

INTERGENERATIONAL CONFLICT IN GREEK IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the intergenerational conflict between Greek immigrant parents and their Greek-Canadian children caused by differences in beliefs and practises concerning core cultural values (Greek language, Greek Orthodox religion, and Family ties). Data collected consisted of responses to open-ended, semi-structured interview questions.

Interpretation of the data revealed that parents and children held congruent beliefs concerning the Greek language, yet differed in their practises of language usage. Their differing practises led to a breakdown in parent-child communication.

With regard to the Greek Orthodox religion, parents and children held parallel beliefs and practises, and no apparent conflict on this issue existed. Parents' and children's opinions and actions on family solidarity were in harmony. Divergent opinions and practises emerged on issues of intermarriage and family hierarchy. Conflict manifested itself when issues of family hierarchy arose, while intermarriage was considered a potential source of conflict.

The nature and amount of conflict expressed was found to be influenced by 1) parents' educational levels, and 2) gender roles of family members.

Résumé

Cette étude examine le conflit de générations entre parents immigrants grecs et leurs enfants grecs-canadiens, causé par les différences dans les croyances et les pratiques concernant les valeurs culturelles intrinsèques (langue grecque, religion Grecque Orthodoxe et liens familiaux). Les données recueillies ont été élaborées à partir des réponses aux questions générales, semi-structurées posées lors d'entrevues.

L'interprétation de ces données a révélé que les parents et les enfants partageaient des convictions semblables quant à la langue grecque, mais différaient dans leur pratique de l'usage de la langue. Ces pratiques différentes menaient à une rupture de communication parents-enfant.

En ce qui concerne la religion Grecque Orthodoxe, parents et enfants partageaient des croyances et des pratiques parallèles et il n'existait aucun conflit apparent à cet égard. Les opinions et les actions des parents et des enfants quant à la solidarité familiale étaient en harmonie. Des opinions et des pratiques divergentes se sont manifestées au chapitre de l'intermariage et de la hiérarchie familiale. Les conflits apparaissaient lors de questions touchant à la hiérarchie familiale, tandis que l'intermariage était considéré comme une source potentielle de conflits.

La nature et l'importance exprimées des conflits ont été influencées 1) par le niveau d'éducation des parents et 2) par le rôle des différents membres de la famille, selon leur sexe.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Canada is a pluralistic society in which each ethnic group maintains a sense of its own historic culture. Each ethnic group consists of essential cells, of which the family unit is one. The family unit can be divided into two generations: first generation immigrant parents, and second generation children, who are not considered immigrants. This thesis intends to examine aspects of Montreal Greek families.

In its struggle to adopt and survive in a new culture, as well as in a demanding urban-industrial society, the Greek family unit in Montreal must undergo cultural and structural change. Although Greek immigrant parents accept that these changes must occur, they endeavour to preserve the Greek traditions and core values. Even if overt change seems to have occurred, it remains questionable to what extent newly acquired norms and values have actually been internalized (Nagata, 1970; Lambert, 1985). As Gavaki (1981) indicates, "the Greeks in Montreal seem to be organizationally dynamic, cohesive and institutionally complete" (p. 145). It is through this cohesive structure that families maintain and transmit cultural symbols, traditions, values and customs, the Greek language, and the Orthodox religion.

However, second generation Greek Canadians are confronted with a situation in which they are torn between two cultures, two conflicting sets of norms, and two sets of

significant others; those of the Greek parents and those of the Canadian friends (Kourakis, 1983; Tigkos, 1988). The young people of the second generation mingle with Canadians more than their parents and, consequently, gain knowledge of Canadian traditions and institutions and speak English and French fluently. Often this younger generation challenges the institutions that try to preserve traditional Greek cultural values, and they lean more and more towards Canadian societal institutions (Chimbos, 1971; Scourby, 1978; Lambert, 1981; Smolicz, 1985; Veglery, 1988).

The co-existence of the two generations depends, to a large extent, on the efforts of both generations to combine the old country's values, those of the first generation, with the new country's values, embraced by the second generation. Where this is not the case, in addition to the usual conflicts that accompany family life, the two generations may find themselves faced with conflicts caused by different cultural backgrounds (Vlachos, 1969; Gavaki, 1981).

The purpose of this research is to examine the two generations in a holistic way, to determine if the beliefs and practises that parents and children have towards the core cultural values of language, religion, and family structure are different. Further, it will attempt to explore the possible implications of these core values on family life when two generations have different cultural backgrounds. Participants in this study are: 1) parents who were born in Greece and entered Montreal after World War II at the age of thirteen or more, and 2) their children aged sixteen to eighteen who were born in Montreal.

The objectives of the study are: 1) to examine if language per se causes any difficulties in parents' and children's communication, 2) to explore if there are any

differences among parents' and children's beliefs and practises towards Orthodox religion, 3) to examine if religion as a core cultural value causes any conflicts in the family, 4) to identify any arguments which derive from different beliefs and practises that parents and children preserve concerning family ties, 5) to examine if parents' socioeconomic status (SES) influences the nature and amount of conflict, and 6) to examine if children's gender influences the nature of conflict.

A clear understanding of the complex process of adjustment within and between each generation is important as there are concerns about the difficulties that members of ethnic groups face in their integration into a pluralistic society such as Montreal. Although this study is not expected to furnish definite solutions to the intergenerational conflict, it will serve to indicate some directions for further research.

Operational Definitions

Ethnic Group. The term "ethnic" is used to designate a group with a common cultural tradition and a sense of identity which exists as a subgroup of a larger society (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). This study refers to the Greek ethnic group in Montreal; in other words to individuals who either were born in Greece and after a certain age emigrated to Montreal or who were born in Montreal but whose parents were born in Greece.

Generation. For the purpose of the study "generation" includes:

1. A first generation Greek immigrant is an individual who was born in Greece and entered Montreal after the World War II at the age of thirteen or more.

2. A second generation Greek Canadian is an individual of age sixteen to eighteen, born in Montreal, but whose parents were born in Greece.

Core Cultural Values. These can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of group's culture. As Smolicz (1981) indicates: "it is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive, ethnic, religious, scientific or other cultural communities" (p. 18). In this study the core cultural values to be examined are Greek language, Christian Orthodox religion, and family ties.

Intergenerational Conflict. The term refers to the discrepancies that occur between the two generations, related to their beliefs and practises toward the core cultural values and the implications on parent-child relationship caused by the above discrepancies.

Language. This is an area which epitomizes for many Greeks, especially the older ones, the difference between a "Greek" and a "Canadian". A knowledge of the Greek language is another feature of a "Greek" culture in Canada. Conflict is indicated by opposite beliefs and practises between Greek immigrants and their children, towards continuous learning and use of the Greek language including not only the feelings with respect to the educational advantages of a second language, but also the wish for a retention of Greek cultural heritage (Vlachos, 1969).

Religion. This is another important institutional area for the Greek ethnic group. Conflict is indicated by opposite beliefs and practises among the two generations, towards the role, importance, and significance of the Greek Orthodox religion in family life and the Greek church in Montreal (Vlachos 1969).

Family Ties. Conflict is indicated by opposite beliefs and practises concerning

certain familial aspects such as the hierarchy in the family, children's independence, and intermarriage (Vlachos 1969).

Socio-Economic Status (SES). For the purpose of the study the socioeconomic status is measured by parents' financial and educational level.

Financial level. Families representing three financial levels-low, medium and high-will be examined. Low level includes families with an annual income of C\$18,000 and lower for both spouses. Medium level includes families with an annual income, between C\$30,000 up to C\$39,000. High level includes families with annual income of C\$56,000 and more.

Educational level. Families representing two educational levels-low and high-will be examined. Low level includes families where both parents have completed up to grade seven. High level includes families where both parents have obtained a University degree.

In summary, this research will examine differences in the beliefs and practices concerning Greek language, Greek Orthodox religion and family ties of both Greek immigrant parents and their children. From this perspective, the existence and extent of intergenerational conflict will be examined. Resulting implications for parent-child interrelationships and topics for further research will be outlined and discussed.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature concerning the intergenerational conflict towards core cultural values in Greek families in Montreal requires a review of (a) the demographic characteristics of the Greek ethnic group, (b) the core cultural values of the Greek ethnic group, and (c) the cultural conflict between the two generations. Each will be discussed in turn.

It is acknowledged that the majority of the studies on these questions have been conducted in the United States, where political and social climates differ from Canada and therefore the findings may not apply directly to the Canadian situation. It has to be emphasized that American society tends to be assimilationist, something like a melting pot. In the United States, it is expected that ethnic groups first will take on the characteristics of the macro-culture and only secondarily will think like Greeks, Italians, Spanish, or other nationalities. On the other hand, Canada's policy represents a different conception, that of multiculturalism. Gordon (1981) indicates that "Canadian society supports official or institutional bilingualism or multilingualism" (p. 187). His view is that various racial and ethnic groups have the right, and indeed should be encouraged, to retain their ancestral languages.

Given that most of the previous survey studies of the Greek ethnic group have been conducted in the United States, and that Canadian and American societies have

different attitudes towards the assimilation of ethnic groups, precise understanding of the Greek ethnic group in the Canadian context must depend on studies in that context. Nevertheless, the findings of American studies are of considerable importance in deepening our understanding of the Greek ethnic group, given the many similarities between the institutional systems of these two countries.

Demographic Characteristics of Greek Ethnic Group

It has been reported that Canada is one of the most active receiving nations for immigrants (Lambert, Mermigis, & Taylor, 1986). A number of sociological studies of immigrant groups in Canada has been carried out (Lambert, Mermigis, & Taylor, 1986; Gavaki, 1979; Chimbos, 1969). However, Canadians of Greek extraction have not been the subject of many systematic studies. Most of the work analyzing Greeks in Canada have been of historical nature and descriptive in character (Ioannnou, 1983; Welts, 1982). Concerning the bulk of the research, it is necessary to understand clearly the main concept in the examination of ethnic groups which is "immigrants". Therefore, this section begins with a discussion of the problems which have emerged from the use of the above term.

Definition of the population. As Bombas (1981) indicates, "even today, when interest concerning immigrant reality, the fundamental issue of 'who is an immigrant?', remains far from settled" (p. 42). In a survey study of three hundred and eighty Greek- and Anglo-Australian students, Smolicz (1985) found that people of Greek ancestry have been part of Australia for over three generations, but their children are still often referred to

as immigrants rather than Greek- Australians.

However, in a questionnaire study given to one hundred and sixty people, Scourby (1978) found that there was variation from generation to generation in the process of adjustment to the host society. For example, there was variation in the answers that the respondents from different generations gave when asked to identify themselves as Greek, American, or Greek-American. As Scourby (1978) indicates, "by the 1950s a third generation of Greek-Americans was emerging and a new definition of ethnicity was in the wind" (p. 45). In a number of interview studies there has been a lack of clear description of the term "Greek immigrant". One point of clarification must be to specify if the term refers to first, the second, or third generation. Based on interviews, Lambert, Hamers, and Frasure (1979), found that immigrants to the province of Quebec typically align themselves and their families, through choice of residence site and school district, more with the English than with the French Canadian society; nevertheless, they must adjust to many aspects of the French Canadian world around them. A question that arises from the above statement is whether the above preference concerns both generations. Is there any differentiation in the above preference between the generations?

In summary, when referring to Greeks in Montreal and the process of their adjustment in the macro-culture, it is important to indicate the specific generation being considered and its own characteristics in order to avoid misconceptions based on partial or inaccurate information. Each generation has its own attitudes and beliefs towards core cultural values which become differentiated as they are transmitted from generation to generation (Chimbos, 1971; Scourby, 1978; Veglery, 1988). In order to comprehend

more fully the above transition and its implications within and between each generation, it is necessary to have an understanding of the values considered to be at the core of the Greek culture.

Core Values of Greek Ethnic Group

Some studies have focused on core cultural values such as, religion, language, and family ties (Chimbos, 1971; Saloutos, 1975; Schultz, 1976; Smolicz, 1985). Smolicz (1985) contributes this comment on core values:

Core values are singled out for special attention because they provide the indispensable link between the group's cultural and social systems (p. 75).

It has been declared that family ties, along with the Greek language and Orthodox religion, represent the Greek core values considered of greatest importance if authentic Greek ethnicity is to be preserved (Vlachos 1969; Chimbos, 1971; Saloutos, 1975). These three core cultural values can be characterized by their strong, inter-dependent relationship as they are integrated within each other, that is family cohesion helps to preserve both language and religion.

Religion. According to the literature, it has been found that religion continues to provide the context of self-identification for Americans of Greek extraction. The presence of the religious institutions of the immigrants' own past milieu works against affiliation with religious institutions of the receiving society (Schultz, 1976; Saloutos, 1975; Gavaki, 1979; Chimbos, 1969; Vlachos, 1969; Veglery, 1988; Scourby, 1978).

In an interview study of one hundred and sixty persons, Scourby (1978) found that the first generation still strongly identified with an ethno-religious dimension, while the

third generation showed greater identification with the broader cultural values of the Greek-American community. It was also found that by the third generation there was some confusion as to what precisely constitutes Greek ethnicity. Although they expected both the liturgy and the sermon to be conducted in English, they rejected absorption in an American Orthodox church which would unify all Orthodox churches; this suggests a desire to retain the Greek aspect of their religious affiliation. One should, however, be cautious of generalizing the results to other Greek communities, as the sample of the above study was claimed to be "fixed by circumstance".

In another study conducted through personal interviews of a seventy-one subjects, Veglery (1988) found that Roman Catholics are much more loyal church-goers than Greek Orthodox members. An explanation of the above was that Catholics are more inculcated with the importance of church for their spiritual needs and moral guidance than are Greek Orthodox members (Veglery, 1988). Further, in another survey study of 294 subjects, Gavaki (1979) found that both structure and function of the Greek Orthodox church seem to be challenged by the younger generations of Greeks.

Another finding that should be emphasized is that religion is given as an important reason for Greek parents' objections toward their sons' and daughters' interethnic marriages. From the initial stages of its functions, the Greek Orthodox church has issued a proclamation to Americans of Greek extraction to strongly avoid intermarriage. Children married to non-Greeks were considered "lost" both by Greek parents and the church as the grandchildren of such unions usually lose the Greek Orthodox faith and their Greek identity as well (Chimbos, 1969; Saloutos, 1975 Gavaki, 1985).

Language. A significant index of intergenerational change is the declining use of the ethnic language. In a survey study of one hundred and sixty persons, it was found that erosion of the language took place across the second and the third generations (Scourby, 1978). However one should be cautious in generalizing the results as the procedure for selecting respondents unclear. The researcher stated that the sample was fixed by "circumstance" without giving any further information.

In another study, it was found that in the linguistic sphere, Greeks of both sexes, of both first and second generations in all socio-economic strata, manifested considerable conservatism in keeping their ethnic language (Nagata, 1970). In the same study, it was also found that all the new immigrants recognized the inevitability of their children learning English, but out of a total of seventy-six parents, only one of the fathers expressed the desire for his offspring to become monolingually English. It is important to note that fifty percent of the subjects were taken from families in which women were enrolled in an English language program. In a study conducted through personal interviews of 150 Greek immigrants, 130 Dutch immigrants, and 170 Slovak immigrants, it was found that language appeared to be the most common reason given for their preference of an employer of their own ethnic group. The preference of being more comfortable working for those of their own ethnic group was strongest among the Greeks (Chimbos, 1969). Because the above study took place more than a decade ago one has to consider that the characteristics of this ethnic group may have changed since that time.

In an interview study of sixty subjects, Vlachos (1969) found that a combination of the Greek and English language exists. Specifically, he states the following:

The new emerging Greek-American dialect indicates the linguistic adjustment to the larger society by selective use of characteristics from Greek and English languages in the new accommodating schema of a Greek American culture (p. 60).

In the above study it was also found that parents maintain their ethnic language while their children speak English more fluently than Greek. Even though they have knowledge of Greek language, members of the younger generation cannot fully express themselves in Greek (Gavaki, 1979).

Finally, based on a survey study of Greek-Australian and Anglo-Australian students, Smolicz (1985) found that there are many cultural values that can be shared among the population of a multiculturalistic society, and which are common values for all Australians. The English language is such a cultural value. This is, however, never meant as a substitute for the native languages for non-British Australians but as an addition to Greek, Italian, Spanish. Smolicz goes further by declaring that "such bilingualism in English and another Australian community language is, already a fact of life in this country" (p. 19).

Family ties. In an interview study of 318 individuals of Greek and Anglo-Australian origin (Smolicz, 1985), it was found that "the most important element differentiating the Greek ethnic group from the broader society was the special bond that unites Greek families. There is a strong spirit of solidarity and collectivism" (p. 20). In the same study it was found that an Anglo-Australian family is concerned with preparing individuals to take their place in the formal structure of his or her society. This is in contrast to Greek culture, which is more family oriented, preparing individuals to take their place first and foremost in the family network (Nagata, 1970; Lambert et al., 1971;

Welts, 1982; Gavaki, 1983; Rosenthal, 1984; Lambert, 1985; Smolicz, 1985; Rosenthal et al., 1989).

