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Intergenerational conflicts in the Italian families, Amherstburg, Ontario: a study of mother-daughter responses.

R. Edgar. Scrutton

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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NOUS L'AVONS RÉCU
INTERGENERATIONAL VALUE CONFLICTS IN THE
ITALIAN FAMILIES, AMHERSTBURG, ONTARIO:
A STUDY OF MOTHER-DAUGHTER RESPONSES

by

R. Edgar Scrutton

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Sociology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements.
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1978
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ABSTRACT

The existence of value conflicts between Italian mothers and their daughters was examined as a specific ethnic variation of the generation gap. The literature on Italian culture and ethnic background, the research on the existence and the dimensions of the generation gap, and the concept of socialization, provide the background for this enquiry. A sample of fifty-one mother-daughter dyads from a small, rural-urban, southwestern Ontario town responded to identical questionnaires. Analysis of their answers showed education, dating, and responsibility for adult roles were identified as areas of conflict. Hypotheses concerning parent's age, education, years since emigration, country of birth were supported. Daughter's age, education, country of birth were related to level of conflict. Trends between quality of dyad communication and conflict appeared. Educational aspirations, and permissive-restrictive factors had no relationship with the conflict. The overall level of conflict was found to be low and restricted to a few specific areas of appropriate female roles.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to my primary motivators, those students in my Man and Society and Family Studies classes at General Amherst High School, who sparked my interest in their ethnic customs and value patterns and responded to my inquiries with warmth and encouragement. Then, when I undertook this learning experience, they offered a wealth of ideas, suggestions, criticisms, and interviewing assistance. They welcomed me into their homes, introduced their parents and assisted in translating and explaining my interests. Their parents displayed the same genuine concern for welcoming and helping as did their children. Indeed one of the most valuable outcomes of this process has been the many new Italian-Canadian friends I have met.

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Introduction: A Statement of the Situation

Studies of ethnic immigrant groups in Canada have a distinctively descriptive flavour. They have tended to concentrate on the identification of structural factors such as age, sex, socio-economic status, occupation, education, country of origin, language usage, assimilation by host social institutions, and the integration into the larger patterns of society. Examples of this work are Jeremy Boissevain's examination of the Italian patterns of adjustment to life in Montreal;¹ Edith Ferguson's similar study of the rural-urban transition of immigrants in Toronto;² and her research into their socialization as 'newcomers';³ The Ontario Economic Council has probed the integration of immigrants in the province, but more specifically in Toronto.⁴ Anthony H. Richmond has concentrated on the Post Secônd World War patterns and the governmental policies in effect at that time.⁵ More recently he has examined the housing residence patterns and some measures of the social integration of various ethnic groups in Metropolitan Toronto.⁶ Anthony Spada's discussion of Italians in the early years of Canada should also be mentioned.⁷ Undoubtedly such portraits are useful in helping sociologists and demographers outline the structural economic and political consequences of immigration policies and their implementation. Each researcher deals with various social conflicts at an institutional level in the Canadian system.

Although many inferences may be drawn from this literature that reflect on the educational experience of
ethnic students, they seem to concentrate on the first
generation immigrant and neglect subsequent generations.
Even Newcomers and New Learning concentrates of the first
generation immigrant's learning opportunities and problems.
An exception is Leonard Covello, who centers in on second
generation immigrants as they grow-up in the schools of a
strange culture. 8

It is the intention of this study to focus on the
second generation, the children of immigrants, and their
relationship with their parents, in an attempt to understand
the nature and sources of conflict between the demands of
Canadian society and the loyalties of a minority culture.
Each student responds to any situation with a uniqueness peculiar to his own cultural experiences and personality traits. Italian-Canadian express a variability as wide as any sub-culture in society. The following vignettes show two poles of attitudes as each student interacts with a counsellor.

COUNSELLOR: Well Toni, glad to see you here today. Lovely day out isn't it?
TONI: Yeah... I guess so.
COUNSELLOR: It's great to see the sun shining, perhaps it'll dry up some of the mud. What do you think?
TONI: Sure.
COUNSELLOR: Things are looking up, eh? (Toni sits down, arranges her sweater sleeves, watches the floor).
COUNSELLOR: Well, what can I do for you?
TONI: I don't know... (pause) I never made this appointment.
COUNSELLOR: Oh I see... Well two things are on my mind... your last report and your option sheet. How did you feel about your report?
TONI: It wasn't too good... I never was good at writing. (Toni's report showed English 32, Geography 41, Physics 52, Math 70, Law 38, French 25, Typing 55, and Man in Society 45.)*
COUNSELLOR: Oh! Why's that?
TONI: I dunno... (Long silence)... it don't matter... I'll do better next term.
COUNSELLOR: Toni, what do you want to do after you get out of school?
TONI: Get a job. I don't want to go on or anything.
COUNSELLOR: But do you want Grade 12?
TONI: Yeah, you gotta have it.
COUNSELLOR: How much homework do you do each night?
TONI: I don't have homework every night.

The discussion continues for ten minutes more, revealing that Toni has a part-time job at a local fast food outlet four hours a day. She has no clear goals about the kind of jobs she wants or the education she would need.

Although she has been in Canada for ten years, she still

* Taken from student's Ontario Student Record
cannot compose a proper paragraph answer. In contrast to this, her intelligence, as indicated by I.Q. tests, is well above average. Participation in any form of school activity is non-existent. She claims no special skills.

Toni's profile is not atypical of some of the students of Italo-Canadian ethnic background in Amherst High School. Neither is she unique. There are many students from diverse ethnic backgrounds that project a similar image. Other Italian Canadian students however, contrast strongly with Toni. One such student is Gabriella.

COUNSELLOR: Hi Gabe, What's new with you?
GABRIELLA: Not much...had my first driving lesson yesterday. Wow was I nervous!
COUNSELLOR: That's great...ding any fenders?
GABRIELLA: I thought I would a couple of times, especially when there were cars parked near the corners.
COUNSELLOR: Listen, we'd better get some business done...what can I do for you?
GABRIELLA: I made the appointment to get some information on Windsor's Law program.
COUNSELLOR: Well, do you think your grades will be good enough?
GABRIELLA: Yes...I got 85 last report in French, but I am working on my vocabulary every night and I got 38/40 on my last test. (Gabriella's marks are: English 81, French 85, History 76, Physics 76, Biology 72, Math 78, Law 90, and Geography 85)*

Both Toni and Gabriella are representatives of two kinds of Italo-Canadian students. Their grades form a bimodal distribution with one mode hovering just above the pass level and the other mode in the honours range. A few students are dispersed between these extremes. Generally Italian students are either excellent or acceptable performers.

*Taken from student's Ontario Student Record
It is compelling for the school personnel to know what situations and influences have shaped the behavior of these two groups. The identification of the antecedent variables leading to patterns of success or failure is important. A school counselor needs to know these variables in order to be effective. A counselor cannot understand the behavior of his clients until he is aware of the student's background. He must have a sound comprehension of the world in which the client lives and the conflicting demands of majority and minority cultures. With this knowledge, the counselor can ably assist his client in the complex process of self-awareness. Having shared this experience in the interview, the counselor and client together are best able to mediate between seemingly contradictory demands. Only with an appreciation of the minority culture, is it possible to be effective with Italian parents. All these variables are genuine to both educational philosophy and policy. One of these concerns is whether special school services may be needed for minority children. Without sound information, alternate approaches are based on opinions rather than on knowledge.

The ultimate application of this research is found in education. Sources for the answers lie in different fields, for the values that determine acceptance or rejection of school as vehicles for social mobility are nurtured in the child's home. Therefore, it is mandatory to know the values taught in the Italian immigrant's home
and whether they are accepted or rejected by the student. Other concerns are the potential conflict situations between parents and child, and conflict resolutions.
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction:

The approach to this research came from two sequential fronts. The first section dealt with the extensive material available on the life of Italian immigrants in their original culture and society before coming to Canada. Among these were diaries, self-reports, and descriptive studies of life in Italy. Articles examining Italian historical and social conditions which motivated such large numbers to migrate to North America during the past century demonstrated the harsh conditions endured during the process. There was ample literature describing the immigrant's reception in North America and his assimilation by the host culture. Some works also dealt with the adaptation of the second generation to the New World institutions and their eventual acculturation into the new society. The salient features of these studies are described below.

The second section concerned itself with literature dealing with Values, Conflict, Socialization, and the Generation Gap.
SECTION ONE

There was a continuing fascination with past and present situations faced by the Italian immigrant since his early mass movement into the United States during the 1880's and 1890's. Some research dealt with all Italians, while others concentrated on Southern Italy. An objective approach to understanding the immigrant needed the inclusion of the social and cultural situation of Italy. The history and regional cultures of Italy were described by numerous writers; among these Luciano J. Iorizzo and Salvatore Mondello; they provided detailed historical descriptions of the economic, social, climatic, agricultural, and industrial background of the Italian people. 10 E.C. Banfield's analysis indicated that although Southern Italy was technologically and economically underdeveloped, these criteria could not be transferred to the social and moral fiber of the society. 11 Cordasco and Bucchioni presented a view of the social values of Italian immigrants. 12 Ann Cornelisen attempted to portray the fundamental rites of birth, life, death, and faith in the miraculous, that pervades the peasant world of Southern Italy. 13 Marie Hallet's vibrant description of 'Rosa' provided a life-like description of the thoughts and fears of some immigrants. 14 All of these resources provided excellent descriptions of the background of Italo-Americans.

Early Italian explorers such as Christopher Columbus and Giovanni Caboto, sailed under foreign flags
but heightened awareness of the new land in the Italian people. 15  
Amerigo Vespucci gave it the name which stayed with the New World. After the early interest, little was done until the end of the nineteenth century, when literally tens of thousands came. More came in the twentieth century. The adjustment was slow. The process of an immigrant's integration into the new society after arrival was dealt with in Edith Ferguson's writings on immigrants in Toronto. 16  
Other writers of this period include: Richard Gambino, 17  Anthony H. Richmond, 18  Ontario Economic Council, 19  Michael Novak, 20  and Antonio Spada, 21  and Jeremy Boissevain. 22  These works dealt mostly with the mechanisms by which the host society coped with immigrants and the immigrants' adjustment to new situations.

Numerous studies were done on the First Generation immigrant. One of the studies dealing with the problems confronting the Italians in America (and similarly in Canada) was undertaken by Leonard Covello. 23  Covello showed how the immigrant transported a stable, traditional family-centered culture from rural southern Italy, into the rapidly changing ethnic subculture communities, 'Little Italies'. In a different study, Herbert Gans described the extended kinship structure and its functioning in Boston. 24  Another report by Gerald D. Suttles showed that although poor, these communities developed structure and organization. 25  Steven Ternstrom's report centered on the urban phenomenon of economic mobility from poverty to a better way of life. 26
Each in their own way, contributed to a general knowledge of the specific problems and attempted solutions that faced the first generation immigrant in North America.

