

## Intergenerational Transmission of Values: The Role of Transmission Belts

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Intergenerational transmission is one process leading to cultural continuity. Transmission is assumed to be selective: Not all culturally relevant contents are transmitted. Transmission may be enhanced by “transmission belts,” that is, conditions favorable for transmission in a particular socioeconomic and cultural context, such as personal characteristics of the transmitter and the receiver (resources of education and age), and family interaction variables (parenting styles and parents’ marital relationship). This study explores the effects of these transmission belts on the similarity of values between Turkish fathers and their sons. The sample included 200 Turkish father-son dyads of two regions within Germany and 100 living in Turkey. The values transmitted were nine value categories subsumed under the two dimensions of collectivism and individualism. Predominately collectivistic values were transmitted because presumably, they serve group maintenance. Intergenerational transmission was enhanced by most of the transmission belts included in the study with the exception of cultural context.

## INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF VALUES The Role of Transmission Belts

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**Cultural transmission—as opposed to** genetic transmission—requires some form of social learning. Thus, no one would claim cultural transmission if all members of a population learned a particular behavior only because they each had been exposed to the same set of contingencies from the physical environment. In this case, there is no cultural transmission because there is no social learning. Intergenerational cultural transmission is clearly the appropriate concept, on the other hand, when adults intentionally teach the younger generation or when the younger generation imitates adults.

Cultural persistence is essentially a question of social transmission (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981). If new members of a culture enter and leave the system slowly, the mechanisms of transmission can be slow and diffuse. If new members join and exit rapidly, or in large numbers relative to those who stay, then culture must be transmitted quickly and intensively if it is to be maintained. Vertical social transmission from the parent generation to its offspring seems to be less responsive to environmental variability (Laland, 1993). However, the process of cultural transmission does not lead to a constant replication of culture in successive generations; rather, it falls somewhere between an exact transmission (with hardly any difference between parents and offspring) and a complete failure of transmission (with hardly any similarity between the generations). Functionally, either extreme would be problematic for a society: Exact transmission would not allow for novelty and change, and hence the ability to respond to new situations, whereas failure of transmission would not permit coordinated action between generations (Boyd & Richerson, 1985).

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For this study, two aspects of the transmission process are important: the contents of transmission—in this study, values—and transmission belts. Transmission belts are conditions or factors that enhance transmission. One kind of transmission belt investigated in this study is relational: parenting styles and marital quality. The other kind of transmission belt tackles sociodevelopmental conditions: father's education, phase in adolescent development (early, middle, and late), and sibling position.

The transmission of value orientations may be seen as a core issue of culture maintenance and culture change. Values provide standards for actions and thus regulate day-to-day behavior as well as important and critical life decisions (e.g., Gaerling, 1999). Some global processes involved in the transmission of values are assumed to be (a) socialization and (b) enculturation. Socialization involves the deliberate shaping of individuals to become adapted to the social environment. The common means of transmission by socialization are concrete child-rearing or child-training practices by parents and other educators or mentors. Enculturation may consist of explicit, deliberate learning, but it may also take place in the form of implicit, unintentional learning. Enculturation aims at developing persons into competent members of a culture, including identity, language, rituals, and values.

The transmission process also involves a selection of transmitted contents. Campbell (1975) argued that the fact that most moral beliefs are altruistic suggests that they have been shaped by group selection, that is, mentor, peer, and parent-offspring transmission. A transfer of this insight to the realm of values allows the hypothesis that collectivistic values will be more readily transmitted than individualistic values, as the former are of the type that are shaped by group selection, whereas the latter are not. Collectivistic values may be functional to group maintenance and lead to the evolution of cooperation among larger groups of unrelated individuals.

