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**FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS'
ATTITUDES TOWARDS ITALY AND CANADA**

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Masters of Arts

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to look at the relationship between immigrants' adaptation strategies and attitudes towards Canada and Italy. Berry (1997) proposed that immigrants adapt to a new country in one of four ways, each associated with a different degree of acceptance or rejection of the home and host cultures. Such acculturation strategies include Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalization. Twenty-seven 1st generation Italian immigrants, and 27 of their 2nd generation children born in Canada, completed the *Background, Attitudes, and Cultural Contact Questionnaire* (Ruscito & Thorngate, 2009), the *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale* (Kim, 2008), the SIMA scale (Ruscito, 2009) and were interviewed.

All participants scored as Integrators yet psychometric properties showed the acculturation scales to be ineffective, making it difficult to test some Hypotheses relating acculturation strategies and country attitudes. However, it was found that although 1st and 2nd generations may not influence each other in the choice of acculturation strategy, a relationship was found to exist between generations in attitudes towards countries. Similarly, a relationship between ethnic identity and attitudes towards each country was found, suggesting for example, that the more Canadian immigrants feel the more they like Canada. There was no relationship between amount of time spent communicating with members of a country and attitudes towards that country. The results propose that Berry's model of categorizing immigrants into one of four acculturation strategies is more complex than thought.

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It is sad to see such a great part of my life come to an end, but I am ready and willing to experience whatever lies ahead.

“Education is a progressive discovery of our ignorance” - *Will Durant*

“The primary purpose of a liberal education is to make one's mind a pleasant place in which to spend one's time” - *Sydney J. Harris*

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First and second generation Italian immigrants' attitudes towards Canada and Italy

Researchers in Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology have shown increasing interest in the topic of immigration over the past 25 years. Canada has experienced more than its share of immigration, especially in the past decade. In each of those years, over 250,000 immigrants have arrived in the country, prompting many researchers to study their trials and triumphs in adapting to their new country (see, for example, Castles, 2002; Ward & Styles, 2005; Galchenko & Van de Vijver, 2007). Yet several questions about immigrant adaptation remain unanswered. Many of them concern the children of immigrants, the so-called *second generation*. How do these children view their parents' country of origin? How do they construct their identity amidst a family from one culture and peers from another? The present study explores the experiences and attitudes of two generations of immigrants. I asked 1st generation immigrants about the ways they have tried to adapt to Canada and about their attitudes towards Canada and their home country. I asked their children similar questions regarding Canada and their parent's country. Their answers gave important insights into the relationships between acculturation strategies, attitudes, ethnic identity, and generational differences.

Views of the Host and Home Country

As the daughter of Italian immigrants, I heard many stories from my parents and grandparents about hard times when they left their country and arrived in Canada. These stories always began with recollections of a war-ravaged Italy where people were poor and desperate. They would then shift to stories of wonder when they arrived in the "new country" full of resources and riches. An outsider listening to such stories might feel good to know that so many immigrants found happy endings to stories that began so sadly. But what many

outsiders would not see is the sadness that so many of these immigrants kept to themselves, missing parts of their lives in the “old country”. Often the mention of a single word such as “Italy” would trigger a mixture of feelings from my grandfather. He would often lecture his Italian friends on the disadvantages and negative aspects of Italy. But he would slowly and unknowingly shift to reminisce about the “good old days” when the Italian men would meet in the piazzas and chat until nightfall, about the festivals and festivities that took place in his village, and about the simple things such as how bright the Italian sun would shine. My grandfather was to me, like most immigrants are to their families I believe, an important resource when it came to knowing about Italy, its people, history, and culture.

Much literature has been produced on the topic of immigration, more specifically, on migration and its links with physical and mental adaptation to the host country (see for example, Madianos, Gonidakis, Ploubidis, Papadopoulou, & Rogakou, 2008; Fossion, Ledoux, Valente, Servais, Staner, Pelc, & Minner, 2002; Munroe-Blum, Boyle, Offord & Kates, 1989). Only recently have researchers, sociologists in particular, been interested both in 1st generation immigrants’ experiences during migration, and 2nd generation immigrants’ experiences of being raised in dual cultures (Stone, Gomez, Hotzoglou, & Lipnitsky, 2005). As a 1st generation Canadian and a 2nd generation Italian I have come to appreciate both cultures thanks to my parents, who passed on the traditions of Italy, and to my Canadian peers, who considered me as one of their own. Because of this, I became interested in examining the relationship between 1st and 2nd generation immigrants’ choice of adaptation strategies and their attitudes toward both the home country (or parent’s country) and Canada.

According to Moran-Taylor and Menjivar (2005), the country that most 1st generation immigrants call “home” is a bittersweet place that they once knew and left behind, a place

that held their friends, family, life and memories. But it is also a place which did not offer them much of a future. As stated by Akhtar (1999),

“Migration from one country to another involves profound losses. Leaving behind familiar food, native music, unquestioned social customs, known history, and often even one's attire and language, the individual is faced with strange tasting food, different music, new political concerns, cumbersome language, pale festivals, psychically unearned history, and visually unfriendly landscape” (p.1).

My own experience suggests that when immigrants are faced with the pain of separating themselves from their past lives in their home country, they begin to idealize that place, thereby causing everything from that life to acquire an almost mythical radiance.

Akhtar (1999) suggests that immigrants begin to have romanticized views of the country and cling to memories of houses, cafes and landscapes. Espiritu and Tran (2002) “conceive of the homeland not merely as a physical place for return visits, but as a concept and desire that can be returned to through the imagination” (p.4). These memories of the country are often passed on to their children (Akhtar, 1999; Falicov, 2005) who are then raised believing that such a place exists.

As witnessed from my own experiences, a parent's country is a place that the 2nd generation has heard of through family stories of both happiness and turmoil, a place with people who share their same beliefs and traditions. Several studies in sociology have documented the descriptions of both immigrants and their children's romantic views of the home country. Evergeti's (2008) study of Greek women, for example, shows how Greece is described as a place where people would “play and dance under the moon and all the grandmothers would ...be telling ... stories” (p.11). Second generation Greek immigrants

reported similar images of their parent's country, to the point where they felt that "the colors in Greece are more vivid and more pronounced. You have to be there to experience that. The smells speak to your brain. The sun is always out." (Stone, Gomez, Hotzoglou & Lipnitsky, 2005). Viruell-Fuentes (2006) shows how both 1st and 2nd generation women would cry when they expressed longing for Mexico, a place and culture that made them "feel whole."

Simultaneous with these glorious views of the homeland are immigrants' more obscure and less fantastical views of the host country. Malone and Dooley (2008) note in their study of Irish immigrants to England that Ireland was often perceived as healthier, greener and more communal, compared to cities such as London where everyone was a stranger and life happened too quickly. As stated by Stone et al. (2005), transnationalism, or the ties that link people across national borders, allows people to feel loyalty to more than one country or culture even though they live primarily in the host country. However, some 1st generation immigrants fear their children will become too much like the members of the host country. They then lead their children to view the host country and its natives in a slightly negative way. For example, in Hotzoglou's Greek home, Americans are referred to as "Americanyakia" which "suggests Americans are naive and ignorant, without any real knowledge of what goes on in the world" (Stone, Gomez, Hotzoglou & Lipnitsky, 2005, p.10).

Conversely, just as immigrants can express "magical" views of their homeland, they can also recall certain aspects of their home country in negative ways. The daughter of a Serbian immigrant recalls her parent's stories as "...tragic. It was ... something that's not very happy like, 'we only had one pair of shoes'" (Milijasevic, 2006, p.97) and "survival meant you were up at the crack of dawn working, and you came home, and you passed out at

the end of the day” (p.98). A 2nd generation Indian described, “[In Western culture] if you work hard, things will happen for you. When I go back to India I see ... take what you can get before someone else does. [In the USA, there is] generally less corruption” (Dhingra, 2008, p.12). With these negative views of the home country also come immigrants’ positive views of the host country. Although initially a foreign place for many immigrants, the host country can also be appreciated for providing new opportunities. A 2nd generation Serbian speaks of her parents saying, “When they came [...] they both really liked it. It was new and interesting and exciting. Mum, having established a good career and a good circle of friends, is [...] aware that things back [home] aren’t the way they used to be” (Milijasevic, 2006, p. 150). A Russian immigrant expressed his feelings for the US saying “in the US, [...] I felt that once you have a goal, and you're working hard to achieve it, you'll get there” (Cone, 2007, p.12).