The second generation immigrant, those born in America of Italian parentage, were the center of controversy and academic effort since 1928 when Everett Stonequist introduced his concept of 'Marginal Man'. Irvin L. Child's examination of identity-conflict in the second generation Italian became a classic of the 1930's. W. Foote-Whyte's Street Corner Society could be seen as an observation of the adaptation of immigrant children to the new culture.


Most studies seemed to terminate their interest after the second generation. Covello and Novak were two outstanding exceptions. Third generational studies were much more limited in scope, frequency, and depth. Most of the work that was done tended to be at a structural level of analysis, using census figures or surveys. Other studies were of the participant observation type. Few of the works
got down to specific inter-personal levels and examined how individuals solved the problems created by two conflicting cultures. In the Italio-Canadian case there was little examination of the intergenerational conflict, except for the child. Therefore, this study attempted to isolate and examine some of these conflict situations.
SECTION TWO

The "Generation Gap" received much attention in American society. Indeed, Adolescence is a journal devoted to reporting and discussing the younger side of the "Gap". The "Generation Gap" was usually interpreted as a tendency for two groups of persons, differing in their mean age of about twenty years, to offer ideologically divergent answers to similar questions on attitudes and values. Differences between young adults and their seniors were not usually perceived as due to generational processes, but rather as due to maturational or life cycle causes. These were not presented as "Gap" in the problematic sense, as adolescent responses are frequently taken. To study adolescence and gerontology as fields of separate and distinct studies is academic taxonomy rather than a description of life, since both phases of the life cycle were times of dramatic and rapid socialization. According to personality theorist Erik Erikson, the crises are different; identity versus integrity. But other research showed more similarity between adolescent-adolescent attitudes and values than between either of those groups and the middle aged adult. Such generational differences may then be an existential response to the various issues at stake.

It was necessary to distinguish the relationship of this particular enquiry to the general problem. The acculturation and socialization of adolescent children belonging to Italian parents who were themselves adapting to Canadian culture, introduced a unique constellation of historical, ethnic, cultural, and family variables into an
already murky puddle. Although modern investigators are beginning to appreciate the complexity of the intergenerational phenomenon and its variables, there was only one detailed attempt to study the process within an ethnic community. 38 This inquiry seeks to examine the different values of parents and children within the context of a generation gap, specifically Italian parents and Italian-Canadian children. Adolescence was generally accepted as a period of time wherein the child learned to stop being a child and to adopt the values, attitudes, and behaviors of adults. A.H. Maslow termed this the process of "self-actualizing". 39 Somewhat similar, Erikson centered on the development of an individual's "identity". 40 Whatever concept one wished to employ, the idea of rejecting childhood and affirming adulthood implied conflicting behaviors; for adults are not whatever children seem to be. Intergenerational conflict was seen as a natural outcome of the developmental process.

"Intergenerational conflict is normative during youth's transition to adulthood, with the younger generation searching and struggling for self-identity, the older generation apprehensively appraising the outcome of their parental guidance and responsibilities, and concomitantly approaching a stage in life where they begin to review and assess their own life attainments and failures. This constellation promotes increased self-consciousness vis-a-vis the other generation and focuses attention to differences rather than similarities, thus providing the groundwork for the generation gap myth... It is in the order of things that conflicts arise in superordinate-subordinate relations between generations. If the energy of these conflicts can be drained off in the expression of hostilities directed towards a
symbolic youth and adulthood, then no direct confrontations within one's own family are required. 41

Intergenerational differences seemed to permeate each society. Everyone experienced at least some of these over the years, as such it would not arouse much concern. But the severity of the basic conflict during adolescence has probably been over-merchandized by sensational means and promoted into a stereotype of mythical proportions. 42 Bealer and Willits attacked this problem of over-dramatization by the mass media.

"The adolescent seeking to establish his identity in adult society may disagree with his parents regarding when recognition of his maturity should occur....This type of 'rebellion' is as temporary as is the period of adolescence itself, and, rather than rejection of parental norms, it is perhaps better characterized as acceptance of an eagerness to participate in the larger society. Once the youth is accepted as a member of the adult society, this type of conflict ceases. It is this disagreement with parents concerning the adulthood of the adolescent which is probably responsible for the popular image of rebellious youth." 43

Thurnher et al. also concurred with this analysis. "It was the authors contention that far less changes in social values were occurring than popularly believed and that they were not of so big as to introduce any radical and lasting modification of the social and political structure." 44 Keniston and others found American youth to be searching for the same values as their parents but instead of pursuing political and vocational arenas, they preferred personal satisfaction through family life, recreation, and leisure
activities.45

The popular conception of wild, angry, rebellious adolescents might have militated against the successful socialization process when it formed the basis of adult preconceptions and institutional rules. Michael Stanton in "The Concept of Conflict at Adolescence" concluded:

"The evidence presented suggests that while most adolescents experience some problems of adjustment as reflected, for example, in negative self concepts, or in aspects of relationships with adults, the generalized use of the term 'conflict' is inconsistent with the realities of adolescent development. The use of the concept of conflict as a universal feature of adolescence could well lead to incorrect expectations on the part of adults, resulting in unsatisfactory educational and social policies." 46

This stance was further supported by John Mahoney in "Age and Values: The Generation Non Gap".

"......there is a substantial core of intergenerational agreement regarding goals and somewhat less monolithic but still basic agreement on role-appropriate values. Findings support the view that pressures of social change are directed more at role-appropriate behavior rather than ultimate goals and that the current concept of a generation gap may be more a misperception of other's values than a reality." 47

One must then realize that when discussing the differences between parents and their children, one was concerned with a measurement of degree and not of basic values. This degree of difference was itself a relative measure, specific and unique to the particular people or minority group. Expressed differences did not necessarily imply an absolute rejection of one party's position. On the contrary, both parties could
have been in basic agreement. Participants may concur on goals to be attained but not on the timetable or instrumental actions. Nor could one expect children to accurately perceive and report their parent's attitudes. Katsuka Sato used the 'Bales' Interaction Process Analysis' to find that although fathers had been reported as instrumental and mothers expressive, the children reported exactly the reverse. 48

Certain factors emanating from the child's personality or world-view might have reflected how this child perceived it's parent's behavior. When parents, especially mothers, were seen as hostile, non-accepting, and exercising control through psychological means such as inducing anxiety, the students rejected their parents and were 'alienated' in comparison to other students. 49

Jacobsen, Berry, and Olsen noted this methodological flaw in much of the research on conflict in families. "They collected and analyzed data from a single individual's point of view," 50 an approach which undoubtedly prejudiced results. Two generation studies within the same family using dual respondents presents problems of interpreting the answers that many researchers preferred to avoid, but accuracy can only be approached by using this method.

Danziger attempted to face this problem head on, when examining normative conflicts between Italian mothers and their sons by asking the boys six questions designed to measure the following dimensions:
B1 boys' actual behavior
B2 boys' norm-concept of what should happen
B3 boys' perception of his mother's expectation or norm concept
B4 boys' preferences and likes about behavior
B5 boys' report of mother's perception of boy's likes (B4)
B6 boys' perception of father's expectation of norm concept.

And the mothers were asked three questions concerning:

M1 boys' actual behavior
M2 mothers' own expectations or norm concept
M3 mothers' perception of son's preference and likes

By comparing variables B2, B3, and B4, Danziger identified four different types of normative conflict. It was interesting to note that complete agreement was obtained in 64 to 65 percent of the sample in both immigrant and Canadian families. What was important was to distinguish and measure the different possible sources of normative conflict in families.51

Danziger found 'the major source of conflict between adolescent boys and their parents was in the refusal of the parents to support the claims of self-determination advanced by the child.'52 This was not seen by the observer as disobedience but only as refusal to yield parental authority. The mid-point was reached when unilateral authority decisions were reciprocated. A third alternative was in cases where overt behavior conformed to parental expectations but the child felt that this authority was not legitimate. This case was labelled internalized conflict. Finally, overt rebellion was seen in rejection of legitimate alternatives. It was hypothesized that these variables were also manifested in the Italian girls under study.
One could expect rebellion in Italian-Canadian adolescents. Their superior ability to function in English and in the new culture provided the basis for a powerful challenge to parental authority. Most children exceeded the formal education of their parents by five to six years or more. Peers of these students operated in the context of Canadian culture at variance with the culture of their Italian born parents. For example, Italian culture stressed a high level of parental control.

"Children are not supposed to make decisions on their own, even in late adolescence their hours are strictly limited, they may not leave the house without permission, nor may they exercise freedom in the choice of their friends." 53

However, at the same time, the parents were not completely enveloped in a microcosm of Italian culture and were themselves socialized and assimilated into the host culture. They were very much aware of their marginal position and the need to negotiate an acceptable compromise between their interest and their children's future interests.

"The parents' adaptation to the demands of a highly developed industrial-technological society can be measured by their readiness to give up those claims to authority which have become irrational in the context of such a society." 54

"If the children are to fulfill their parents' ambitions and become successful members of an individualistic society which values innovation, initiative, and even aggressiveness, and which demands high levels of self-directedness and autonomy in those who fill many of its highest positions, then parental authority must eventually become an obstacle to the successful completion of the socialization process." 55
Italian immigrants were identified as being more aggressive and upwardly mobile than those who remained in the old country, and they held these goals for their children. Thus when challenged by their youth to relinquish authority, although culturally reluctant, they were not ideologically opposed. Once the child had proven competence, the parents were willing and encouraging of maturation and adult status for them. Like any other parents, Italians were proud of their children's accomplishments.

Although Italian familism was often described as the culprit in preventing mobility and educational success, it could have been in fact, a strong contributor. The family's honour, the parent's success, and the family's future security were all at stake when children graduated or dropped out of school. Danziger found High or Low Acculturation levels to be key variables in determining aspirations and real expectations of immigrants. A bimodal polarization pattern emerged. At one end, Low Acculturated families held low levels of educational and occupational aspirations. At the other end, Highly Acculturated families were upwardly mobile and expressed high educational and occupational goals. The former group reflected a somewhat pessimistic estimate of their life chances and tended to blame destiny and family solidarity. The latter group showed how much they had internalized the demands of the Canadian social system and became committed to future integration within it. When this occurred, the family could exert unrealistically high aspirations and pressures on their children. Thus, familism became a strong factor in upward
"There appears to be a profound difference in the fundamental orientation of more acculturated and of less acculturated Italian mothers to the possibility of conflict between themselves and their sons. The more acculturated mothers are, on the whole, more prepared to accept the existence of conflict openly, they are more tolerant of the possibility of conflict in their relationship with their young adolescent sons. They assert norms which they represent more confidently in the face of recognized opposition from their sons. The satisfaction of these norms appears to take precedence over the achievement of an appearance of interpersonal harmony. The less acculturated mothers, on the other hand, appear to attach more importance to maintaining a belief in the existence of harmony between themselves and their sons, and they avoid the open recognition of conflict, even at the cost of misunderstanding the son's position.