Although intergenerational transmission is not necessarily asymmetrical, being oriented only from the older to the younger generation, this study has a focus on the direction from parent to offspring. Kohn (1983; Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986) discovered that a parent's work experiences, especially self-direction at work, have a positive influence on a child's personality. They also found retroactive transmission of children to parents, but only in their American, not in the Polish, sample. In Poland, mothers seem to have a stronger influence on their children than fathers do. Kohn (1983) summarized his transmission research by saying that the similarity between adults and their children is only moderate and limited to certain domains: political and religious beliefs and lifestyle, value orientations, and general points of view concerning social reality.

Schönplflug and Silbereisen (1992) initiated a longitudinal study following the ideas of Kohn et al. (1986). They conceptualized transmission as taking place through communication in which social orientations and norms are "transported." The communication variables considered were those relevant for estimating the degree of transmission: (a) themes of "keynote issues," (b) parental or child initiative to discuss a particular keynote issue in family discussions, (c) adolescents' estimations of their influence on their parents, (d) parents' openness toward their children's attempts to influence them, and (e) children's perceptions of the frequency of family discussion on a particular keynote issue. Again, bidirectional transmission was observed only in German, not in Polish, families. In German families, the mother had more influence on her children's beliefs about societal keynote issues when her children were in early and middle adolescence; thereafter, in later adolescence, the father seemed to be more influential. In Polish families, both parents had equal influence on their children when the children were 14 years old, but 1 year later, mothers influenced their children more than fathers. Against the background of a strong autoregressive effect of children's own

value orientation from the previous year, only one communication variable had a significant impact: children's perceived importance of the keynote issue. The more important the children perceived a given keynote issue to be, the higher the impact of the parental point of view on their children's orientation.

In an interdisciplinary longitudinal study including Turkish adolescents and their parents living as immigrant workers in Berlin and in Friedrichshafen (southern Germany) as well as Turkish adolescents in Istanbul, the transmission of value orientations according to Schwartz (1992, 1994) from fathers to sons is investigated (Öztoprak, 1996; Schönplflug, 1999). The main issue of this study was the question of whether some value orientations are more easily transmitted than others. This study uses the same data set to explore a further theoretical issue: the role of various transmission belts.

### CONTEXTS AS TRANSMISSION BELTS

Parent-offspring transmission does not corroborate adaptation to variable environments. In the case of family migration, the effectiveness of transmission from parents to children should be less effective because the transmission of culture of origin may be dysfunctional in the host country. Not only will the children generation be reluctant to accept transmission but parents may also hesitate to transmit their own orientations, which are—in a new environment—to a certain extent standards for nonadaptive behavior patterns. Cultural traditions lag behind environmental variability.

In Schwartz's (1992) international study on value dimensions, Turkey turned out to be one of the collectivistic cultures, whereas Germany was recognized as being an individualistic society. Turkish migrants to Germany make a transition from a collectivistic to an individualistic social environment. Thus, effective transmission between generations in migrated groups necessarily leads to segregation from the majority culture in the host country when host culture and culture of origin of a migrated group differ. Migrant parents oriented toward maintenance of the culture of origin in the host country will emphasize the transmission of culture of origin, whereas parents oriented toward adaptation in the host society will withhold cultural transmission to let their children adapt behavior patterns that are functional in the new environment. Therefore, parents living in the context of their culture of origin should transmit their value orientation more intensively than parents living in a migration context.

### PARENTING STYLES AND MARITAL RELATIONSHIP AS TRANSMISSION BELTS

Some parenting styles are effective transmission belts; others prevent transmission. Parenting styles that create a positive emotional interaction between parent and child will promote the transmission of values. One parenting style in question is empathetic parenting. The rigid-authoritarian parenting style may distance parent and child, thus diminishing transmission.

A positive marital relationship implies estimating a mutually positive emotional quality and homogeneity of attitudes and orientations between conjugal partners. According to Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981), homogeneity in attitudes leads to more intense transmission of that attitude in the intergenerational context.

