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<b>Authors(s)</b>	Polek, Ela, Van Oudenhoven, Jan Pieter, Ten Berge, Jos M. F.
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Evidence for a “Migrant Personality”:

Attachment Styles of Poles in Poland and Poles in the Netherlands

Elżbieta Polek, Jan Pieter Van Oudenhoven, and Jos M. F. Ten Berge

University of Groningen

Address of correspondence:

Elżbieta Polek

Dept. of Quantitative Social Science

Institute of Education

University of London

20 Bedford Way

London WC1H 0AL

email: [e.polek@ioe.ac.uk](mailto:e.polek@ioe.ac.uk)

## Abstract

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In the present study, we examined empirical evidence for a concept of a “migrant personality” using the attachment framework. We compared Polish emigrants in the Netherlands to the Poles living in Poland measuring their secure and dismissing attachment styles, while controlling for age, gender, and education in both samples. The results showed that emigrants are more secure and more dismissing than their fellow countrymen ( $p < .001$ ). Furthermore, we examined, whether attachment styles might be influenced by the host culture. For that purpose, we subdivided the sample of emigrants into eleven cohorts (each cohort differentiated from the other by two more years of residence) and we compared the mean scores on secure and dismissing attachment styles in consecutive cohorts of emigrants. We observed that the mean scores on secure and dismissing attachment remained similar over cohorts of emigrants. Moreover, the differences between emigrants and non-emigrants were of similar magnitude across cohorts. This suggests that the attachment styles of emigrants are not influenced by the host culture, and that the observed differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants last over time, and presumably, existed prior to emigration. Finally, we found that secure attachment was a stronger predictor of psychological health in the emigrant sample than in the in-country sample. In sum, evidence for a “migrant personality” has been found. This personality, as the results suggest, is functional for emigrants.

*“Migrant Personality”*

The beginning of the 21st century was marked by globalization and mass international migration. Currently there are an estimated 191 million emigrants worldwide (United Nations, 2005). What is the driving force stimulating people to leave their lands of origin? Modern theories of migration point to economical, demographic and network factors in attempts to answer this question (see Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pellegrino, & Taylor, 1998, for an overview). These factors, however, do not explain why some individuals, living in similar socio-economic conditions, become emigrants whereas others do not. Therefore, psychological factors favoring and impeding emigration may play a role in this selection process. Conceivably, emigrants possess characteristics, which predispose them to emigrate and help them to endure the challenges of emigrant life. In the literature the term “pioneering personality” was used to refer to psychological characteristics of individuals prone to emigration (Morrison & Wheeler, 1976). More recent research has indicated that emigrants are less prone to anxiety and insecurity than non-emigrants (Ray, 1986). Many cases of successful emigrants – Marie Curie, Madeleine Albright, or Salman Rushdie, to mention just a few, seem to support the hypothesis of a favorable “migrant personality”. While the outflow of well-educated individuals from donor societies, referred as a “brain drain”, has been broadly discussed, “personality drain” induced by the outflow of individuals with favorable personality traits has been largely overlooked. Hence, the present study endeavors to address this issue.

*Linking Attachment and Emigration*

As we saw above, several studies have supported the idea of a “migrant personality” and even specified characteristics associated with this kind of personality (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Ray, 1986). Remarkably, however, these studies have not paid attention to attachment styles,