It is safe to say that although immigrants feel nostalgic towards a country they once lived in, they also remember the days and events which led them to leave the country in the first place. Perhaps memories of harder times keep immigrants from going back to the home country and allow them to appreciate the host country. I think that despite such memories, many immigrants and their children still experience feelings of belonging to both countries. For some immigrants who visit their country of origin, feelings of nostalgia, pain and joy when recalling past times may arise. Akhtar (1999) found that such powerful feelings of nostalgia can lead some people to have “if only” and “someday” fantasies of returning, retiring or being buried in the homeland. He also suggests that several 1st generation immigrants do indeed go back home after many years of living abroad and saving money. Similar feelings of love and hate, approach and avoidance for both countries can also be

expressed by the 2nd generations, who experience both their parent's culture and the culture of their host and native land.

Studies have shown that when the 2nd generation has a taste of the parent's home country it is often very difficult for them to ignore it. After visiting Mexico, for example, 2nd generation Mexican women expressed feelings of wholeness and belongingness, of being home there (Viruell-Fuentes, 2006). Others expressed their emotions in a simple phrase such as "my body in Miami, my soul in Haiti" (Colin, 2000). Having visited their parent's country, 2nd generation immigrants are able to experience people "like them" with whom they can identify (Viruell-Fuentes, 2006). By going back, they are able to experience the "authentic" culture that they had only heard of (Christou, 2006).

No matter how strong the feelings of wanting to return home are some 1st generation immigrants experience feelings of being a "foreigner" in their home country upon return (Christou, 2006). When immigrants leave the host country to move to or visit the homeland, many experience a re-adjustment of their identities. Once they leave the host country they find themselves in an "in-between space," having to decide where they belong (Christou, 2006) and this can lead them to feel torn between being, for example, either Italian or American (Roisircal-Sodowsky, & Maestas, 2000). A study conducted on Barbadians' return home from England showed that many of them experienced a "reverse culture shock". Returnees felt like outsiders in their own homeland and were often told that they are an "English person and [...] not Bajan" (Potter, 2005, p. 16).

Despite mixed feelings, 2nd generation immigrants differ somewhat from their parents on how they are viewed by their counterparts born and raised in the parent's homeland. Often times, when members of the 2nd generation visit or move to their parent's home country, they

experience identity confusion and adaptation problems (Vedder & Virta, 2005). One study of people of Japanese descent demonstrated that when they returned to Japan from Brazil, they were treated as foreigners because of their Brazilian cultural characteristics and because of their different ideas of what it means to be Japanese (Tsuda, 1996).

It seems that when members of the 2nd generation return to the parent's home country or meet people from the country, that they are forced to re-evaluate their identities. What they thought they knew of their parents' country of origin no longer fits with the reality of it. As stated by 2nd generation Lebanese immigrants in Senegal, "we are not like the Lebanese of Lebanon" (Leichtman, 2005, p. 7). Indians living in America felt that they had "cousins [in India] who [...] identify so much with the American culture, that they are probably less Indian than I am ... they don't ... have the compassion for things Indian that I have" (Dhingra, 2008). One of the main causes of this identity confusion is the tendency for some 1st generation immigrants to idolize the place they once knew and pass this image on to their children. Christou (2006) found that when conversing with 2nd generation Greek-Americans, Greek-American worlds and communities in the host country were often characterized as more Greek than Greece. Many 2nd generation immigrants were likely raised with such an idealized image of the culture of the homeland; an ideal from a long time ago that existed in their parent's minds but which no longer existed in the homeland. This has caused some 2nd generation immigrants to be raised differently from their same-age counterparts in their parent's country.

Both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants can choose to live with zero, one or two ethnic identities, the last of which, in turn, can allow them to take full advantage of the benefits offered by both countries and cultures. These are people who want to achieve the "best of

both worlds”, where they can enjoy aspects of both cultural backgrounds (Dhingra, 2008). Others on the other hand, may experience identity confusion when learning to identify with two cultures. While both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants express special feelings towards the host (1st generation) / native (2nd generation) country, they do not readily forget their ties to the home country (or parent’s country). As an Indian born in America said, “I want to try and take the best of both worlds; the Indian aspect and the American aspect and kind of combine the full aspect of Indian American” (Dhingra, 2008, p.12).

In summary, there is reason to believe that both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants have a range of negative and positive attitudes toward both their country of origin and toward the host country. The proportion of positive and negative attitudes is likely to vary from one immigrant to the next. But what determines these proportions? One likely candidate is the way in which immigrants choose to adjust or adapt to Canadian culture – their so-called *adaptation* or *acculturation strategy* (Berry, 1997). My study examined the links between acculturation strategy and both positive and negative attitudes towards Canada (the host country) and the country of origin. I obtained attitudes toward both countries from both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants in the hopes of determining a link with their adaptation strategies. I also interviewed 1st generations to discover more about their immigration experiences, as well as 2nd generations to discover more about being raised with two cultures.

Adaptation and Acculturation

When immigrants arrive in a new country, they experience a variety of changes collectively known as *acculturation*. The term *acculturation* includes “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both

groups” (Berry, 1997, p. 3). Once immigrants and natives of a country come into contact, not only do the cultural patterns of one or both groups change but, depending on how members of the immigrant group settle in the new country, they may experience varying degrees of *acculturative stress*, with feelings of anxiety, depression, alienation, and identity confusion (Roysircar-Sodowsky & Maestas, 2000).

Berry and Kim (1988) suggest several possible variables that could influence the level of acculturative stress experienced by an immigrant and his or her group. One variable is the “nature of the host society” which is concerned with the values of the dominant society and how they may affect the acceptance or rejection of immigrant groups. For example, acculturative stress is less predominant in multicultural societies such as Canada, where it is quite common for immigrants to create a “model” of their country (such as a little Italy), than in countries such as China or Japan which attempt to impose monocultural demands on ethnic groups (Brown & Ganguly, 1997).

A second variable affecting acculturation is the “nature of the immigrants” which refers to the “willingness, movement towards integration and stability of contact that the minority group has with the dominant group” (Roysircar-Sodowsky & Maestas, 2000, p. 3). If immigrant groups are unwilling to establish contact with the host group, then they will experience much more difficulty when adapting to the host country (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997; for a review of acculturative stress see, Roysircar-Sodowsky & Maestas, 2000).

A third variable affecting acculturation is the type of acculturation strategy chosen, which refers to the way in which immigrants choose to adapt to the new country. When immigrants arrive in a new country, they come with or soon develop attitudes about the way

in which they wish to engage with their own group and other groups. These are known as *acculturation attitudes* (Berry, 1997). Immigrants will develop attitudes about 1) cultural maintenance -- the extent to which they will maintain (versus give up) their cultural attributes, and about 2) contact and participation -- the extent to which they will have contact with (or avoid) others outside their group (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001). Depending on the strength of the attitudes, immigrants can adapt to the host country in one of four ways. These four adaptation strategies known as *acculturation strategies* have been labeled by Berry (2006) as *Assimilation*, *Separation*, *Marginalization* and *Integration*. In this study, I assessed the acculturation strategies chosen by immigrants and the extent to which they were passed on to their 2nd generation immigrant children.

Assimilation. The first of Berry's (1997, 2001) four acculturation strategies, *assimilation*, occurs when immigrants renounce their culture of origin, its linguistic and social characteristics, and adopt the culture of the host society. Gordon (1964) thought of assimilation as including several distinct stages. Once immigrants have contact with members of the host country, they experience *structural assimilation*, where they enter the social networks and institutions of the host group. Structural assimilation leads to a decrease in social distances with members of the host culture, and the immigrant's assimilation into the mainstream society can then facilitate intermarriage, absence of prejudice, absence of discrimination, unity of identification and absence of power conflicts (Alba & Nee, 1997; Brown, 2006). Research by Pagnini and Morgan (1990) has shown that intermarriage can reduce an immigrant family's ability to pass on their culture to their children, thereby becoming an agent of assimilation. Likewise, they suggest that intermarriage for 2nd and later generation European immigrants in the U.S. has increased, meaning that more immigrants

and their descendents are becoming integrated into mainstream American society (Pagnini & Morgan, 1990).