An interview study of 150 individuals reported that the generally lower degree of social integration among Greeks than other ethnic groups may be due to their relatively stronger identification with the native Greek culture, particularly in terms of such values as familism (Chimbos, 1969).

From the evidence of a series of studies conducted by interviews and questionnaires, it appeared that adolescents from Greek backgrounds had been reared in families where roles were clearly differentiated based on an unquestionable patriarchal control system in which authority was determined by the status of seniority, gender, and age (Vlachos, 1969; Lambert, Hamers & Frasure-Smith, 1979; Welts, 1982; Rosenthal et al., 1989).

From a series of studies it has been found that gender influences the amount and the nature of conflict among the members of a Greek family (Welts, 1982; Lambert, Hamers & Frasure Smith, 1979; Rosenthal, 1984). According to Rosenthal:

. . . evidence for considerable differences for sex role differentiation in child rearing between cultures suggests that sex differences in intergenerational conflict should be investigated. Clearly a potential for conflict exists particularly for adolescent girls of Greek or Italian background in an environment where Anglo-Saxon norms predominate (p. 58).

Further, in another cross-national study of parents' child-rearing values which included eleven national groups of parents, Lambert, Hamers, and Frasure Smith (1979) found that Greek immigrant parents had the highest sex-role perception score, meaning that of all

groups they perceived more differences in the comportment of boys and girls. In another study conducted by questionnaires, Rosenthal et al., (1989) found that in the Greek culture, boys were regarded as more active and aggressive than girls so that conflict with boys was expected and tolerated. Mother's greater acceptance of conflict with sons than daughters, with the exception of the professional class Greek mothers, fits these cultural expectations.

Intermarriage is considered to be another important element interfering in the Greek family's life (Kourvetaris, 1971). In a survey study of first, second, and third generation Greek Americans, totalling 160 persons, Scourby (1978) found a significant increase in the number who approved of non-Greek marriages among the younger generations compared with those of the first generation. Additionally, and in agreement with the above, Chimbos (1969) found that "although a number of Greek immigrants definitely objected to inter-ethnic marriage, they stated that at least one of their children had practised ethnic exogamy". In the same study, it was found that the highest percentage of Greek immigrants objecting to inter-marriage came from the elementary educational level and the second highest from the secondary school level.

Finally, it is important to be mentioned that in Greece, traditional patterns have started to change. Although these overt changes have not yet been completed many aspects of traditional family life have been challenged (Georgas, 1986; Potamianou, 1978).

In a survey study of a first, second and third generation Americans of Greek extraction Vlachos (1969) found the following:

The Greek American culture is first of all quite distinct from that of Greek proper. Whereas in Greece, culture progressed normally and evolved with the passing of time, for the Greek Americans the Greek culture, brought over by the earlier immigrants (and for that rural immigrants), remained the same despite the time that has since passed. By preserving the original culture there was an assertion of nationality and Greekness by the earlier immigrants. Especially for the older generation, any concession to progress, any concession to change, or any deviation from the cultural patterns handed down by tradition would be a concession to "Americanism". It is in this way that it can be said that the Greeks in America represent a conservative element, by retaining aspects of rural culture, such as family organization, which have change in Greece itself. This general idea can probably explain the perplexity of the Greek, who coming from Greece to the U.S. today finds among the Greek Americans a unique culture even for his own standards. By the same argument the frustration of Greek-Americans visiting Greece, and especially the big cities, can be explained by their bewilderment at not recognizing in Greece which they have been taught to expect from their lives in the United States" (p. 167).

Cultural Conflict Among the Two Generations

As there is limited information available concerning intergenerational conflict in the Greek family unit in Montreal, there is a need for research in this area, especially pertaining to first and second generation Greeks in Canada.

Lambert et al., (1986) indicate that: "One can imagine the social pressure placed on Greek-Canadian children to respect and adjust to a widespread parental desire to stay Greek and keep the language alive" (p. 39).

In another survey study of 115 Greek parents in Montreal (Gavaki, 1983), it was found that changes in family structure were more evident than in ethnicity. Educated children and working wives challenged the undisputed dominance of the father. Such challenges inevitably led to conflict in the immigrant family. Gavaki (1983) declared that "Although one could argue that conflict of cultural origin may neither be the only source

of friction in the family nor its major cause, is certainly to be found and is affecting the family relations" (p. 11).

Based on a survey study of 630 Anglo-, Greek-, and Italian-Australian male and female adolescents and parents, Rosenthal (1984) found that Greek and Italian-Australian adolescents reported significantly more conflict with both mother and father than Anglo-Australians, a finding reflected in parents' reports. Rosenthal (1984) goes further by declaring that "Greek and Italian parents' greater acceptance of their children's temper displays might result in greater tolerance of the expression of conflict" (p. 209). In the same study it was also found that there were two conflict-resolution styles for both parents and children: uncompromising and authoritative for the former, and an assertive independence or readiness to compromise for the latter. In another cross-national survey study, Connell et al., (1975) it was found that among other immigrant groups, Greeks showed a higher degree of alienation from parents than Australians. One should, however, be cautious in generalizing the results of this study since socio-economic status was not the same for Greek immigrant and Anglo-Australian families. It has been found that integration in the host society, and consequently a smoother intergenerational co-existence, depends on socio-economic status. This observation becomes important when it is considered that the main reason Greek people emigrated was to search for higher economic and occupational status and consequently a better standard of life. If their expectations are fulfilled then an increasing attachment and favourable feeling towards the host society will occur (Mangalam & Schwarzweller, 1968; Richmond, 1969; Schultz, 1976; Gavaki, 1981; Lambert, 1981). From research conducted through

interviews in which the values of young parents from four immigrant groups to Northern Canada were compared both with the values of comparable social-class groups of parents residing in each of the old countries and with comparable groups of established Canadian or American parents (Lambert, 1985), it was found that parents' socio-economic background had an important influence in their child-rearing values. Lambert (1985), points out that "in order to make statements about national or cultural differences in values, the researcher must make provisions to control for social class" (p. 12). The above study examined only parents' opinions; there is a need for further studies to examine bilaterally the issue related to intergenerational discrepancies, incorporating at the same time both parents' and children's perspectives.

Summary

One set of studies focused on a large-scale comparisons of one or more ethnic groups over time (Chimbos, 1969; Connell et al., 1975; Lambert, Hamers & Frasure Smith, 1979;). Another set of studies focused on intergenerational comparisons in their study of the Greek immigrants' integration into the mainly American society versus the ethnic community (Vlachos, 1969; Chimbos, 1971; Saloutos, 1975; Scourby, 1978; Smolicz, 1985). Further work has been done in the sociological sphere, related to differential integration within a generation, mainly the first generation Greek immigrants (Nagata, 1970; Vegler, 1988; Rosenthal et al., 1989). Finally, there is a limited set of studies related to intergenerational conflict interwoven with cultural ideologies, between first generation immigrant parents and second generation Greek Canadian children

(Rosenthal, 1984; Gavaki, 1985). Important as these studies may be, they have not dealt with the Greek family unit in Montreal in terms of the effects of beliefs and practises of core cultural values on the relationships between both first and second generations.

Rosenthal et al., (1989) declares that, in addition to asking respondents about the amount of disagreement within families, there should be a more careful exploration of the nature and consequences of conflict. There is a need, therefore, to explore how the above cultural values that are considered to be the core of the Greek culture interfere in the everyday relationship of the members of a Greek family; that is, to explore how the ideologies as well as the practises of the core cultural values influence the relationships between the first generation Greek immigrant parents and the second generation Greek Canadian children.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD AND PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

This section of the thesis will describe the objectives the sampling technique, the instrumentation used for the data collection, as well as the interview procedures. It will end with a description of the data analysis.

Research Questions

Although the findings discussed in the literature review indicated that as one generation succeeds another the attitudes and beliefs towards core cultural values change, it did not indicate the effect of the above changes on the intrafamilial relationship. The purpose of the present study is, therefore, to explore if there is any differentiation of beliefs and practises concerning certain core cultural values, such as, Greek language, Christian Orthodox religion, and family ties on the part of children compared with their parents. It also examines whether intergenerational differences in core values lead to conflict on the part of members of first and second generation Greek families in Montreal. The following questions are based on this inquiry:

1. Do parents have different beliefs than their children, concerning core cultural values, such as Greek language, Orthodox religion, and family ties?
2. Do parents behave differently than their children with respect to core

cultural values such as Greek language, Orthodox religion, and family ties?

3. If the beliefs of adults with respect to the above core cultural values, are different from those of their children, does this result in conflict?
4. If the practises of adults with respect to core cultural values are different from those of their children, does this result in conflict?
5. Does gender influence the degree and the nature of the conflict?
6. Is there a difference in the amount and nature of the conflict in families of different SES?

Participants of the Study

As this is a case study, field-research project, the sampling procedure was criterion-based. Criterion-based sampling requires the establishment of the criteria, bases, or standards necessary for units (families) to be included in the investigation (Yin, 1984).

Specifically, in order for the families to be as representative as possible of the Greek population in Montreal, and to facilitate comparisons among them, six families were selected on the basis of their socio-economic status (SES), and the number, gender, and age of their children. All these families met the following criteria: the Greek immigrant parents were born in Greece but had emigrated to Canada after World War II, and each family included two children, a boy and a girl, aged sixteen to eighteen both of whom were born and raised in Canada. The group studied included twenty four individuals, six of whom were fathers, six were mothers, six were daughters, and the remaining six were sons. These families were selected through referees, that is persons who have vital

positions in the local Greek organizations such as the Hellenic Community, and the Hellenic Federation of Parents and Guardians of Montreal. The nature of the study and the requirements were explained to the referees who afterwards suggested six families which met the requirements. The levels of SES are summarized in Table 1. Letters were sent to these families (see Appendix A). They were given an explanation of the nature of the research in both Greek and English, and were asked to provide certain information such as, place of residence, parents' educational level, current job, and income. In addition a self-addressed, stamped envelope was included, and the subjects were asked to reply if they were willing to participate in the research. Prior to the mailing of

Table 1
Socio-Economic Classification

Educational level	Financial level		
	Low	Average	High
Low	Family 1	Family 2	Family 3
	(<u>n</u> =4)	(<u>n</u> =4)	(<u>n</u> =4)
High	Family 4	Family 5	Family 6
	(<u>n</u> =4)	(<u>n</u> =4)	(<u>n</u> =4)

these letters, the informants contacted the subjects by telephone. Finally, all of the above families were telephoned personally by the investigator a week following the mailing of

the letters. This procedure was used to participate. Their stated reason was that they could not spare the time. It is important to note that the subjects' participation was voluntary.

Demographic Characteristics of Greek Immigrant Parents

The first generation of Greeks, who in this study constituted Greek parents, emigrated from Greece during the 1960s. On average, they have been exposed to the culture of the host society for almost thirty years. Nine of the twelve parents originated from rural Greek societies, where the historical and geographical conditions did not favour prosperity. Three fathers and three mothers had almost completed elementary school in Greece. Two mothers had completed B.A. degrees in Greece, while the remaining three fathers and one mother had completed their B.A. degrees in Montreal.

They might be characterized as "fortune hunters", since this was the main reason for ten of the twelve parents leaving their own country. They were primarily searching for a better way of living. In their minds, the term "better way of living" was initially connected with the premise that Canada would provide them with opportunities to increase their economic status. The parents in this study represent a wide range of vocational positions such as, workers in factories, operators, owners of restaurants, teachers, lawyers, and physicians.

Finally, two of the six families resided in French speaking districts, while the remaining resided in districts with a high Greek population. Table 2 illustrates each family in combination with its demographic characteristics. In addition, Tables 1 and 2

Table 2

Families and their Demographical Characteristics

Families	Years of exposure	Education	Occupation	District
FATHERS				
Family 1	31	Grade 5	Factory worker	HGP ¹
Family 2	26	Grade 5	Operator	HGP
Family 3	31	Grade 6	Businessman	HFP ²
Family 4	25	University	Unemployed	HGP
Family 5	36	University	Teacher	HGP
Family 6	33	University	Physician	HFP
MOTHERS				
Family 1	29	Grade 5	Factory worker	HGP
Family 2	28	Grade 6	Seamstress	HGP
Family 3	32	Secondary 2	Housewife	HFP
Family 4	26	University	Lawyer	HGP
Family 5	24	University	Teacher	HGP
Family 6	33	University	Bacteriologist	HFP

¹High Greek Population²High French Population

demonstrate each family's demographic characteristics and income.

Instrumentation

The data were collected through a semi-structured, open-ended, tape-recorder interview questionnaire. The interview method was chosen because it provided a framework within which respondents could express their own understanding and personal views (Guba & Lincoln 1984). Two pilot studies with single families were carried out in order to check the appropriateness of the questions, and to help the researcher to practise data collection skills. The above two families were not included in the sample. Analysis of the data collection sessions from the first pilot study led the investigator to pursue more specific questions during the data collection phase of the second pilot study. The second pilot study suggested that the changes which resulted from the first pilot study were effective, and that the interviews could proceed. The interview questionnaire was divided into four major parts. The first part consisted of general, warming questions, so that the subjects would feel comfortable and more familiar with the investigator and become used to the tape-recorder. In addition, information concerning parents' years of exposure to the Canadian culture, parents' satisfaction living in Montreal, how Greeks perceive any differences or similarities between Canadians and Greeks in the way they rear their children, and the consequences when ideas from the broader society penetrate the Greek family unit was obtained during the first section of the interview.

The remaining three parts related to Orthodox religion, Greek language, and family structure. The content of these interview items was based on previous studies as

well as on the researcher's personal experience as a teacher in a Greek elementary and high school and as an informal observer of Greek families. Questions were designed to determine whether there were any discrepancies among parents' and children's beliefs and practises concerning core cultural values. It was hoped answers to such questions might enable the researcher to determine whether these differences resulted in intergenerational conflict. Four types of questions were posed:

A) Experience/behaviour questions: this type of question elicited description of experiences, behaviours, actions, and activities that would have been observable had the observer been present (Yin, 1984). B) Opinion/value questions: this type of question tried to find out "what people think about the world they participate in". They tell us people's goals, intentions, desires, and values (Yin, 1984). C) Hypothetical questions: these questions asked what the respondents might do or what it might be like in a particular situation (Yin, 1984). D) Devil's advocate questions: these questions challenged the respondent to consider an opposing view (Yin, 1984). The actual interview questions are presented in Appendices B and C.

Interview Procedure

Each subject was interviewed by the researcher. The subjects had the choice of choosing the language in which they felt more comfortable, Greek or English. Interviews were tape-recorded. In addition, during the course of the interview, field notes were kept in order to record unexpected dimensions as they emerged. The interviews of each family took place in their own homes. However, each member of the family was

interviewed individually in a quiet, relatively isolated room of the house, in order to minimize interference from the others. The subjects in each family were allowed to choose the time and the order in which they wanted to be interviewed, depending on when they could spare the time. The interviewing sessions for each family had a maximum duration of one week. Before the actual interview was begun, the interviewer spent five to ten minutes with the interviewee in order to build rapport. In each case, after the interviews were completed the interviewer was invited to dinner with the family. Although unplanned, this proved to be important since it enabled the researcher to observe all family members interacting with each other. Without the formality of the questionnaire and the presence of the tape recorder, subjects were free to express their opinions and ideas in the context of the researcher as guest.

Analysis of the Data

As this was an exploratory study the data were analyzed in a descriptive, exploratory way. Initially, they were transcribed from the tapes. In transcribing the tapes, the investigator attempted to preserve the actual speech used, even where it was not strictly correct grammatically. However, it was decided not to indicate pauses and hesitations indicated by sounds such as "Ah...", "Um...", "Er...", and the like, since they convey no meaning and would only make the transcripts more difficult to read. After being transcribed, the Greek data were translated in to English.

All the raw data were accumulated for each family member. Then each family as a whole was integrated in the form of a case record. The purpose of choosing the

form of a case record instead of constructing categories was to obtain comprehensive, systematic and in-depth information about each family. The case descriptions were organized into a comprehensive, primary resource data base. The case record included all the major information and responses of every member of each family to the interview questionnaire. Case records were organized thematically, and represented a holistic portrayal of each family. There were six case records corresponding to the six families. They included different dimensions, factors and variables, woven together into a comprehensive framework. Specifically, at the beginning of each case record, demographic characteristics of the family such as number of family members, place of residence, parents' educational level, parents' occupation(s), children's education, and years of parents' exposure to the culture of the host society were included. In this way an attempt was made to sketch the background of each family. After completing the case records for each of the families, all case studies were compared in order to find differences or similarities among families. Further, the above comparisons facilitated an understanding of the influence of socio-economic status in Greek, intrafamilial relationships. Moreover, the responses of the interview were compared with feedback obtained in the field using as a source the field notes; in other words, an inductive analysis at this point was conducted checking emergent unexpected patterns, or unexpected linkages among dimensions, and new insights. In an effort to understand the thoughts of the participants, the analysis of experiences was based on their concepts. For this purpose, participants' own words and explanations were used to corroborate the field notes in an triangulation pattern. Each family was first treated individually as a

comprehensive case. Afterwards an attempt was made to discover processes and outcomes that occurred across all six families in order to understand how such processes were shaped by specific contextual variables. These descriptions will not be fully presented here; rather they are the source of information on which this thesis was based. Afterwards, the similarities among the six families were grouped together. As with the similarities, differences were grasped and associated systematically with parents' demographic variables of education, occupation, and income. In addition, these differences were compared with the explanations offered by the family members. Finally, each research question was examined and answered on the basis of the data.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The present study examined if there is an intergenerational conflict between Greek immigrant parents and their Greek Canadian children, caused by core cultural values. The examined values were: Greek language, Orthodox religion, and Family ties. The instrument used (a semi-structured, open-ended interview questionnaire) was designed to:

- a) examine if there is any differentiation among parents' and children's beliefs and practises concerning Greek language,
- b) examine whether language per se causes any difficulties in parents' and children's communication,
- c) identify any differentiation between parents' and children's beliefs and practises regarding Greek Orthodox religion,
- d) examine whether conflict is caused by any differences concerning Orthodox religion, and to identify any arguments that may arise from possible different beliefs and practises that parents and children preserve related to family ties.