## DEVELOPMENTAL PERSPECTIVE

Transmission is probably constrained to particular stages of development. According to new ideas put forward by Grolnick, Deci, and Ryan (1997), the growing autonomy of a child will prevent the effective transmission of values in the family. As autonomy increases with age, the negative influences of a child's age on the effectiveness of transmission processes should be observed. With the age range covered in this study, it is possible to explore all three important developmental stages during the adolescence period: early, middle, and late adolescence with respect to their sensitivity to parental transmission attempts.

Education is a personal resource of a transmitter with positive effects for transmission. With increasing education, fathers might find greater acceptability as models from their children. Greater acceptability as a model will lead to more intense transmission (Bandura, 1986; Grusec, 1997); in addition, educated fathers might have greater skills for transmission.

Another developmental issue is the question of the influence of sibling position of the child under study. According to Harris (1998), we may argue that later born children will be more susceptible to peer or sibling influence than firstborn children and thus will show less impact of parental transmission attempts. This effect may be independent of the age of the adolescent child.

In accordance with the issues raised, the following hypotheses were tested:

1. The generation gap indicated by the parent-child difference in mean ratings of importance of values is larger for parent-child dyads with the experience of discontinuous cultural contexts, for example, the experience of migration, than for parent-child dyads experiencing continuity in their sociocultural contexts because they stayed in their home country.
2. Collectivistic values will be subject to vertical parent-offspring transmission between generations in the family, whereas individualistic values tend not to be transmitted this way.
3. Irrespective of social context, the intensity of transmission will be moderated by parenting styles based on commitment and closeness between the parent and the child generations (e.g., empathetic parenting) but will not be enhanced by a rigid-authoritarian parenting style. In addition, the parents' positive quality of marital relationship will enhance transmission between generations as it provides homogeneity of parental orientations.
4. The higher the parents' personal resources, the more probable is the effective transmission of their values, because they have greater acceptability as models and transmission skills.
5. The older and more autonomous the adolescents get, the less receptive to transmission they will be.
6. The higher the sibling position of the child, the less parent-to-child transmission will be observed as children tend to be more susceptible to peer sibling influence.

## METHOD

### SAMPLE

The participants of this three-wave longitudinal study included, in the first wave, 200 Turkish male adolescents between the ages of 14 and 19 living in Berlin and on Lake Constance in southern Germany and 100 male Turkish adolescents from Istanbul and 1 parent. Only the first-wave data are included in the following analyses.

The German sample was balanced as to school type in Germany (9.7% no school, 22.5% obligatory school level, 17.5% vocational training school, 17.3% integrated high school, 14.1% medium-level high school, 18.8% higher level high school). In Turkey, only students

from the middle school level (*orta okul*) and high school were recruited. In the German sample, 67% of the participants were born in Germany, the rest was born in Turkey and immigrated in early childhood. Very few adolescents (5%) came to Germany when they were already in school. The Turkish students in Germany were recruited according to the given percentages of Turkish students per school track reported in the Berlin School Statistics in 1990. The students in Turkey came from two districts of Istanbul where the level of socioeconomic status (SES) was expected to be equivalent to that of the immigrant Turkish population in Germany.

Only the same-sex parent took part in the study. The distribution of the fathers' educational levels was as follows: unfinished elementary education, 8.3%; unfinished elementary education but literate, 14.3%; elementary education (5 years), 49.6%; secondary education (middle school), 15.7%; finished high school, 10.5%; and university education, 2.3%. The mean age of the fathers was 44.3 years and that of the mothers, 42.1 years. The average family size was two parents and three to four children. In the sample of Turkish parents from Istanbul, 15% had a finished, an unfinished, or no elementary school education; 16.5% had attended middle school (*orta okul*); and 68.5% had a high school degree. Thus, exact equivalence of educational levels of parents across the cultural contexts was not given.