whereas these characteristics refer to the nature of affectional bonds between individuals (Bowlby, 1973), and groups (Smith, Murphy, & Coats, 1999), and – more interestingly – the way of dealing with the new situations and people (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). As formulated by Bowlby, (1973, p.147) attachment ties induce “a common tendency for humans to remain in a familiar locale and among familiar people”. Emigrants, leaving their familiar milieu, deviate from this common tendency. Therefore, it is particularly interesting to investigate whether their attachment styles predispose them to do so. Furthermore, establishing bonds with new people and coping with new situations are important elements in the daily life of emigrants. As a result, attachment styles might be crucial to the successful adjustment of emigrants. Previous research has shown, for example, that attachment is a better predictor of emigrants’ adjustment than the Big Five personality traits (Bakker, Van Oudenhoven, & Van der Zee, 2004) and demographic variables (Polek, Van Oudenhoven, & Ten Berge, 2007). Accordingly, the first goal of the present study is to investigate, if attachment styles of emigrants differ from attachment styles of their non-emigrant fellow nationals. In addition, we tested if these differences, if any, may be assumed to exist prior to emigration (as predispositions for emigration), or rather after emigration (as a result of emigration), induced by the contact with a host culture, or, alternatively, by the mere fact of emigrating. Third, we investigated if attachment is a better predictor of the psychological well-being of emigrants as compared to non-emigrants.

#### *Attachment vs. Personality*

Originally formulated by Bowlby (1973), attachment theory conceptualizes the universal human need to form affectional bonds with others. Within this theory, attachment is described as a behavioral regulatory system which provides infants with the capacity to use one or a few primary figures as a “secure base” from which to explore, and to return to when seeking safety

and proximity, in cases when exploration brings distress. Every individual constructs mental 5  
representations of their own “secure base”, thus conserving their attachment experience and  
transiting it into other relationships. A secure attachment style evolves when early attachment  
experience brings the belief that the attachment figure is responsive and caring. Conversely, an  
insecure style evolves when the primary attachment figure is unresponsive and uncaring. Like the  
attachment framework, the personality framework also emphasizes early formation of individual  
characteristics, but views personality traits as the effect of the interplay between genetic  
predispositions and environmental (e.g. family) influence. Up till now literature on personality  
and attachment focused mainly on divergent aspects of these two frameworks (Kobak, 1994;  
Waters, Crowell, Elliott, Corcoran, & Treboux, 2002) failing to notice the apparent convergent  
aspects such as 1) the crucial role of primary caregivers in both developing personality traits  
(Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Maccoby, 2000) and attachment  
styles (Bowlby, 1973; Diehl, Elnick, Bourbeau, & Labouvie-Vief, 1998;); 2) the evidence that  
personality traits (Larsen & Ketelaar, 1989; Zelenski & Larsen, 1999) as well as attachment  
styles (Barry, Lakey, & Orehek, 2007) reflect dispositional susceptibilities to affective states; 3)  
the stability of personality traits (McCrae & Costa, 2003) and attachment styles (Benoit & Parker,  
1994; Hofstra, et al., 2005); 4) substantial correlations between attachment styles and personality  
traits (Bakker et al., 2004; Chotai, Jonasson, Hägglöf, & Adolfsson, 2005; Diehl et al., 1994); 5)  
finally, the relation between attachment styles and personality disorders (Aaronson, Bender,  
Skodol, & Gunderson, 2006). In the present study we propose a cautious integrative approach,  
which acknowledges a distinction between both frameworks, yet stands that both theories explain  
individual differences, therefore, it is reasonable to talk about a “migrant personality” with  
respect to individual characteristics such as attachment styles.