Further, this study examined if parent's socioeconomic status (SES) and children's gender influenced the amount and the nature of conflict. The primary purpose of the data analysis was to examine the effect of the above three core cultural values in parents'-children's relationships.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section examines how Greek parents perceived the Greek family pattern as compared to the Anglo/Francophone pattern regarding child-rearing. Further, it examines children's perceptions about the Greek

family pattern compared to the Anglo/Francophone pattern. Afterward, parents' and children's perceptions regarding family patterns are compared with each other in an effort to identify differences and determine implications. Results in this section were derived from responses to the "warming questions".

The second section is related to one of the three core values, Greek language. In this section parents' and children's beliefs and practises concerning the Greek language are examined in an effort to identify any differences. Moreover, parents' and children's responses are compared in order to determine any implications in their communication, deriving from language. The same pattern is used in the third and the fourth section in analyzing Greek Orthodox religion and family ties respectively. In all of these sections parents' educational level and children's gender is presented when necessary, in order to identify their roles in the nature of the conflict. At the end of each section the results and the emerging conclusions are summarized.

Greek Parents' and Children's Perception of Family Patterns

It has already been mentioned that features which characterize a Greek family in Montreal, place it in a distinct level from those families actually living in Greece. This survey revealed that both first and second generation Greeks in Montreal believed that there was a profound difference between the Greek and the Anglo/Francophone family pattern. These differences focused on rearing practises and were found to be perceived more with the French than with the English family patterns. However, Greek parents and children made no distinction between the French and the English cultures, referring

to them as the Canadian culture. Greek parents and children were aware of these differences; nevertheless, they perceived them from different perspectives. The importance of examining both parents' and children's perceptions about differences between the Greek and the Canadian family model is considered essential. Parents endeavoured to preserve and transmit the family model they embodied from their own parents in Greece, while their children interacted with Greeks as well as with Anglo and Francophones and were thus influenced by other ideas and models. As a father said: "when my children bring ideas about the way French parents treat their children, a short circuit occurs in the family".

The following discussion serves to elaborate the above stated differences enabling us to better understand the mentality that dominates the Greek family.

How Greek Parents Perceived the Greek Family Pattern Compared with the Anglo/Francophone Pattern Regarding Child Rearing

All of the Greek parents, both mothers and fathers, expressed the thought that one of the major elements that differentiate Greek from Canadian parents in their rearing practises was the amount of freedom they allowed their children. They believed that they, in contrast to Canadians, restricted their children's freedom. As one mother said:

We differ in the amount of freedom that we allow to our children. Canadian parents are more free. A Greek mother will go out only with her husband or with her children. We are very close to the family. We are different more with French than with English parents. The members of a French family express their thoughts more openly than us, they express what they believe. We have discussions with our children but we do not express our real thoughts. Canadians are talking to their children as friends, but we are more strict; we keep a distance from our children.

For four fathers and four mothers freedom was connected with irresponsibility and immorality. According to this logic, in order to reduce irresponsibility and immorality they restricted freedom. Parents who gave freedom to their children were viewed as being indifferent to their children's life and well being. In addition, five fathers and three mothers claimed that Greek parents were more "family oriented" and "child centred" than Canadians. In Greek parents' experience, the above terms exist when parents were strict and protective with their children regardless of age. This is so, when parents have control over their children's lives and try to be aware of their actions in and out of the family unit. In this way, Greek parents feel that they preserve "familial warmth" in contrast to Canadians who allow their children more than the proper freedom. Five fathers and three mothers interpreted Canadian parents' free treatment either as lack of concern or loose family ties. As a father said:

Canadians do not care as much as Greeks about the family. We have learned from our grandparents and our parents that we have to sit around the table all together pray and eat. This does not happen with Canadians. Each member of their family eats at a different time. We want our children to follow our path as we followed our parents' path. We try to bring our children as close to the family as possible. On the other hand, Canadians are different. They do not care as much as Greeks if their children will live independently from them. Of course there are Greek children who had followed the wrong path or Greek parents who do not care very much about their children, but they are exceptions to the rule.

According to a mother:

I see a big difference. Anglo/Francophone parents rear their children differently than Greeks. We want our children to be very close to us. We want to know where they are going, with whom they are going out, what they are doing, everything, even if they ate. We want to keep them with us until they will get married. In contrast Canadians prompt their children

to live on their own, and to undertake their own responsibilities.

Greek parents, with the exception of one father and one mother, indicated a strong opposition concerning children's independence; an element they claimed occurred frequently in Canadian families. According to parents' opinions, with the exception of one father, every member of the family is mutually dependent on the rest of the members. If one of the members, especially a child, decides to leave the family without being forced by outside coercive factors, then a high level tension arises in the family. In contrast, according to Greek parents' opinions Canadians and particularly Francophones exhibit positive attitudes toward children's independence.

In addition, three fathers and all of the mothers claimed that Anglo/Francophones prompted their children to become financially independent as well as to contribute to home expenses. In contrast to the above three fathers and six mothers, it was inconceivable that they would accept money from their children to pay home expenses. If this were to happen then parents would either feel that they lost control over their child's life or that they had failed to provide home necessities. In an effort to avoid these kinds of situations parents sometimes provided their children with whatever they wanted, up to the point of spoiling them. Nevertheless, the remaining three fathers stated that they encouraged their children, especially their sons, to earn money by working during summer periods.

Indeed, what all the Greek parents expected from their children, in exchange for what they offer them, was love, respect, and obedience. According to Greek parents, elements such as obedience, maturity, respect, and future achievement, are valued more

in the Greek family than in the Anglo/Francophone family. Four fathers and one mother claimed that their children were free to express their own opinions up to a limit. Whenever the child talked back to his or her parents then parents perceived the action as disobedience, and punishment followed. The nature of punishment differed from family to family. Punishment ranged from situations where parents increased their restrictions on children's freedom up to situations where physical punishment, such as slapping, occurred. The purpose of punishment was for parents to put across to their children the feeling that they were hurt by the children's disobedience. Mothers, however, regardless of their educational level, seemed to be more tolerant of children's aggression than fathers; fathers, with the exception of two, seemed to be more tolerant of their son's aggressive behaviour than their daughters. As a father said:

Of course I do not get very angry when my son raises his voice because he is a growing man . . . But I cannot accept such behaviour from my daughter.

Greek parents claimed that they valued their children's education more than Canadians. They perceived the academic achievement as positive for both daughters and sons; consequently, they urged their children to pursue higher education. Five of the fathers, however, encouraged their sons more than their daughters to strive toward prosperous careers. The ideology behind this was that man is ascribed the role of "provider" while the purpose for their daughters is to have a successful marriage. All of the mothers agreed that a successful career is more important to their sons than to their daughters, however, they also stressed the importance of career qualifications for their daughters, even if the career would not be pursued.

Finally, three mothers expressed the belief that Canadian parents and especially fathers, even though they seemed not to be as caring as Greek fathers with their children, could communicate better with their children than Greek fathers. Two of the mothers attributed this lack of communication to fathers' spending too much time working outside the home. When fathers were home their children were either in school or in bed. Thus, the time they spent with their children was very limited. In contrast, the third mother expressed the opinion that:

Greek fathers are very authoritarian and strict. They want to be obeyed in whatever they say therefore, rather than discuss, they dictate.

Even though, the remaining parents agreed that Greek fathers were much more authoritarian than Canadian fathers, they claimed that lack of communication between parents and children seems to be a natural phenomenon in every family, and not an element that exists only in Greek families.

How Children Perceived the Greek Family Pattern Compared with the Anglo/Francophone Model Regarding Parents' Treatment

The features that according to parents, characterized a Greek family and placed it at a distinct level compared to the Anglo/Francophone family were viewed differently by children. What for parents seemed to be "familial warmth", for children sometimes was an overcontrolling, overprotective family pattern. All of them expressed the belief that Greek parents were more strict and irritable than Canadian parents, even for non-essential matters. Illustratively, a son said:

An event such as piercing his ear, might pass without any negative

implications for a French or an English family, while in a Greek family it will become a source of arguments and stress, not because of the fact itself but because of moral issues that lay beyond that. When I pierced my ears my father almost had a heart attack. He told me that I am not a man anymore.

All of the Greek children believed that Canadian parents articulated their feelings more than Greek parents. Because of this, they believed that it was easier for Canadian children to communicate more openly with their parents, therefore, they believed that Canadians had better communication skills than Greeks. However, five boys and four girls expressed also the opinion that one of the reasons that Canadian children were allowed more freedom either in expression or in actions might be due to parents' indifference, lack of overprotective feelings, and loose familial ties. Nevertheless, two variations existed. The first concerned a differentiation in the nature of children's communication with fathers compared to with mothers. Almost all the children asserted that they communicate better with their mothers than their fathers. It seemed that mothers were more flexible and more understanding than fathers. According to almost all of the children, with the exception of one boy and one girl from the same family, mothers tried to combine the old elements that they embodied from the old country with the new elements that entered into the family by their children. Even if the results were not always satisfactory, the children felt their mothers' effort to communicate with them. They claimed:

My mother is affectionate and understandable, a lot of times she explain to me why she is saying no. My mother goes like what I am, she will know that sometimes I do stupidities. But I have a lot of arguments with my father. He does not talk to me he ignores me, if I'll do something; he cannot understand.

No I don't talk very much with my father. He pretends that he doesn't hear you, he said forget about it. "No" is "no". My mother is better, she is more understandable, she will explain. I am always talking to my mother.

I communicate well with both my father and my mother. My mother sometimes takes the role of the mediator, because my father is very direct, and absolute but my mother is more like, "let's talk about it".

In children's minds Greek mothers were more protective and more caring than Canadian mothers. Five boys and four girls asserted that they felt lucky at being in such a warm and protective environment but they wished as well their mothers were less overprotective. As a boy said:

Canadians sometimes are more lost. Greek mothers care a lot about what their kids are going to do in their future, they protect as much as they can their kids. They don't allow them so much freedom, because the kid might become . . . go on the wrong way, the girls might go on the wrong way. But what I hate is that sometimes they treat you as a kid and they don't think that what I think is right.

The second variation concerned communication between fathers and children. Seven of the twelve children declared that their dealing with their fathers was not the way they wanted. Nevertheless, the nature of the children's communication with their fathers was found to vary from family to family. Three boys and three girls stated that talking with their fathers was superficial to the point where real communication was non-existent.

I don't even remember talking to my father about a problem. We are only talking about sports. Nothing else.

The remaining three boys and three girls asserted that they felt free to express their opinions in front of their fathers as well as to have discussions with them about social issues, even though sometimes their fathers pretended to be omnipotent.

I can discuss everything, seriously and rationally with both my father and

my mother, but my father tends to know everything about anything. But it wouldn't be hard for me to disagree when his answer is no. I feel free to express my opinion.

In cases where real communication between fathers and children actually existed, one common element from the father's side was a higher level of education compared with the remaining fathers where communication was more limited. Children who could not communicate with their fathers revealed a higher degree of certainty that Canadian parents who could communicate better with their children than Greeks. Children's explanations regarding the lack of communication between them and their parents differed from their parents' explanation. According to children, the factor that caused this lack of communication lay in their parents' unwillingness to hear and discuss new ideas that children brought into the house. Herein, the children did not express their opinions freely in front of their parents, because they had the experience that if they did so, instead of discussion they would be engaged in arguments.

You absorb other things interacting with people outside your house and of course you cannot leave these ideas out of your house. Once you bring them in, even in simple discussions, they [parents] shoot them down. My opinion should be only their opinion. My talking is very limited, you have fights so you give up . . . but you come more and more apart from your family.

Greeks do not understand their kids, because when they were young they knew only how to work on the farms and then go back home. But we live in a different country and in a different decade. I think that it would be better if my parents were born and lived here, because in that way they would know more about this culture.

I think my parents do not represent a typical Greek family. I think a lot of my friends' parents will say that my parents have these modernistic ideas . . . they would say this is not for us. Canadians do things like that. But a lot of my friends' parents have the impression that they must preserve the manners and customs that they had in Greece. Indeed they

preserve them with a lot more rigour than somebody in Greece would. They want to retain the 1950 life style because they think that in that way they will keep the culture. They left Greece in 1955, and they still preserve those ideas that some things must not be articulated. They have left with a lot of taboos, that in our day and in our society these taboos are out of date. Things like sex education, like dating, like having a guy friend, expressing openly yourself. These issues are forbidden in the house. That's why there are a lot of communication problems.

In addition, according to two boys and two girls another factor that may interfere is parents' educational level.

Because a lot of them are uneducated, they don't read books, they don't read the newspaper and because a lot of them haven't learned English or French they cannot even listen to the news, so the world is very limited to them.

Moreover, four children perceived that a Greek family's fear of non-family members is often excessive and unjustified, a fear perceived as less pronounced in Anglo/Francophone families. Four children claimed that one of the reasons that they had much less freedom than their Anglo/Francophone friends was because of their parents' fear that "only evil things can derive from the outside society." This fear was interwoven with two other factors. The first was the parents' feelings of insecurity, originating from their lack of understanding of the way that the Canadian society functions. According to the children's viewpoint, the second and more important factor was parents' fear that their children would associate with people who steal, traffic drugs, and drink excessive amounts of alcohol. In order to protect their children from bad societal influences, parents attempted to close their children off from the outside society by restricting their freedom.

According to six girls and two boys, another issue that could disrupt parent-child

relations was dating, especially concerning daughters' dating. According to the above children, Greek parents allowed dating for their sons, feeling even proud to hear that their son has a girlfriend. However, the eight children reported that dating for girls was unacceptable by Greek parents as it was interwoven with morality, the girl's dignity, and the family's honour. Moreover, four girls stated that Greek fathers were more strict than mothers on dating issues, as they would feel unable to control and protect their daughters, in case where the daughter had a date.

Finally, five boys and all the girls claimed that Greek parents were much more sexist than Canadians in favour of sons, without any consideration of the daughter's age. This differentiation was expressed by more limited freedom in every dimension when the issue concerned daughters. An interesting finding though difficult to explain, is that less educated parents seemed to be more strict with daughters, while highly educated parents seemed to be more strict and demanding on sons regarding their educational progress.

According to a son:

I grow up with the idea that a man has more superiority than a woman, therefore I have more freedom doing things than my sister. The only thing that my father is hard on me is school.

According to a daughter:

My parents trust my brother more than me, even though he lies more often than me . . . When I am going out with my friends, even though my brother is younger than me, he has to come along with me, and keep an eye on me.

Even though, children's responses agreed that Greek parents reared their children in different ways than Anglo/Francophone parents, variations in their responses existed concerning the magnitude of these differences. In three of the six families in which the

above mentioned differences were perceived in a milder way, there were three common elements on the parents' side. The first was that parents did not face any difficulties deriving from language in their communication mainly with Anglophone persons. The second was related to parents' educational level. In educational terms they could be characterized as highly educated. Finally, the last feature concerned their degree of satisfaction with the receiving society. Specifically, both mothers and fathers expressed a higher degree of satisfaction with the receiving society compared with parents of the remaining three families. In the remaining families two of the fathers wished one day to return to Greece, while the third father was not satisfied either in living in Montreal or in going back to Greece. As far as the mothers are concerned, one of them stated that she would return to Greece after her children's marriage, while the remaining mothers claimed that they were mildly satisfied with living in Montreal.

Parents' and Children's Perceptions: Comparisons and Implications

Both parents and children arrived at the same conclusion that Greek parents rear their children differently from Anglo/Francophone parents. The most salient differences mentioned by both generations were:

- a) Greek parents restrict the freedom of their children in contrast to Canadians,
- b) Greek parents are stricter while Canadians are more genial,
- c) Greek parents are more "family centred" and "family oriented". Another difference perceived only by the adults was that Greek parents put a great deal of emphasis on educational achievement, urging their children to pursue their studies. On the other hand,

they believed that Canadian parents stressed education as well but to a lesser degree than Greeks, as Canadians left the final choice to their children. From the viewpoint of Greek children two additional differences were mentioned. The first was that Greek parents' child rearing was highly influenced by their child's gender, while Canadian parents exercised a more equalitarian approach. Second, Greek parents, in order to preserve the customs and mentality of the old country, upheld out-dated ideas while Canadians living in their own cultural environment progressed accordingly.