## MEASURES

*Values.* The 30 goal values from the value inventory by Schwartz (1992) were used. Schwartz categorizes them into nine value categories belonging to two major value dimensions: (a) *collectivistic values*: humanism, universalism, traditionalism, security, conformism; and (b) *individualistic values*: power, self-direction, stimulating life, hedonism. The scales are theoretically and empirically defined. The response format used was one suggested by Schwartz:  $-1 = \text{contrary to my values}$ ,  $1 = \text{not at all important for me}$ , up to  $7 = \text{very important for me}$ .

*Son's perception of father's parenting styles.* Parenting styles were partly conceptualized according to Baumrind (1991). A total of 26 items were introduced to assess various parenting styles. For the study, only two parenting styles were defined—rigid-authoritarian and empathetic parenting style—which resulted from a factor analysis including all items from the children's questionnaire.

The *empathetic parenting style* was assessed by three items: (a) "My mother (father) notices immediately when I like something very much," (b) "My mother (father) sees immediately when I am sad," and (c) "My mother (father) only has to look at me to know that something is wrong with me." The response format was  $1 = \text{do not agree}$ ,  $2 = \text{agree somewhat}$ ,  $3 = \text{agree partially}$ , and  $4 = \text{agree fully}$ . Internal consistency was good (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .76$ ).

The *rigid-authoritarian parenting style* was assessed by six items: (a) "Even if I am right, I am not allowed to contradict my mother (father)"; (b) "My mother (father) gets terribly aggravated when I say something she (he) doesn't like"; (c) "If I try to get out of household chores, my mother (father) keeps insisting until I have finished my work"; (d) "My mother (father) never gives way to my demands"; (e) "My mother (father) does not tolerate any deviance from her (his) demands"; and (f) "In certain issues, my mother (father) listens to my opinion but decides all by her(him)self." The response format was the same as in the previous scale. The internal consistency of these six items was Cronbach's  $\alpha = .75$ .

*Father's attitude toward marriage.* The scale assessing attitude toward marriage was made up of five items from the parents' questionnaire: (a) "A marriage brings safety and security"; (b) "A marriage brings financial and economic advantages"; (c) "If you are married, you receive more social recognition"; (d) "Marriage also means to be responsible for one another"; and (e) "If two persons love each other, they should marry." The response format was the same as in the two previous scales. Internal consistency was high (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .87$ ).

*Level of father's education.* The levels of education were coded as follows: 1 = *unfinished and finished elementary school*; 2 = *middle, secondary school*; 3 = *finished high school and university education*.

*Sibling position of child.* The sibling position of the child was stated by the parent. It varied from 1 to 7. The range of number of children was trichotomized: 1 = first child, 2 = second child, and 3 = third to seventh child. This categorization resulted in a balanced frequency distribution of adolescents across the three categories.

## RESULTS

### GENERATION GAP IN MEAN IMPORTANCE OF VALUES

To test Hypothesis 1, group comparisons of means were made. For this purpose, at least a preliminary check is necessary to control whether the groups compared revealed a response bias. The ratings differentiated well across value domains. All subsamples seem to discriminate in their ratings in a meaningful and consistent way, and further precautions to prevent item bias did not seem to be warranted for this kind of analysis.

Table 1 reveals significant father-son differences in value orientation. In the migration groups, collectivistic values seem to be more important to fathers than to their sons, but not in the father-son dyads living in Turkey. Here, the sons rate all collectivistic value categories except traditionalism more important than their fathers. All mean differences between fathers and their sons in Berlin for collectivistic values were significant. Only in security values did the Turkish sample in southern Germany show a significant generational gap. The Turkish father-son dyads in Turkey had significant father-son mean value differences in three collectivistic value categories (universalism, traditionalism, and conformism), but two were in the opposite direction: sons higher than fathers for humanism and universalism. The generation gap analysis between fathers and sons in the three samples revealed significant differences for three of the four individualistic value categories, that is, for universalism, power, and self-direction. For power, the fathers' mean value was higher than that of the sons, whereas for the other categories it was reversed. In the southern German subsample, only stimulation and hedonism had a significant generation gap, with the sons' means higher than the fathers'. In the Istanbul subsample, again stimulation, hedonism, and self-direction had significantly higher sons' than fathers' mean values.