This difference expresses a difference in the quality of the mother-son relationship. The more acculturated mother is likely to be a more effective representative of the norms she represents...their sons face more powerful socialization pressures than the sons of the less acculturated mothers who have to cope with misunderstanding and conflict avoidance more than with deliberate pressure."57

Success in school and other social experiences were conditioned by the social class origins of children, but in turn, these experiences fed back to family interactions.

Rosenmayr's study examined the conversation, advise, control, and punishment apparent in adolescent communication. He found upper class and middle class students concerned about politics and values, whereas working class students exhibited prohibition and punishment concerns. Upper class and middle class students, were more likely to do well and complete school, while working class students were not. Adolescents
receiving a full secondary education developed a higher level of critical independence (intellectual autonomy) while working class adolescents were more forward in practical matters of everyday life. This autonomy, if sparked by conflict at home, could further aggravate the situation. "Peer influence on the adolescents in a phase of activated emotional ambivalence towards the parents adds a social basis for resistance against the parents." The intellectually critical student who was emotionally detached from his parents and given peer reference support, frequently acted out his alienation with open rebellion.

One of the key dilemmas students faced when making decisions, was whether to use their parents or peers as reference groups. Clay V. Brittain's early observations that students used their parents in situations concerning future orientations and peers in current situations, has been challenged by Lyle E. Larson. Parent-oriented youth tended to make "parent compliant choices" and peer-oriented youth tended to make "peer compliant decisions" when the situation content is evaluated as having low priority. Although students tended to comply with parents, the key factor was the content of the situation. Youth were well aware of future statuses and roles, the significance of decisions involving content, had a reasoned sense of independence, were able to sort content alternatives into levels of priority, and gave credence and compliance to the pressures of parents and peers when they were realistic. Larson had previously found that the
quality of an adolescent's relationship with his parents eliminated parent rejection. Thus parents and peers were seen as contributing but not defining influences on the adolescent decision-making process.

Michael Schwartz and Mary Anna Baden supported these hypotheses. "There is no support for the view that adolescents are socially and psychologically cut off from adults. For both males and females, peers and adults make very different but significant impacts on the self-concepts of adolescents."60 John F. Newman suggested that the rules for adolescents within the family context may be influenced by peer group expectations.61 It would seem that Italian children were influenced by the same factors. Behavior was influenced by his perception of the appropriateness of either the parent or peer within the context of the decision's situation.

The authoritarian power relationship between adolescents and parents was examined by Thomas Edwin Smith. Having the resources to enforce parental power accounted for far more of the variance in parental influence on adolescents than either the adolescent's dependency or availability of alternatives. Things like the 'belief that parents possess a legitimate right to exert influence and the perceived difficulty of the decision all affect the parental power to influence adolescents.'62 Italian students were constantly evaluating the appropriateness of their parents' information in the context of the Canadian society. Rarely did they
challenge the parent's legitimate right to influence their
decision, but as they grow older they insist on the right
to make a decision. In doing so they would consult appropriate
information sources in the Canadian environment.

A salient concern for the generation gap, and the
effectiveness of socialization from parent to child was
whether or not the child regarded the parents as a valid
model upon which to base role directed identification.

Simmons and Turner concluded:

"The findings support the view that the
transfer of attitudes and behaviors within
linenages—from mothers to their own children—is a complex process in which the child's
perception of the adequacy of her own mother
as a role model seems to be a central deter-
minant of the amount of role copying that
takes place. Where the child does not
consider the mother's role worth copying
she may seek a counter-model as an ideal."63

Characteristics of the mother that influenced this perception
were lack of confidence, sense of failure, unhappiness, or
feeling unrewarded. If Italian girls were to express these
characteristics of their parents, one would expect them to
hold different aspirations for future roles than those
represented by their mothers.

The literature seemed to indicate that fathers
generally exerted less influence on their sons than the
mothers. Characteristically, Danziger found that Italian fathers
used direct pressure but had no clear effect on the outcome.
Italian mothers who were recent immigrants or whose sons were
born in Italy, also did not influence the son's decision.
making. Perhaps this was due to customary maternal roles and a lack of power to do so in the new country. Mothers who were themselves or whose son was born in Canada, tended to approximate and even exceed the Canadian norms. They also used reason, rationalization, and inducement as techniques. There was a strong association between the educational plans that mothers had for their children and the child's own plans. Mothers with low assimilation patterns held low educational and occupational goals for their son. The son again held goals that were lower than those set by their mothers. Whether this was more realistic under the circumstances was not yet proven. In contrast, aspirations of highly assimilated mothers were actually lower than the goals set by their son. It was suggested that the former mothers underestimated the obstacle facing their sons but also illustrated a strong emphasis on education. Danziger's study unfortunately did not assess the dynamic of a girl's position in the family nor the process of socialization. Yet in an increasingly egalitarian society, this becomes an appropriate question. The present study attempted to extend the basic work started by Danziger.

Other findings reinforce either the situation or the content as important in determining whether parents or peers were influential. Norman Goodman found adolescents selecting a sub-set of reference norms from non-parent and/or institutionally legitimate norms to resist becoming automatons and controlled by the demands of specific individuals with
whom they are confronted in a given situation. Goodman saw autonomy acquisition as an incremental, transitional process that denied the idea of a general replacement of parental influence by peers. A youth asserted his free individual right to choose from either parents or peers as a reference group when experiencing conforming pressures in some situations.65

Despite the influence of a monolithic value pattern in the mass media, the idea of a random mix of values among adolescent generation does not emerge in reality. Parents do create families with characteristic value patterns. The integrity of the family as a social system has some affect on similarities among its members. In an interesting method, Troll et al., interviewed students and both parents with a coded, open-ended assessment. They concluded that members of a family do resemble each other particularly in values but the parent-parent similarity was greater than parent-child similarity.66 The child occupied a marginal value position mediating the nuclear family with the larger society.

Zena Smith Blau has done a study entitled "Maternal Aspirations, Socialization, and Achievement of Boys and Girls in the White Working Class."67 She found, like Danziger, that for working class girls, maternal aspirations were more critical determinants of achievement in school than socialization practices. These girls experienced high aspirations, had a higher scholastic ability due to more
early interaction with their mothers and less use of coercive discipline. The boys, however, were underachievers due to lower goals set by their mothers and heavy reliance on coercive discipline as a socializing techniques. Clearly parental values were internalized by the children. What makes Blau's results so interesting is that differential socialization practices are quite common in Italian families. Boys are frequently indulged but physically punished. They needn't perform well in school until the higher grades and by this time they are academically behind and lack good study techniques and values. Girls, on the other hand, are given strict goals and are punished with loss of privileges. Italian girls perform better in high school than their brothers. It would be interesting to replicate Blau's in the Italian minority group setting.

The fact that parents were either restrictive or permissive did not seem to be the cause of adolescent rebellion. Rebellion was a response against extremes. A very restrictive home lead to frustration and then aggression, while a very permissive home lead to frustration in not knowing the parental expectations which then lead to aggression in search of norms.68 Both these patterns may normally be found in Italian homes. Even, it seems, simultaneously, a parent may be very restrictive of a child's options but not express any goals or life role expectations. This latter ambivalence may have been caused by the immigrant being aware that the old ways of rural southern Italy had limited
application in urban Ontario, but not being aware and confident of the new alternatives his immigration has made available for his children. Under these conditions, students are faced with strong dissonant feelings about complying with their parents or optimizing their own future. The response is varied but at times takes the form of rebellion against the old ways.

The parental style in controlling their children's behavior probably affects the child's cognitive and affective responses to authority in general. Tapp and Levine attempted to focus on children's developing ideas of rules, justice, and compliance, from kindergarten through college and concluded:

"Developmentally youth see rules guarding against disorder and functioning as a more prospective than coercive, prescriptive than prohibitive, beneficial than punitive, and dynamic than sacred." 69

Students, by their own assessment guide action by a legalistic frame of reference,

"...although they recognize that purpose and principle should determine compliance. For most, neither absolutist positions nor authoritative fiat ensue justice. Optimally justice is guaranteed through equality, rationality, consensus, and human rights." 70

Thus when ethnic children counter their parents normative family expectations and rules with the legalistic arguments common among their peers, the parents are dumbfounded, do not understand, they feel and perceive that their sons and daughters have forsaken the tried and true old ways. Parental frustrations may be vented on the schools where their children
have learned these 'foreign' arguments and view with suspicion, teachers and the peer mates of other ethnic origins.

One of the few pieces of ethnic research that did include the Italian mother and her daughter was executed by Esther R. Greenglass. Although her sample included both sons and daughters, Dr. Greenglass found no difference in maternal communication to either sex. In comparing the communication style of the Italian mother to Canadian mothers, the Italian expected her child to obey her simply by virtue of occupying the status of mother. Italian mothers communicated less frequently with their children but when they did, they tended to use unconditional, imperative commands and were least likely to justify asserting their authority over their children.

This pattern was not carried out by second generation mothers (born in Canada) who directed their children by explanation or reasoned justification. In doing so she was being more conformant to Canadian norms than even Canadian mothers.71

Proof of the semi-assimilated position of ethnic students relative to their dominant culture and the culture of origin came from N.T. Feather and G. Wasyluk in Australia. "Ukrainian and Australian students were quite similar in their value systems. The most obvious differences were between parents and their children's values and ethnocentrism."72 Danziger found that the age of the child at immigration caused more intense conflict for two groups of boys, Canadian born and Italian born between 5 and 7 years old. Canadian born
sons of immigrant parents faced the strongest culture conflict because the influence of the host culture was maximized at a time when the old world culture was still strong and little adult acculturation had taken place. Danziger attributed this overt conflict to decreased patriarchal influence and subsequent increased responsibility of mothers who reacted with considerable anxiety to their son's attempts to deny their authority and gain autonomy. The second high conflict group were children aged 5 to 7 years during the period of immigration. Danziger suggested this thwarted the Freudian Oedipal resolution process or the child's moral development as outlined by J. Piaget. Only in this group was there clear evidence of rebellion against paternal authority. Children born in Italy who emigrated young and children born in Canada years after their parent's immigration did not experience conflict to any different degree than Canadian families. Obviously the migration critically affected the socialization process at specific levels.

Social values were subject to change over time. Inglehart was reported as maintaining "that the basic value priorities of a given generation reflect the prevalent economic conditions when this generation was socialized." "Older generations who experienced economic need or insecurity during their formative years have maintained a relatively high priority for materialist values through their lives. Conversely, postwar generations reared in unprecedented times of affluence and economic well-being may have attained a saturation level in regard to economic needs and shifted priorities toward post materialist values."
Bengston and Lovejoy called this the "historical-cohort" factors and claimed generation-gap differences were more caused by this than aging or life cycle factors.?? Dalton concurred:

"The emphasis of our findings is on the importance of early life or generational experiences in determining value priorities. We found that education, which is completed relatively early in life, has a strong independent influence in determining values. By also measuring the impact of changing economic conditions we uncovered substantial evidence that the level of prosperity during a cohort's early formative years is an even stronger determinant of values."??