With regard to interfamily communication, responses varied. Overall, fathers, with the exception of one, did not perceive any major complications in their communication with their children. Likewise they did not sense any differences with the communication model that Greek parents had with their children compared with Canadians. Arguments or misunderstandings with their children were attributed to a natural intergenerational gap. However, three of the six mothers claimed that Canadians could communicate better with their children mainly because they were less authoritarian.

From the children's stand-point, it was revealed that they communicated better with their mothers than with their fathers. Concerning their communication with their fathers, children's responses were divided. Almost half of them, both boys and girls, claimed that they had a superficial relationship with their fathers. They also claimed that Canadian fathers related better to their children. The others asserted that the relationship with their fathers was satisfying. Children with a better verbal communication sensed a minimal difference between both cultural groups. Overall, it seemed that conflicts in the relationship between Greek parents and their children occurred mainly when children,

especially daughters, sought more freedom. These children were influenced by the freedom that their non-Greek friends had, consequently they tended to emulate freedom in both decision-making and in entertainment. However, parents were not flexible with regard to freedom and consequently, the acquisition of freedom became a nagging problem. Further, the children wished that Greek parents, and mainly fathers, were not as strict and authoritarian, while they wished mothers were less overprotective and overcontrolling. Moreover, children attributed parent-child communication problems to parents who still preserved out-dated ideas which existed in "the old country". In cases where parents adhered to old-fashioned beliefs, children attempt to up date these ideas by providing examples from other non-Greek families. However, it seemed that parents, especially fathers, opposed this attempt. As a consequence, children often concealed their ideas from their parents, expressing themselves only outside the family, in an attempt to avoid parent-child conflicts. Nevertheless, it was found that parent-child relationships were positively affected by three factors. These factors were parents' education, parents' ability to communicate with non-Greek people, and parents' satisfaction with the receiving society. Dealing with the families who participated in this study, parents' education was interwoven with their knowledge of English or French. Their ability to communicate with non-Greek people, to read English newspapers and generally to understand better what was said by the mass media was linked with their skills in the second language.

Greek Language

Language embodies the power of communication and enables human beings to mutually articulate their opinions, thoughts, difficulties, and feelings. However, the existence and use of an ethnic language in a society like Canada that has been characterized as a "mosaic of nationalities" can be seen as a particularly strong indicator of non-assimilation (Vlachos, 1969). This becomes apparent if the cultural dimensions are considered that exist beyond language per se. In the Greek ethnic group, the Greek language has been associated mainly with Greek identity. In order to maintain and perpetuate the knowledge of Greek language to the future generations, the Greek education of the children of the Greek immigrants has been one of the major concerns of many Greeks residing in Montreal.

This concern spurred the Greek community to establish, wherever feasible, Greek schools. Three kinds of schools are operated by the Greek community:

- a) Daily trilingual schools which operate with Anglo/Franco phone and Greek teachers;
- b) Afternoon schools, operated after regular school hours of either French or English schools;
- c) Saturday schools functioning every Saturday morning, operating with only Greek teachers.

The Greek school in Montreal can be characterized as "vehicle of the Greek culture". These schools serve the purpose of protecting the Greek cultural identity, and continuing learning of Greek history, geography, Orthodox religion and language (Lanaris, 1990).

In this section the Greek language will be examined from another perspective: how language interferes in the dynamic of communication among members of the Greek family unit residing in Montreal, with special focus on the oral communication between parents and children. Parents' and children's beliefs concerning the maintenance of the Greek language, and parents' and children's practises towards Greek language are two issues that will be addressed. Further, implications of different beliefs and practises, and the difficulties in articulating a common and understandable language will be explored.

Parents' and Children's Beliefs Concerning Greek Language

Parents' perspective. All the parents, (N=12) regardless of their occupation, education, or income, held the belief that the Greek language must be transmitted to forthcoming generations. This desire stems from the belief that Greek language and Greek culture are interdependent, one not being able to exist without the other. By maintaining the Greek language, Greek parents believe that their origin, and customs will be preserved. As two fathers stated:

We [parents] have to transmit the language to our children for the continuation of our origins. I want my children to feel their Greek roots.

We have to perpetuate our Greek cultural identity to our children. One way to do this is to transmit our language to our children and to our grand-children.

Nevertheless no opposition to learning the languages of the dominant culture was expressed. All Greek parents reported that they would like their children to be trilingual, knowing French, English, and Greek. Greek parents believed that by attending French

schools their children will learn French. By socializing with English peers and by being exposed to English media their children will learn English. The responsibility of transmitting the Greek language to new generations, however, rests with the Greek family and the Greek community as a whole. As much as can be realistically achieved, Greek families felt a moral obligation to introduce their children to the Greek linguistic sphere by speaking Greek in the home. Two representative statements follow:

Our children learn French at school, they also learn English with their friends. Only in the house they [children] have the opportunity to learn Greek. It would be ridiculous for the members of a Greek family to speak in other language than Greek.

Children cannot appreciate what it means to keep your own cultural identity, your own language, that's why we [parents] have to implant the love of our origins in the minds and hearts of our children.

In addition, for five fathers and two mothers this moral obligation stemmed from a feeling of pride in the Greek culture and language itself.

I even want my grandchildren to feel and appreciate the beauty and the richness of the Greek language and even more of the Greek culture. I want them to feel as proud of their origin as I do.

The Greek culture and the Greek language are so rich that I think it would be a crime if we [parents] do not transmit them to our children.

Six of the twelve parents also justified their persistence in maintaining and continuing the Greek language on the fact that one day they will return to Greece; their children, therefore, must know Greek.

A lot of us [Greek immigrants] one day will return to Greece, so we want our children to know Greek.

We [parents] are thinking of going back to Greece. If my children cannot speak Greek how will they communicate with the other Greeks down there [Greece]?

However, five of the twelve parents, three fathers and two mothers, expressed their reservations about how realizable their dream was. Not only were these parents aware of the importance of the Greek language to their children's future, but they were also aware that their children view Greek language as unimportant and unnecessary in their pursuit of future goals. Further, the five parents stated that their children could not speak Greek fluently and were often unable to even express themselves in Greek. Therefore, even if this second generation wanted to transmit the language to their offspring, they would not be able to do so because of their own inability to use the language properly. Another factor that, according to these five parents, impeded the transmission of Greek language to future generations was the reduction of Greek immigration, preventing new blood from being infused into the Montreal Greek community. As one father and one mother stated:

I am sceptical about it. I can see that my children cannot even express themselves in Greek. It will be very difficult for them, if not impossible, to teach Greek to their children.

Eventually it [Greek culture] will get abolished because there is no immigration coming in from Greece, and because a lot of Greek kids do not learn Greek properly so they would not be able to teach their own children.

In light of these realities, these five participants stated that the reason for learning the Greek language must be altered in favour of the intellectual-educational gains it provides. Therefore, in order to transmit the Greek language to future generations, Greek parents stated that they must instill in their children the desire to learn Greek because of the educational and intellectual rewards it offers.

I believe that we can teach them Greek from the perspective of an

intellectual vantage point.

We [parents] know that the cultural environment here affects our children negatively towards the Greek language and the Greek culture as a whole. We also know that Greek is not important for our children's future here. So I believe that we have to approach the learning of Greek from an intellectual point of view.

I always emphasize to them that by learning Greek they will have the advantage to think in a different way, not only as English or French but as Greek people think as well. They [children] would not have a one-side view.

Four of the above five Greeks lived in a predominately French, and all had completed their university degrees in Montreal. The remaining seven parents resided in a district where Greek was the prevailing ethnic group and all had elementary Greek education, with the exception of one father who completed a University degree in Greece.

Children's Perspective. Eleven of the twelve children expressed the opinion that the Greek language must be transmitted to forthcoming generations while one child stated the opposite. Among the eleven children's responses there were discrepancies in the reasoning behind preserving the Greek language. When first interviewed all of the eleven children stated that second generation, Greek Canadians should maintain their parents' mother tongue, so as to preserve the Greek culture. Through further questioning, however, it became apparent that their real reason behind learning the Greek language was based on the need to communicate with their parents, who had neither the willingness nor the ability to speak French or English in the family setting. Reasons listed by the children included the following: four of the eleven children reported that should their parents return to Greece, they must learn Greek in order to maintain written

correspondence with them. Ten of the eleven children, in conjunction with the above belief, expressed the opinion that they have to learn Greek, in order to be able to correspond with their parents, should their parents return to Greece. For two of the eleven children the Greek language was identified as their own mother tongue as well. While two children also reported that the basis for learning and maintaining their language lay in the fact that they considered the Greek language to be one of the most rich and famous languages. Questioning also revealed an internal conflict in the children interviewed. Eight of the twelve children believed that being trilingual placed them in a more advantageous position than bilingual or unilingual Canadians. In direct contradiction to this, however, was the belief that speaking Greek associated them with the Greek subculture and labelled them as "immigrants", placing them in an inferior societal position.

I can speak three languages and I have three different ways of thinking. I like that, I can say that I am lucky . . . but it is difficult. Well sometimes especially in class I feel that I cannot speak French as fluently as French people do and I cannot speak Greek as Greeks in Greece do. Sometimes I feel that being a Greek in Montreal or speaking Greek is like being an immigrant. I don't want that. I was born in Montreal and I grew up here and in order to progress and succeed here, I have to speak English and French. Greek doesn't help me at least vocationally.

I feel proud of being a Greek-Canadian and speak Greek but sometimes it is no good to belong to an ethnic group, like it lowers you.

Parents' and Children's Practises Concerning Greek Language

Parents' practises. All parents interviewed used Greek as the sole means of verbally communicating with their children in an effort to preserve and transmit the Greek

language. In all of six families, regardless of parents' education, occupation, income, or district of residence, the children's first language experience was Greek. As a result, when these children began their Canadian schooling they had difficulties following their teacher's English or French instructions. Some representative statements follow:

Of course we speak in Greek and I am absolute about it. I forbid my children to speak in another language than Greek.

The first language my children heard was Greek. I know that they faced difficulties in kindergarten but only at home they have the opportunity to speak Greek.

I have made it clear. I don't care in how many languages they can communicate; in this house they have to speak Greek. I am very strict about it.

Parents who did not have the opportunity to learn either French or English, except for some basic words, forbade their children to speak to them in any language but Greek. When the children spoke to them in English, the parents urged them to translate what was said in Greek. However, even though mothers had a lesser knowledge of English or French than fathers, when children spoke broken Greek with English and French words, mothers were more willing than fathers to accept their attempt at communicating with them.

Sometimes their father gets angry when they [children] speak in English or French in front of him. Personally I don't have any problem if my children use English or French words when they cannot express themselves in Greek. Of course they have to explain to me what they are saying. Sometimes they use a dictionary.

When the children did not understand them, parents elaborated and reiterated their thoughts in Greek rather than expressed their thoughts in English or French. However, parents who were educated and had a knowledge of English or French still used Greek

as a means of communication. They expected their children to speak Greek to them, yet were still flexible when their children combined English and French with Greek. As a father and a mother reported:

I let them [children] use French or English words, but I always speak to them in Greek so that they will speak Greek as well.

We [parents] always speak in Greek. Whenever, especially my daughter, uses English or French words, I translate them in Greek and I explain to her what the words mean.

Of the three families with higher education, the parents of one family strictly refused to speak any other language other than Greek in the family unit. The remaining parents who had a higher educational level, imparted to their children their own pride in the Greek language.

Additionally, all of the six families enrolled their children in Greek schools. According to parents this action was based upon three factors:

- a) The children would be surrounded by other Greek children, consequently they would have the opportunity to associate with people who had the same cultural background.
- b) Greek school would enhance cultural ethics, as its main aim is to emphasize the Greek cultural spirit and milieu.
- c) Children would have one more opportunity to use and improve their Greek language skills.

At the time of data collection, four of the twelve children had completed the six grades of the Greek elementary school. Six had completed the three more grades of the Greek high school, and the remaining two were currently continuing the first year of three years of the Greek senior high school.

Children's practises. All children have attended or were attending a Greek school, yet

this cannot be considered an indicator of their willingness to learn and practise the Greek language. In fact, all of them, with the exception of the two children, reported that they attended not by choice but because of the urging of their parents. Their main opposition lay in that the Greek school operated after French school hours or on Saturdays, meaning an overloaded schedule with extra class hours and homework.

I was going to a Greek school because I didn't have a choice. You were in school all day and then you had the Greek school as well. Oh . . . it was too much.

I want to know Greek but I don't want to go to a Greek school every Saturday. I prefer going out with my friends or watch soccer on T.V.

. . . not that I do not like Greek school but I don't like going to school on Saturdays. . . six days of the week you have to go to school.

In addition, two of the twelve children also based their opposition on their belief that the Greek school distinguished them from the dominant society, emphasizing their minority status.

I don't like it because it is a private Greek society that you have to go and learn a different kind of language, which is not important here in Montreal. I know that my parents want to build a small Greece here for us, but I am not an immigrant and I prefer to live as my English and French friends live.

Almost all the children held the belief that the best opportunity to use their language of origin was in the household, where their parents spoke Greek daily. However, when comparing their beliefs with their practises, an inconsistency became evident. Instead of using the household as a practising ground for perfecting their Greek, they persisted in using an amalgam of Greek, English and French words. If their parents were not as insistent on the use of Greek in the home, the children would probably

avoided the use of the language whenever possible.

I use a lot of English words because sometimes a word comes out of my head and I don't know how to say it in Greek. It's boring every time to look in the dictionary.

I cannot express my ideas in Greek. I use half English half Greek.

I prefer to communicate with my parents in English because this is the language I feel comfortable with. If my parents weren't so persistent I wouldn't speak so much in Greek. It is very difficult. Words have a different meaning when you translate them in Greek.

In addition, siblings communicated mainly in English or French, and English or French was spoken among Greek friends with Greek used only to express some untranslatable core Greek phrases.

With my brother I always speak in English or French. With my friends I speak in French.

I speak English with my friends. Sometimes we speak in Greek because it's fun, the others cannot understand us.

I speak in English with my sister. Sometimes when I speak in English with my Greek friends in front of my father, he freaks out.

A conceivable explanation for these discrepancies between beliefs and practises is that even if children wanted to use and maintain their language of origin, this was a difficult aspiration to realize. They had daily contact with Anglo/Francophone persons, both in and out of school. This maximized their exposure to English and French, yet minimized their exposure to Greek. Consequently, the importance of English and French became engrained, reinforcing its use in all contexts. It became natural and spontaneous for Greek Canadians to express themselves mainly in English, even in circumstances where they had knowledge of the corresponding phrases in Greek. Only two of the twelve

children reported that they had no difficulty holding a conversation in Greek. Additional support for this argument was that while all parents responded to the interview questions in Greek, ten of the twelve children interviewed answered the questions in English. The remaining two children used both English and Greek in their conversations with the interviewer.

Overall, parents' beliefs and practises had the same end in view: the perpetuation of the Greek language for the younger generations. Variations of the above were found only in the degree of certainty as to whether or not the language would be perpetuated. The children's stated beliefs and actions concerning the Greek language however, inconsistent. Almost all of the twelve children ($n=11$) wished to maintain the Greek language, but it seemed that the practical application of their beliefs could not be accomplished effortlessly. It was also found that they had not fully internalized the reasons for this maintenance. Their positive belief toward the use of the Greek language was based more on the parents' insistence on using Greek in the family setting or on the need to communicate with their parents who could not or did not want to speak in English or French. Table 3 summarizes parents' and children's practices towards Greek language.

The Effects of Language on Parent-Child Relationship

The effects of language on parent-child relationships depended on into what category the parents fall. There were three categories underling the parent participants:

a) Parents with a modicum of knowledge of English or French. This sphere, included the

parents of three families, who, in addition, had completed the elementary school in Greece; b) parents who had knowledge of both French and English. Included in this section were parents of the remaining three families who had completed high school in Greece and had continued their education in Montreal, with the exception of one father who completed his B.A degree in Greece; c) parents who, regardless of whether they had or not the knowledge of English and French, were extremely insistent on the use of the Greek language in the family unit. This category included the parents of four families, in which parents of the three families were from the first category, while the parents of the fourth family were from the second category.

In the first and the third category, language itself ignited potential conflicts above and beyond the normal intergenerational conflict that may occur in ordinary families. Circumstances often arose where parents and children were unable to communicate in a commonly understood language. As was said by a mother:

The language is a problem, because we cannot easily communicate with our children. When they are talking, they use two Greek and ten English words. Thus they have to explain to me what they mean and in the same way I have to explain to them what I mean. If one of us will not understand the real meaning, then the texture of our discussion changes into an argument . . . this doesn't happen in French or English families or in Greek families in Greece.