Separation. The second acculturation strategy, *separation*, is for my purposes the opposite of assimilation; it leads immigrants to maintain their culture of origin and renounce the culture of the host society (Berry, 1997). Immigrants pursuing the separation strategy tend to avoid interactions with members of other groups in the host society and to emphasize their own cultural activities. Pham and Harris (2001) found that separation among Vietnamese-Americans was negatively correlated with self-esteem, suggesting that immigrants who reject participation in the host culture will experience lower levels of self-esteem.

Marginalization. The third acculturation strategy, *marginalization*, leads immigrants to reject both the culture of the host country and the culture of origin (Kosic, Mannetti & Lackland Sam, 2005; Berry, 1997). Studies on both separation and marginalization have found this strategy to be associated with the highest levels of acculturative stress (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997).

Integration. The last of the four acculturation strategies, *integration*, involves immigrants maintaining aspects of their culture of origin while also adopting characteristics of the host society (Berry, 1997). Integrated immigrants are able to participate in activities of the host country while still maintaining their initial cultural activities. Some studies suggest that integration is the preferred and the most adaptive acculturation strategy of the four (Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989). Berry (1997) also suggests that integrators have more flexible personalities to tolerate different people, that they are more likely to experience long term health and well-being, and that they are least likely to experience acculturative stress (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997).

The attitudes of both immigrants and members of the host country are important determinants of the dynamics that occur between the two groups. Members of the host country normally view their country differently than immigrants do. If members of the host country see their country as a *melting pot*, they would expect immigrants to adapt by assimilation. If host country members see their country as *multicultural*, they would expect immigrants to integrate. Likewise, if host country members see their country as a *segregated* one, they would expect immigrants to separate, and if they see their country as one that *excludes*, they would expect immigrants to be marginalized. The host country for this study is Canada, a multicultural country relatively tolerant of different cultures. In order to examine if the strategies of the two generations are related, both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants to Canada completed a questionnaire that classified them into one of the four acculturation strategies.

To understand better the factors influencing the choice of an acculturation strategy, it is important to look at how the nature of the host society might affect that choice. The studies mentioned above, reporting integration as the most popular strategy, were conducted in Canada's multicultural society, meaning members of the host country were relatively open to and acceptant of the idea of several cultures living together. Although immigrants' social class, age, gender, and strength of ethnic identity can be important predictors of an adaptation strategy, government policies of the host country and its citizens' views of the immigrant group can also affect the way in which immigrants adapt. If the receiving country is not accepting of different cultures, then it will create policies that force immigrants to assimilate, separate, or even marginalize themselves (Berry, 1997; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997).

A model presented by Bourhis et al. (1997), using the Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS), shows that the host community's attitudes toward acculturation strategies vary depending on the national origin of the immigrant group. In the case of a stigmatized immigrant group, 50% of host community members preferred segregation (separation), 10% integration, 15% assimilation, and 20% exclusion (marginalization). On the other hand, in the case of a non-stigmatized immigrant group, 60% of the host community members preferred integration, 25% assimilation, 8% segregation (separation), and 2% exclusion (marginalization).

While the attitudes of members of the host country towards the immigrant group are important in the study of acculturation, research in the area suggests that the type of strategy chosen by the immigrant may also depend on several other factors (Berry, 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). Some of these factors include the nature of the host society (i.e. monocultural vs. multicultural), type of migrants (i.e. refugees vs. immigrants), relationship between host society and the immigrant culture, length of stay in host country, and psychological and physical characteristics of immigrants (Ying, 2005). Several of these factors interact, reflecting immigrants who adapt in their own unique way (see also Berry, 1987; Berry, 1997; Berry, 2001). For example, given that refugees are usually forced out of their land due to dangers in the home country, they often do not readily accept the culture of the host country because they are still attached to their own (Akhtar, 1999). Refugees may thus choose to separate while immigrants, who leave their country voluntarily, may choose to acculturate in a different way.

Nonetheless, some studies of immigrants suggest that there is indeed a more adaptive acculturation strategy among the four. Berry, Kim, Power, Young and Bujaki (1989) found

that most Korean, Portuguese and Hungarian immigrants to Canada preferred the integration strategy. Similarly, Berry and Krishnan's (1992) study of Indian immigrants to the U.S., as well as Sayegh and Lasry's (1993) study of Indian immigrants to Canada, found that integration was the preferred acculturation strategy. The majority of studies conducted on immigrants to Canada have shown that integration is the preferred strategy, followed by assimilation, separation and marginalization. I could find no statistics on the proportion of immigrants adapting to each strategy. Rather, studies on acculturation tend to report the findings of Berry, Kim, Power, Young and Bujaki (1989) which show integration to be the preferred strategy of the four.

In order to investigate an immigrant's adaptation to Canada, data was collected from a sample of 1st and 2nd generation Canadian immigrants. The 1st generation immigrants' attitudes toward both Canada and the home country, and the 2nd generation's attitudes toward both Canada and their parent's home country, were analyzed. This allowed me to see how attitudes may be related to the type of acculturation strategy adopted, as defined by Berry (2001). For example, according to Berry's (1997) definition, an assimilator is an immigrant who wishes to adopt the host culture and reject the home culture. According to this definition, I predicted that assimilators would have relatively more positive attitudes toward the host country and relatively more negative attitudes toward the home country.

Specific predictions are listed below.

- First generation immigrants who choose *assimilation*, deciding to reject the home culture and maintain the host culture, will have relatively more positive attitudes towards Canada compared to immigrants who choose marginalization or separation,

and relatively more negative attitudes towards the country of origin compared to immigrants who choose integration or separation.

- First generation immigrants who choose *integration*, deciding to maintain both the host and home cultures, will have relatively more positive attitudes towards Canada compared to immigrants who choose marginalization or separation, and relatively more positive attitudes towards their home country compared to immigrants who choose marginalization or assimilation.
- First generation immigrants who choose *separation*, deciding to reject the host culture and maintain the home culture, will have relatively more positive attitudes towards the home country compared to immigrants who choose marginalization or assimilation, and relatively more negative attitudes towards Canada compared to immigrants who choose assimilation or integration.
- First generation immigrants who choose *marginalization*, deciding to reject both the host and home cultures, will have relatively more negative attitudes towards Canada compared to immigrants who choose assimilation or integration, and relatively more negative attitudes towards the country of origin compared to immigrants who choose integration or separation.

To test these propositions I asked 1st and 2nd generation immigrants to complete the *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale* (Kim, 2008) which measured their choice of acculturation strategies. According to their highest score, immigrants were classified into one of four acculturation strategies; Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalization. Along with being categorized, four acculturation scores were derived for each participant, and they were correlated to see if acculturation strategies are passed on from one generation

to the next. I measured attitudes towards the home country and Canada by asking participants to list what they like and dislike about both countries, and then tallied the number of positive and negative words.

Ethnic Identity and Generational Differences

Ethnic Identity. Essential to understanding the dynamics between two cultural groups is the topic of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is defined as the ethnic component of a person's social identity. As stated by Tajfel (1981; cited in Phinney, 1990, p. 2) ethnic identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership." Simply stated, ethnic identity entails the attitudes and beliefs that people have about themselves in relation to their culture. However, it is important to note that ethnic identity is only meaningful in conditions where two or more ethnic groups come into contact (Berry, 2001; Phinney, 1990). An ethnic identity gives people feelings of belonging and commitment to their ethnic group, a sense of shared values and attitudes (White & Burke, 1987), and shared aspects of culture such as language, behavior, and knowledge of ethnic history (Phinney, 1990). Sabatier (2008) has gone on to suggest that immigrants have a cultural component to their identity which includes an ethnic identity, i.e. how immigrants identify with their home culture (e.g., an Italian identity) and a national identity, i.e. how immigrants identify with the host culture (e.g., a Canadian identity).