*Hypotheses*

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A number of attachment styles have been proposed in the literature (see Cassidy & Shaver, 1999 for an overview). In this study, we will focus exclusively on the secure and dismissing styles (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), as secure and dismissing attachment styles especially seem to discriminate emigrants from non-emigrants. Both secure and dismissing attachment styles have been found to be positively related to readiness to explore new environments and to approach unfamiliar others (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). A secure attachment appeared also to be positively related to positive attitudes towards out-group members (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2001), self-efficacy and self esteem (Hofstra, Van Oudenhoven & Buunk, 2005). Since becoming an emigrant is probably preceded by a readiness to explore new environment, and to encounter “unfamiliar others”, as well as a sense of self-efficacy when approaching new people and dealing with new situations, we expect emigrants to score higher on the secure style than non-emigrants [**hypothesis 1**]. Contrary to the secure attachment style, the dismissive attachment style is marked by avoiding close ties and dependence on other individuals (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) and groups (Smith, Murphy, & Coats, 1999), and appears to be negatively related to perceived importance of contact with the native culture (Bakker et al., 2004). Recent results indicate that social avoidance may be caused by two different mechanisms – fear of intimacy (“fearful” avoidance) and lack of attachment needs (“dismissing” avoidance) (Duggan & Brennan, 1994). In our earlier study we also found that dismissing avoidance and fearful avoidance form two separate and replicable factors (Polek, Ten Berge, & Van Oudenhoven, 2006). Accordingly, in the present study we focused on dismissing avoidance of the respondents. Boneva and Frieze (2001) reported higher power motivation of emigrants but lower affiliation, motivation and family centrality. It seems that these characteristics may correspond to the dismissing avoidance of emigrants. Given that emigrants voluntarily choose to leave “familiar

others” and their culture of origin, we expect that they score higher on dismissing attachment 7 than non-emigrants [**hypothesis 2**]. Since a dismissing attachment was only slightly negatively related to a secure attachment in the present study, we deemed it reasonable to assume that an individual may score high on both –a secure and dismissing attachment style.

Ideally, a comparison between emigrants and non-emigrants could be done at the moment emigrants leave the country. Since approaching emigrants at the very moment of emigration is technically difficult, we administered questionnaires to emigrants who have already lived in their host country for some time. Because attachment styles are relatively stable characteristics of individuals (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978), we assume that the differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants which are hypothesized above exist prior to emigration and are stable over time [**assumption 1**]. However, to control for a possible influence of the host culture, and a possible effect of the action of emigrating on the attachment of emigrants, we compare mean scores in subsequent cohorts of emigrants (each cohort differentiated from the next by two more years of residence). In addition, we compare the cohorts of emigrants with their non-emigrant country fellowmen and the host sample. If the means scores and the magnitude of differences in the mean scores between emigrants and non-emigrants, and – in addition – between emigrants and the host Dutch sample, remain similar across cohorts, that would suggest that the attachment styles of emigrants remain relatively stable over time. In that case, we can conclude that the differences between emigrants and non-emigrants were not evoked by the influence of the host country, nor the mere action of emigrating, but were present prior to emigration. With respect to the possible influence of the host culture on attachment of emigrants, we will furthermore test, if emigrants who identify themselves strongly with the Dutch culture resemble the Dutch native people more on secure and dismissing attachment styles than those

emigrants who show a weak identification with the Dutch. The absence of an effect of the host 8  
culture on attachment styles of emigrants would support our assumption 1.

It has been demonstrated that secure attachment is positively associated with social competencies (Mallinckrodt, 2000), psychological well-being and problem coping (Cooper, Shaver, & Collins, 1998), and psychological and socio-cultural adjustment of emigrants (Polek et al., 2007; Van Eecke, et al., 2005). Therefore, we suppose that secure attachment is a predictor of psychological well-being for emigrants and non-emigrants. However, since emigrants are exposed to “unfamiliar others” and new situations far more than non-emigrants, we expect that secure attachment is a better predictor of psychological well-being for emigrants than for non-emigrants [**hypothesis 3**]. We do not expect that dismissing attachment is a relevant predictor of psychological well-being, for either emigrants or native respondents. We do not expect a difference in the predictive power of a dismissing attachment style between these two samples.

## Method

### *Participants*

Four hundred and eight emigrants from Poland (68% female) living in the Netherlands, 587 Polish respondents living in Poland (59 % female), and 181 Dutch respondents living in the Netherlands (67 % female) participated in our survey. The average age of respondents was 33.50 (SD= 10.93) in the sample of Polish emigrants living in the Netherlands, 35.10 (SD=13.23) in the Polish native sample living in Poland, and 49.10 (SD=4.18) in the Dutch sample.