Supplementary to this, according to three mothers, further parental indignation emanated from the fact that they must reiterate their thoughts and ideas so as to be understood by their children, regardless of whether or not that was feasible for them. The above three mothers reported that they attempted to convey their disappointment using connotations in the Greek language, however, their children were unable to grasp this and

Table 3

**A Summary of Parents' and Children's Practices Towards
Greek Language**

Practices	Parents	
	Fathers	Mothers
Use Greek as the sole means of verbally communicating with their children	6	6
Forbid their children to speak to them in English	4	0
When the children do not understand them, parents elaborate and reiterate their thoughts in Greece	6	6
Parents impart to their children their own pride about the Greek language	2	2
Parents enrolled their children in part-time Greek schools	6	6
Parents responded to the interview questions in Greek	6	6
	Children	
	Boys	Girls
Children attended a part-time Greek school	6	6
Children speak only Greek at home	0	0
Children at home use an amalgam of Greek, English and French words	6	6
Siblings communicate in English or French	6	6
Children speak in English/French with their Greek friends	6	6
Children responded to the interview questions in Greek	0	2

Note. Total number of participants: 12 parents and 12 children

the intended meaning went astray.

I try to express my anger, my sadness, my disappointment or sometimes I scold them [children] for being cheeky but they say that as they don't understand the meaning of the words I use they don't care.

In spite of this it was found that even though mothers had less knowledge of basic English than their husbands, they seemed to be more tolerant and understanding when their children were unable to fully express themselves in Greek. Fathers did not acknowledge any difficulties in communication arising from the language itself. According to four mothers and eight children this may stem from the fact that fathers spent little time with their children, making communication limited and restricted to trivial matters.

Further, as fathers forbade their children from speaking English or French in their presence, children either avoided any discussion in front of them, or situations arose in which arguments ensued. Arguments were triggered by one or a combination of two factors: a) arguments may have begun with a breakdown in communication which resulted in misunderstanding and b) parents' continuous insistence that their children must speak only in Greek in front of them.

I cannot express my ideas in Greek but my parents wouldn't understand English, so the minute I have to express myself they expect me to say that in Greek, and I can't. So at this point all problems begin. Because I want to say it in English and they will not understand, and then I am forced obviously because I have to say it, it doesn't come out right because I don't know the exact words.

You want to say something and you are saying something else and then it becomes a whole big thing . . . then the culture moves into the conversation, not the point. You move away from the real problem, you forget what you wanted to say . . .

According to three girls the consequences can become more complicated when they wanted to express an idea they knew their parents would oppose. Before actually articulating their thoughts in such circumstances, children speculated on how they would express their ideas in Greek so as to anticipate their parents' reactions. This process in and of itself caused anxiety as words often have different connotations when translated from English to Greek.

I wanted to talk about L... not only imagine the stress saying that you like someone but I didn't know how to say it properly because it always came out wrong, it is difficult to find the appropriate words. So I called my cousin to help me in the translation.

The above problem was less severely expressed among families in the second category, either because parents were more accepting of children's use of English or French to express themselves or because their good command of English enabled them to understand what their children were saying. When necessary, these parents themselves used English in order to better communicate with their children. Even though they shared the goal of perpetuating the Greek language to their children, they placed the quality of communication above the maintenance of the Greek language. According to parents in the second category:

Sometimes if they do not understand me I speak in English to them. It is O.K. if they [children] use some English and French words to express themselves. I don't want language to be a barrier in my relationship with my children.

. . . usually I avoid using English words but when it is necessary I speak in English.

According to their children:

My dad knows both English and French but of course he expresses himself better in Greek. My mother knows English pretty well. So it is not a big deal when I speak and English or French words pump out of my mouth.

. . . but if I cannot find the right words in Greek I say it in English but both my parents can understand it because they know English. They can understand what I am saying in English and most of the times they repeat what I said, in Greek. Of course my parents, especially my father, doesn't allow me to speak in English in front of him but he is not so strict. If I cannot understand them they reword it or they give me examples of what they said. If I cannot find the adequate words in Greek or I am saying something wrong they don't get mad-they laugh making jokes at me.

Greek Orthodox Religion

The results in this section originated from verbal data gathered during interviews with both parents and their children. In this section the following subjects are examined: a) parents' and children's beliefs concerning Orthodox religion, b) parent's and children's practises concerning Orthodox religion, and c) effects on parent-child relationships caused from different beliefs and practises regarding religion. Specifically examined are: parents' and children's beliefs concerning the maintenance and the perpetuation of Greek Orthodoxy, the influence of religion on issues of intermarriage, the role of the Greek church in Montreal, and the translation to English of some of the Holy passages. Further, parents' and children's religious identity, church attendance and practises of religious rituals such as fasting, confession, and Holy Communion are examined. Finally, an effort is made to identify any effects on parent-child relations caused by possible different beliefs and practises regarding Christian Orthodox religion.

Parents' and Children's Beliefs Concerning Orthodox Religion

Parents' Perspective. It seemed unquestionable for the parents, regardless of their education, occupation, income, or years of exposure to the receiving society, that their children and grand-children should preserve their Greek Orthodox identity. All parents ($N=12$) interviewed expressed the opinion that Orthodoxy was the "proper" religion for them in which to believe. The reasoning behind this opinion differed with respect to education level. Uneducated parents claimed that since Orthodoxy was the faith they learned from their ancestors, it was considered important to inculcate this doctrine in their children. As a father and a mother said:

Of course I want to remain Christian Orthodox as this is the only right religion. This was the religion we were taught by our parents and this is what we teach to our children.

I would like my children to remain Christian Orthodox . . . I always tell them how our faith saved us throughout our history . . . I don't want them to change religion because I do not want our cultural roots to be lost.

Five of the six educated parents also expressed Orthodoxy as a tie with the past. Additionally, they defended their opinion by claiming that the word Orthodoxy itself means "Ortho-Dogma" or "Proper-Dogma", the proper religion to follow. Therefore, by intellectualizing their reasoning, they attempted to justify this opinion. As a father said:

If we etymologically examine the word Orthodoxy we will see that the word itself includes the meaning and the importance of our dogma. Orthodoxy means correct and proper beliefs. We have been taught, through the books of the Holy Fathers, the true Christian doctrine . . . How can we let our children follow another religion when we know that this is the right one? If they [children] can substantiate the reasons another religion is better and more humanistic than Christian Orthodoxy then we can discuss, but I doubt it . . .

. . . yes I want my children to remain Christians and to instil in their own

children our religion. I have explained to them that if they understand our Teacher's words then they will understand that some of the main ideas of our religion are love, peace of heart and mind, justice . . . Ideas that throughout history, human beings have given their lives for.

Further, although religion was used by all parents, with the exception of a mother and a father, as an argument against intermarriage, it seemed that loss of ethnicity and a breakdown in child-parent communication were the primary reasons against accepting non-Greek persons into their family unit. As one mother said:

If we want to keep our religion our children must marry a Greek person, otherwise, especially at Christmas or Easter, they will face additional problems, or when they will baptize their children. Anyway the children in our day do not put so much emphasis on religious issues and they might not have problems like that. Imagine, though, at Christmas we would not be all the family together as the other person's family would not be Greek. Even if, let's say, my son's wife would be at the table with all of us, how are we going to communicate? She will feel isolated, we would not feel good.

However, nine parents reported that should their children would wish to marry a Jew or a Muslim, then religion would become the primary reason against intermarriage. According to their opinion, these two doctrines are antithetical to the Greek religion, and therefore unacceptable. A father and a mother expressed the following:

. . . but I am against getting married to a Jewish person. I know that a Jewish person is as good or better than a Greek person, but I would lose my child. What will happen at Christmas or at Easter or at any other religious celebrities? Jews have a totally different religion from ours.

I believe that the smaller the differences the lesser the problems. Even if I disagree, I will allow my child to marry an Italian, Spanish, English or French person. . . but with Muslims or Jews, no! There are so many differences. First of all is the religion. How can they handle that? I cannot let my child commit such a mistake, he will destroy his life.

An unexpected finding was that all but two parents, seemed to draw a distinct line

between the spiritual dimensions of religion and the Greek church, the institution that aims to preserve and strengthen the religious spirit. Three of the twelve parents stated that the way the Greek church functions nowadays is of little significance to religious uplift. Seven of the twelve expressed the opinion that the present role of the Greek church in Montreal is to perpetuate the Greek culture rather than to strengthen the religious doctrine. Even though they stated that the church is the place where the congregation can carry out religious rituals such as baptism, marriage, and funerals, it became obvious that the church has been identified more with the notion of a place that bonds all the Greeks together. In addition, the church was considered as the "Athenian agora" or meeting place, rather than a place just for religious, moral, or intellectual uplift. Finally, two of the twelve parents claimed that the Greek church was the foundation of Orthodoxy.

Some representative statements follow:

The role of the Greek church is important to the Greek culture and the Greek language because the Greek church consists of Greek immigrants who have preserved the Greek culture.

We arrived in a foreign country without anything. The government here provided us with the right of religious freedom. This is a big advantage for us because our church brings Greeks together. The church strengthens our faith and not only that but as well it preserves our language and our cultural identity . . . a community could probably exist without a school but not without a church.

I do not think that the church is of any importance. Churches in our day are mostly connected with business. We go to church because coming from Greece we had religious faith deeply engraved inside us. The church here must cater its services to the faithful more than the church in Greece--something that did not occur in our days.

The Greek church is a place of assembly of all Greeks.

For six parents, expectations of the role of the Greek church were based on a mental

image of the village church they had experienced in Greece. These parents originated from Greek rural areas, where the role of the church, in conjunction with the school, was extremely important. As a father said the church of their village considered to be "a shelter for the poor and the unhappy, a place of education for all of us who did not have money to go to school, a pivotal force in the creation of laws, and in the upholding of moral values. It was a place that gave us hope and courage". Difficulty arose when they attempted to transfer their image of the Greek church to a cosmopolitan city church. Consequently, these Greeks felt that the church in Montreal did not completely fulfil their needs. Some representative statements are given below:

The role of the church is very important, but I am disappointed with the way it functions in our day. It must be something more, something better, something like the church of my village when I was a small boy . . .

I expected the church to be more fair, more like a motherhood, to gather all Greeks under her roof [in Greek the word "church" is a feminine noun], to help them and to be helped by them. It's hard to explain but I expected the church in Montreal to function as the church in my village functioned or even better . . .

Finally, all parents ($N=12$) revealed mixed feelings towards the use of the English language in the liturgy. They perceived it positively, as it enabled their children to understand the liturgy better, yet negatively, as the original wording of the hymns and the essence of the liturgy may be lost in the translation. A summary of the relevant results is found in Table 4.

Children's Perspective. Concerning Greek Orthodox religion, the children's responses varied: ten children expressed support for the Greek Orthodox religion, two children were opposed to religion in general. Ten of the twelve children considered Orthodoxy

to be the proper religion to follow. Of these ten, eight substantiated their opinion by stating that they were born in a Christian Orthodox family, they were baptized as Christians, and therefore their Christian identity was taken for granted. Some representative statements were:

. . . Why should I change? I was baptized Orthodox.

That is the way I was brought up. My parents are Orthodox and I should be the same because through the years I have learned the Orthodox way.

Only two of the ten stated that they adopted the Christian identity by choice. According to one of the two children:

What I am now defines who I am. I am an Orthodox Christian. I have thought about my religious beliefs and I conclude that I want to follow Orthodoxy. I think that what I believe in is right and from there it is extended to who I am, my Christian identity.

The two children opposed to Orthodoxy expressed the belief that all religions are human inventions. According to them, weak humans follow religion fatalistically, thus having a reason to blame whatever happens in their lives on an external force, fate.

Regarding the maintenance of the Christian Orthodox identity, ten of the twelve children, stated that they would remain Christians for the rest of their lives. This opinion was congruent with parents' belief concerning the perpetuation of the Christian identity. However, disagreement between parents and children arose when children were questioned about intermarriage. For all but one child ($n=11$), religion was not considered an obstacle in their decision to marry a non-Greek person. Taken together, these opinions suggest that intermarriage would not change their Christian identity. Therefore in the case of intermarriage, one may infer that either future spouses will adopt the Greek Orthodox

Table 4

Parents' Beliefs Regarding Greek Orthodox Religion

Beliefs	Parents ¹	
	Fathers	Mothers
1. Orthodoxy is the "proper" religion to follow	6 ²	6
2. The children must remain Christian Orthodox	6	6
3. Religion considered to be a reason against intermarriage	5	5
4. The Greek church is of little significance to religious uplift	3	0
5. The Greek church perpetuates the Greek culture	4	2
6. The church in Montreal does not completely fulfil their expectations	4	2
7. Mixed opinions - positive and negative - towards the use of English in the liturgy	6	6

Note. ¹N = 12

²Numbers in the table indicate how many parents expressed agreement with the corresponding statements.

identity or both spouses will continue to follow their own religious identities. Further, like their parents, children seemed to draw a distinct line between religion and the Greek church in Montreal. Almost all of them identified the church as a "cultural vehicle", a vehicle having more of a cultural than a religious function. Children stated that for every ethnic group, the church functions to provide cohesion among members with the same ethnic background. According to one girl and one boy:

Each church, especially here in Montreal, represents the country from where immigrants came from. Churches must exist because it is very essential for every ethnic group to have their own place of assembly.

It [church] is to gather up all the Greek people in one place to understand their values and upbringing. They [Greeks] recapture the past.

Moreover, eight of the twelve also expressed the belief that the church was of more importance to their parents than to them. As a boy pointed out:

Personally, I think that the [Greek] church is important for my parents and for other Greek parents, as a home away from home. It's a place in which all Greeks gather together, bring back memories from their childhood in Greece and make them feel cohesive and strong as a nation. Probably they [parents] remember when they were going to church with their parents, but for me it's not so important.

The remaining two stated that the church is the institution which enables them to strengthen their faith, a role of great importance, regardless of generation.

Finally, all of them expressed a positive attitude towards the English translation of some of the Holy passages. Children's positive attitudes attributed to their difficulties of understanding the Archaic language in which the hymns are expressed. A summary of children's beliefs is illustrated in Table 5.

Parent's and Children's Practises Concerning Orthodox Religion

Even though, parents strongly identified themselves with Orthodoxy, all fathers stated that they went to church only at Christmas and Easter, while five of the six mothers attended a Sunday liturgy once or twice every two months. Other attendances included occasions such as marriages, baptisms of family members or acquaintances, feast days, and memorial services. Of the children, eleven of the twelve stated that they attended church at Christmas and Easter. Five of the six boys had not attended a Sunday liturgy in a period of one year, while five of the six girls, had attended a liturgy two or three times a year on average. Eleven of the twelve children defended their actions of not going to church with the fact that the Greek liturgy holds no meaning for them, and the hymns are expressed in archaic language they could not understand. As they put it:

I don't really want to go because we are always bored, it doesn't make sense to us. The priest is talking but we cannot understand him.

I found it boring. I cannot understand what happens and I see all the other Greek-Canadians looking at each other.

Two of the twelve claimed that they attended school throughout the week, some having Greek school on Saturday mornings, and they wanted Sunday mornings to be free time. Additionally, the fact that they do not often participate in a Greek liturgy, is not an indication of any religious affiliation with the dominant society's religions (i.e., in Montreal Roman Catholicism). Specifically, none of the above twenty-four persons expressed any willingness to attend a non-Greek Orthodox church. As a girl representatively stated:

I have scarcely been to a Sunday liturgy. I go at Christmas and at Easter.

Table 5
Children's Beliefs Concerning Greek Orthodox Religion

Beliefs	Children ¹	
	Boys	Girls
1. Orthodoxy is the proper religion to follow	4 ²	6
2. Children should maintain their Christian identity	4	6
3. Religion considered to be a reason against intermarriage	0	0
4. The Greek church perpetuate the Greek culture	6	6
5. The church is of more importance to parents than to children	5	3
6. The church enables the children to strengthen their faith	1	3
7. Positive attitudes towards the English translation of some of the Holy passages	6	6

Note ¹N = 12

²Numbers in the table indicate how many children expressed the corresponding opinions.

This, though doesn't mean that I do not pray or I do not believe in Jesus or that I want to change religion. I feel confident praying to God.

Further, all of the mothers and two of the fathers practised the religious sacraments such as confession, fasting, and Holy Communion before Christmas and Easter. Four mothers stated that they urged their children to follow their example. Eight of the twelve children practised the above sacraments only when forced to, while four of the twelve practised them by choice.

Finally, for the past year, few discussions of religious subjects took place among family members. All parents claimed that they talked about religious issues and the differences between Christian Orthodoxy and other religions to their children when they were very young. With the exception of one family religion seemed to be taken for granted, yet was not a modus-vivendi for these families.

Effects of religion in parent-child relationship

Religion was not considered to be a source of potential parent-child conflict. When arguments did occur, they were without any severe consequences, except during Christmas and Easter, whenever children refused to go to church. In such cases mothers mainly punished their children by threatening that if they did not obey and attend church, they would not be allowed to do things, such as going out with their friends the next day.

According to a mother and a father:

Up to now we don't have any problems, only when we ask them to come to church, especially at Christmas or Easter, or at big celebrations, they don't want to come and we must resort to nagging until they comply to our wishes.

We have arguments only when they have to come to church at big celebrations. Sometimes I don't allow them to go out with their friends if they don't come to church.