Phinney (1990) proposed that ethnic identity could be considered as an aspect of acculturation. Recall that acculturation deals with changes in different aspects of a culture when two distinct cultures come into contact. Acculturation, however, deals with a group of immigrants rather than an individual, and how that group relates to the host country. Ethnic

identity, on the other hand, deals with individuals and “how they relate to their own group as a subgroup of the larger society” (Phinney, 1990, p.3). Given this, a two-dimensional model of acculturation was brought forward based on the assumption that both a relationship with the ethnic (home) culture and a relationship with the host culture must be considered when looking at immigrant identities (Berry, Trimble & Olmedo, 1986; as cited in Phinney, 1990). Unlike an earlier proposed linear, bipolar model, the two-dimensional model does not put ethnic identity along a continuum where a strong tie to the ethnic culture automatically implies a weak tie to the host culture. According to Phinney, the two are independent, meaning that immigrants may identify either strongly or weakly with both their own culture and with the host culture.

As previously mentioned, immigrants’ acculturation strategies vary in the degree of maintenance of their own culture and the degree of involvement with the host culture (Berry, 1997). Similarly, identity also varies in the degree of identification with one’s own culture and the degree of identification with the host culture. Phinney (1990), like Berry (2001), suggests that there are four ways of dealing with ethnic group membership in diverse societies. Immigrants who identify strongly with both the ethnic and the host group should prefer integration (and biculturalism). Immigrants who identify with neither the ethnic nor host group should exhibit marginality. An immigrant who identifies exclusively with the host culture should manifest assimilation, and if immigrants identify exclusively with their ethnic culture, they should show signs of separation. In order to test Phinney and Berry’s speculations, I predict that, i) the strength of both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants’ ethnic identity is related to their choice of acculturation strategy. Specifically, the more they identify with the home country, the more likely immigrants are at choosing separation or integration. I

also predict that ii) the strength of both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants' ethnic identity is related to their attitudes of both Canada and the home country. Specifically, the more they identify with the home country, the more positive their attitudes towards the country will be.

As noted, a vast amount of research has been conducted on immigrants' ethnic identities. Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk (2004) showed that the stronger people's attachment to their home culture, the better their psychological well-being. They also found that positive attachment, i.e. immigrants' favorable attitudes toward the host country and culture, was beneficial to immigrants' adaptation to the host country. Others found that identity for the home country is weaker for those who migrated at a younger age (Garcia & Lega, 1979), lived in the host country for a longer period of time, and were more educated (Rogler, Cooney & Ortiz, 1980). However, both personal and social variables can also influence the strength of ethnic identity – variables such as the density and status of the ethnic community, government policies, gender, social economic status, age, and immigrant generation. For example, if positive images of the ethnic group help people to strengthen their ties with the group, then negative images of the group can lead individuals to dissociate themselves from their group (Louie, 2006). Therefore, as discussed by Phinney (1992), the most effective way of measuring ethnic identity is to look at people's *pride* – which refers to their positive feelings towards their group, and people's *feelings* of belonging and attachment to their group. I measured immigrants' ethnic identities by asking them to rate how proud they are to be, for example, Italian and Canadian, and to rate how Italian and how Canadian they feel.

Generational Differences. Although literature on immigration is substantial, it is only recently that the topics of 2nd generations and generational differences between immigrants and their children have been researched. Several studies in these areas have found that

identification with the parent's ethnic group has consistently declined in the generations following the first (Constantinou & Harvey, 1985). Hernandez-Ramdwar (2006) suggests that 2nd generation immigrants are more assimilated as well as more educated and more economically and socially successful than their immigrant parents. However, a study of Chinese Americans found that ethnic identity is cyclical, becoming more important again in the third and fourth generations (Ting-Toomey, 1981). Portes (1999) proposed that changes in language use, cultural preferences and loyalties are more likely to take place among the children of immigrants than among the immigrants themselves.

Most people, immigrants and natives, feel the need to identify themselves with their cultural group when in contact with members of different cultures (Phinney, 1990). However, people will differ in the strength of their ethnic identity depending on their experiences. As best explained by Louie (2006), most immigrants who leave their country for better opportunities are forced to overcome many obstacles in the new country. Having left behind a place that was once their home, immigrants begin to experience feelings of nostalgia. Because of this nostalgia, they often try to re-create an ethnic surrounding that reminds them of their life back home, creating an almost second motherland (Akhtar, 1999). In contrast, most of the children of immigrants are born in the new country and may likely feel a connection to both their parents' culture and to their native culture, leading to what Louie (2006) calls a *hyphenated identity*.

An example of hyphenated identities can be seen with Chinese immigrants to Canada. The 1st generation of immigrants settled in the country and created communities that they refer to as "Chinatowns", where the Chinese meet and share traditions from the old country. Second generation Chinese are introduced to these communities by their 1st generation

parents, thereby experiencing the Chinese culture. However, unlike their parents, many also frequent Canadian institutions and take part in Canadian traditions from a young age. As a result, the 2nd generation is likely to experience a sense of belonging to Canada, where they were born, as well as the old country, from which their parents originate, thereby calling themselves Chinese-Canadians.

Thanks to both the fact that they were born in the host country, and to their parents' efforts of passing on the home culture, it seems as though 2nd generation immigrants with dual identities are at an advantage compared to their immigrant parents (Ben-Shalom & Horenczyk, 2004). Ben-Shalom and Horenczyk (2004) propose that a bicultural identity, which combines positive attachment to both the parents' home country and to the host country, is beneficial for immigrants' healthy integration, well-being and acculturation. However, Vedder and Virta (2005) argue that growing up between two cultures can lead to identity confusion and adaptation problems. They also suggest that such problems often arise when the attitudes, values and behaviors typical of each culture group come into conflict.

If immigrants experience identity confusion, they must then decide if they wish to choose one of the two identities, or to establish a bicultural ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990). An example of this comes from Dhingra's (2008) study using 1st and 2nd generation Indians. He notes that although 2nd generation Indians are seen by members of the host country as successful, hard working and submissive, they are also seen as possible threats to the host country's economy and safety. As a response to such racial and cultural suspicions, 2nd generation immigrants do not feel "at home", which leads them to get involved with the activities, institutions and people who share their ethnic beliefs and culture. As stated by Falicov (2005),

“Today’s children of immigrants have greater interest in and knowledge of their parents’ countries. They have begun to feel pride in their parents’ ethnicities and even defend against discrimination by getting more involved with their cultures rather than denying them or wanting to pass. They seem to underline rather than erase the hyphen in Greek-American or Cuban-American.” (p. 5).

As argued by Phinney (1990), for some people a single ethnic label is inaccurate because they feel part of two or more groups. For others, it is easier to be considered part ethnic and part mainstream.

In summary, 1st and 2nd generation immigrants experience adaptation to the host country in different ways. Members of the 1st generation are faced with the decision to leave their homeland and settle in a “new” country, sometimes knowing very little about it. Second generation immigrants on the other hand, are born and raised in the host country (or immigrated at a young age) thereby making them native members to the parent’s host country. However, they are often exposed to their parent’s culture through their parents’ stories and behaviors. Given that the life circumstances of the two generations differ, different types of adaptation strategies to the host country might be adopted, but both generations are faced with identity issues whereby they must choose which culture group to identify with.

In addition to examining the relationship between adaptation strategies and cultural attitudes, I examined whether the type of adaptation strategy chosen by 1st generation immigrants was passed on to the 2nd generation. As the literature on immigration and acculturation has shown, the acculturation strategies of 1st generation immigrants are at times mirrored by the 2nd generation and at times not. Some research has found that 2nd and later

generations should be more assimilated than their 1st generation parents (Phinney, 1990). Other research has found that 2nd generations should be just as invested as their parents in maintaining the home culture, while still living amongst their native peers (Falicov, 2005). Given the research in this area, as well as my own experiences as a 2nd generation immigrant, I predict that the acculturation strategies shown by 2nd generation immigrants would be similar to the acculturation strategies chosen by the 1st generation. That is, 1st generation assimilators should breed 2nd generation assimilators, 1st generation integrators should breed 2nd generation integrators, etc. And I predict that 2nd generation immigrants would have similar attitudes towards Canada and their parents' home country as their parents.