Jack Quarter in "Shifting Ideologies Among Youth in Canada" reported that the economic affluence of society has lessened the need for efficiency and the functional mode of achievement predominant in industrial values, and increased humanistic and non-commital values.??

How these historical, economic, life-cycle, and social values penetrated and created conflict in Italian Canadian families was not explored but one ought to maintain an awareness of their dynamic state when discussing the situation. Certainly, the parents have experienced status deprivation, severe economic need, social mobility, and changes in life cycle position since coming to Canada. Their children are not aware of nor have they felt severe economic mobility. The children are certainly experiencing a unique life cycle stage at this point in history. The agreements and conflicts produced are peculiar to the ethnic community.
SELECTION OF THE RESEARCH VARIABLES

From the literature several concepts became relevant for this research which dealt exclusively with the responses of Italian-born mothers and their daughters. However, it formed part of a larger proposal to compare father's responses with their sons. The respondents' sex, age, and family status (mother and father) constituted the basic group characteristics. Identification of the mother's country of birth and the region of origin were important, since mothers born and raised in Canada would have prejudiced the comparison, and regions of origin in Italy had been cited as affecting the rural-urban value systems of immigrants. Such data would also confirm the idea that most of the local Italian community derive from a small parochial area, Pescara, Italy, and to the homogeneity of the sample.

In order to estimate the time effects of assimilation, each respondent was asked her age and the year that she immigrated to Canada. By using the reported age it was possible to calculate the age at immigration, a crucial variable in Danziger's research. The levels of education of the parent and child were established. This factor could have affected the assimilation process of the parents since immigration and whether or not they identified with the goals of their children. Questions regarding the occupation and income of the father or mother were not asked, since such data, especially income, would arouse suspicion and hostility which might have influenced the openness of responses to
later questions. Many of the Italian residences were recently constructed in new subdivisions and were quite large, well built, furnished, and decorated. This demonstrated again the obviously successful economic mobility and high social value on home and land ownership. The estimated incomes place these people into upper-lower and middle income categories.

The work of Kurt Danziger and Joanne C. Turner provided many ideas for the questions used in this thesis. However, initially this project grew out of discussions and consultations with many of the Italian Canadian students who made-up the author's classes, counselling clientele, and personal friends. Some interviews were conducted with key citizens in the community, ethnic groups, and educational institutions and services. These contacts provided relevant cultural input to identify, isolate, and define the topics that created conflict for parents and their children.

The topics that were defined are as follows: The educational and occupational career aspirations and expectations of the parents for their daughters were seen as influencing the views held by the girls. The use of Italian or English (or both) in the home as the communication medium was seen as an index of acculturation. With whom one spoke a particular language affected effectiveness of the understanding.

Willingness to undertake instruction in Italian at school showed an affirmation of traditional ways. An alternate selection such a French would have indicated reference to Canadian norms. Parental attitudes and ideas towards part-time
student jobs and how the job was seen as related to growing up. Family and educational goals set the tone for adolescent behavior and were to some degree reflected by the children. Demands of the family limited interaction with peers and defined which peers were acceptable, thus controlling sources of value conflict. Finally the conceptualization and functions of the period of adolescence itself controlled the types of adult male and female roles that were developed. These factors seemed to be the most serious topics of contention identified and were operationalized in the questionnaire.

The following list of variables was identified as having some significance in ethnic behavior.

**TYPOLOGY OF VARIABLES**

A. **Structural**

1) Age
2) Age at immigration
3) Length of Canadian residence
4) Sex
5) Country of birth
6) Other
7) Region of Italian residence

B. **Social Values**

1) Roles: Male or Female
2) Educational goals or aspirations vs probable success
3) Mobility motivation
4) Linguistic skills: A) use of Italian and/or English and/or French B) skill in Italian and/or English and/or French

C. **Inter-personal Relationships**

1) Quality of communication
2) Perceived family closeness
3) Trust...(dating, curfew, mate-selection)
4) Status and role...conception and function
AGE

As a person progressed through the successive stages of the family life cycle, he was faced with varying developmental tasks which he must master. Task mastery itself could have been a function of age. The tasks faced by the school child were often different from those expected of its parents. Because the world in which the child is living had changed considerably from the world in which his parents were raised, conflicting demands often occurred. This variance was even more strongly accentuated for the immigrant family where not only time changed roles, but a new cultural milieu affected the socialization process. The age of the parent was then seen as having some relationship to the behavior he expects and the demands he makes of his children. The older the parents, the more a "generation gap" would exist. The closer the child and parent in age, then the less such conflict would occur.

Age as a variable was expected to relate to stereotyped social roles for boys and girls. The older parents would tend to see their children in the traditional behaviors. Also, they would not be expected to encourage their girls to continue academic training if they saw a girls' role as tied to marriage and homemaking. Older parents would encourage their boys to enter the occupational sphere as soon as possible. Age was not expected to decrease the acquisition of English linguistic skills. That is, the longer a person was in Canada, the better would be his skills. However, the age of a person at immigration would also have a serious effect. Younger children learn a new language much easier than did their parents.
Length of Canadian residence, age at immigration, and actual age were seen as factors that influenced social expectations and interpersonal relationships in immigrant families.

SEX

Sex is an important social differentiation. Both mother and father play distinct socialization roles. Their independent expectations of their daughter's behavior would not have always coincided. Neither would the standards they actually accept. Subsequently eight role concepts could have been considered. This research was concerned with the aspirations and expectations shared between an Italian-Canadian mother and her daughter.

REGION OF ITALIAN RESIDENCE

Several studies (80), (81), (82), identified the region of Italian residence as a factor influencing the value system of immigrants. Theoretically, as the picture supposedly turned out, Northern Italians were urbane, sophisticated, aggressively individual, and strongly imbued with the Italian equivalent of the Protestant ethic. As one progressed southward towards Calabria and Sicily, the 'personality stereotype' turned into a quiet, rural peasant, whose prime and perhaps only responsibility was to his family and its traditions, and who was very suspicious of any external authority and government institutions in particular. This picture was recently criticized as not realistic.83 It did seem sensible to attempt to relate the areas of origin to a difference in values towards
male and female roles, educational and occupational goals, mobility motivation, acquisition of linguistic skills, and reported interpersonal relationships within the family. Further more, these results would have descriptive value as the area of origin of the Italians in Amherstburg was unknown. Because this study was dependent upon school children, it was assumed that the ethnic distribution was properly represented in the school population.

It was generally accepted that Italians do not distribute themselves evenly in the host country, but tended to congregate into a distinctly visible ethnic community.\textsuperscript{84,85} Ziegler has reproduced as Table 1, the expatriation by region and country for 1967.\textsuperscript{86} Italian immigrants tended to move to a location near their relatives and thus created densities from certain areas of Italian origin. The origin of Amherstburg area Italians was not known. If they did not approximate the distribution of Table 1, then the concept of transplanted communities would have been supported.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piemonte</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valle d'Aosta</td>
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<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lombardia</td>
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<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trentino-Alto Adige</td>
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<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>665</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friuli-Venezia Giulia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liguria</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emilia-Romagna</td>
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<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toscana</td>
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<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umbria</td>
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<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marche</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazio</td>
<td>3181</td>
<td>12.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abruzzi</td>
<td>2392</td>
<td>8.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molise</td>
<td>2148</td>
<td>8.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania</td>
<td>2783</td>
<td>10.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puglia</td>
<td>2339</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basilicata</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calabria</td>
<td>6305</td>
<td>24.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSULAR:</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicilia</td>
<td>3042</td>
<td>11.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardegna</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>26,102</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Susan Ziegler had reported the educational level of Italians in Toronto. 

\[\text{87}\]
### Table 2

**Education Level of Italians in Toronto**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Education</th>
<th>Italian Born Italians</th>
<th>Canadian Born Italians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>14-16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>17+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Suzanne Ziegler and Anthony H. Richmond, *Characteristics of Italian Households in Toronto, Toronto: York University, 1972.*

The pattern of increasing level of formal education between Italian immigrants and their children was seen here. Parents who had a low level of education but had managed to successfully care for themselves and their families could reject long years at school for their children as unnecessary. Helling reported "when there is no tradition of education within the family, parents are frequently more interested in the earning power of their children than in future opportunities." Some money now may be better than the possibility of a job in the future. This rejection of deferred gratification may also have had roots in economic necessity as low educated persons were usually in the low paying and
insecure occupations. The family may have badly needed the money.

Immigrants who were 'spirally mobile' did not value a long education as they were primarily motivated towards making a lot of money quickly and returning to Italy to retire. These families did not see education as instrumental to their goals. Thus when their child dropped out of school it was due to a high mobility motivation. Danziger reported that Italian youths he interviewed saw themselves as possessing a higher level of deferred gratification than Canadian boys. Just as some students were encouraged to quit school, other Italians experienced strong pressure to stay in school and achieve.

"They see themselves as the difference between Italy and Canada: that you need the education if you're going to get anywhere"......"there's one thing that is stressed in my house and that is to go to school." 

If educational success was related to the family's honour, any failure represented a family crisis. Also when an immigrant boy was placed 'below his grade level', this represented a serious affront to his personal and family pride and many who could not accept this humiliation quit school. Danziger claims that high parental education lead to a high value on education. The low-level educated parent did not stress education but did not differ from similarly educated Canadians in Canada.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL OF EDUCATION</th>
<th>ITALIAN PERCENTAGE</th>
<th>CANADIAN PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School (1-2)</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School (3-5)</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>29.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Suzanne Ziegler and Anthony H. Richmond, *Characteristics of Italian Households in Toronto, Toronto, York University, 1972.*

Over-representation at the elementary level was the strongest indicator of the Italian ethnic group. Frequently this 70 percent included a large portion of Italians who had only four years of elementary education in Italy. A percentage of the high school (1-2) and (3-5) groups were probably children of immigrants who were educated in Canadian schools. This was born out by Ziegler.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS OF EDUCATION</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF CANADIAN BORN ITALIANS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF ITALIAN BORN ITALIANS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF CANADIANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>37.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 - 10</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>23.1</td>
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<td>11 - 13</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - 17</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:** Suzanne Ziegler and Anthony H. Richmond, *Characteristics of Italian Households in Toronto*, Toronto, York University, 1972.

The striking thing here was that the level of education of Canadian born Italians exceeded the average for all Canadians. Immigrant children were educationally mobile at a rate greater than normal for the Canadian population generally.

Economic and occupational levels frequently correlated to education and therefore it was expected that they would have a similar relationship to role expectations, educational aspirations, motivation for mobility, and quality of communication. Italians have seemed to be an upwardly mobile ethnic group. Susan Ziegler found that although sixty-six percent of the Italians held the same occupations upon entry into Canada as they did in Italy and these were in the lowest two categories more recent
immigrants were better educated and held higher job levels.\textsuperscript{94} J. Boissevain pointed out that the very fact of a migration often represented upward mobility from an agricultural worker in Italy to an industrial or construction labourer or craftsman in Canada.\textsuperscript{95} If an Italian father had experienced upward mobility in his life, we could expect him to demand it from his children. Certainly one would have expected it more from this group than those who had had no mobility. How the economic and educational position of the parents was reflected in pressures on Italian children has not been systematically examined per se. This study would attempt to establish this relationship.