According to the children:

My parents, especially my mother gets angry when I don't want to go to church. Though I think they understand that it's boring because we cannot understand what's being said.

My parents are always angry at me for this, they want me to understand but I can't. We have small arguments mostly, no other punishment. They say "if you won't come to church you won't go out tonight". But they never have gone through with their threats. It's their way of enforcing what they say.

It seems that parents were very flexible about their children's unwillingness to attend a liturgy for one of two reasons: either because they themselves did not often attend a liturgy, or because they realized their children's difficulty in understanding the liturgy.

As a mother put it:

I am not very strict on them about religious issues. We [parents] do not often attend a Sunday liturgy, only when there are big celebrations. I go once every two months to church. If, especially, my daughter comes with me, we do not stay for long as I know that the children cannot stay from nine in the morning to twelve. They cannot understand the language used and they get bored. Sometimes if I can't convince them to come with me to a Sunday liturgy I'll try the next time . . . They are young and they cannot understand the importance of religion . . . they prefer to sleep late on Sunday mornings. I think most adolescents act like this.

According to both parent's and children's opinions what would cause profound disputes and severely affect the relationship between parents and children, would be the children's willingness to change religion. In such a circumstance, almost all parents stated that they would do everything in their power to prevent this situation from arising.

As two parents stated:

I'll never accept something like that. I can accept my children's doubts about certain issues concerning our religion, but I will not accept my children to become heathens. I think something like that could be outrageous, almost stupid. I'll try to prevent this from happening as much as possible.

I'll do everything to convince them. I don't know what means I'll use but for sure I would use every means I have, even if I have to be bad.

All children were aware of their parents' reaction to such a decision, and even though they challenged some aspects of the way that church functions, they would not venture to change religion. As a daughter and a son said:

They gonna freak out. My mother will start crying, my father is gonna treat me like . . . oh forget it. They will tell me if you want to change religion, change but we do not know you after. It will become the subject of discussion for all the Greek neighbours.

They will definitely try to talk to me, try to see my point of view, definitely they will try to convince me that this is a wrong point of view through their point of view.

Even the two boys who expressed disinterest towards any religion stated that they would never articulate their beliefs to their parents because they were aware of the parental consequences. Indeed, up to the time of data collection none of the families, had faced any kind of conflict deriving from children's unwillingness to remain Greek Orthodox, as the subject had not even been raised.

Family Ties

Results in this section originated from verbal data gathered during interviews with both parents and their children. In this section the following subjects are examined: a) parents' and children's beliefs concerning family ties, b) parents' and children's practises

concerning family ties, and c) the effects on parent-child relationships caused by different beliefs and practises regarding family ties. Specifically, in this section issues such as family hierarchy, children's independence, and intermarriage are examined.

Parent's and Children's Beliefs towards Family Ties

By ranking the importance of each family member's role, participants established their perceived hierarchy within the family network. Two hierarchical structures emerged from participant's responses. Educated parents seemed to have internalized a democratic familial pattern. In this pattern, mothers and fathers occupied a higher position in the family hierarchy, however, each member of the family was seen to contribute in an important way to the family network. In all three families, both fathers and mothers not only considered themselves providers for their children, but also gave each other equal weighting of their opinions and practises regarding family issues. For them, the upbringing of the children was considered to be a duty for both mothers and fathers. They also stated that their children's views counted, consequently, the children felt free to express and defend their opinions, even if these were in opposition to parental opinion. In turn, parental discipline through family discussions was implemented. Children not only agreed, but also expressed agreement of this discipline action. According to a mother and a father from different families:

. . . I believe that the child should view the mother more as a friend than as a parent. Both parents should not only offer their (children) material possessions, they also should offer them emotional support. I think that the mother should keep the balance between the father and the children. The children should feel free to express their opinions to their parents. They should know that they (children) can find understanding, otherwise they

will hide whatever they are doing, and that's no good, parents will be unaware and unable to assist their children in coping with problems encountered.

. . . Sometimes we must be diplomatic. We have to alternate tolerance with strictness. Sometimes the mother should be more tolerant than the father while at other times father's tolerance is required depending on the situation. Both of us (parents) must give the chance to our children to express their opinions, to contribute in family decisions, to trust us.

In families with uneducated parents, there was disagreement on the existing hierarchical pattern. Fathers characterized the family hierarchy in a patriarchal fashion. Fathers expressed the opinion that the father must be the "alpha" and the "omega" in the family network, otherwise he is a "big zero". Fathers identified themselves as the leaders of the family, justifying their opinion by stating that they were the main providers, and most qualified to deal with family issues. They took for granted that they have to be respected, and obeyed by the remaining members of the family, including their wives. In addition, according to their opinion, mothers had a secondary role in decision making and must be closer with their children, than fathers. The children must, first and foremost, have the virtue of obedience while their role in decision making regardless of the issue, is limited. Male dominance was also expressed in fathers' view of their children, wherein sons are seen as having a more important role in the family hierarchy than daughters. Any variation of the above was characterized by fathers as an outlandish modernism, and was rejected. Some representative statements follow:

The role of the father is very important. He is the provider, he is the one to solve any problem in the family, he is the one who knows better what is wrong and what is right. There must be a leader in the family because if each member of a family was doing whatever he liked it wouldn't be a family anymore it would be a hotel. The wife's role is to be close with her children, to take care of the house and to inform her husband about

whatever is going on. The children's duty is to be good children to obey and respect their parents and to be good students . . . I cannot accept disobedience, because I want to give them principles, weapons for their life. Sometimes my wife interferes and that is no good. Every father knows what is right for his children . . . It is easier for the son to follow his father's steps because as a man he has to be prepared for his own role and deal with difficulties more than girls. Not that the girl is less capable but women by their nature are more fragile.

In this country that we live there is what they call equality between a man and a woman. This has a negative influence in families because it does not allow one member of the family to be in control. Not because you are a woman I must tie you down, but the wife must not interfere when her husband is talking. In that way I cannot make myself obeyed, as a parent and as a leader of the family and impose my ideas.

Although mothers and children acknowledged the existence of this patriarchal hierarchy, they were not in agreement with it. They expressed the desire to move towards a more democratic familial pattern, wherein family members' contributions would be considered important. They accepted the authoritarian position and seniority of the father, but only to the point where the remaining family members' rights were not encroached. In contradiction, they simultaneously believed that fathers and mothers should have the same responsibilities and the same rights. Mothers expressed the opinion that children should be included in family decision making, weighing the importance of their opinions according to age but not gender. Children congruent opinions with their mothers, yet all six children expressed the thought that parents should give more value to their opinions and allow more freedom of expression. As one girl and one boy stated:

In my family there is the king, my father. He has to control everything. My mother's words would not mean anything to him. My words are even worse than my mother's. About my brother, he could scream a lot, have fights and do what he wants. My brother is able to say things because he is a guy, but me as a girl I cannot say words like that. I think that both parents should have discussions about family issues, they should

be decision-makers together. Also they shouldn't exclude the children and shouldn't forget that children develop their own personalities.

. . . My father on the top, let's say the king, then comes my mother, then me and then my sister regardless the fact that she is older than me. My father was brought up learning that the man is superior to the woman. I do not agree with that because my mother has some value too, some thoughts that sometimes are better than my father's. I think that we would be better now if my father was listening to her . . . I know that we must respect our parents but when we want to express our opinions that doesn't mean that we do not respect them. Parents must value their children's opinions more . . .

Children's independence is another element, which effects family organization.

Independence was defined as the freedom from the control, influence, support or help of parents. All parents, but one father, regardless of their occupation, education, or income, expressed negative beliefs towards independence, even though four fathers had lived independently from their own parents since they were seventeen or eighteen. Four of the six fathers were strongly opposed to the possibility that their children would wish to live outside family network before age twenty-four for sons and before marriage for daughters. All the mothers were opposed to the independence of their children, regardless of gender before marriage.

However, a variation of opinion existed concerning the reasoning behind the above belief. Their basic argument was the breaking of the family bonds, and the associated feeling of failure in child-rearing should their children wish to leave the family environment. According to their logic, the main reason that would lead a child to leave the family cell would be the parents' inability to fulfil their role as "caring parents"; thus a strong feeling of bitterness and rejection would follow a child's willingness to live independently. Further, five of the six fathers and three of the six mothers claimed that

their children would not be able to overcome the financial difficulties they would encounter by living on their own. The remaining parents based their negative opinion on a mental connection between independency and immorality. As a father said:

When it is time to get married, then they can live independently from us. But imagine them being free and doing whatever they like. Imagine what a shame it would be if my daughter being free in her own apartment bringing men in, or if she would become pregnant out of wedlock. How would society judge us?

The parents of four families revealed a fear of the outside society, not only because of the dangers it may harbour, but also because of their perception that society is the "big court", passing judgement on their activities. When referring to this "big court", parents were actually referring to other Greeks in the community.

Eleven of the twelve children interviewed shared their parents' opinion, even though the idea of living alone was attractive to them. Their reasoning was that leaving the family network would symbolize rejecting their parents, and they felt that a child under twenty-two would not be prepared for the difficulties independence brings about. The remaining one believed that after eighteen a child should be independent, to take responsibilities, become more mature, and be free to take responsibility for their own life.

The emerged threat of independence to family ties was also apparent in discussions concerning intermarriage. Specifically, parents worried about the possibility of their children marrying a non-Greek person, and the changes this would bring about in the family network. All the parents, with the exception of one father and one mother, were opposed to intermarriage. This opposition was based on three main factors. First

and foremost was the additional threat it placed on the already vulnerable communication bonds between parents and children, as the newcomer would be unfamiliar with the Greek culture and language. Secondly parents believed that problems brought about by the mixing of two cultural backgrounds, coupled with the everyday problems marriage brings, would place even more stress on marital bonds.

Objection was also linked with the belief that intermarriage is a serious threat to the existence and maintenance of the Greek ethnic group.

Intensity of the objections for all parents was dependent on the ethnic group from which the newcomer originated. Specifically, the intensity of objection was lower if the newcomer were European, English or French Canadian, higher if the newcomer were a visual minority, or if they were perceived to follow extremely opposing doctrines, like Jews or Muslims. Ideally, Greek parents wished their children, regardless of gender, to marry a Greek person. However, they expressed some reservation about how realizable this idea was. They were aware that their children mingled on a daily basis with non-Greek persons, consequently, in some circumstances, intermarriage may be inevitable.

I would like my children to marry a Greek person. If that would not be the case I would be sad because things would change. How I would communicate with the newcomer? . . . Though if my daughter wants to marry a non-Greek I don't think I would be able to prevent this, because it's my child who will decide with whom she will share her life . . ., but I think it would be very hard for me to accept a Chinese or a black or a Jewish person. So many differences, so many differences!

. . . I would do whatever I could to prevent such a marriage but in this country we have to accept it. I know that most of my children's friends are non-Greek. What I would not accept is one of my children to marry a Turkish, Chinese, or black person.

. . . Well, there is no question that I am against mixed-marriages. I always

express my wish to my children to marry a Greek person but it seems they will do whatever they want. There are less differences between Greeks and Italian or Spanish persons, but Jews!

Only two of the twelve children were against intermarriage, sharing their parents' opinion about the consequences of such a marriage. As one of the two girls stated:

It (intermarriage) would lead to problems because the ethnic groups are so centred in their own ethnicity. Their ethnicity defines them and I think it will create problems within the context of the family, because of different ways of living and thinking . . . Religion will be the lesser of the two evils as religion has lost a lot of power, but ethnicity? The further away you go from your own ethnicity the more problems and tension you are going to have . . . The communication would be hard in the family when all the family members are gathered together. I want to marry a Greek-Canadian.

Eight of the twelve, expressed the opinion that happiness in marriage is not as dependent on ethnicity or religion as it is on the character of the spouses. The remaining two children shared their parents' objections to intermarriage in cases where the non-Greek person was of a visual minority or of Jewish or Muslim faith. As a daughter said:

I would not let language, culture or religion to get in the way on my decision. I am positive with the idea of intermarriage but I have my limits. Italians are the same, Americans are the same, . . . but Jews? There are too many differences. I don't say that you shouldn't but at this point there would be lot of problems. Unless you are willing to change totally.

A summary of both parents' and children's beliefs regarding family's hierarchy, children's independency, and intermarriage is presented in Table 6.

Parents' and Children's Practises Concerning Family Ties

Practises and actions of Greek parents were dependent upon the received hierarchical pattern they adopted. In the democratic familial pattern, parents' stated

actions about child-rearing were congruent with their beliefs on this issue. When a problem arose both parents acted on it in a complementary fashion. Further, discipline through discussion was also evident in dealing with child-related problems. As a father stated:

Everything is under discussion. Last year, my daughter brought a lot of problems home, for example she was very much influenced by whatever her friends were telling her, she became the worst student in her class, she was playing hookey, and she wanted to go out every night and stay late. Of course all these upset me and my wife. We were worried about her. But slowly with my wife's help, and with a lot of discussion with my daughter we succeeded in bringing the child again close to us, to the family. Now she trusts us and we trust her.

Evidently parental belief in the importance of children's views was also translated into action, as children stated that they felt free to express their ideas to their parents. Some representative statements follow:

My parents are more inclined to talk about everything, mainly because they are into this communication stuff, especially my mother wants to talk about everything and she will be hurt if we did things without her knowing. My parents brought us up with this [talk about everything], even if they do not agree with our ideas.

... We (children) are free to talk about everything. A lot of times I do not agree with my parents and they try to impose their own opinion but I express my opinion as well.

In the second hierarchical model differences of opinion were also reflected by differences in practises. In accordance with their patriarchal beliefs, fathers acted as leaders by imposing their rules on the remaining members of the family. As a father, a mother and a daughter from three different families reported:

I am the government, my wife is the opposition party. The children say whatever we say. Usually the opposition party agrees with what I say.

Table 6

**Parents' and Children's Beliefs Regarding Family
Hierarchy, Children's Independence, and Intermarriage.**

Beliefs	Parents ¹		Children ²	
	Fathers	Mothers	Boys	Girls
1. Fathers and mothers are the providers in the family	3	5	6	6
2. Only fathers are the providers in the family	3	1	0	0
3. Fathers should be the leaders of the family with mothers having a secondary role in family-decisions	3	0	0	0
4. Fathers and mothers should give equal weighting of their opinions and practises regarding family issues	3	6	6	6
5. Mothers are closer to their children than fathers	6	6	6	6
6. Children's views should count on family decision-making	3	6	6	6
7. Children after the age of 18 should live on their own	1	1	1	0
8. Negative beliefs towards intermarriage	5	5	0	2

Note. ¹Total number of parents (N=12)

²Total number of children (N=12)

He (husband) is very strict . . . his word is a contract . . . he believes in the absolute father's authority.

My father has the final comment, the final decision, the final word.

Further, fathers allowed more freedom to their sons in issues of dating or other social activities, justifying this allowance on the masculinity of their identity. Fathers

accepted aggression and freedom for their sons, yet discouraged this in their daughters.

As a father, a son, and a daughter from different families stated:

I am stricter with the daughter than the son, because the son can defend himself . . . It is normal for boys to have girlfriends. They are men . . . D... (son) sometimes gets angry easily, he is talking back or he leaves the room when I try to advise him, but I usually let him, it will pass. C... (daughter) is more flexible, she is more quiet. Sometimes I think I have to be stricter to my son but . . .

I have more freedom than my sister in everything. Like I go to my friend's house, I can go out with my girlfriend. If I get angry and it is not a big deal. She is older than me and if she will do something like that my father gets angry. All the time she has to ask twenty times before permission to go out. Me, I just have to say it, there is no problem.

My brother can do whatever he likes, go to dances, go out, play hockey with his friends. If I want to go out or if I will be late oh . . . forget it, my father gets upset.

Mothers on the other hand, challenge the authoritarian position of their husbands, endeavouring to put across their own opinions on decision-making. On some occasions, in an effort to avoid argument, mothers reconcile their points of view. Additionally, mothers will at times keep their children's actions secret from the father, and play the role of a bridge between the children and their fathers. A mother stated the following:

If the children do something bad, I do not tell it to my husband, except for occasions where there is something serious. I act in that way because I know that even small things become big when my husband hears about

them.

Children, and especially daughters, dispute the familial patriarchy. They challenge fathers' seniority and disagree with mothers' compromising attitudes. Boys have a different way of expressing their antithesis towards the family hierarchy than girls. Three boys stated that if necessary, they become more aggressive, doing what they want regardless of the consequences. Daughters either obey their parents' wishes or pretend to obey while secretly carrying out what they wish to do. When fathers become aware of unacceptable behaviour, they enforce their opinion, sometimes through yielding and by ignoring their children for two or three days or forbidding them to participate in social activities. However, despite the above differences, all parents endeavour to keep family members close to the hearth. In all circumstances, it seemed unquestioned that children must love their parents and live in the family home until external factors, such as going to a University out of the country or getting married, forced them to live independently. Parents prevent the breaking of the family bonds through one of two actions. The first is the "threat treatment". Whenever such an issue arose, seven parents claimed they enumerated the dangers and the difficulties independence presented, emphasizing the protection the family offers to its children. The dominant idea, and unwritten law is "that parents are the only persons who can help you in any circumstance". In addition, parents make clear to their children that should they leave the family unit, they relinquish any chance to reenter it.