Transnationalism

Although 2nd generation immigrants may receive pressure from the host country (i.e. their native country) to assimilate to the host country, they may also receive pressure from their parents to keep ties with their home culture. Fear of the host country's norms and traditions, as well as fear of losing their own cultural traditions, may lead immigrant parents to expect their children to practice their home language, values, religions, and traditions. Receiving pressure from both their parents and members of their native country, 2nd generation immigrants often lead dual lives. They may learn to speak two languages, have feelings of belonging to two countries and actively communicate and participate with institutions of both countries (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999). Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt (1999) believe that 1st and 2nd generation immigrants who "appreciate" being members of two cultures will proceed to take part in the activities of the host country and home country (finances and politics permitting). Such activities entail watching ethnic and local television, listening to ethnic and local radio, reading news from both countries,

communicating via telephone with family members and friends in both countries, and visiting the home country.

Vertovec (1999) defines “multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (p.1) as *transnationalism*. Because modern technological advancements allow networks of people to connect to each other from great distances and across international borders, people with dual or multiple identities can feel more easily as though they are both “here and there”. And although most non-immigrants typically identify with their native country, the majority of immigrants and their children can more easily have several identities that link them to more than one culture simultaneously (Ramji, 2006; Vertovec, 1999). However, for some people, it is not enough to take part in the traditions and institutions of their ethnic group in the host country; a deeper sense of belonging to this group leads them to want a connection with the “real” people and institutions of the home country.

Although the typical transnational practices such as watching ethnic and local television and communicating via telephone with members of the host country are still ongoing, other more significant practices between immigrants and their home country have been taking place in recent years. These involve working in the home country, making monetary transfers to and from members of the country, receiving access to health and welfare benefits, property rights, voting rights and citizenship in more than one country (Vertovec, 1999). Second generation immigrants would participate and benefit from such practices if they are allowed to integrate successfully in the host society (Viruell-Fuentes, 2006). Although Portes and Zhou (1993) suggest that only a small proportion of 2nd generation immigrants engage in transnational activities, due to limited social capital, Viruell-Fuentes (2006) suggests that “the second generation may benefit from the

transnational practices of their parents and of their own, limited as they may be, in so far as transnationalism offers resources for the ‘successful integration of second-generation youths into the host society.’” (Portes, 2003, p. 5).

As brought forward by research, those immigrants who feel a sense of belonging to the home culture are often also interested in maintaining certain, if not all, aspects of it. This may lead them to communicate with members of that culture who share their same interests. As an Italian-Canadian, I enjoy speaking with family and friends in Italy, as well as watching Italian television, because we have many things in common, as Italians. And as suggested by the literature on transnationalism, modern day technologies should allow immigrants to communicate with those members of the homeland more easily (Viruell-Fuentes, 2006). Therefore, I predict that the more time 1st and 2nd generation immigrants spend communicating with members of the home country, the more positive their attitudes towards the country would be.

1st and 2nd Generation Acculturation, Country Attitudes and Ethnic Identity

When immigrants arrive in a new country, they are faced with many challenges. They leave behind a familiar place and people in order to begin a new life in a foreign country. When immigrants live in the host country, they often recall past times in their home country. Although such recollections may differ from one immigrant to another, they tend to range from difficult and sad, to happy and unforgettable. Likewise, positive and negative emotions for the host country also arise because, for immigrants, it is both a place of opportunity and a place unfamiliar to them.

Once immigrants come into contact with members of the host country they are pressured to adapt to its culture. Berry (1997) suggests immigrants adapt by using one of four

acculturation strategies: *assimilation*, adopting the host culture and rejecting the home culture; *separation*, rejecting the culture of the host country and maintaining the home culture; *marginalization*, rejecting both the home culture and the culture of the host country; and *integration*, maintaining the home culture and adopting the culture of the host country.

Their choice of adaptation strategy may well reflect their attitudes towards each culture.

Some immigrants appreciate the new opportunities and culture of the host country, and others are hesitant or unwilling to conform to a foreign lifestyle. Others see the home country as an unhappy and poor place, and some recall it as a wonderfully happy part of their life.

Yet just as immigrants must learn to adapt to the new country, they must also learn to adjust their ethnic identity - the way they view themselves in relation to their cultural group. For example, if immigrants decide to maintain both the culture of origin and the culture of the host country (i.e. to be Integrators), then their identity would most likely comprise both an ethnic and national component (Phinney, 1990). As 1st generation immigrants learn to adapt to the new country in different ways, 2nd generation immigrants who are raised with both their parents' experiences and culture, and their native culture, must also learn to live with both cultures. Being raised in two cultures has led many 2nd generation immigrants to be raised differently from their native peers and their peers born in their parents' country. Second generation immigrants differ from their native peers because they were raised with another different culture, and they also differ from peers from their parents' country because they were born and raised in the "host" country. Yet given the ease of modern day transnational activities, both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants are able to come and go from the home country as often as they can. But, like their parents, 2nd generations must choose

whether to maintain both cultures, choose only one or simply reject them both. And like their parents, they too may have positive and negative attitudes towards both countries.

In this study, I collected pairs of 1st and 2nd generation immigrants to Canada from the same family. Participants completed an acculturation scale, and they were scored on each of the four acculturation strategies; assimilation, integration, marginalization and separation. I asked participants several questions regarding what they like and dislike about Canada and the home country, how many friends and family they have in their home country, how often they communicate with them, etc. All of the research presented has led me to ask some research questions, which in turn, led to the prediction of nine hypotheses.

- Question 1. Are 1st and 2nd generation immigrants' attitudes towards Italy and Canada related to their acculturation strategy?

Question 1 led to the following hypotheses:

1. First generation immigrants who choose assimilation, deciding to reject the home culture and adopt the host culture, will have relatively more positive attitudes toward Canada compared to immigrants who choose separation or marginalization, and relatively more negative attitudes toward the home country compared to immigrants who choose separation or integration,
2. First generation immigrants who choose integration, deciding to maintain both the host and home cultures, will have relatively more positive attitudes toward the home country compared to immigrants who choose marginalization or assimilation, and relatively more positive attitudes towards Canada compared to immigrants who choose marginalization or separation,

3. First generation immigrants who choose separation, deciding to reject the host culture and maintain the home culture, will have relatively more positive attitudes toward the home country compared to immigrants who choose assimilation or marginalization, and relatively more negative attitudes toward Canada compared to immigrants who choose assimilation or integration,
 4. First generation immigrants who choose marginalization, deciding to reject both the host and home cultures, will have relatively more negative attitudes towards Canada compared to immigrants who choose assimilation or integration, and relatively more negative attitudes towards the home country compared to immigrants who choose integration or separation.
- Question 2. Is there a relationship between 1st generation immigrants' attitudes towards Canada and Italy, and 2nd generation immigrants' attitudes towards Canada and Italy?
 - Question 3. Are the acculturation strategies chosen by 1st generation immigrants passed on to their 2nd generation immigrant children?

Questions 2 and 3 led to the following hypotheses:

5. Second generation immigrants will adopt the acculturation strategy of their 1st generation immigrant parents,
6. Second generation immigrants will have similar attitudes towards Canada and their parents' home country as their 1st generation immigrant parents.

Research on ethnic identity and transnationalism led to the following Hypotheses:

7. There is a relationship between the strength of a person's ethnic identity and his or her choice of acculturation strategy.

8. There is a relationship between the strength of a person's ethnic identity and his or her attitudes towards each country.
9. There is a positive relationship between the time immigrants spent communicating with members of a country, and their attitudes toward the country.

With testing the hypotheses mentioned above, I also conducted interviews in order to add depth to the analyses. I asked 1st generation immigrants about both their best and worst memories of life in the home country, as well as their best and worst memories of life in Canada upon arrival. Similarly, I inquired about difficulties experienced as foreigners in Canada. The purpose of these questions was to provide a better understanding of immigrants' experiences and feelings towards both countries, as they left their life in the home country and settled for a new one in Canada. Participants then recalled the most positive and negative moments of their life that could explain their overall positive or negatives attitudes towards both countries. These were followed by a question about how much more or less, for example, Italian their 2nd generation children are, compared to them, and if, and how, they would re-live their life. These two questions gave overall support for immigrant's life choices and feelings towards them.