To summarize, the generation gap is greatest in the Berlin sample followed by the Istanbul sample and least in the southern German sample. Hypothesis 1 was thus not clearly confirmed.

**TABLE 1**  
**Means and Standard Deviations of Collectivistic and Individualistic Value Groups in Three Regional Samples in Turkish Father-Son Dyads**

Value Group	Region					
	Berlin		Southern Germany		Istanbul	
	Father n = 100	Son n = 100	Father n = 100	Son n = 100	Father n = 97	Son n = 97
Collectivism						
Humanism	6.84 (0.85)	6.05* (1.20)	5.06 (1.06)	4.93 (1.31)	5.29 (1.00)	5.99* (1.00)
Universalism	7.12 (0.72)	6.27* (1.21)	5.61 (0.90)	5.43 (0.82)	5.87 (0.93)	6.26* (0.96)
Security	7.03 (0.75)	5.91* (1.25)	5.50 (0.98)	4.82* (1.09)	5.96 (0.82)	6.18 (1.10)
Traditionalism	6.02 (1.39)	5.00* (1.76)	3.83 (1.70)	3.53 (1.73)	5.14 (1.41)	4.47* (1.72)
Conformism	7.16 (1.04)	5.88* (1.68)	5.28 (1.42)	5.13 (1.49)	5.64 (1.18)	6.01* (1.47)
Individualism						
Stimulation	4.01 (1.56)	4.92* (1.65)	3.10 (2.05)	4.78* (1.65)	3.35 (1.73)	5.13* (1.55)
Hedonism	4.56 (1.75)	5.09 (1.84)	3.98 (1.87)	5.66* (1.52)	3.45 (2.05)	4.19* (2.17)
Power	4.07 (1.35)	3.84* (1.49)	3.77 (1.35)	3.60 (1.42)	4.38 (1.32)	4.44 (1.25)
Self-direction	6.68 (1.12)	5.79* (1.39)	4.89 (1.35)	5.20 (1.21)	5.64 (1.19)	6.10* (1.15)

\*Significant mean difference at  $p < .05$ .

#### TRANSMISSION OF VALUES

Hypothesis 2 predicts that there is more transmission of collectivistic than individualistic values within father-son dyads. To test this hypothesis, nine multiple regression analyses were performed, one for each value category; they included the sons' importance of a particular value category as a dependent variable and their fathers' importance of the same value category as a predictor. According to Larson and Almeida (1999), a significant beta value may be interpreted as indicating the impact of the fathers' value system on their sons'. Region (1 = Berlin, 2 = southern Germany, and 3 = Istanbul), age, and level of parental education were partialled out in the analysis. Children's school track was not controlled for because, at the age level of the participants, the school system in Turkey does not differentiate between school levels. Table 2 indicates the results of the multiple regressions. It reveals that transmission was observed in the case of collectivistic value categories but was not indicated by significant beta values in the case of individualistic value categories. The only exception to this general result was the value category of self-direction, an individualistic value category. The variables controlled for rarely had a significant effect on the sons' importance ratings in each of the nine value groups: region for the value categories of security, hedonism, and power, and parental education for the value category termed *self-direction*. The results may be understood as a confirmation of Hypothesis 2.

**TABLE 2**  
**Transmission of Values in Turkish Father-Son Dyads (transmission beta coefficients from multiple regression analyses)**

Predictor	<i>Criteria: Value Son</i>								
	<i>Collectivistic Values</i>					<i>Individualistic Values</i>			
	<i>Humanism</i>	<i>Universalism</i>	<i>Security</i>	<i>Traditionalism</i>	<i>Conformism</i>	<i>Stimulation</i>	<i>Hedonism</i>	<i>Power</i>	<i>Self-Direction</i>
Value father	.24**	.21**	.28***	.21**	.20**				.18**
Controlled for									
Age					-.12*				
Region <sup>a</sup>			.18**				-.15*	.15*	
Parental education									.12*
Sibling position									

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

a. Coded 1 = Berlin, 2 = southern Germany, 3 = Istanbul.