The second action is the "guilt treatment". Five parents put across to their children the idea that only immoral children leave their families and live on their own.

They give examples of families where children had left their homes, and characterized these families as "miserable". By using these families as examples, they had the opportunity to express the feelings that followed a child's decision to live independently. It seemed inconceivable for them that a child would wish to live on his or her own, even if there were problems and conflicts occurring in the family.

Children were aware of the consequences of such an action. However, none of them, with the exception of an eighteen-year old boy, expressed a willingness up to live independently. The one boy who did express a willingness to live on his own had this to say:

I wanted to move out in my apartment. My parents got so upset . . . because they thought that someone else gave me the idea. My mother started crying because she thought that I would break the family. My father freaked out. He told me that I could leave but then if something goes wrong he would not accept me back. Of course I didn't want to leave my house under such bad circumstances. I didn't want to hurt them so I stayed.

Ten of the twelve parents constantly harboured fear that their children, regardless of gender, would marry a non-Greek person. To prevent this, parents imparted the feeling of pride in being Greek to their children. Moreover, in every discussion, both mothers and fathers, expressed to their children the negative consequences of intermarriage. Mainly, they made it clear that if they married a non-Greek, then communication, closeness, familial warmth as well as religion, ethnicity, and customs would slowly disintegrate. In order to prevent this, three parents asked their children to marry a Greek person as an indicator of their children's thankfulness for all they have done for them. In a further effort to block intermarriage and its negative consequences,

two parents threatened their children that they would not be accepted in the family, should they marry a non-Greek person. Moreover, seven of the twelve parents encouraged children's participation in Greek celebrations and dances, where they could have the opportunity to associate with other Greeks.

All children, including the two who were against intermarriage, slowly but constantly tried to explain to their parents their situation. Their basic argument was that even though they would like to marry a Greek person, the opportunities are very limited as they associated mostly with non-Greeks. In addition, four of the twelve children attempted to prepare their parents psychologically for intermarriage should it arise. Six children stated that in order to avoid arguments, they did not even raise the subject as they believed that their parents finally would compromise when confronted with the situation in which their children ask for their blessing. It seemed that ten of the twelve children had eliminated the cultural differences among ethnic groups in their minds, and had accepted the idea of being married to non-Greek persons. Specifically, of the twelve children, three boys and two girls had dated non-Greek persons, and each wished to marry a non-Greek. Two girls strongly wished to marry a Greek person, while the remaining five had no preference. Four of the twelve children stated that they attended Greek celebrations and dances for the opportunity of associating with other Greeks. Moreover, eleven of the twelve stated that most of their best friends are Greek.

Implications in the Relationship Caused by Family Ties

In democratic familial patterns children felt free to express themselves, especially

with their mothers. In turn, mothers discussed problems with their spouses. Consequently, arguments were mild, without severe implications, especially in cases where fathers were unwilling to discuss the issues with their children as well. In cases where fathers were unwilling to cooperate and not tolerate their children's complaints, either because they did not see any problem or because they thought their children were being demanding, then minor arguments arose, following in which children avoided speaking to them for a couple of days. This was easily terminated, however, as mothers interfered in a positive, diplomatic way. In cases where children felt that their parents were adopting an omnipotent role, then children pretended to listen to them, agreeing just to avoid "big wise lectures".

The patriarchal familial hierarchy was a frequent source of argument and conflict, as the children endeavoured to reduce fathers' authority and mothers' reconciliatory tendencies. The nature of these arguments differed from family to family, and from daughters to sons. As previously mentioned, all used different ways to resolve this problem. In addition parents were less aware of this underlying conflict than children, fathers being almost oblivious to the fact that their position and their behaviour was the root of the conflict. In fact, the most common and intense characteristic of these families was fathers' intransigence in admitting that their behaviour was a potential source of conflict. The consequence of such an intolerance was a lack of communication between children and their fathers.

There was some variation of the nature of conflict among the three patriarchal families. In one family, the lack of communication between the father and the remaining

members of the family was so intense that the mother considered divorce as the only viable option. Indeed, the father was in a desperate position, claiming that he provided his family with all their needs and that the underlying reason for such disruption was unknown to him. The parents in the second family, in spite of a patriarchal order, were ready to compromise their own beliefs and practises in an effort to be closer to their children. In return, the children simultaneously felt their parents' efforts were in favour of the whole family, even though they believed that they couldn't be understood by their parents and that they had to do almost everything required by them and especially by their father. In the third family, the nature of the conflict was quite different from the previous two families. The father followed the traditional role as he had learned it from his own father. The mother was much more flexible in favour of the children, and the children avoided serious discussion especially with the father in order to avoid conflict. Consequently, the children drifted emotionally from both their parents, and especially from the father. In this case, the parents believed that everyone in the family was happy while the children believed that there was a total eclipse of communication. This can be illustrated by their own words. According to the father:

Our beliefs are very different from today's beliefs. But thank God I do not have any problems with my children.

According to the son:

When I come home I feel depressed. When I leave the house, I am a different person. I would like to express myself in the same way inside my house...I can't do it, because there is no real discussion, only my father's opinion.

According to the daughter:

My mother knows me better than my father, I am more honest with her. My father does not want to hear that I have an opinion, my opinion should be his opinion. It's like I have a split personality. In my house I am totally different because I am forced to be like that. It's very hard to come from overprotective and overcontrolling parents, parents who do not allow you to be who you really are. It is so confusing, you try to come out from the identity that your parents have tried to impose on you, and you find yourself being lost between two cultures.

In all six families, it appeared that boys reacted in different ways toward their father's authoritarian position than girls. Boys mainly expressed their anger and opposition more vividly than girls and succeeded in doing what they wanted with more ease than girls. In return, parents became accustomed to such behaviour and tolerated more aggression in their sons than in their daughters.

In contrast daughters often felt that the hierarchical system in their family worked against them. Even though they sometimes reacted aggressively, they were ready to compromise, at least superficially, either because of guilt or because of fear. Regardless of educational level, almost all parents, with the exception of two mothers, were unaware of differentiation by gender in their child-rearing. All stated that they loved their children, and they tried to do what was the best for them. Five of them also stated that they stayed in Montreal, even though they wanted to live in Greece, for their children's sake.

At the time of data collection, the issue of independence was not a source of conflict. Eleven of the twelve children had no intention of living on their own. Even the one child who did express a willingness to live in his own apartment, refuted this idea because he felt that he would hurt his parents too deeply.

With regard to intermarriage, the actual implications of such a situation could not be examined as none of the families were yet faced with this issue, perhaps because of children's age at the time of data collection. Nonetheless, from statements of both parents and children, with the exception of one family, it might be predicted that arguments and conflicts would reach a maximum whenever the issue of intermarriage would arise. When children were asked: "You introduce your non-Greek girl/boyfriend to your parents and you ask for their blessing in marrying her or him one day. How would they react?" Eight of the twelve spontaneously responded: "They would kill me". Almost all parents, with the exception of one father and one mother, stated that they would try everything in their power to prevent such a marriage. However, should their efforts fail, they would give their blessing in spite of their disagreement. Four mothers and two fathers claimed that they would attempt to psychologically prepare themselves should this situation occur. The reason for compromising their final decision was based on their wish for their children's happiness and on their inability to prevent such an event.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study examined intergenerational conflict between Greek immigrant parents and children caused by differing beliefs and practises concerning the Greek language, Greek Orthodox religion and family ties. The participants of the study were: 1) first generation Greek immigrant parents who were born in Greece and entered Montreal after World War II at the aged of thirteen or more, and 2) their children age sixteen to eighteen who were born in Montreal.

Informal observations aided the researcher in becoming acquainted with the social context of Greek families residing in Montreal and in constructing the main instrument of the study (in-depth interviews) for the data collection and analyses.

The approach to the study was qualitative. The qualitative results consisted of verbatim data derived from responses to the in-depth, semi-structured, open-ended interview questionnaires. The qualitative analyses were performed on the compiled of data for each of the six families. In this section, a summary and discussion of all the results is presented in relation to the six previously outlined study objectives.

The six research questions probed both differences in parents' and children's beliefs and practises and any parent-child conflicts resulting from these differences.

Findings for each research question are outlined below.

Question 1. Do parents have different beliefs from their children, concerning core cultural values, such as Greek language, Christian Orthodox religion, and family ties?

Greek language. Congruency among opinions about the maintenance and continuation of the Greek language was found among parents and children. Both believed that the Greek language should be transmitted to forthcoming generations to prevent the disintegration of the Greek culture. The Greek language and culture were believed to be integrated to the extent that one could not exist without the other. Children, however, internalized the above reasoning to a lesser extent than parents citing the most important reason for learning Greek as the necessity of being able to communicate verbally with their parents who either did not or refused to speak English/French.

Both parents and children put the onus of transmitting the Greek language to the new generations on the Greek family unit.

Further, although more than half the parents and children revealed a sense of pride in both Greek language and culture, the children harboured an internal conflict on this issue. They believed that being trilingual, knowing English, French, and Greek placed them in a more advantageous position than bilingual or monolingual Canadians, yet simultaneously believed that speaking Greek associated them with the Greek subculture giving them the negative label of "immigrants". This contradiction in beliefs stemmed knowing that Greek was advantageous, yet virtually unimportant and unnecessary in the pursuit of future goals.

Almost half of the parents believed that they must change their approach and

encourage their children to learn Greek for the intellectual and educational gains it offers, yet most children were not receptive to this idea.

Greek Orthodox religion. Of the three core cultural values, religion was the most unquestioned, as participants took their religious identity for granted. All parents and children, with the exception of two children, simply followed this religious doctrine because it was transmitted to them by their grandparents. Though there were two exceptions, parents and children agreed that Greek Christian Orthodoxy should be preserved and transmitted to younger generations. The children with a disparate opinion viewed the Greek Orthodox doctrine and religion in general as a human weakness.

Additionally, parents and children drew a mental distinction between religion and the Greek church. Both believed that the role of the Greek church was that of a "cultural vehicle", being an ethnic group meeting place rather than a place just for religious, moral, or intellectual uplift. Nevertheless, more than half of the children felt that church was less important to them than to their parents, as they had difficulty in understanding the liturgy. Herein an incompatibility of opinions arose between parents and children as all of the children expressed strong positive opinions towards the English translation of some of the Holy passages, while parents expressed an ambivalent opinions.

Finally, differing opinions arose concerning religion as an obstacle to intermarriages. While parents used religion as an argument against intermarriage, children did not view it as an obstacle in the decision to marry a non-Greek person.

Family ties. Opinions regarding the family hierarchy were split between educated and uneducated parents and between fathers and other family members.

In families where both parents were educated all the members of the families expressed positive beliefs towards a democratic familial pattern, in which every members' contribution was deemed important. Parents and children agreed with the two statements below: a) fathers and mothers should give equal weight to each other's opinions and practises regarding family issues, and b) Children's views should count in family decision-making, therefore children's freedom of expression was considered important.

In families where both parents were uneducated, fathers' beliefs about the role that each member should have in the family cell were the antithesis of mothers' and children's beliefs. On the one hand, fathers' beliefs leaned towards a patriarchal, hierarchical order in which the father's position would be of highest respect and importance, having the greatest weight in family decision-making. According to fathers, mothers should occupy a secondary role, followed by the children, whose role would be the most limited.

On the other hand, mothers' and children's beliefs were congruent with each other, and incompatible with fathers' beliefs. Mothers and children leaned towards the democratic familial pattern. Nevertheless, all children regardless of their familial pattern, stated that their opinions should be valued more by their parents.

Concerning children's independency, children seemed to share their parents' negative opinion on the issue. However, there was a slight variation between the parents' and children's reasoning behind this negative belief. Parents substantiated their negative beliefs because on the threat it placed on family bonds, the feeling of rejection following such an action, and the equating of independency with immorality. Children attributed their negative beliefs either on an unwillingness to reject their parents, or on an inability

to cope with the difficulties independency presents.

Regarding intermarriage, children were in support while parents were opposed. The main reasons behind parent's objection were:

a) intermarriage would place an additional strain on the communication bonds between parents and children, b) mixed-marriage would pose additional problems to the couple, as two cultures would be mixed, and c) intermarriage would seriously threaten the existence and maintenance of the Greek ethnic group.

From the children's view point it was found that cultural differences among ethnic groups had been eliminated; children had accepted the idea of being married to a non-Greek person. However, this above idea was been accepted in light of the reality, that children mingled with non-Greeks every day, making some intermarriage inevitable. In view of this reality, parents expressed their reservations as to whether their preference for ethnic marriages would materialize.

Question 2. Do parents behave differently than their children with respect to core cultural values such as Greek language, Christian Orthodox religion, and family ties?

Greek language. It was found that while for parents there was congruence between their beliefs and practises, practical implementations of children's beliefs seemed to be complex and difficult.

Parents, either because they wanted to preserve and transmit the Greek language to their offspring or because they could only speak the Greek language, spoke to their children solely in Greek. Seemingly to prevent the extinction of the language, parents and especially fathers, forbade children to speak in English or French in their presence.

Although children agreed that the best opportunity to practise and perfect Greek was in the home, they did not willingly comply, and avoided the use of Greek in the home whenever possible. Often, they used an amalgam of Greek, English, and French words when conversing with their parents. In retaliation, parents either translated non-Greek words or insisted children repeat them in Greek. Moreover when parents were not understood, they expounded in Greek upon what they had said, using simple words and giving examples whenever possible.

Further, parents insisted on enrolling their children in part-time Greek schools, giving their children one more opportunity to perfect their Greek. However, most of the children were reluctant to attend; consequently, most of them had completed only the elementary level. Children attributed their objection to an overloaded schedule and a lack of time. Half of the parents consistently encouraged their children to learn and speak Greek, imparting to them their own pride in the language. Despite parental efforts, English and French were the languages of communication both among siblings and friends, and even among Greek friends. A conceivable explanation for the discrepancies between children's beliefs and actions may stem from the difficulty in realizing this aspiration, to express themselves in Greek. Their daily contact with Anglo/Francophone persons both in and out of school maximizes their exposure to English or French, yet minimizes their exposure to Greek. While all parents responded to the interview questions in Greek, almost all the children answered in English. It is important to be mentioned that participants had the choice of expressing themselves in Greek or English. Greek Orthodox Religion. Family discussions about religious issues took place when the

children were very young, but were eliminated when children reached adolescence.

Inconsistency was revealed among parents' and children's beliefs and practises regarding religion. Even though both parents and children identified themselves with Greek Orthodoxy, with the exception of mothers, attendance at the Greek liturgy was limited. It seemed that parents, especially fathers, either were not loyal church-goers or did not adhere to the church for their spiritual needs.

Mothers practised religious sacraments such as, Holy Communion, Holy Unction, fasting and confession, urging their children to follow their example. In return, all of the children practised the above sacraments when they were forced. As none of the children were faced with marital decisions at the time of data collection, conclusions resulting from actual intermarriage cannot be drawn.

Family ties. Regarding family hierarchy, parents' practises were consistent with their beliefs. In the democratic familial pattern, both mothers and fathers considered themselves not only the providers of the family but also the emotional supporters of their children. When a problem arose, both parents acted on it in a complementary fashion using discipline through discussion, allowing freedom of expression to their children. Further, parents valued their children's opinions in decision-making. In return, both boys and girls agreed with the way their family functioned. Children felt free to express their own opinions on subjects concerning themselves or the family as a whole. Even when they engaged in unacceptable behaviour, children were more inclined to share it with their parents.

In the patriarchal familial pattern, father's practises contradicted that of their wives

and children. Fathers took on the role of the provider, regardless of mothers' employment. Father imposed their own rules, considering their wives' roles as home-maker and child-rearer. Fathers restricted their children's roles to that of "good children" and "good students". In accordance with male-dominance, fathers allowed sons more freedom in issues like dating, and socializing.

Mothers challenged their husbands' authoritarian position by being financially independent, and by endeavouring to put across their own opinions on decision-making. Additionally, mothers conspired with their children without fathers' awareness. Sons and daughters challenged fathers' seniority in different ways; boys aggressively disobeyed in fathers' presence, daughters' pretended to obey while secretly doing as they wished. Parental yelling and nagging were the main forms of discipline. In addition, mothers acted as a "bridge" between fathers and children, trying to soften and smooth out their disagreements.

Despite these differences, both parents and children, with the exception of one family, held a strong spirit of solidarity and collectivism. In order to prevent children from abandoning the family, parents either enumerated the difficulties and the dangers independence presented and emphasized the protection family offers, or stressed the immorality of children who left the family network to live on their own. To date, all children in the study remain at the home.

Finally, in order to foster ethnic marriages, parents encouraged their children's participation in Greek social events and took every opportunity to enumerate the negative consequences of intermarriage. Most children did not attend Greek activities, yet did have

close friendships with other Greeks. As none of the children had married, future actions in this regard cannot be determined.

Question 3. If the beliefs of adults with respect to the above core cultural values are different from these of their children, does this result in conflict?