### *Procedure*

A translation and back-translation of the questionnaires from the Dutch language into Polish was made. We compared the back-translation with the original version in order to check the accuracy of the translations. The final version of the questionnaires in Polish as well as the Dutch version was presented once again to another translator who was asked to evaluate the equivalence of each translated item with the original version. The equivalence of the original and translated questionnaires was related by the translator as high.

Polish emigrants were approached in places where they meet: communities, clubs, Sunday schools and parishes. Respondents were given the questionnaire, a letter with short instructions and an explanation of the aim of the study and a pre-paid envelope. They were asked to complete the questionnaire and to distribute additional questionnaires among friends of the same nationality living in the Netherlands. Polish respondents living in Poland were approached in schools, universities and companies. They received questionnaires, instructions and envelopes, and they also were asked to distribute some questionnaires among their friends and acquaintances. Questionnaires were collected back after a few days from the respondents. Data from the Dutch respondents were obtained via a mail survey. All respondents filled in questionnaires voluntarily and without any monetary compensation. Missing data accounted for 7%, 2%, and less than 1 % of the data in the Polish emigrant, Polish native and Dutch samples, respectively; we used a pair-wise exclusion of the missing data from the analyses.

### *Instruments*

We asked respondents about their age, gender, education, and marital status. Emigrant respondents were also asked about their age at emigration, and length of residence in the Netherlands.

Two scales from the Attachment Style Questionnaire (ASQ; Van Oudenhoven, Hofstra, & Bakker, 2003) were used to assess secure and dismissing attachment of all respondents. Inter-correlation between the secure and the dismissing scale was significant, but low in the Polish emigrant sample ( $r = -.12, p < .05$ ) and insignificant in the Polish in-country and the Dutch native sample ( $r = -.04$  and  $r = -.06$ , respectively). These two scales showed satisfactory factor replicability (Polek et al., 2006), validity (Hofstra et al., 2005), and the stability measured after one year with Pearson correlation (.63 for the secure style, and .63 for the dismissing style) in the study on the Dutch sample. In contrast to many existing attachment measures that focus only on relationship specific attachment, the ASQ assesses general attachment which is an individual's predisposition to build up social relationships. The ASQ assesses attachment through multiple scores (on each dimension separately). As we already mentioned in the introduction, participants were not classified into one attachment category, but received scores on each attachment scale. A 5-point answering scale was used for this questionnaire, ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). An example of an item from the 8-item secure scale was: "I find it easy to get engaged in close relationships with other people"; from the 5-item dismissing scale: "I like to be self-sufficient". Alpha coefficients of the secure scale were .71, .76, and .77; and of the dismissing scale .63, .56, and .54 in the Polish emigrant, Polish non-emigrant, and Dutch samples, respectively.

As a measure of psychological well-being we used a 9-item scale, the Psychological Health, obtained from the RAND 36-item Health Survey (RAND Health Sciences Program, 1992). A sample item from this scale is: "How much of the time during the past four weeks have you been a very nervous person?". Respondents gave answers on a 5-point scale ranging from all the time (1) to none of the time (5). Alpha coefficients of the scale were .87 and .83 in the Polish emigrant and native Polish samples, respectively.

An 8-item scale assessing Dutch identity and contact with the Dutch culture were used 11  
in the sample of Polish emigrants living in the Netherlands. A sample item from this scale is: “I like to chat with the Dutch”. Respondents gave answers on a 5-point scale: from strongly disagree (or never) (1) to strongly agree (or very often) (5). Alpha coefficients of the scale reached .78.

### Results

After we checked whether the data met the requirement of multivariate normality, we carried out a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) comparing Polish emigrants with Polish respondents living in Poland with respect to their secure and dismissing attachment styles, when controlling for age, gender, and education in both groups. Polish emigrants scored significantly higher on secure and dismissing attachment than Polish respondents living in Poland. Univariate test revealed significant effect of the group (Polish emigrant vs. Polish non-emigrant) for secure attachment  $F(1, 924) = 175.06, p < .001, \eta^2 = .70$ , and for dismissing attachment  $F(14, 1052) = 152.90, p < .001, \eta^2 = .67$ .