The linguistic skills of Italians in Canada have been intensively studied. Edith Ferguson suggested that the teaching of English to children inhibited their fluency in Italian and contributed to family problems.\textsuperscript{96} Susan Ziegler found that 32 percent of her sample preferred to live in an 'ethnically homogeneous neighbourhood' for linguistic reasons. She also related the language used in the home with children to the number of years that a person from Italy had lived in Canada.\textsuperscript{97}
TABLE 5
YEARS OF RESIDENCE AND LANGUAGE USE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS OF CANADIAN RESIDENCE</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE SPEAK ONLY ENGLISH WITH THEIR CHILDREN</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE SPEAK ONLY ITALIAN WITH THEIR CHILDREN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - 4</td>
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<td>40.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 - 8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 - 24</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>51.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25+</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Clearly Italian relinquished its hold slowly as English was gradually learned. Apparently as the children learned English the parents were 'forced' to follow suit. Second generation Canadian born Italians spoke English 75 percent of the time with their spouses. One study suggested that while the parents spoke Italian, only the children could speak English. This was unlikely between two generations, but I was told, it did occur between the first and third generation.

Ziegler also found that Italians of a higher socio-economic status showed a greater resistance to learning English than did lower socio-economic groups. Presumably, the lower groups viewed English acquisition as instrumental to social and economic mobility. Boissevain's finding that Italians in Montreal wished their children to learn English
in the school rather than French because English was important as the language of work, supported this idea.\textsuperscript{101}

Danziger used the acquisition of facility in English as an index of the amount of acculturation. He saw language as a function of effort and time. Parents who obtained a high index of acculturation were more likely to have visited an educational institution. They had a better occupational level and had evinced more upward mobility since migration. Danziger found that these persons also tended to come from 'Northern Italy'. He felt this was because persons from this area were better equipped to deal with the problems of acquisition of a new language and acculturation.\textsuperscript{102}

Language is the medium through which the immigrant comes in contact with Canadian culture. It has been found to be related to areas of Italian origin, mobility, educational levels, occupation, age, length of Canadian residence, and family communication patterns. It was suggested that language would relate to the items measuring these variables in this study. Generally, parents of a higher English linguistic ability would have positively correlated to level of education and values towards socialization more closely approximating Canadian values than parents of low English linguistic ability.
HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses were presented in two groups. The first, Section 1, compared the value judgments of mothers and daughters to variables that were expected to yield significant correlations. The second Section, attempted to investigate possible causes of conflict in Italian families. Eight such relationships were posited.

SECTION ONE

It was hypothesized that there would be no significant differences between mothers and daughters in responses to attitudinal factors concerning:

1. Educational aspirations
2. Educational achievement expected
3. Desired career
4. Actual career expected
5. Persons Italian spoken to
6. Persons English spoken to
7. Mother-daughter communication quality
8. School language preference
9. Educational necessity and requirements
10. Girls need less education than boys
11. Study time
12. Age to start dating
13. Frequency of dating permissible
14. Intimacy of knowledge of dating partner
15. Reasonable curfew time
16. Part time job desirability
17. Student money
18. Working hours
19. Male and female appropriate roles

SECTION TWO

Subsequent to Section One, in areas where attitudinal factors appeared to be significant and divergent, it would be possible to construct a meaningful index of mother-daughter conflict. From the literature, the following factors were expected to relate to this conflict.
1. Life cycle position was seen as a function of age. As the student's age increased and she approached graduation and adulthood the level of conflict would increase. Similarly the older the parent, the greater the conflict because they were more used to the 'old ways'. Age was predicted to be positively related to conflict.

2. A higher level of education increased a student's potential for an independent source of power, verbal and linguistic skills, critical thinking ability, and would be positively related to increased conflict. However, as the parent's level of education increased, their skills would be used to decrease the factors which caused conflict and the relation to education would have reversed.

3. The more years spent in Canada the stronger the effects of assimilation and the greater the acculturation. It was expected that the years since immigration would be inversely co-related to conflict. Both mothers and daughters have had time to learn the new culture and have developed solutions. However, the mothers may not have changed if they continued to use other immigrants as their reference group. These people created a self-fulfilling myth about the idealized way it was in Italy. In this case, the Canadian group became more 'Italian' than either old or modern Italy. It was expected, however, that an increase in years of Canadian residence would have decreased conflict.

4. The parents' educational aspirations and goals created pressure on immigrant children. It was expected that high parental educational aspirations and goals were co-related to increased conflict. Since education is frequently the doorway to a career, a similar hypothesis was proposed for career aspirations and goals, and conflict. In general terms, it was expected that the higher up the educational and occupational structures of society an immigrant wished his child to climb, the greater the stress and conflict.

5. Conflict and the general tone of interpersonal communications were expected to be inter-related. Where communications were poor, the conflict was hypothesized to be higher than when good communications patterns existed.
6. The country of birth has been found to affect the socialization process of immigrant children. It was hypothesized that conflict was greater in Italian born persons than in Canadian born respondents. Canadian born students of Italian parents were predicted to show the highest measure of conflict.

7. Using language facility as an index of acculturation, it was hypothesized that conflict was greater in low acculturation groups and lesser in high acculturation groups.

8. Permissiveness on the part of parents should have been a predictor of lower levels of conflict. In contrast, restrictive parents were one of the sources of conflict. It was hypothesized that permissiveness was inversely related to the level of conflict.
METHODOLOGY

This research design was the result of a previous proposal and a subsequent project. The original design was part of an essay done at the University of Windsor as a portion of a course on the Canadian Social Structure and dealing with ethnic groups. It also reflected the author's interest as a counsellor and teacher in the community high school.

One of the Italian-Canadian students expressed a strong interest in the proposal and as a learning experience undertook to use the proposed questionnaire and interview fellow students. This yielded a preliminary test group of eighteen boys and twenty-nine girls. The results were coded, key punched, and tabulated by computer. An analysis of the results of this preliminary study identified potential avenues of conflict and concurrence. The data from the preliminary questionnaire were used to modify items on this questionnaire.

The respondents for this study were recruited by selecting all the students from home-room class lists who were known to be Italian or of Italian ethnic background. This process yielded a sample of 50 boys and 59 girls. They answered the final version of the questionnaire in small groups during the last few school days of June 1975.

Thereafter, each student's mother or father was contacted by telephone. Usually the student was present to introduce the author and interpret the nature and purpose of the call. An interview was arranged. During the interview,
the students frequently assisted the author in conveying the meaning of the questions whenever difficulties developed. The form of the questionnaire was not taken literally but questions were read and the suggested responses discussed until the particular parent's preference was clearly understandable. This open-ended style produced much interesting discussion which often extended the time requirement from thirty minutes to an hour and more. Since these interviews could only be executed during evening hours, the process required many months. It can be confidently assumed that the coded responses accurately reflected the answers presented by the parents.

The interview responses were then coded, key punched, and analyzed by computer. A data list and Codebook run were used to verify the accuracy of the coding and key punching. The 'Crosstabs' routine produced tables comparing the mothers' and the daughters' responses. All charts were treated as nominal listings. Chi-square and the Contingency Co-efficient formed the appropriate statistical measures applied.
DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY

Amherstburg is an historic town situated on the Detroit River and founded by the British after 1790 when they built Fort Malden to replace the loss of Fort Detroit. The community now comprises the town proper and the townships of Malden and Anderdon. According to the 1971 Canada Census, the combined population represented 13,000 people. Column A of Chart 1 shows the ethnic composition of this community was largely concentrated into four groups. Column B shows the percentage of an ethnic group that used their ethnic language as the medium of communication in the home. By comparing these figures one could see that, aside from the dominant English ethno-linguistic group, Italians had a very strong rate of use of their own language in the home.

CHART 1

ETHNIC IDENTITY AND HOME LANGUAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>PERCENT ETHNIC IDENTITY</th>
<th>PERCENT LANGUAGE Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>50.4</td>
<td>87.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>26.23</td>
<td>14.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>9.58</td>
<td>53.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>7.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>33.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although 84.46 percent of the community was Canadian born and 13.73 percent were first generation immigrants, these figures showed a strong ethnic affiliation among those born in Canada. Following the English and the French, Italians comprised the largest single other group by a factor of 1:2. According to the 1971 Census, Italians only represented 3.4 percent of the Canadian population and 6.0 percent of Ontario's. Clearly 9.58 percent comprised a large ethnic representation in this community.

The ethnic strength was illustrated by their continued use of Italian as the language of the home. In comparison to all other ethnic groups, 53.46 percent of Italian families used their language in the home. Only 33.96 percent of the Ukrainians maintained their language usage in the home. It must be noted that the Ukrainian families were second and third generation immigrants and this was a major reason for their lower rate of use of Ukrainian as a language in the home. In future generations, one would expect the Italian's rate to decrease. At this point in time, these figures clearly showed the vitality of the Amherstburg Italians.

The Italians presence was further supported by the existence of an infrastructure of services. Several grocery stores, a lawyer, real estate salesperson, bank tellers, and teachers were members of the Italian community. The Verdi Club was an active social and recreational facility. Recently, since this study was started, lessons in Italian for children and the community at large have been undertaken by
the ethnic community.

The economy was diversified with people employed in a variety of industrial groups. The 1971 Canada Census yielded the following distribution.104

CHART 2

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ECONOMY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>40.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Business and Personal Service</td>
<td>23.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>10.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Resource</td>
<td>6.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation and Communications</td>
<td>6.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>5.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Administration</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial and Insurance Real Estate</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The community also played the role of a suburb to Windsor, which is only 20 miles commuting distance away. The median income was reported in 1971 dollars as $10,116. This indicates a generally diversified, economically healthy community.

In a recent Provincial election, the social acceptance of the Italian ethnic community in Essex South was affirmed by the election of a second generation immigrant as the Liberal representative to the Ontario Legislature. The ethnic vote contributed to Remo Mancini's power, but he
could not have been elected on that base alone. His success
was a measure of overall popularity and confidence of the
people. This was subsequently confirmed by his later
re-election. In this sense, the election of an Italian
Canadian representative to the Ontario Government, recognized
them as integral members of the community.
DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

TABLE 6A

AGE OF RESPONDENTS: MOTHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 51   100.00
Median Age was 44.4 years

TABLE 6B

AGE OF RESPONDENTS: DAUGHTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 51   100.00
Median Age was 15.9 years

These data confirmed that the sample measures an age differential of (44.4 minus 15.9)=28.5 years which is very close to the definition of a generation. The girls were born during the 1956 to 1961 period while the mothers were born around 1931. The mothers were raised during the poverty
of pre-war Europe while the daughters experienced the relative luxury of the expanding Canadian economy of the 1960's. The generation-cohort of historical and economic factors was expected to provide interesting grounds for conflict.