Differences in beliefs regarding intermarriage did not seem to cause severe arguments and conflicts. Even though parents harboured the fear that their children would marry a non-Greek person, they hoped the situation would not arise. At the same time they tried to rationalize the possibility of such a situation in the realistic light of a multiculturalistic society where mixed marriages were likely. Children tried to avoid discussions about intermarriage. When a discussion was inevitable, children used diplomacy in explaining to their parents that they would still be loyal to their family and culture should this situation arise.

Regarding hierarchical patterns, there was a lack of conflict in democratically run families yet apparent conflict in those run patriarchally. In the patriarchal familial pattern, fathers frequently clashed with their children and wives. Consequently, children, especially daughters, avoided encounters with their fathers. Fathers did not acknowledge this communication breakdown.

Question 4. If the practises of adults with respect to core cultural values are different from those of their children, does this result in conflict?

As previously mentioned differences in practises concerning language, and the patriarchal familial pattern, did result in conflict. Other potential sources of conflict were a change of religious identity, and children's willingness to leave the family home.

Language was a barrier in parents' and children's verbal communication, especially where parents had only a modicum of knowledge of English or French, or where parents were extremely insistent on the use of Greek. Circumstances often arose where parents and children were unable to communicate in a commonly understood language. Thus, as discussion resulted in misunderstanding, they often avoided discussion. When children wanted to express an idea to which they knew their parents would oppose, they felt anxiety and tension which contributed to the breakdown in communication.

The patriarchal familial hierarchy was a frequent source of argument. The nature of these arguments differed from family to family and from daughters to sons. The main negative effects were a dissident coexistence between parents and children, and children's emotionally drifting from both parents, but especially from fathers.

Reliable conclusions regarding the effects of intermarriage, changing religious identity, and children's actions such as leaving the family network, on parent-child relationships cannot be drawn as almost none of the families had encountered such a situation. According to participants' statements, the above actions were considered to be potential sources of conflict, especially in patriarchal families.

Finally, it was found that restricted daughter's freedom in participating in social activities and dating were nagging problems as well.

Question 5. Does gender influence the degree and the nature of the conflict?

It was found that gender influenced parent-child relationship mainly in issues such as dating, participation on social activities, and freedom of expression in the patriarchal family.

First, it seemed that whenever arguments occurred between parents and children, they were more intense with fathers than with mothers. This seemed to happen because mothers spent more time with their children than fathers; they were more attached to their children's lives, problems, and thoughts. Further, mothers revealed more tolerance towards their children's unacceptable behaviour than fathers.

Second, arguments were more intense between parents and daughters than between parents and sons. This might attributed to two reasons: parents tolerated their sons' unacceptable behaviour more easily than their daughters and sons' aggressiveness was accepted more than daughters'. It can be suggested that such tolerance regarding sons fulfils cultural expectations. However, two inferences may be made: A) Parents did not acknowledge that their child-rearing was gender-dependent and considered such differentiations in discipline methods to be natural and normal. B) With respect to the participants in this study, it was found that the above influence of gender on child-rearing practises were much more evident in families where parents were less educated.

Question 6. Does socio-economic status influence the amount and the nature of the conflict?

Families with educated parents experienced conflict in a much milder way than families where both parents were less educated. According to some of the participants, this might occur because educated parents had a knowledge of English or French. Consequently they were in better contact with the broader society through media or other non-Greek persons, being in touch with ideas of the dominant society. Also, educated parents were more inclined to speak with their children, allowing them freedom of

expression.

Additionally, most of the parents who were educated had completed university in Montreal. They probably had better opportunities to experience life in this country from a different perspective than uneducated parents. It can also be suggested that educated parents had a way of substantiating their own beliefs and practises by solid reasoning instead by justifying their beliefs and actions by imposing their absolute authority.

Overall, it was found that parents and children held congruent beliefs concerning Greek language, yet differed in their practises of language usage. Their differing practises led to a breakdown in parent-child communication. With regard to the Greek Christian Orthodox religion, parents and children held parallel beliefs and practises, and no apparent conflict on this issue existed. Parents' and children's opinions and actions on family solidarity were in harmony. Divergent opinions and practises emerged on issues of intermarriage and family hierarchy. Conflict manifested itself when issues of patriarchal family hierarchy arose, while intermarriage was considered a potential source of conflict.

The nature and the amount of conflict expressed was influenced by parents' educational level, and gender roles of family members.

Recommendations

Several recommendations can be offered from the findings of the present study as well as from insight gained during the investigation.

Greek Canadian children must overcome many hurdles in order to freely express

themselves. At home they are expected to use Greek as their sole means of communication, while when they enter elementary school they must learn the languages of the dominant society. Elementary teachers should be made aware of and take into consideration this reality. Additional research conducted within the schools would further illuminate on this issue.

Additionally, this study found that the second generation Greek Canadian children did not intended to abandon the family unit. However, they were influenced by some of the mores of the dominant group and challenged their parents' ideas on the roles of family members, the freedom of expression, and participation in social activities. They sought to equalize the allowance of freedom for sons and for daughters and to minimize the cultural differences of persons from different ethnic backgrounds. In contrast, it was found that Greek parents, especially less educated fathers, preserved their authoritarian positions, and let gender influence their child-rearing practises. They seemed virtually unaffected by the mores of the dominant society. In three of the six families, this situation sparked arguments, misunderstandings, and conflicts.

It is recommended that cross-cultural programs use this knowledge to help to alleviate some of this conflict by providing an opportunity for people of different ethnic backgrounds to culturally and socially interact. These programs should not aim to extinguish the cultural features of ethnic groups, but rather to promote an understanding and familiarity of ethnic differences, thus replacing fear with interest. Further, these programs would give Greek parents an opportunity to better understand the situation their children face.

Moreover, from the standpoint of wives and children, some changes on family structure seemed to occur. Often these changes had negative effects on the relationships of family members. It might be useful for either the Greek community or the government, to develop programs, to help such families cope with change. These programs would provide immigrant parents with the opportunity to acknowledge, if not to accept, new ideas that penetrate the family unit.

Finally, social service professionals can draw on information regarding the possible dynamics that may exist in Greek immigrant families, and from this knowledge base, make them better equipped to deal with Greek families.

This knowledge base can also deepen our understanding of the adjustment and integration processes that take place within and between the two generations living in a receiving society.

Limitations of the Study and Recommendations for Additional Research

This research was conducted on a small sample of a specific immigrant population; therefore, generalizations must be made cautiously. However, some effort was made to ensure the representativeness of the sample population as subjects were chosen based on pre-defined criteria. Findings may be generalized to other Greek families who fit the criteria outlined. Where families differ with respect to these criteria, such generalizations would indeed be limited.

Both the interview questions and the responses to them were translated from Greek to English and from English to Greek depending on which language the subject

was most comfortable. As a result, the responses that were made in Greek were subsequently translated to English for the purpose of data analysis. Some meaning may have been lost in this translation process; however, an effort was made to preserve the actual speech used even if grammatical structure was not strictly correct.

Given the findings of intergenerational conflict, further research is needed to examine the extent and effect this conflict has on Greek Canadian children's educational performance and social development. This research might investigate the intergenerational conflict from an alternative standpoint (i.e., school professionals) shedding more light on this issue.

It seems that the qualitative research approach can capture and characterize both family dynamics and cultural values. It retains originality in the quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts. Finally, interviewing allows one to enter the other person's perspective to obtain detailed descriptions of events and perceived interactions.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER SENT TO THE SIX FAMILIES

Dear

This short letter is to introduce myself and the research I am doing concerning persons of Greek descent in Montreal. This project is part of an inquiry to discover the changes that have taken place in respect to certain Greek traditional values, for the first and second generation Greeks who live in Montreal.

In order to complete this project, I would like to interview the father, the mother, and the two children (a boy and a girl aged sixteen to eighteen years old). I would very much appreciate it if I had your permission for a short interview in order to obtain some information about aspects related to, and the changes made in, certain Greek traditional values, and also to obtain some information about your understanding of life in Montreal.

This is an independent project sponsored by the department of EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY of MCGILL UNIVERSITY, and has no connection with any institution other than the university. This research is a Master's Thesis to be submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Study Thesis of McGill university.

I would like to emphasize that the completion of this project will depend upon your willingness and your cooperation. Your help will be valuable to our understanding about the life of Greeks residing in Montreal. The day and time for my visit to your home will be at your convenience.

I would also like to emphasize that whatever you will say will be strictly confidential. Your name or any other identifying information, will not appear under any circumstances.

You can use the self addressed stamped envelope to reply to me, indicating your willingness to participate in this study.

I would appreciate greatly your help in this work

Thank you

Anastasia Vlahou

I would greatly appreciate if you can provide the following information.

1) Place of residence:

2) Current job: (father)

(mother)

3) If you are not currently working what was your most recently (last) job.

Father:

Mother:

Please choose the answer that represents you the most (please pick only one answer).

4) How many years of schooling have you completed:

Elementary school (1-6 years)	
High School (7-12 years)	
University (13-16 years)	
More than University	
Other (please specify)	

.....

5) Your annual income can be estimated between

(If both spouses are working please indicate the total income)

1.....	under \$ 5,000
2.....	5,000 - 9,999
3.....	10,000 - 11,999
4.....	12,000 - 14,999
5.....	15,000 - 19,999
6.....	20,000 - 24,999
7.....	25,000 - 29,999
8.....	30,000 - 34,999
9.....	35,000 - 39,999
10.....	40,000 - 44,999
11.....	45,000 - 49,999
12.....	50,000 - 59,999
13.....	60,000 and over

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW WITH THE PARENTS

WARMING QUESTIONS

1. At what age did you emigrate from Greece to Montreal?
2. How many years have you be living in Montreal?
3. Being a person who came from Greece, how do you feel about?
4. From what I know French or English parents have different ways of rearing their children than Greeks. According to your opinion what are some of these differences (if any)?
5. Your child comes home with ideas from outside (e.g school, friends, neighbourhood). Do you find that some of these ideas are good ideas or ideas that upset you? Do these ideas result in arguments in the family?
6. Do you and your spouse have any different ideas about bringing up your children?

GREEK LANGUAGE

1. According to you, in what language should the members of a Greek family communicate?
2. What language do you use to communicate with your children?
3. Would you prefer if your children spoke Greek with their friends? Why this preference?
4. Do you believe that your children should know Greek? Why?
5. Are you sending your children to a Greek school?
(If the answer is positive)
5a) Why do you send them to a Greek school?
(If the answer is negative)
5b) Why you are not sending them to a Greek school?
6. Every Saturday morning you wake up your children to send them to the Greek school. Can you describe to me one of these mornings?
7. You want to discuss a very important issue with your children (e.g, staying out late at night or dating). Is language a big barrier in your effort to talk about it with them?
8. When you are talking with your children what happens if you cannot express yourself in the language your children speak outside the house?
9. When you are talking with your children what happens if they cannot express themselves in Greek?
10. You are talking with your child in Greek. Are there any misunderstandings, causing any arguments between you and your children because they did not understand what you were saying to them or because you did not understand what they were saying to you?
11. Which of your children would better understand you if you spoke only Greek?

CHRISTIAN ORTHODOX RELIGION

1. According to your opinion what is the main role of the Greek church in Montreal?
2. Do you believe that your children should remain Orthodox Christians?
3. During the last four months how many times have you attended a Greek liturgy?
4. You are ready to attend a Sunday liturgy. You ask your children to come with you. What is their reaction?
5. Suppose your son refuses to attend a Greek liturgy. What kind of punishment would you impose on him? (What about your daughter?)
6. Supposing somebody's daughter wants to change religion. What reaction would you expect from her parents? (what about a son?)
7. During the last two months can you remember any situation where religious issues caused arguments in your relationship with your children?
Probe
How long would these disagreements last?
What is the effect of these disagreements on your relationship with your children?
8. In the Montreal Greek community, would a son or a daughter be likely to react more negatively on Orthodox religious ideas?

FAMILY TIES

1. I think that each member contributes on the family. What is the role of a father, what is the role of the mother, what is the role of a daughter, and what is the role of a son in your family.
2. According to your opinion at what age can children begin to live independently from their family? Why?
Probe
 At what age boys can live independently?
 At what age girls can live independently?
3. Suppose that your 18 year old daughter tells you that she wants to live independently from her family. How would you react?
4. Suppose that your 18 year old son tells you that he wants to live independently from his family. How would you react?
5. From what I have seen, Greek Canadian children (at school, neighbourhood, parties) come in contact with persons from other nationalities. Thus there are a lot of possibilities to fall in love and they may want to get married a non-Greek person. What would you think about that.
Probe
 . . . Thus there are a lot of possibilities to fall in love and they may want to get married to an Orthodox Christian but not Greek person.
6. Your daughter introduces you to her non-Greek boyfriend, and asks for your blessing in marrying him. How would you react? It would be helpful to me if you explain why you would react in that way.
7. What about if it was your son?
8. Are there any of your or your spouse's ideas related to family life that your children challenge the most?
Probe (if the answer is positive)
 What are some of these ideas?
9. Which of your two children challenge these ideas the most?
10. According to you how many times would disagreements arise in your family? (per week)

11. What affect does these [disagreements] have on your relationship with your children?
12. I have heard that in many Greek families there is a lack of communication between parents and children. What is you opinion of this?
Probe.
Why do you think that happens?
13. Would you say that the fact that you have been born and grown up in Greece while your children are Greek- Canadian causes more problems in the family from what would be if all of you had grown up in the same country?
Probe. (if the answer is positive)
In what way? Why?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEWS WITH THE CHILDREN

WARMING QUESTIONS

1. How old are you?
2. In what grade are you?
3. From what I know Canadian parents have a different way of rearing their children than Greeks. According to your opinion, what are some of these differences?
4. You bring home ideas from outside (e.g school, friends, neighbourhood). Do you find that your parents like these ideas, or they get upset by them?
Probe.
Do these ideas bring arguments in the family?
5. How does your gender (being a boy/girl) influence the way your parents treat you?
6. Does one of your parents treat you differently than the other?

GREEK LANGUAGE

1. According to you, what language should members of a Greek family communicate?
2. What language do you use to communicate with your parents?
3. What language do you use to communicate with you sister/brother?
4. What language do you use to communicate with your Greek friends?
5. Do you believe that you should know Greek? Why?
6. Are you going to a Greek school?
Probe.
(If the answer is positive)
6a. Why you are going to a Greek school?
(If the answer is negative)
6b. Why you are not going to a Greek school?
7. Remember a Saturday morning. Your mother or father wakes you up to go to the Greek school. Can you describe to me one of these mornings?
8. You want to discuss with your parents a very important for you issue. Is language a big barrier in you effort to talk about it with your parents?
9. When you are talking with your parents what happens if you express yourself in a language other than Greek?
10. Your mother or your father would better understand you if you are using English or French words when you are talking?
11. Which of your parents (your mother or your father) you can understand better when they are talking to you?
12. You are talking with your parents in Greek. Are there any misunderstandings causing arguments between you and your parents because you could not find the adequate word to express yourself?

CHRISTIAN ORTHODOX RELIGION

1. According to your opinion what is the main role of the Greek church in Montreal?
2. Do you believe that you should remain a Christian Orthodox?
3. During the last four months how many times have you attended a Greek liturgy?
4. Your parents are ready to attend a Sunday liturgy on a Greek church. They ask you to go with them. What is your reaction?
Probe.
(If the reaction is negative)
3a. Why do you not want to go to church?
(If the reaction is positive)
3b. Why are you going to church?
5. What kind of punishment would you receive from your parents, if you refuse to attend a Greek liturgy?
6. How do you think your parents would react if you wanted to change religion?
7. According to your experience, which of your parents is more strict on religious issues?
8. During the last two months can you remember any situation where religious issues caused problems in your relationship with your parents?
Probe.
How long would these disagreements last?
What is the effect of these disagreements on your relationship with your parents?

FAMILY TIES

1. I think that in families each member contributes to the family. What is the role of a father, what is the role of a mother, what is the role of a son, and what is the role of a daughter in your family.
2. According to your opinion at what age can children begin to live independently from their family? Why?
3. (Lets pretend that) you are 18 years old. You tell your parents that you want to live independently from your family. What would their reaction be?
4. What is your opinion about getting married to a person other than Greek?
Probe.
What is your opinion about getting married to an Orthodox Christian but not Greek?
5. You introduce your non-Greek girlfriend/boyfriend to your parents, and ask for their blessing in marrying him/her. How would they react?
6. According to your experience what is the main issue related to family life that your parents try to impose and you challenge the most?
Probe.
Which of your two parents, your mother or your father is very persistent on imposing these ideas?
7. According to you how many times would disagreements arise in your family? (per week)
8. What affect do these disagreements have in your relationship with your parents?
9. You have a very serious personal problem. With whom of your parents you will discuss about it?
10. I have heard that in many Greek families there is a lack of communication between parents and children. What is your opinion about this?
Probe.
Why do you think that happens?
11. Would you say that the fact that you have been born and grown up in Montreal, while your parents were born and grew up in Greece causes more problems in the family than what it would be if all of you had grown up in the same country?
Probe. (If the answer is positive)
In what way? Why?