I invited 2nd generation immigrants to answer some questions as well. Given that they were born in Canada and raised with aspects of their parent's culture, I asked participants if they wished they had been raised in their parent's home country. This allowed for a better perspective of their feelings towards the home country and culture. Participants were also asked to describe what comes to mind when they hear the words "Canada" and "parent's home country". Answers to these questions reflected their attitudes towards both countries, which in turn, allowed me to compare both generations' attitudes. Finally, I inquired about

any difficulties experienced as, for example, Italian-Canadians in Canada, and if they believe they are more or less, for example, Italian than their parents. Like for the 1st generations, these questions showed how 2nd generations live with more than one culture, and how it affects their self-construal.

Method

Participants

A total of 54 1st and 2nd generation immigrants (13 Males and 41 Females) participated in this study. The sample consisted of 27 1st generation immigrants (7 Males and 20 Females) and their children, 27 2nd generation immigrants (6 Males and 21 Females). All 1st generation participants were born in Italy and immigrated to Canada between the ages of 3 and 35 years (eight of these participants immigrated to Canada between the ages of 3 and 10). Their ages ranged from 43-82 years. First generation participants have been living in Canada between 20-56 years. All 2nd generation participants were born and raised in Canada, with ages ranging from 15-55 years. Of the 1st generation, 13 participants reported speaking English, French and Italian, seven participants reported speaking only English and Italian, four reported speaking only Italian and French, one reported speaking only Italian, and two reported speaking Italian and a combination of other languages. Of the 2nd generation, 20 reported speaking Italian, French and English, five reported speaking English and French, and two reported speaking English, French, Italian, and either Japanese or Spanish. The four participants recruited through Carleton University's Experiment sign-up system were given course credit, and the remainder of the sample was obtained through social networks.

Measures

Participants completed an electronic version of scales with the use of SurveyMonkey; a computer software used to create online surveys.

Background, Attitudes, and Cultural Contact Questionnaire. The BACCQ is a 4-5 page, background and attitudes questionnaire developed specifically for this study (see Appendix A). The background portion of the 1st generation's version of the BACCQ asks participants several questions regarding their life in Italy and in Canada. Included are questions about nationality, reason for coming to Canada, visits to Italy, and number of friends in both countries. The attitudes towards countries portion of the BACCQ asks participants to rate how much they like Canada/Italy, what they like about Canada/Italy, what they dislike about Canada/Italy? etc. (Appendix A). The cultural contact portion of the BACCQ asks questions about the extent of communication with people in Italy and Canada, how much time is spent watching Italian and Canadian TV, listening to Italian and Canadian radio and reading Italian and Canadian newspapers (Appendix A).

The Background portion of the questionnaire for the 2nd generation differed slightly; for example, I did not ask 2nd generation participants about reasons for migrating, but instead I asked them about their nationality, visits to Italy, etc. The Attitudes towards countries portion of the Questionnaire for the 2nd generation was similar to the 1st (see Appendix B). However, I did not inquire about how they passed on the Italian culture to their children.

Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale. In order to classify 1st and 2nd generation immigrants according to their acculturation strategy, I used Kim's (2008) *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale* (AAES; see Appendix C), a revised version of Kim's (1984) *Acculturation Attitudes Scale*. Kim (2008) conducted a study with the scale

on Korean and Korean-Canadian samples. Reliability for Assimilation, Integration and Separation were fairly high with Cronbach alphas above .70. Marginalization, on the other hand, had slightly lower Cronbach alphas between .60 and .71 (Kim, 2008). Although Kim's validity check was confusing, he nonetheless claims overall support for validity and reliability for the *Acculturation Attitudes scale*. Although many psychometric properties of this scale are unknown and other acculturation scales are difficult to obtain, I used Kim's *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations (AAE) Scale* (2008).

The first page of the AAE Scale entitled "Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations-Non-Dominant Group Version: Acculturation Attitudes," measures immigrants' attitudes towards their own cultural group and the host culture's group. The second page of the scale entitled "Dominant Group Version: Acculturation Expectations" measures the host country members' attitudes towards how the immigrant group should adapt to the country. For the purpose of this study, I only used the first page of the scale.

The purpose of the AAE scale is to categorize immigrants into one of four acculturation strategies: Assimilation, Integration, Marginalization and Separation. The scale consists of 16 statements that participants are asked to rate according to their agreement. Examples of statements include, "I feel that as [Italians] we should maintain our own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of [Canada]," and "I prefer to have both [Italian] and [Canadian] friends". Each acculturation strategy is represented four of the 16 statements. Agreement ratings of these four statements were totalled for each of the four strategies, in order to obtain four acculturation strategy scores per participant.

In addition to Kim's (2008) *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale*, I developed my own measure of the four acculturation strategies. I gave participants four

statements which I refer to as *SIMA* statements (S – Separation, I- Integration, M- Marginalization, A-Assimilation) representing each of the four acculturating strategies (Appendix D). The statements reflected the definitions of the four strategies Berry et al. (1989) used in the development of one of his *Immigrant Acculturation Scale* (IAS). Specifically, I ask participants to rate their agreement-disagreement with each of the following four statements on a 5-point *Likert*-scale: 1) I prefer to be with Canadians and participate in Canadian activities, institutions and traditions only [Assimilation]; 2) I prefer to be with both Italians and Canadians, as well as participate in both Italian and Canadian activities, institutions and traditions [Integration]; 3) I prefer to be with Italians and participate in Italian activities, institutions and traditions only [Separation]; 4) I prefer not to be with Italians or Canadians, and I do not want to participate in Italian or Canadian activities, institutions and traditions [Marginalization].

I must note that 12 of the 27 1st generations completed the questionnaires and interview in their native Italian language because they preferred to speak Italian. I translated the questions into Italian, and then translated the answers back into English. The remaining 42 participants completed questionnaires and interviews in English.

Procedure

Once I attained ethics approval for the study, students from Carleton University's Introductory Psychology course signed up for participation voluntarily through the online Experiment sign-up system. I recruited other participants from social networks, such as family, friends and acquaintances, either by phone or e-mail and informed them of the purpose of the study. In order to participate in the study, 1st generation Italian immigrants were required to have a 2nd generation Italian immigrant child who was also willing to

participate. Upon acceptance, I either e-mailed participants a link to the online survey version of the questionnaires, or delivered a package of printed versions of the same questionnaires. Both methods included the informed consent form (Appendix F), the *Background, Attitudes, and Cultural Contact Questionnaire* (Appendix A & B), the *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale* (Appendix C) and the SIMA scale (Appendix D). Completion of questionnaires took approximately one hour. When the questionnaires were completed, I contacted each participant to setup a face-to-face or phone interview (Appendix E). Each interview took approximately 30 minutes. Upon completion, I e-mailed participants the debriefing (Appendix H) and thanked them for their participation. The majority of the participants gave verbal consent that allowed their interview answers to be quoted in the study, following the release agreement (Appendix G). In order to avoid order effects, half of the participants completed the questionnaire and were then interviewed, while the other half was interviewed first and then completed the questionnaire.

Interviews

I interviewed both 1st and 2nd generation participants separately. I conducted five interviews in person (3 1st generations, 2 2nd generations) and the remaining 49 over the telephone as participants could not find a place or time convenient to do it in person. I recorded all interviews, and once transcribed, I erased them. I asked several open-ended questions about immigrants' attitudes toward Italy and Canada in order to guide the interview (see Appendix E). Questions included: What are your best memories of Italy? Did you face any difficulties as an Italian immigrant in Canada? Do you believe your children are more or less Italian than you are? Is this a good thing?

Results

Background Information

In addition to the information 1st and 2nd generation immigrants provided about acculturation strategies and attitudes, they also provided information about their background as immigrants. Seventy-seven percent of the 1st generation mentioned being married to an Italian, and 23% reported being married to a Canadian. All 27 1st generation immigrants said they came to Canada for a better life or better opportunities. Of those, 74% chose the country of Canada because members of their family were already living here and the rest because their spouse was here. Seventy-four percent of immigrants did not have a job in Italy before emigrating. Forty-four percent said they visit Italy to see family and friends, 44% return for multiple reasons (visit relatives, work, vacation, etc.) and the rest return for vacation only. Fifty-six percent reported having fewer than 10 friends in Italy; 26% reported having between 11 and 25 friends and 18% reported having more than 25 friends. Thirty percent of the 1st generation reported having more than 60 relatives in Italy, 41% reported having between 5 and 25, and 26% reported between 25 and 60. Seventy percent reported that more than half of their friends in Canada are Italian; 26% reported that more than half of their friends in Canada are Canadian; only one person reported that half of his/her friends are of other nationalities. And lastly, 80% felt it was very important to pass on the Italian culture to their children.

The 2nd generation immigrants, children of the 1st generation, responded to similar questions regarding their background. Twenty-four of them (89%) reported visiting Italy at some point in their life; 26% went to visit family, 26% for vacation and 37% for multiple reasons. In addition, 70% of 2nd generation participants reported having fewer than 10 friends

in Italy, and 30% have between 10 and 20 friends. Twenty-six percent reported having between 10 and 40 relatives in Italy, 22% reported having between 40 and 60 relatives in Italy, 22% reported having more than 60 relatives in Italy, and 30% reported having less than 10 relatives. Finally, when I asked participants what percentage of their friends in Canada are Italian, Canadian or other, 48% reported that more than half of their friends are Italian, 41% reported that more than half of their friends are Canadian, and 11% reported that more than half of their friends are of other nationalities. And just like their parents, 80% of the 2nd generation feels that it is important to pass on the Italian culture to their children.

The background information revealed that the 1st generation keeps in contact with more friends and family in Italy than does the 2nd generation. This suggests a loosening of ties with Italy amongst the children of Italian immigrants. This is also supported by the finding that 1st generations have more Italian friends than their 2nd generation children. The 1st generation still seems to have ties with Italy by trying to maintain Italian friends both here and there, and by visiting the country as often as they can. The 2nd generation seems to be less attached to Italy, as would be expected given that they were born and raised in Canada. But they nonetheless attempt to maintain some ties with their parent's country.

Acculturation Strategies

In order to test my hypotheses relating Kim's measures of Berry's acculturation strategies to attitudes towards Canada and Italy, participants' scores from Kim's (2008) *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale* and scores on the *Separation, Integration, Marginalization and Assimilation* (SIMA) statements were used as measures of acculturation strategies. My plan was to follow Kim's practice and advice, and use his "maximum score" criterion of classification, assuming the dominant acculturation strategy to be the highest of

the four scores: Assimilation, Integration, Separation or Marginalization. I had then planned to conduct a between-groups ANOVA to determine if the four groups differed in their average attitudes toward Canada and Italy.

To my surprise, however, all 1st and all 2nd generation participants scored highest on Integration. No one scored highest on Assimilation; no one scored highest on Separation; no one scored highest on Marginalization. So there was no categorical variation. Given this lack of variability in the dominant acculturation strategy, few of my hypotheses could be tested as stated. Therefore, I resorted to a second means of analyzing the data based on fuzzy classifications: I obtained four scores for each participant, one score for each of the four acculturation strategies, then examined how each of these four scores correlated with country attitudes and other variables.

Preliminary Analyses and Psychometric Properties of Kim and SIMA Scales

As mentioned, both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants score, on average, higher on Integration than on the other acculturation strategies (using both Kim's and the SIMA scale). A paired-samples *t*-test was conducted to compare acculturation scores between generations. There was a significant difference in the Assimilation scores on Kim's scale for 1st generations ($M= 5.70$, $SD= 1.77$) and 2nd generations (6.93); $t(26) = -3.34$, $p = .03$, but not for the other acculturation strategies. This suggests that 2nd generations exhibit more elements of the Assimilation strategy than do their parents, which makes sense given that the 2nd generation was born and raised in Canada. For the scores using the SIMA scale, results showed a significant difference in Integration scores for 1st generations ($M= 4.70$, $SD= 0.66$) and 2nd generations ($M= 4.15$, $SD= 0.86$); $t(26) = 2.57$, $p = .02$; as well as a significant difference in Assimilation scores for 1st generations ($M= 0.37$, $SD= 0.84$) and 2nd generations

($M = 1.26$, $SD = 1.35$); $t(26) = -3.18$, $p = .004$. There were no significant differences for Marginalization and Separation scores. The SIMA assimilation scores replicate those found with Kim's scale, demonstrating again that 2nd generations are leaning towards assimilation. It was also surprising to see that the 1st generation scored higher on Integration than the 2nd generation.

These results suggest that even though everyone scored highest on Integration, 1st and 2nd generation immigrants differ in the way they adapt. The pattern of results is consistent with generational differences in socialization experiences. The 1st generation chose to come to Canada and was faced with the decision of adopting or rejecting a new culture. The 2nd generation did not experience immigration, but instead was raised with both the Canadian culture, found around them, and the Italian culture, passed on by their parents. The two generations faced very different life experiences that may have led them to adapt in different ways, and therefore, to rate items on Kim's scale differently.

Psychometric properties. Before testing my hypotheses, I decided to examine the reliability of Kim's scale items using a pooled sample of 1st and 2nd generations. Reliability tests showed low Cronbach alphas for the four acculturation strategies. The Integration items yielded a Cronbach alpha of 0.61, while Separation yielded 0.59, Marginalization 0.49 and Assimilation 0.32. These results gave me a first hint that Kim's items were not clustering as expected. I also expected the four SIMA items, a synthesis of items from Berry et al.'s (1989) *Immigrant Acculturation Scale*, would correlate with the four corresponding scores on Kim's (2008) *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale*. I did this by correlating the four Kim scores with the four SIMA scores. I found positive correlations between Kim's Separation and SIMA Separation, $r(52) = .43$, $p < .01$, between Kim's Integration and SIMA

Integration, $r(52) = .49, p < .01$, and between Kim's Assimilation and SIMA Assimilation, $r(52) = .44, p < .01$; but not between Kim's Marginalization and SIMA Marginalization, $r(52) = .01, p = .94$. The lack of correlations between the two marginalization scores suggests that the Kim and SIMA scales may not be measuring that acculturation strategy in the same way.

In order to investigate further the psychometric properties of Kim's scale, I decided to look at the separate intercorrelations of the acculturation strategies for 1st and 2nd generations, as shown in *Table 1*. Given Berry et al.'s (1989) definitions, I expected the elements of their two dominant opposites of (1) Integration-Marginalization, and (2) Assimilation-Separation, would be negatively correlated (as well as all possible pairs of acculturation strategies). First generation correlations are found above the main diagonal and 2nd generation correlations are found below the main diagonal.

Table 1. 1st and 2nd Generation Correlations of Acculturation using Kim and SIMA scales

	Integ.	Marg.	Sepa.	Assi.	SIMA-Integ.	SIMA-Marg.	SIMA-Sepa.	SIMA-Assi.
Integ.		-.52**	-.35	-.24	.42*	.13	-.26	-.41*
Marg.	-.41*		.56**	.17	-.35	-.11	.29	.12
Sepa.	-.38*	-.12		.12	-.49**	-.15	.21	-.03
Assi.	-.06	.23	-.16		-.14	-.19	.14	.15
SIMA-Integ.	.56**	-.12	-.27	-.13		.08	-.28	.13
SIMA-Marg.	-.48**	.01	.21	-.19	-.38*		.47*	.15
SIMA-Sepa.	-.23	-.15	.53**	-.34	-.08	.42		.46*
SIMA-Assi.	.06	.07	.04	.11	-.16	-.04	.38*	

** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$.

For the 1st generation, the Assimilation-Separation, Separation-Marginalized, and Assimilated-Marginalized pairs using Kim's scale were positively correlated. Marginalization-Integration, Separation-Integration and Assimilation-Integration are the only negatively correlated pairs. For the SIMA scale, only the Separation-Integration pair was negatively correlated, and the Marginalized-Integrated pair was not correlated; the remaining

pairs were positively correlated, again contrary to Berry's ideas. For the 2nd generation, all acculturation pairs were negatively correlated using Kim's scale. Only Marginalized-Assimilated were positively correlated. For the SIMA scale, all pairs except for Separation-Assimilation and Marginalization-Separation were negatively correlated.