TABLE 7
COUNTRY OF BIRTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTERS</th>
<th>NO ANSWER</th>
<th>ITALY</th>
<th>CANADA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>86.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: N=51
All figures are percents

The relationship between mother and daughter was partially conditioned by the country of birth of both. Table 7 showed that 90.2 percent of the mothers were born in Italy, while 86.3 percent of the daughters were born in Canada. Only four mothers (7.8 percent) were born in Canada. Of the daughters who were born in Italy, all six (11.8 percent) of them emigrated to Canada at a young age. From Danziger's results one should have expected these mothers to tend to use socialization techniques common to the norms of the dominant culture. This was a factor limiting conflict in this group. It was concluded that the results from this research centered on first generation immigrant mothers and their second
Since only six girls were immigrants, the year of their mother's entry only was listed in Table 8. The computed average for the years of residence in Canada was 19 years 4 months, meaning that these parents were not 'newcomers'. Unfortunately no question ascertains whether they had or had not taken out Canadian citizenship. It was deemed reasonable to project that such a long period of residence had probably permitted a good degree of acculturation to take place and this may have been a second factor which could have reduced intergenerational conflict rather than accentuated it.
REGION OF ORIGIN

The mothers overwhelmingly came from mid-Italy, that is 86.3 percent of them. Ten percent did not answer the question and only two persons (4 percent) came from other areas...ong from the North and the other from the South. It was estimated that ten percent belong with the mid-Italian group and that these did come from Pescara in the Province of Abruzzi. If so, this must have constituted a most unusual concentration of immigrants and might contribute to their homogeniety. This might have the effect of reducing cultural variety and subsequent value conflicts.

The students were asked the same question. Ignoring seven who did not know or did not answer, only five students gave an answer different from their mothers. Thus 88.6 percent were aware of their parent's family history.

EDUCATION

TABLE 9A

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: MOTHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAAT</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 9B

### Educational Level: Daughters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mother's education in this group confirmed the results of previous studies. Eighty-eight percent of the women possessed less than a grade eight education and most of these centered around five years. Two Italian born women had some high school, but all three who had grade twelve or Community College level training, were Canadian born. Thus with four exceptions, their daughters had already exceeded the educational level of their parents. The daughters of these four persons were all in the lower two grades, indicating the children were born after mothers had completed their education. The other daughters were spread throughout the high school levels. The slight tendency for there to be more students in grades nine and ten, was because these students were born to immigrants whose entry date coincided with the peak immigration period twenty years earlier.
### TABLE 10

**LANGUAGE***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MOTHERS n=51</th>
<th>DAUGHTERS n=51</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO(NA)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoken</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>92.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoken</td>
<td>68.6</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>94.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** *all figures in percentages  
**includes 'no answer'*

Emphatically, Italian was the language of the home even after almost twenty years of Canadian residence. The high portion of mothers who indicated that they could read English was misleading. However, what they meant by this was a functional literacy in terms of shopping and road signs. For the most part, few read an English newspaper and almost none for pleasure. During interviews, the mothers showed a variety of English skills and often completed the questionnaire and interview entirely in English, resorting to Italian only to confirm ideas. Aside from this reading anomaly the figures showed a good level of verbal and literate ability to the "Italian Stereotype."

The outstanding figures showed that 27.5 and 56.9 percentages of the daughters could neither read nor write in Italian, although nearly everyone (92.2 percent) can...
speak it. Since the collection of this data, the local ethnic families had organized and financed special Italian reading, writing, and literature classes for their children and all other interested citizens. These classes were held in a local school on Saturdays. It is possible that the percentage of high school students who cannot read or write Italian may decrease in the future as a result of this program.

In conclusion, the sample compared a teenaged girl of 15.9 years of age with her mother 28 years older, at 44 years of age. The mother was Italian born and had a Canadian daughter. The mother had been in Canada 19.3 years, having immigrated during 1956. She came from Pescara in Abruzzi where she attended some grade school. She was literate in Italian and could functionally read English. About 4 in 10 did not yet speak English.
ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This section took two approaches. First it examined the veracity of the hypothesis that Italian mothers and daughters would respond to the same questions similarly, that there was no difference. The data for this approach was derived by comparing the mothers' responses with those of their daughters' in a cross-tabulation chart. The statistics employed were: Chi-square, which yielded a level of significance that permitted some confidence in the probability of the results; and the derivative statistic, Contingency Coefficient, which estimated the agreement between mothers and daughters. It was assumed that if mothers and daughters agreed eight times out of ten, then they disagreed two times out of ten. Thus the Index of Disagreement is (1-Contingency Coefficient). Under this approach, comparisons which rendered a level of confidence lower than .50, meaning the result could have been attained by accident roughly half the time, were excluded from the analysis. Only results which had more of a chance of being correct than not were discussed. Three areas were found to be relevant: Education, Dating, and Responsibility.

Table 11 applied these arbitrary criteria to the relevant items derived from the data. Each was then dealt with at some depth and the cross-tabulations presented.

The Second Approach aimed to examine with these data, some of the findings from the literature as they were summerized in the section, "Selection of the Research Variables."
### THE FIRST APPROACH

#### TABLE 11

**SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MOTHER AND CHILD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONCEPT</th>
<th>LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE</th>
<th>CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT</th>
<th>INDEX OF DISAGREEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EDUCATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Necessity</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. First Language Choice</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Second Language Choice</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DATING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Age</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Frequency</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Curfew Time</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Knowledge of Partner</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RESPONSIBILITY</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Reasons for a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time Job</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Enjoy Youth</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.39</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These concepts proved to be significant and the crosstabulation charts for each will be presented and discussed.
TABLE 12
NECESSITY OF EDUCATION

Statement: Education is necessary to obtain a good job.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MOTHERS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>STRONG</td>
<td>AGREE</td>
<td>UNCERTAIN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ANSWER</td>
<td>ANSWER</td>
<td>AGREE</td>
<td>UNCERTAIN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STRONG AGREE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGREE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCERTAIN</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>7.8</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STRONG DISAGREE</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENT</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 7.22 @ D.F. = 15. L.S. = .95
Contingency Coefficient = 0.35

It has been noted by many writers that Italian parents valued education for their children as a means to social mobility in the American system. This was basically born out by Table 12. None of the mothers responded negatively to the question, and only three (5.9 percent) were uncertain. Conversely, 92.2 percent supported the concept of the necessity of education. The daughters were not.
so completely enchanted. They had a slight tendency to give negative evaluations in about 4 percent of the cases. Only 84.3 percent agree. There appeared to be basic agreement overall. However, exact congruence when both mother and the daughter responded identically to the question really occurred only 41.2 percent of the time. Differences in level of agreement, that is, strongly agree versus agree, accounted for 45.3 percent of the comparisons. Agreement versus uncertainty comprised 7.8 percent. This did not represent a high level of conflict. Indeed, obviously opposing opinions occurred only twice, once in a case of agree-disagree and once in a strong disagree versus strong agree. This represented only four percent disagreement.

TABLE 13

FIRST LANGUAGE CHOICE

Question: What two languages should your child learn in school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTERS</th>
<th>NO ANSWER</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>82.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENTS</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 0.22 @ D.F. = 2; L.S. = 0.90. Contingency Coefficient = 0.07
All the mothers who answered the question wanted their child to learn English at school. The variance in the student's answers may be explained by misunderstanding the question. Those that answered French and Italian as first choices assumed that English was being taught as a compulsory subject and the 'first choice' referred to an optional second language. In this case, four preferred French and five Italian.

**TABLE 14**

**SECOND LANGUAGE CHOICE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTERS</th>
<th>NO ANSWER</th>
<th>FRENCH</th>
<th>ITALIAN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PERCENT**

|              | 2.0 | 17.6 | 80.4 | 100.0 |

Chi Square = 5.21 @ D.F. 8; L.S. = 0.74
Contingency Coefficient = 0.30

The responses to Second Language Choice confirmed Table 8 but illustrated a basic difference between mother and child. While a significant proportion (17.6 percent)
preferred French, 80.4 percent of the mothers preferred Italian. In contrast the children split evenly between French and Italian at 47.1 percent each. This showed some acculturation on the students' part. Also, perhaps those who had been exposed to French but were not highly successful would have preferred an easier credit in their native language. It is doubtful that language choice was a source of conflict, however, as it was not offered as an option by the high school. These figures indicated considerable support in the ethnic portion of the community for such a choice.

TABLE 15

AGE OF DATING

Question: When should your son/daughter be allowed to start dating without a chaperone?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTER</th>
<th>NO ANSWER</th>
<th>14-15</th>
<th>16-17</th>
<th>18+</th>
<th>ENGAGED</th>
<th>NEVER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NO ANSWER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18+</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGAGED</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEVER</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENT</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 16.05 @ D.F. = 20; L.S. = .71 Contingency Coefficient = .49
This was the explosive question. Mothers were highly restrictive when compared to their daughters, as seen in Table 15. Congruence occurred only ten times; permissiveness, twice; but restriction occurred twenty-eight times. For example, for two students who thought a date at 16 or 17 was allowable, the mother responded 'never'. Even if the mother who answered 'never' capitulated and permitted their daughters to date when engaged, this would affect twenty-two percent of the girls. Different expectations over the personal freedom to date were a key source of conflict.

Some Italian students had novel solutions for the impasse created by their parent's refusal. Some said they went to a friend's house or shopping with a friend in Windsor. In one case, a young couple who were engaged were required to take a younger teenaged sister along as a chaperone. By agreement, they let her off to attend the cinema while they went out for dinner. Such complicity was a common solution when parents blocked what students saw as normal, acceptable, and desirable activity. The conflict was not overt, but internalized and dealt with as best they could.
TABLE 16

FREQUENCY OF DATES

Question: How frequently do you permit your child to date?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTERS</th>
<th>No answer</th>
<th>No limit</th>
<th>Twice Weekly</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>Bi-weekly</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No limit</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twice Weekly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-weekly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL                  1  3  7  19  11  3  7  51
PERCENT                20 5.9 13.7 37.3 21.6 5.9 13.7 100.0

Chi-Square = 21.56 @ D.P. = 24; \( \chi^2 \) s. = .61
Contingency Coefficient = .55

The establishment of an age at which a daughter may date resolved the first of a series of different value positions concerning this new social custom. Once the girl was allowed to date, it must be decided how often was acceptable. In this Table, one again saw a high level of disagreement and conflict. Only 11 cases were congruent and two were permissive. This constituted agreement only 26
percent of the time. Disagreement and conflict were found to exist between mothers and daughters three times out of four. This conflict was considered to be very strong when the respective positions on the scale were two or more places apart. Frequency of dating ranked second as point of intergenerational conflict.