### MODERATORS OF TRANSMISSION

The following six moderators of the transmission process were examined: empathetic and rigid-authoritarian parenting styles, marital relationship of parents, father's education, child's age, and sibling position. The variables were dichotomized by median split, and the multiple regression analyses described above were repeated separately for high and low levels of moderators. The empathetic and rigid-authoritarian styles yielded most transmissions when high and low levels were given, respectively. The transmission coefficients in Table 3 are controlled for age, parental education, and region.

Collectivistic values were generally transmitted when empathetic parenting was high. Security was an exception, revealing no transmission under the two levels of this moderator. But a stimulating life, an individualistic value, was also transmitted when empathetic parenting was high.

Collectivistic values were also predominantly transmitted when rigid-authoritarian parenting was low. Again, one individualistic value group, that is, self-direction, was transmitted well under this level of the second moderator. Thus, transmission occurred in the absence of rigid-authoritarian parenting. Security, however, is transmitted under both levels of rigid-authoritarian parenting.

The third moderator included was the fathers' positive attitude toward being married. As predicted, the highly positive group of fathers transmitted more values to their sons than those fathers evaluating their marriage less positively. All five collectivistic value categories were transmitted, but only two of the individualistic value categories: hedonism and self-direction. Hypothesis 3 was thus corroborated.

Three further variables were introduced as moderators: educational level of father, age of child, and sibling position (see Table 3). The educational level of father was trichotomized into low, medium, and high. As the transmission coefficients show, most transmission took place at the medium and high levels of education. Hypothesis 4 was thus confirmed. The selection of values is the same as in the other analyses because transmission of predominantly collectivistic value orientation was observed. When the age of the child was trichotomized into three age-groups and introduced as a moderator variable, the transmission coefficients were significant for the two younger age-groups but not for the oldest, late-adolescent group. A sensitive period for transmission is apparently at a younger, less-autonomous stage of development in adolescence. One exception is the value category of "stimulating life." In the oldest group, this was the only transmitted value domain. In the younger age-groups, the canonical collectivistic values were transmitted. These results supported Hypothesis 5.

The last moderator was sibling position of the child (see Table 3). The sibling position of the child was also trichotomized (first, second, and third-and-higher position) and used as a moderator. Contrary to expectations, transmission tended to be more prevalent among the later born children as compared with first-born and second-born. Contrary to Hypothesis 7, the later children tended to reveal more transmission effects than the first-born and second-born children. The first-born and second-born children showed transmission only with humanism, security, and traditionalism, whereas later-born children showed transmission in these three values and in universalism, conformism, and self-direction. Sibling position is not confounded with age of children ( $r = .01$ ). The results revealed a reversed effect of that predicted in Hypothesis 6.

The moderators thus confirmed the results of the global transmission analyses: Moderators corroborate the transmission of predominantly collectivistic values.

**TABLE 3**  
**Transmission of Value Groups With Empathetic and Rigid-Authoritarian Parenting Styles and Marital Relationship**  
**as Moderators in Turkish Father-Son Dyads (transmission beta coefficients from multiple regression analyses)**