To test the assumption, that influence of the host culture and the mere act of emigration is minimal on emigrants attachment, we compared mean scores on secure and dismissing attachment in the consecutive cohorts of emigrants (each cohort differentiated from the other cohort by two more years of residence). We also compared cohorts of emigrants with the Polish respondents living in Poland as well as with native Dutch respondents. In these comparisons we controlled for age, gender, and education of respondents (Table 1). We reasoned that evidence for our assumption about lack of influence of the host culture on emigrants' attachment would be found if the mean scores in consecutive cohorts of emigrants remained similar and the differences in attachment styles between Poles living in Poland and cohorts of Polish emigrants remained

similar across cohorts. In the same vein, if the differences between the Dutch respondents and consecutive cohorts of emigrants remained similar, we could conclude that there is no evidence for the influence of the host culture on attachment styles of emigrants. 12

Table 1

Figure 1

Table 1 and Figure 1 show that means and estimated marginal means remain similar across cohorts. Also the differences between consecutive cohorts of emigrants and the native Polish sample, and the differences between consecutive cohorts of Polish emigrants and the native Dutch sample remain, in most cases, similar and significant over cohorts. Multivariate test revealed a significant main effect of the group (Polish non-emigrants / cohorts of Polish emigrants / the Dutch native sample)  $F(14, 1052) = 43.34, p < .001, \eta^2 = .37$ , gender  $F(14, 1052) = 2.59, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01$ , and age  $F(14, 1052) = 3.67, p < .05, \eta^2 = .01$ . Univariate test revealed significant effect of the group (Polish non-emigrants / cohorts of Polish emigrants / the Dutch native sample) for secure attachment  $F(14, 1052) = 175.06, p < .001, \eta^2 = .70$ , and for dismissing attachment  $F(14, 1052) = 152.90, p < .001, \eta^2 = .67$ . The differences remained relatively similar across cohorts, thus supporting our assumption. We may therefore conclude that attachment styles are relatively stable characteristics and the differences between emigrants and non-emigrants in attachment styles existed already prior to emigration. The difference in mean scores on dismissing attachment between cohorts of emigrants and the Dutch sample became insignificant in cohorts living in the Netherlands over 16 years. However, this effect may be due to the small number of respondents in these cohorts, as the mean scores remain very similar

across all cohorts, including those with the length of residence longer than 16 years (see Table 13 1). To further test the possible influence of the host culture on attachment styles of emigrants, we checked whether emigrants who scored high on the Dutch identity had more similar attachment patterns to the Dutch people than those who scored low on the Dutch identity. For that purpose we calculated the absolute discrepancy scores between the mean scores provided from the Dutch sample and the responses of the Polish emigrants. These scores estimated the magnitude (but not direction) of the difference between the scores of Polish emigrants and the Dutch respondents. Next, we subdivided the sample of Polish emigrants into a sub-sample with a high Dutch identity (above the average 3.47) and a sub-sample of emigrants with a low Dutch identity (below the average) and compared two sub-samples in terms of absolute discrepancy scores. We reasoned that if emigrants scoring higher on Dutch identity had lower discrepancy scores on attachment styles that would suggest that the host culture can influence attachment of emigrants. MANCOVA with Dutch identity (low versus high) as a factor, discrepancy scores between Polish emigrants and the Dutch respondents on secure and dismissive attachment as dependent variables, and age, gender, and education of respondents as controlled variables revealed no significant effect of the level of the Dutch identity for discrepancy scores in secure attachment  $F(1, 371) = 1.73, p < .19$  (mean difference -.04), or for discrepancy scores in dismissing attachment  $F(1, 371) = .14, p < .71$  (mean difference .02). Once more, we found evidence for the assumption that the influence of the host culture on emigrants' attachment is absent and, consequently, that differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants exist prior to emigration.

To examine if secure attachment is a better predictor of psychological well-being of emigrants as compared to non-emigrants (hypothesis 3) we conducted regression-by-groups

analyses, in which Psychological health was entered as a dependent variable, and secure attachment as predictor in the Polish emigrant and Polish native samples, respectively (Table 2). 14

Table 2

Next, a Chow test of equality between coefficients in linear regressions (Chow, 1960) was performed in order to compare Beta slopes obtained in regression analyses in the emigrant and native Polish samples. This test revealed that the secure attachment was a significantly better predictor of psychological health for emigrants than for native respondents  $F(1, 904) = 5.08, p < .01$ . Thus, we found support for hypothesis 3. The same calculation was done for dismissing attachment. As expected, we did not find evidence that dismissing attachment is a predictor of psychological well-being in either sample (Table 2).

## Discussion

In the present study we examined whether there was empirical evidence for a “migrant personality”. We compared Polish emigrants and Polish respondents living in Poland in terms of their secure and dismissing attachment, when controlling for respondents’ age, gender, and education. Emigrants were found to have a more secure and dismissing attachment styles than non-emigrants. We did not find evidence that the attachment styles of emigrants change under the influence of the host culture, or as a consequence of the emigration. Therefore, we assumed that the observed differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants existed, most likely, prior to emigration. Moreover, we have seen that secure attachment is a predictor of psychological well-being for both emigrants as well as non-emigrants. In sum, we found evidence for a “migrant personality”. As the results suggest, this personality is functional, helping

emigrants to better adjust to the new environment. The results also indicate, in line with other findings (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Kobak & Sceery, 1988), that adult attachment styles may be considered as stable characteristics of an individual, similar to personality traits. 15

It may appear paradoxical that the same group of respondents scored high on secure attachment style – which is characterized by comfort with closeness and intimacy, and dismissing attachment, characterized by the lack of need of close ties. A review of other findings, indicate however, that such a result is very plausible. For example, in the classical studies on infants' reaction to strange situations, both secure and avoidant attachment were found to be positively associated with a high exploration activity in the absence of primary caregiver (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Dickstein, Thompson, Estes, Malkin, & Lamb, 1984). Previous results showed that social avoidance might be caused by two different mechanisms: fear of intimacy (“fearful” avoidance) and denial or lack of attachment needs (“dismissing” avoidance) (Duggan and Brennan, 1994; Kafetsios & Nezlek, 2002). The latter type of avoidance was reported to be positively correlated with self-directedness (Chotai, Jonasson, Hägglöf, & Adolfsson, 2005), a personality trait (Cloninger, Svrakic, & Przybeck, 1993) that might be high in individuals prone to emigration. Moreover, both – secure and dismissing attachment styles – are presumed to be underlined by the positive model of self (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). It is possible that the positive model of self may cause the propensity for emigration in individuals scoring high on a secure and a dismissing attachment.

It is noteworthy that although both dismissing and secure attachment, predispose individuals to emigration, only secure attachment turned out to be related to psychological adjustment of emigrants. Possibly, a dismissing attachment makes individuals more detached from the social surrounding and prone to emigration, but it does not help them to become psychologically well-adjusted in the new social environment. Present findings, in line with the

study of Bakker et al., 2004, suggest that emigrants who score high on dismissing attachment, 16 may show little need to socialize with members of their native or host cultures. Possibly, emigrants who score high on both - secure and dismissing attachment, have the capacity to build up social relationships, but do not have the need to do so, either because of their low affiliation motivation, or the priority of work and achievement over personal ties (Boneva & Frieze, 2001). Some results suggest, for example, that a high level of affiliation motivation could be predictive of desire to stay in the country of origin (Scott & Scott, 1989). In accordance with our results, the study of Van Vianen, Feij, Krausz, & Taris (2003) showed that both secure attachment and sensation seeking predicted voluntary job mobility. Correlational studies also demonstrated a positive association between secure style and novelty seeking (Chotai et al., 2005). Conceivably, novelty seeking (Cloninger, Svrakic, & Przybeck, 1993) underscores high exploratory activity of secure and dismissing individuals. Yet, the differential predictive power of secure and dismissing attachment with respect to psychological well-being suggests that psycho-social adjustment of individuals might be more related to the attachment styles than to novelty seeking. Further studies are needed to clarify the relation between personality traits, such as novelty seeking, and attachment styles, as well as their predictive value for individuals' psychological and social well-being.

The present study has some limitations. First, we administered questionnaires to emigrants who already emigrated, and not to emigrants "to-be". Thus, we had to take into account the possibility that the differences in attachment styles between emigrants and non-emigrants we observed may have evolved due to the influence of the host culture or the mere fact of emigration. To control for the influence of the host culture a longitudinal design would have been ideal. As a substitute to this, we carried out comparisons of consecutive cohorts of emigrants. We also have to keep in mind that studies on emigrants, are carried out on individuals,

who have been able to cope efficiently enough with cultural shock to stay in the emigration 17  
country. Those who did not possess effective coping strategies might have returned to their  
country of origin, and therefore may not be included in the present study. Thus, higher secure  
attachment style of emigrants might be caused, to some extent, by this selection mechanism.

In the introduction we hypothesized about “personality drain”, a phenomena, which,  
similarly to the “brain drain”, may occur in the donor societies due to the outflow of individuals  
with favorable personality traits. As we have seen, emigrants seem to possess personality “setup”  
making them prone to exploration and helping them to endure the unsettlement it may bring. We  
may conclude from the present study that “personality drain” indeed can happen in the donor  
societies.

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Table 1

MACOVA of Secure and Dismissing Attachment of Polish Emigrants and Polish Native, and Dutch Native Sample, Controlling for Gender, Age and Education

	Samples	N	Secure attachment style			Dismissing attachment style				
			M (SD)	Estimated marginal means	Estimated differences in mean scores	M (SD)	Estimated marginal means	Estimated differences in mean scores		
				mean scores of Polish natives minus mean scores of Polish emigrants	mean scores of Dutch natives minus mean scores of Polish emigrants			mean scores of Polish natives minus mean scores of Polish emigrants	mean scores of Dutch natives minus mean scores of Polish emigrants	
	Polish native	524	2.19 (0.57)	2.19	-	-	2.07 0.70	2.07	-	-
	Dutch native	171	3.68 (0.47)	3.63	-	-	3.50 0.61	3.48	-	-

## Evidence for a migrant personality

						24			
Polish emigrants (total)		3.93 (0.54)	3.95	-1.77**	-	4.12 (0.70)	4.15	-2.10**	-
Cohorts of Polish emigrants (length of residence):									
1 (0 - 2 years)	114	3.85 (0.58)	3.88	-1.69*	-.25	4.19 (0.63)	4.20	-2.14**	-.72**
2 (2.1 - 4 years)	73	3.95 (0.52)	3.98	-1.79*	-.35*	4.08 (0.69)	4.09	-2.03**	-.61**
3 (4.1 - 6 years)	57	3.90 (0.53)	3.92	-1.73*	-.29	4.06 (0.63)	4.08	-2.02**	-.59**
4 (6.1 - 8 years)	24	3.85 (0.57)	3.87	-1.68*	-.23	4.21 (0.63)	4.24	-2.17**	-.76**
5 (8.1 -10 years)	12	4.18 (0.51)	4.19	-2.01*	-.56	4.39 (0.66)	4.44	-2.37**	-.96**
6 (10.1 - 12 years)	18	4.12 (0.46)	4.12	-1.93*	-.49*	4.30 (0.58)	4.33	-2.27**	-.85**
7 (12.1 - 14 years)	24	3.94 (0.58)	3.94	-1.75*	-.31	4.06 (0.85)	4.08	-2.02**	-.60**
8 (14.1 - 16 years)	9	4.11 (0.52)	4.1	-1.91*	-.47	4.44 (0.55)	4.45	-2.39**	-.97**
9 (16.1 -18 years)	9	3.99 (0.30)	3.97	-1.79*	-.34	3.44 (1.10)	3.50	-1.44**	.00
10 (18.1 - 20 years)	7	3.98 (0.52)	3.96	-1.78*	-.34	4.29 (0.71)	4.35	-2.28**	-.87
11 (20.1 - 22 years)	8	3.72 (0.89)	3.70	-1.51*	.00	4.21 (0.75)	4.29	-2.23**	-.81
12 (22.1 - 24 years)	9	3.92 (0.26)	3.89	-1.71*	-.26	4.22 (0.55)	4.29	-2.22**	-.80
13 (above 24)	11	4.18	4.14	-1.95*	-.51	4.06	4.13	-2.07**	-.65