**TABLE 17**

**CURFEW TIME**

*Question:* A reasonable curfew time varies according to the type of date. If your child were going to a show or bowling, what is a reasonable hour for them to be home?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTERS</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
<th>9:00</th>
<th>10:00</th>
<th>11:00</th>
<th>12:00</th>
<th>1:00</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11:00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERCENT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 9.68 @ D.F. 15; L. S. = 0.84
Contingency Coefficient = 0.40

The ability to stay out a little later stands out as a visible sign to one’s peers that a student’s parents had trust and were accepting a more adult status for them. That students desired later curfews produced some
disagreement. Fourteen cases were congruent. In twelve cases the parents were permissive, that is willing to allow a later curfew than the students expected. Twenty-four times (47 percent), however, the parents were restrictive, expecting their daughters to be home one, two, or three hours earlier than the daughters deemed reasonable. It seemed reasonable to assume conflict occurred when a two hour difference in curfew existed. Thus six cases, constituting twelve percent of the sample showed conflict. Curfew times constituted a source of conflict between a minority of students and their mothers.

TABLE 18

KNOW DATE PARTNER

Question: Before allowing you to date, how well do your parents need to know the partner?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Don't</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meet Him</td>
<td>Know his</td>
<td>Know About</td>
<td>Care</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meet Him</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23 10</td>
<td>1 1 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>68.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know his Relatives</td>
<td>1 4 5</td>
<td>0 0 10 19.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know About</td>
<td>0 2 1</td>
<td>0 0 3 5.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Care</td>
<td>0 2 1</td>
<td>0 0 3 5.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1 .31 17</td>
<td>1 1 51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENT</td>
<td>2.0 60.8 33.3 2.0 2.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 6.97 @ D.F. = 12; L.S. = 0.86
Contingency Coefficient = 0.35
Generally students had a higher, more restrictive standard of what the parents expected than the parents said they expected. In twelve cases, the parents' requirement was lower than the students'. This would have been a permissive trend and not have been viewed as conflict. In ten cases the reverse was true, but in only five cases was the disagreement two units or more apart. It seemed unlikely that 'knowing about' and 'actually meet' would have constituted a source of strong conflict between parent and child. In two cases the parents wanted to meet the partner while the students did not think they cared. In these cases we expected some level of conflict. However, this occurred only in four percent of the group. Generally the students expected less freedom than their parents were willing to extend and direct conflict was rare.
TABLE 19

WHY PART TIME JOB

QUESTION: Why would you like her to get a part time job?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTERS</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
<th>Responsibility</th>
<th>Money</th>
<th>Learn Work</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>70.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn Work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERCENT</strong></td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 3.38 @ D.F. = 6; L. S. = 0.76
Contingency Coefficient = 0.25

Two patterns in this question showed economic security of the families. First, no one, mother or child, answered that the money was needed to help at home. Secondly, money as a reason for a part-time job ranked behind learning responsibility in the mothers' answers and not far ahead of learning to work. The daughters reversed the position of these two, showing different sense of needs and priorities. Thus the motivations for a girl to work were related to the generational status or life cycle positions. It was questionable however, that this would be the cause of conflict. Another question showed parents were only slightly more desirous of their
daughters getting a part-time job than were the daughters, but this was not at a statistically significant level. It was always qualified that it must not interfere with the daughter's school work or her happiness. Although they expressed different reasons for a part-time job, this was not a source of conflict.

TABLE 20
ENJOY YOUTH

QUESTION: Young children should enjoy their youth and not be anxious to grow up.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTERS</th>
<th>No Answer</th>
<th>Strong Agree</th>
<th>Uncertain</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong Agree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 8.94 @ D.F. = 12; L.S. = 0.71
Contingency Coefficient = 0.39

The tendency here was for adults to disagree with the statement. They preferred their teenage daughter to grow-up and assume adult roles. This does not mean they would have responded in the same way for younger children or for boys.
There was a good deal of divergence of opinion. Only nine pairs of answers were congruent. Twenty-three pairs had the parents agreeing and their daughters less so. Conversely, twenty-four parents stressed earlier maturity than their daughters. This dichotomy was almost equally balanced. One must conclude that perceptions of the adolescent role were quite varied and no clear norm existed for either the mother or the daughters and this must have been a source of some disagreement for many.
CONCEPTS OF MALE-FEMALE ROLES

It was hypothesized that since girls and their mothers came from the same ethnic culture, one would not have expected differing concepts of what constituted appropriate male and female roles. However, analysis by rank order correlation between the daughters' concept of male and female roles showed a high shared common factor. The $r=+.55$ indicated similarity in the daughter's perception of male and female roles. This was seen as an egalitarian position. Their mothers' correlation had a value of $r=+.90$. This showed male and female roles to be reciprocal or complimentary. For the mothers, there were distinct and separate roles for males and females. The comparison of mothers' and daughters' concepts of male and female roles was shown in Table 27.

TABLE 27

RANK CORRELATION OF MOTHERS' AND DAUGHTERS' CONCEPTS OF MALE-FEMALE ROLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DAUGHTERS</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>-.60</td>
<td>+.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>+.35</td>
<td>+.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That daughters did indeed hold a contrasting concept of the male role was shown by a correlation of -.60 to their mothers' response. Indeed, the girls' concept was similar to the same role held by their mothers, $r=+.70$. 
Italian girls may have been emulating the equality for women that was current in contemporary culture, and expecting men to take part in the roles traditionally considered female. This was further supported when it was realized that their concept of a female appropriate role correlates very well with their mothers' ranking of male activities, $r = +.35$. Finally, the lowest correlation, $r = +.25$, existed between the girls' and mothers' shared concept of the female role. These figures were consistent throughout the pattern and one must have concluded that Italian-Canadian girls hold more egalitarian roles for males and females than the traditionally reciprocal concepts held by their mothers. This constituted some social change between the generations that may have been related to family conflict.

The First Approach comparing the responses of mothers and daughters to forty-two questions found agreement level to be low on nine items. These nine items concerning Education, Dating, and Responsibility during adolescence were the source of some conflict in Italian families. Conflict also appeared on concepts of Adult Roles. Daughters hold more, egalitarian concepts of male-female roles than their mothers, who held traditional reciprocal ideas. These ten factors represented sources of mother-daughter conflict in the Italian families of this study.
THE SECOND APPROACH

Eight hypotheses relating antecedent factors predicted to be related to level of conflict included: age, education, years of residence in Canada, educational aspirations, inter-personal communications, country of birth, language facility, and permissive-restrictive attitudes. A variable which measured the 'level of conflict' between the mother and daughter in the areas identified in the First Section of the analysis was computed and analyzed by cross-tabulations with each of the above factors. Trends were revealed by calculating the mean level of conflict for the appropriate categories of the variable.

AGE

Older parents were expected to show a higher level of conflict than younger parents because they were 'set' in the old country ways. Similarly, the older children would have conflicted with their parents more than younger children because of increased autonomy and power. Table 28 compared parents' age and the mean level of conflict calculated for the age groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONFLICT LEVEL</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 57.4 @ D.F. =12; L.S. =.001
Contingency Coefficient = .73
The level of confidence of the chart was very low, but the trend was in the predicted direction. This also was apparent when one examined the daughters’ age and mean level of conflict.

**TABLE 29**

**DAUGHTERS' AGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>14-15</th>
<th>16-17</th>
<th>18-19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT LEVEL</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{Chi Square} = 21.1 @ \text{D.F.} = 12; \text{L.S.} = .05 \]
\[ \text{Contingency Coefficient} = .64 \]

Table 29 showed the slight increase in the mean level of conflict with age. This data was significant at .05 with the contingency coefficient being .64. That these two factors should have moved in the same direction was reasonable since older parents should also have older children, and they do. Increased age was positively related to a slight increase in the level of conflict.

**LEVEL OF EDUCATION**

Lack of parental education was seen as contributor to conflict while possession was a means of reducing conflict. This applied only to minimal levels of parental education. Table 30 showed higher conflict in parents who possessed only a grade school education, but this leveled off if the parent had secondary schooling.
### TABLE 30

**PARENTS' EDUCATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>0-4</th>
<th>5-8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10-12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT SCORE</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 11.4 @ D.F. = 12; L.S. = .99  
Contingency Coefficient = +.43

Although highly reliable, the change was quite small. Perhaps the years had diminished the effect of the parents' education as a contributing factor and other things had become more important. This had not occurred for the student group and their conflict scores showed a sharper rise with increased education.

### TABLE 31

**DAUGHTERS' EDUCATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT LEVEL</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>4.14</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 14.0 @ D.F. = 16; L.S. = .60  
Contingency Coefficient = .46

This pattern was moderately significant (L.S.=.60) with the contingency coefficient at +.46. There was then a reverse relationship concerning the level of education of the parent and the child as it related to conflict.
YEARS SINCE IMMIGRATION

It was hypothesized that the longer an immigrant had lived in Canada the more acculturized he had become. This tended to decrease the level of conflict in the family. Table 32 bears this out.

TABLE 32

PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>1949-51</th>
<th>1952-55</th>
<th>1956-59</th>
<th>1960-68</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT LEVEL</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>4.15</td>
<td>4.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi Square = 18.0 @ D.F. 16; L.S. = .33
Contingency Coefficient = .51

Although we could not have had a high level of confidence in this pattern the trend supported the idea that the longer the parents lived in Canada the greater their level of assimilation and subsequently the lower the level of conflict.

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

We already saw that the parents held a higher level of educational goals for their child than she did. It was hypothesized that the higher goals a parent proclaims, the higher would be the level of conflict. The data showed no discernable pattern and this hypothesis remained untested at this time.
COMMUNICATION QUALITY

A good level of parent-daughter communications was predicted to reduce conflict. Unfortunately the data was not reliable but the means of conflict presented here, indicated trends in the direction of supporting the idea that good quality communications did reduce the level of conflict in families.

TABLE 33
COMMUNICATION QUALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXCELLENT</th>
<th>WELL</th>
<th>FAIR</th>
<th>POOR</th>
<th>NONE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DAUGHTERS</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTHERS</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COUNTRY OF BIRTH

It was predicted that Italian born respondents would show greater conflict than Canadians, and that Canadian born students of Italian mothers would express the stronger level. Table 34 illustrated the data. We knew from Table 7 that the Italian born girls had Italian mothers and similarly, for the Canadian mothers the daughters were Canadian. The majority were Italian mothers with Canadian daughters. The pattern of Table 34 shows the hypotheses were only partially supported.
TABLE 34
COUNTRY OF BIRTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daughters of Italian mothers</th>
<th>Mothers with Canadian daughters</th>
<th>Daughters of Italian mothers</th>
<th>Mothers with Canadian daughters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ITALIANS</td>
<td>CANADIANS</td>
<td>ITALIANS</td>
<td>CANADIANS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Italian daughters of Italian mothers reported the highest level of conflict with a mean of 3.5. This was significant when compared to the Canadian daughters of Italian parents mean of 3.16 at a .91 level of significance. Italian mothers and the Canadian daughters showed no difference in the reported level of conflict. This was in opposition to the hypothesized relationship. In contrast, Canadian mothers with Canadian daughters express a somewhat average level of conflict. It must be concluded then that conflict was greatest for those girls born in Italy. This finding was congruent with Danziger's findings for Italian boys. Those born in Canada, second generation girls, reported a lower conflict level but this rose for the third generation. It was not possible to compare these 'levels' with the Canadian population generally.