Moderator	Level	Father/Son Values								
		Collectivistic Values					Individualistic Values			
		Humanism	Universalism	Security	Traditionalism	Conformism	Stimulation	Hedonism	Power	Self-Direction
Empathetic parenting	Low									
	High	.21**	.19**		.17**	.28***	.23**			
Rigid-authoritarian parenting	Low	.30***		.25**	.27***	.24**				.20**
	High			.25**						
Positive marital attitude	Low	.26**			.21**					
	High	.25**	.28**	.33***	.23**	.29**		.22**		.29**
Father's educational level	Low									
	Medium			.24**	.19*					
	High	.35***	.32***	.27**	.21*	.20*				
Age in years	12-14		.25*	.23**	.28**					.24*
	15-16	.26**		.26**	.19*	.17*				
	17-19						.47***			
Sibling position	1st	.24*		.33***	.24*					
	2nd	.28**		.28*	.23*					
	3rd-7th	.24*	.32***	.27**	.22*	.30***				.31***

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

## DISCUSSION

This study aimed at clarifying two aspects of the process of intergenerational transmission: the selectivity of the transmission process with respect to the contents of transmission and transmission belts. The transmitted contents were collectivistic and individualistic value categories. The transmission belts were (a) relational: empathetic and rigid-authoritarian parenting styles, positive attitude toward marital status; and (b) given resources: fathers' educational level, stage of adolescent development, or age and sibling position. In addition, the continuity of the cultural context in which the intergenerational transmission process was situated was understood as a transmission belt. In a discontinuous cultural context with drastic changes, parents are supposed to be less motivated to transmit their own standards and attitudes to the next generation under the presumption that they will not be adaptive for their offspring in the future. The transmitter and the recipient of transmission were father and son, respectively.

The results reveal that the transmission of values between fathers and sons seemed to be restricted to the collectivistic value categories of humanism, universalism, security, traditionalism, and conformism. This general trend is only with one exception: The value category of self-direction was also transmitted. Being collectivistic may well be compatible with being self-directed, whereas the high evaluation of, for example, power is not and therefore is not transmitted. Under conditions of special transmission belts, like high empathetic parenting and high positive evaluation of marital status, the importance of a stimulating life and hedonism were also transmitted; these two value categories seem to be compatible with the transmission of collectivism. Hence, transmission should not be understood as only serving the group: Fathers transmit and sons accept self-enhancing values. Individuals do not seem to live exclusively to meet the needs of the group under all conditions, even when socialized and enculturated in a generally collectivistic culture like the Turkish one (Schwartz, 1992).

A continuous cultural context does not lead to intensified transmission. Turkish father-son dyads living in Turkey did not reveal more transmission than did Turkish father-son dyads living in a big city or in a provincial environment after work migration to Germany. Continuity of cultural context apparently is not a transmission belt. However, the analyses including fathers' educational level as moderator revealed that collectivistic values are transmitted in families with medium and high educational levels, but not in low-education families. In this subgroup, apparently no transmission takes place. We may conclude that the transmission of values requires competence on the part of the parents to use transmission strategies (e.g., communication in a family discussion) to convince their offspring to internalize certain values. One competence, among others, could be the use of empathetic parenting style with increasing education.

One developmental issue raised in this study is the test of the parental influence against possible sibling influence. A direct measure of peer impact of values was not included, but with children's increasing sibling position, more sibling influence and less parental impact in values were expected. The results did not confirm this expectation: The later-born sons revealed a broader parental impact in values than the earlier-born sons. Later-born children seem to be more susceptible to internalize group-oriented collectivistic values than first-born and second-born children.

A critical developmental issue in transmission research is the optimal time span in adolescence for the transmission of values. The results with age-group as a moderator suggest that most similarity between fathers and sons is observable at early and middle adolescence.

Thus, collectivistic value orientation seemed to be conveyed in the formative years of the first half of adolescence, but the perceived importance of a stimulating life—a compatible individualistic value category—was transmitted late in adolescence. Cultural continuity via effective transmission in the value domain is better ensured when the transmission of values starts early. As adolescents approach adulthood, collective values are less accepted.

The results of this study should be complemented by a longitudinal analysis to explore process characteristics of transmission. Future research will define these process characteristics and disclose how they transport culture from one generation to the next.

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