year)

(0.36)

(0.71)

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Levels of significance of the differences in means \* $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .001$

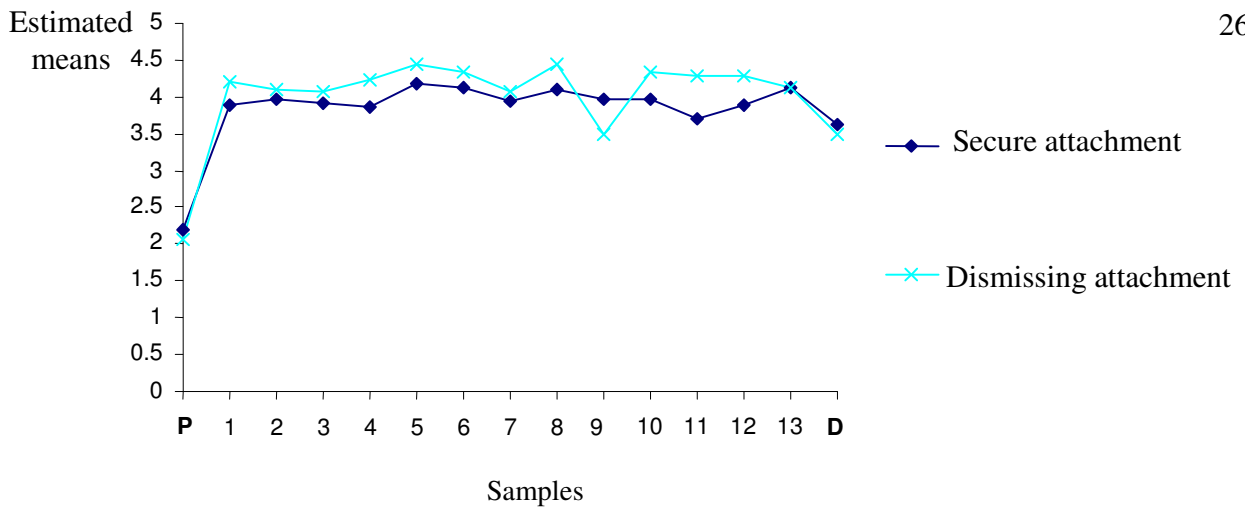


Figure 1.

Estimated means on secure and dismissing attachment styles of Polish native (P), cohorts of Polish emigrants (1-13), and Dutch Native sample(D).

Table 2.

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Summary of Regression Analysis for Secure and Dismissing Attachment, Entered one by one, Predicting Psychological Health in the Polish Native ( $N = 524$ ) and Polish Emigrants ( $N = 380$ ) Samples

	Polish native sample				Polish emigrants sample			
	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$R^2$	$B$	$SE B$	$\beta$	$R^2$
Secure attachment	.17	.03	.23*	.05	.29	.04	.32*	.10
Dismissing attachment	.00	.03	-.03	.00	.00	.04	.06	.00

Levels of significance \*  $p < .001$