It appeared that the years since immigration had some effect on lowering conflict. This may in part have been due to the improved facility if English language use on the mother's part. Certainly mothers with facility in English
were in a better position to comprehend the culture around them and their daughter's interaction in it. A careful analysis of the data showed no apparent pattern of either generation's facility in English language. It was probable that more sophisticated techniques of measurement were needed to estimate this factor.

The permissive-restrictive dimension of parent-child relations also proved to be entirely spurious between the mother and daughters of this sample. Whether this would have held for father-daughter relations, may have been entirely different. Items in the questionnaire were unable to measure this effect.
CONCLUSION

Value conflicts between Italian mothers and their daughters were associated with three groups of factors, namely parental, daughter, and contextual. Conflict was increased with parental age, and Italian birth, but was decreased by higher education, length of Canadian residence, or Canadian birth. Daughters age and education and Italian birth were related to higher levels of conflict. Perceived quality of interpersonal communications was positively correlated to conflict. It was not possible to establish a connection between educational aspirations, restrictive-permissive attitudes, appropriate role concepts, and conflict within this sample. Daughters were found to hold more egalitarian role concepts for both men and women than their mothers, who held distinct, complimentary role concepts.

The content of the intergenerational conflict concerned the necessity of education, dating norms, and role appropriate responsibility for adolescent girls. Daughters were less enchanted with a high level of education than their mothers. This may have reflected a more realistic appraisal of what it had to offer them or a tendency of the mothers to value that which they did not have, but saw as valued in Canadian society. Dating remained a "foreign" custom to Italian parents after even twenty years of Canadian residency. Their skepticism created a restrictive climate that ensured conflict and marked dating the key source of open conflict in this study. Whether adolescent daughters ought to grow-up
quickly and assume responsibilities such as a part-time job was not contested by mothers. Their daughters showed a much wider range of permissiveness. They saw adolescence as a period of responsibility, but also as one of freedom and individuality.

The relatively small size of the sample restricted the statistical level of confidence and much of the interpretation. The norm in all families was agreement, and conflict at any level was the expectation. As expected, Italian mothers and daughters conflicted on concepts which reflected their reference groups. For mothers, this was the group of women with whom they work or associate socially. These women were almost exclusively immigrants from the same community in Italy. Their cohesiveness may have limited the variability of these results. The daughters referred to the larger culture in which they operate, mass media, peers, and school. Their norms were thus different from their mothers. This study did not attempt to evaluate a comparison with any other ethnic group or population.

Italian students who were girls, were faced then with a peculiar set of conflicts with which to cope. Further study would attempt to link whether these had any effect on their school performance and actual career choices in later life. The present results will be useful in the counselling context in understanding students such as Toni and Gabriella.
FOOTNOTES


5. Richmond, Anthony H., Post War Immigrants in Canada, (Toronto, University of Toronto), 1957.


9. Both these interviews are hypothetical abstractions of typical counselling interviews.


34. Covello, Leonard J., op. cit. and Novak, Michael op. cit.

35. Adolescence (Roslyn Heights, New York), Libra Publishing.


40. Erikson, Erik Identity, Youth and Crises, op. cit.


44. Thurnher, Majda, Spence, Donald, Lowenthal, M.F. op. cit., p. 308-319.


47. Mahoney, John "Age and Values: The Generation Non Gap", Psychology Reports, 39, 1976, p. 62


52. Ibid., p. 103

53. Ibid., p. 85

54. Ibid., p. 84

55. Ibid., p. 83


57. Ibid., p 143-144.


64. Danziger, Kurt, Problems of Socialization Among Italians in Toronto, op. cit., p. 50-60.


70. Ibid., p. 248


74. Ibid., p. 105-106


76. Ibid., p. 460

78. Dalton, Russel J., op. cit., p. 469


81. Cordasco, Francesco, and Bucchioni, Eugene op. cit.

82. Ferguson, Edith Newcomers and New Learning, op. cit.

83. Danziger, Kurt, op. cit.

84. Ferguson, Edith, op. cit.


87. Ziegler, op. cit.

88. Helling, op. cit., p. 65

89. Danziger, Kurt op. cit., p. 76

90. Ibid., p. 7

91. Ibid., p. 5

92. Ibid., p. 6

93. Ziegler, Suzanne and Richmond, A.H. op. cit.

94. Ibid., p. 26

95. Boissevain, Jeremy op. cit., p. 87

96. Ferguson, Edith, op. cit., p. 87

97. Ziegler, Suzanne and Richmond, A.H. op. cit. p. 33

98. Ibid., p. 9

100. Ziegler, op.cit. p.100.


104. Ibid.

105. I shall assume the equivalence of a years education in either country.
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Rode, Alex, "Perceptions of Parental Behavior Among Alienated Adolescents", Adolescence, 6, 21 (Spring 1971) 19-38.


Rosenmayr, Leopold, "Parent and Peer Relations of Adolescent Youth and the Level of Their Cultural Activities", Sociologia, 10:1 (1968), 167-182.


Swartz, Michael and Badin, Mary Anna, "Female Adolescent Self Concept: An Examination of the Relative Influence of Peers and Adults", Youth and Society, 5,1 (Sept. 1973), 115-128.


Vaz, Edmund W., "Middle Class Adolescents: Self Reported Delinquency and Youth Culture Activities", Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 2:1 (1965), 52.
Parent's Name: ____________________
Address: _________________________
Telephone Number: ________________
Son's Name: _______________________
Daughter's Name: _________________

NOTICE:
The responses made on this questionnaire are confidential between you and Mr. Scrutton. NO ONE else will see or hear of your individual answers.

I thank you for your assistance in the project.

E. Scrutton
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Into which age bracket do you fit?
   a) 20-24
   b) 25-29
   c) 30-34
   d) 35-39
   e) 40-44
   f) 45-49
   g) 50-60
   h) 60+

2. Are you male or female?

3. Where were you born in:
   Italy
   Canada
   Other (specify)

4. If you were born in Italy, what year did you emigrate?

4. (b) Check the region of Italy from which you came:
   Piedmont
   Liguria
   Lombardia
   Trentino
   Veneto
   Venezia Giulia
   Emilia-Romagna
   Toscoa
   Marche
   Umbria
   Lazio
   Abruzzo e Molise
   Campania
   Public
   Basilicata
   Calabria
   Sicilia
   Sardegna
   Don't know

5. Check the grade of formal education that you have attended.
   0-4
   5-8
   9
   10
   11
   12
   13
   14 (Nurse, Community College, etc.)
   15-16 (University Degree)
   17+ (Post Graduate work)
5. (b) Was this in Canada, Italy, or Other. 
(Please specify which one)

6. What level of education do you wish your son/daughter to attain?

   [9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 (Community College, Nurse, etc.), 15-16 (University Degree), 17+ (Post Graduate Degree)]

7. What is the actual level that you think they will successfully complete. 
(Choose an number from the answers to question 6)

8. Name a job or a career that you would like them to enter.

9. Do you speak/write any language other than English in your home when talking to the children?
   A) Yes  
   b) No   (Which language? )

10. (a) Place a check ( ) beside the persons with whom you speak English.
    (b) Place an (X) beside the persons with whom you speak Italian.

   Italian  English
   Respondent's Father  
   Respondent's Mother  
   Husband  
   Wife  
   Brothers  
   Sisters  
   Sons  
   Daughters  

11. Can you read Italian?  Yes  No

12. Can you write Italian?  Yes  No

13. In your opinion, how well do you communicate with your son/daughter?
    excellently  
    well  
    fair  
    poorly  
    not at all
14. What two languages should your children learn in school?

- English
- French
- Italian
- Spanish
- Latin
- German
- Other (Specify which one)

We are interested in your ideas about school, education, jobs, careers, and life in general. The following are a series of statements about which we want your opinions. Please answer the way you feel you want to answer. There are no right or wrong answers. Whatever way is right for you is correct.

1. Education is necessary to obtain a good job.
   - strongly agree
   - agree
   - uncertain
   - disagree
   - strongly disagree

2. How much education is enough to obtain a good job?
   - Grade 8
   - Grade 10
   - Grade 12 (High School Graduation)
   - Grade 13 or Community College, Technician, Nurse, R.N.A. etc.
   - University, Teacher, Doctor, Lawyer, Business, Engineer
   - Trade Papers, Electrician etc.

3. Girls do not need as much education as boys.
   - strongly agree
   - agree
   - uncertain
   - disagree
   - strongly disagree

4. A good student should study ___ hours per night.
   - a hour
   - 1 hour
   - 1½ hour
   - 2 hours
   - More than 2 hours

5. When should your son/daughter be allowed to start dating without a chaperone?
   - Never
   - only when engaged
   - 14 to 15 years old
   - 16 to 17 years old
   - 18 plus years
6. Young children should enjoy their youth and not be anxious to grow up.
   ______ strongly agree
   ______ agree
   ______ uncertain
   ______ disagree
   ______ strongly disagree

7. How frequently do you permit your child to date?
   (Go to a show, bowling, etc.)
   ______ as often as they wish
   ______ twice a week
   ______ once a week
   ______ once every two weeks
   ______ once every month
   ______ never

8. Before allowing the date, how well do you need to know the partner?
   ______ actually meet him/her
   ______ know his/her relatives or family
   ______ know someone who knows the partner
   ______ don't care who they date

9. A reasonable curfew time varies according to the type of date. If your child were going to a show or bowling, what is a reasonable time for them to be home?
   ______ 9:00
   ______ 10:00
   ______ 11:00
   ______ 12:00
   ______ 1:00

10. How strongly do you want your child to get a part-time job?
    ______ very strongly
    ______ strongly
    ______ don't care
    ______ against
    ______ strongly against

11. What would you like them to get a part-time job?
    ______ teaches them responsibility
    ______ earn their own money
    ______ need money to help at home
    ______ learn about work
    ______ other reason (Specify:__________)

12. Do you prefer that they:
    ______ earn their own money
    ______ give them an allowance
    ______ give them money for certain reasons
    ______ give them all the money they need
    ______ other
13. Approximately how many hours per week should they be allowed to work on a part-time job?

- 5
- 10
- 15
- 20
- More than 20

14. Women should: (Answer yes or no)
- look after the home (Cook, laundry, dishes, etc.)
- help her husband attain his goals
- belong to women's social groups
- look after the family financially
- have a career

15. Men should: (Answer yes or no)
- look after the home
- help his wife attain her goals
- look after the family financially
- belong to men's service groups (lions, verdi, etc...)
- pursue a career
VITA AUCTORIS


1966 Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, York University, Toronto, Ontario.

1967 Ontario Teacher's Certificate, Ontario College of Education.

1978 Received Master of Arts in Sociology, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario.