that ethnic seniors have regarding different changes in Canadian society; identifying different values that they have and are different from their clients; increasing awareness of different meanings of family values; examining the senior clients' lives, needs, causes of discomfort, feelings, anger and isolation; identifying the client's level of acculturation, expectations, process of making decisions, and beliefs. Social workers also need to help especially recent senior immigrants with their social integration, search for different activities and community resources to reduce their isolation.

Previous researchers have designed guidebooks for abuse intervention (Reis & Nahmiash, 1995) and prevention of senior mistreatment (Lithwick et al., 2000-2001) to help practitioners. Therefore, it might be also important to design a tool in the future that would implement the abovementioned suggestions and previous findings. Such a tool

could help social workers to easily identify value particularities and to recommend the most culturally sensitive intervention. Finally, training of future social works, counsellors, psychologists and medical professionals should include findings regarding particularities of different cultures, values and recommended tools for intervention.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

INFORMATION SHEET

Perception of different senior immigrants regarding changes in family values: Possible implications for Social Workers

Researcher: Melinda Makkay, MSW Student at McGill University
Research Supervisor: Maxine Lithwick, Professor at McGill University
Sydney Duder, Professor at McGill University

This is an independent research study for the faculty of Social Work at McGill University. The study would like to explore your culture and the traditions that you may have in your family and whether these traditions went through any changes since you have been living in Canada.

The questionnaire will simply ask your opinion regarding different family situations. All your answers should be based on your own personal experiences, beliefs, values, principles and family traditions. You will be asked to work independently and fill out a short questionnaire about yourself, to evaluate a series of situations according to the level of their importance to you and finally, to answer some questions about three short stories.

The information gathered in these questionnaires will be used toward completion of this research study, but your privacy will be protected at all times. Your anonymity is assured since you are not asked to reveal your name and any individual information will not be used.

Please be aware that you have the right to discontinue your participation at any time during our meeting. Also, you may ask any questions at any time. If you have any concerns regarding this study after this meeting, you may also contact me, Melinda Makkay, at 931-4726.

Your contribution will help professionals to have a better understanding of the changes in family values in your culture and your opinions concerning these changes. It will also give us some ideas on how to better serve you in the future.

Thank you.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Sex: M ___ F ___

2. Your age:

3. Your marital status: Married ___ Single ___ Divorced/Separated ___

Cohabiting ___ Widowed ___

4. Country of birth? _____

5. Did you live anywhere else before coming to Canada? Yes ___ No ___

6. If "yes" where _____, when _____, for how long ___?

7. The year of your arrival in Canada? _____

8. Circumstances of your immigration:

Sponsored/family unification ___ Refugee ___ Immigrant ___

If applicable did you come to Canada to help your children? Yes ___ No ___

9. Do you have any children? Yes ___ No ___

10. Are your children living with you? Yes ___ No ___

11. Do you have any grandchildren? Yes ___ No ___

12. In your culture, who has the responsibility of taking care of the elderly parents?

Nobody ___ The government ___ The eldest daughter ___

The eldest son ___ The first-born regardless of the gender of the child ___

The child who is more financially established ___

13. In your country of origin most of the elderly people prefer to live:

Alone ___ With their children or other relatives ___

Other arrangements ___

14. What would be the advantages of elderly parents living with their children?

Continue the tradition ___ This is expected in my culture ___

Teach the language to my grandchildren ___ Feeling needed and useful ___

Feeling respected ___ Other comments: _____

15. What would be the disadvantages of elderly parents living with their children?

Loss of my authority ___ Becoming dependent on my children ___

Not having any privacy ___ Other comments: _____

Please tell me what is your opinion about the following situations. Choose only one answer after each statement according to the level of importance that you attribute to them.

1. Following the suggestions of elderly members in a family is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

2. Following the religious beliefs of the family is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

3. Children asking their parents' opinion regarding their marriage and divorce is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

4. Children marrying someone from the same culture is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

5. Parents choosing the partner for their children to marry is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

6. Getting married before living with someone is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

7. Couples being married before they have any children is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

8. Mother staying home with her children is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

9. Women working outside the family is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

10. One placing family needs before their own needs is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

11. Adult children to be financially independent from their parents is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

12. Parents to be financially independent from their children is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

13. Elderly parents to have time to do their own personal activities is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

14. Elderly parents to have their own friends in the community is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

15. Children to spend time with their elderly parents is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

16. To have a supportive family is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

17. Parents to help their adult children anyway, anytime, as often as needed is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

18. Parents to live independently from their children is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

19. Parents to live with their children regardless of any situation is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

20. Parents to be included into their children's daily activities is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

21. Parents telling their opinion to their children regarding how to run their household is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

22. Grandparents babysitting their grandchildren instead of other people is:

Not important □ **Important** □ **Very important** □ **Don't know** □

23. Please describe any other situations that might cause discomfort to you or to any other elderly person in regards to family:

_____

24. Please describe any situation that would make you feel happy, cared for, useful and respected:

_____

SHORT SCENARIO 1.

This is a couple in Canada in their late 30s. They love each other and they live together but they are not married. Both of them are working and are successful in their careers. They don't have any children because they are very busy with their work and they are not sure if they are ready both financially and emotionally to have any.

1. Do you agree with the couple's lifestyle? Yes ___ No ___

2. Is it all right that they live together without being married? Yes ___ No ___

The man is an only child and his mother is a 62 year-old widow living alone in a house. She has suffered a series of small strokes that have left her with some paralysis. She has difficulty taking care of herself. The couple is very busy with their work and have limited time to help the man's mother.

3. Do you think it is right to place career before family needs? Yes ___ No ___

4. Should the elderly mother move in with the couple? Yes ___ No ___

5. Please specify if you have other ideas? _____

_____

6. How would you feel and what would you do if you were this elderly mother?

_____

_____

SHORT SCENARIO 2.

The children of an elderly couple immigrated from South-East Asia to Canada. Their son found a great job and lives with his girlfriend. Their daughter got married and has two children. The daughter missed her parents, and being aware of the different values in North America, thought that her parents could teach all the cultural values to her children.

After the arrival of the elderly parents, they took care of their grandchildren and the household, but they were doing only what their daughter asked them to do. They were not consulted on how to run the household and how to raise the children. Because they didn't speak English, didn't have money, and didn't feel confident asking their daughter for some, they mostly stayed at home.

1. How do you think the grandparents felt?

Respected ___ Needed ___ Taken advantage of ___ Isolated ___

Happy that they can help their daughter ___ Dependent on their daughter ___

2. Should the elderly parents continue to stay with their daughter? Yes ___ No ___

3. Should they ask their son if they could stay with him instead? Yes ___ No ___

4. Should they go back to their country of origin? Yes ___ No ___

5. Please specify any other suggestions: _____

SHORT SCENARIO 3.

A 28 year-old woman has a 3 year-old son. Her marriage didn't work out and she has just broken up with her husband. Her parents are in their 60s. Her mother is a housewife and her father works as a carpenter. The woman didn't work for the past three years because she was taking care of her son. Now that she left her husband, she has asked her parents if she could move back in with them until she finds work and can afford to rent an apartment.

1. Should the woman's parents allow her to move back home? Yes ___ No ___

2. Should the woman go back to her husband? Yes ___ No ___

3. Should the woman live with her parents and find work? Yes ___ No ___

4. Should the woman live alone, work, and bring her son to a daycare? Yes ___ No ___

5. Did the woman dishonor her family by leaving her husband? Yes ___ No ___

6. Does the woman's divorce bring any negative consequences on her brothers and sisters?

Yes ___ No ___

7. Please specify if you have any other comments: _____

THANK YOU !!!!

APPENDIX B

CODEBOOK

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Sex: M _1_ F _2_

2. Age:

3. Married _1_ Single _2_ Divorced/Separated _3_ Cohabiting _4_ Widowed _5_

4. Country of birth? _____

5. Did you live anywhere else before coming to Canada? Yes _1_ No _2_

6. If "yes" where _____, when _____, for how long ___?

7. The year of arrival in Canada? _____

8. Sponsored/family unification _1_ Refugee _2_ Immigrant _3_

To help children: Yes _1_ No _2_

9 - 11. Yes _1_ No _2_

12. Care-giving: Nobody _1_ The government _2_ The eldest daughter _3_

The eldest son _4_ The first-born regardless of gender _5_

Financially established child _6_ Any child _7_ Other arrangements _8_

13. Preference of living arrangement:

Alone _1_ With children or other relatives _2_ Other arrangements _3_

14. Advantages of living with children:

Continue tradition _1_ Expected in culture _1_

Teach the language to grand children _1_ Feeling needed and useful _1_

Feeling respected _1_ Other comments: _1_____

15. Disadvantage of living with their children:

Loss authority _1_ Become dependent _1_ Not having any privacy _1_

Other comments: _1_____

LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE

Questions from 1 – 22 followed the same coding format:

1 3 4 2
Not important □ Important □ Very important □ Don't know □

Questions 23 & 24 were open-ended, value '1' was inserted if there was a comment.

SHORT SCENARIO 1.

Questions 1 – 4 required Yes _1_ No _2_ responses.

Question 5 & 6 were open-ended, value '1' was inserted if there was a comment.

SHORT SCENARIO 2.

1. How do you think the grandparents felt?

Respected _1_ Needed _1_ Taken advantage of _1_ Isolated _1_

Happy that they can help their daughter _1_ Dependent on their daughter _1_

Questions 2 - 4 required Yes _1_ No _2_ responses.

Question 5 was open-ended, value '1' was inserted if there was a comment.

SHORT SCENARIO 3.

Questions 1 – 6 required Yes _1_ No _2_ responses.

Question 7 was open-ended, value '1' was inserted if there was a comment.

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