To check these findings I pooled the 1st and 2nd generations and conducted intercorrelations. Similar patterns arise indicating that the main pairs of Integration-Marginalization are negatively correlated using both Kim's scale, $r(52) = -.48, p < 0.01$, and the SIMA scale, $r(52) = -.34, p < 0.05$; and that Separation-Assimilation are positively correlated using the SIMA scale, $r(52) = .41, p < 0.01$, but not correlated using Kim's scale. Therefore, the acculturation strategies did not negatively correlate between themselves using both Kim's and the SIMA scale as well as expected.

These results were distressing. It may be that the questionnaire items are neither valid nor appropriate for measuring acculturation (at least among Italians), or that the four acculturation categories are not as straightforward as originally assumed by Berry et al. and by Kim. Perhaps it was presumptuous to categorize immigrants into one of four adaptation strategies, implying that they either maintain or reject one or both cultures.

What to do? Given the low Cronbach alphas and the unexpected positive correlations between acculturation strategy pairs, I decided to conduct a factor analysis to determine if items would cluster as Berry and Kim assume. I performed a Varimax rotation principle component analysis on Kim's 16 acculturation items for a pooled sample of 54 participants (27 1st generations and 27 2nd generations). The analysis yielded a five-factor solution, rather than a four-factor one. In addition, the clusters represented by the high factor loadings are not the same as those predicted by Berry and Kim. For example, the items "It is more important

to me to be fluent in English than in Italian” (one of Kim’s Assimilation items), “I prefer social activities which involve both Canadian members and Italian members” (an Integration item) and “I prefer to have both Italian and Canadian friends” (Integration) load highly on a common factor. The results showed that all the Marginalization items were combined into factor 1, the Assimilation items were spread across factors 1, 3, and 5; Integration items spread across factors 2, 3 and 5 and the Separation items spread across factors 1, 2 and 4; 2 of the Separation items made up factor 4. Although the factor analysis grouped all the Marginalization items into one factor and suggested that 2 of the 4 separation items make up another factor, the combinations are not the same as Kim’s. This is more evidence that the acculturation scales are not as valid as believed, and that perhaps the items are not successfully measuring cultural rejection or maintenance.

Given the unusual combinations of factors, I decided to conduct a principle component analysis on Kim’s 16 acculturation items for separate samples: one for the 1st generation and one for the 2nd generation. My purpose was exploratory; I wanted to see if the 1st generation clustered items differently than did the 2nd generation. Both factor analyses yielded a five-factor solution. Alas, the clusters represented by the high factor loadings were not the same as those predicted by Berry and Kim, and not the same as the clusters found for a pooled sample. Not only did odd combinations of items appear, but the clusters were different for each generation. For example, for the 1st generation, Factor 1 includes 2 Marginalization items, 3 Integration items, and 1 Assimilation item. For the 2nd generation, Factor 1 includes 4 Marginalization items, 2 Assimilation items and 1 Integration item. Perhaps the 1st generation is not accustomed to using rating scales and uses extremes, and the 2nd generation has been trained to use the various points on the scale.

Thus far, the differences in psychometric properties between my study and the study Kim conducted using Kim's scale, may be due to several factors. Although all of Kim's participants endorsed Integration, Kim's sample consisted solely of Korean and Korean-Canadian participants, which makes it difficult to generalize findings to Italian immigrants or immigrants of other nationalities, given the cultural differences in adaptation. In addition, Kim suggests that the magnitude of difference between Korean culture and Canadian culture makes it difficult for Korean immigrants to acculturate by assimilation. It is likely because of such reasons that Italian and Korean immigrants rated Kim's items differently, leading to differences in psychometric properties.

All of the Kim and SIMA scale results were surprising. I did not anticipate that it would be so difficult to categorize immigrants according to acculturation strategy. So I was faced with some dilemmas. I could ignore the psychometric properties of Kim's scale and 1) correlate participants' four acculturation scores using Kim's scale and attitudes towards countries, 2) I could correlate participants' four SIMA scores and attitudes towards countries, 3) I could adopt the 5 factors from the principal component factor analysis and relate them to attitudes towards countries, or 4) I could correlate each of Kim's 16 items with attitudes towards countries. I undertook the task of performing all options.

Kim Scale scores and Country Attitudes

Temporarily ignoring the psychometric properties of Kim's scale, I decided to correlate 1st and 2nd generation participant's four acculturation scores with their attitudes towards Canada and Italy. The 12 attitude measures included ratings of liking Canada and Italy, number of items liked and disliked of each country, proportion of items liked and disliked of each country and percentage of Canadian and Italian friends. Such analyses were

intended to test Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 4, which predicted that attitudes towards Canada and Italy were related to each acculturation strategy. For example, if people score as assimilators, rejecting the home culture and adopting the host culture, they should have positive attitudes towards Canada and negative attitudes towards Italy (Hypothesis 1).

The results for 1st generation participants showed a positive correlation between Marginalization scores and number of items disliked about Canada, $r(25) = .56, p = .01$, and number of items disliked about Italy, $r(25) = .51, p < .01$. There were also positive correlations between Assimilation scores and the number of items liked about Canada, $r(25) = .39, p = .05$, ratings of liking Canada, $r(25) = .41, p < .05$, and percentage of Canadian friends, $r(25) = .40, p < .05$. I found a positive correlation between Integration scores and percentage of Canadian friends, $r(25) = .42, p < .05$. The results for the 2nd generation showed positive correlations between Marginalization scores and percentage of Canadian friends, $r(25) = .43, p < .05$, and between Integration scores and percentage of Italian friends, $r(25) = .49, p < .01$. Lastly, there was a negative correlation between Separation scores and liking Canada, $r(25) = -.59, p < .01$.

The correlations, except between Marginalization and percentage of Canadian friends, occurred in the expected direction linking Berry's model with attitudes towards countries. However, only part of the predictions were satisfied by the results, because, for example, they showed a positive correlation between Integrator scores and liking Italy, but no correlation between Integrator scores and liking Canada (it was expected that Integrators like both Italy and Canada). Although only some of Kim's items correlated in the direction predicted by the hypotheses, the results are suggesting that Kim's scale may not be efficient at predicting country attitudes.

Analyses revealed some unexpected results. As presented previously, there was no correlation between separation scores and country attitudes for 1st generations. For the 2nd generation, there was no relationship between assimilation scores and country attitudes. It is interesting to see that the mentioned acculturation strategies do not correlate with attitudes towards countries, especially with Integration given that it was the dominant strategy for all 54 participants. This could mean that the two generations interpreted the items associated with those strategies differently and not in the way Berry expected. In addition, the items may be lacking characteristics that immigrants find important when acculturating and developing attitudes towards both countries.

SIMA scores and Country Attitudes

Similarly, notwithstanding the psychometric properties of the SIMA scale, some interesting correlations between the SIMA acculturation scores and attitudes towards countries arise. As stated previously, I expected to test Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 4, showing that positive and negative attitudes towards Canada and Italy corresponded with different acculturation strategies. The results for the 1st generation showed a predicted negative correlation between SIMA marginalization and proportion of items liked about Canada, $r(25) = -.38, p < .05$, and a positive correlation between SIMA integration and ratings of liking Canada, $r(25) = .48, p < .01$. For the 2nd generation, results showed positive correlations between SIMA Integration scores and ratings of liking Canada, $r(25) = .39, p < .05$, and percentage of Italian friends, $r(25) = .46, p < .05$. There was also a negative correlation between SIMA marginalization scores and ratings of liking Canada, $r(25) = -.39, p < .05$, and a positive correlation between SIMA separation scores and number of items disliked about Canada, $r(25) = .40, p < .05$. Once again, even though the mentioned

significant correlations occurred in the expected direction of Berry's model (even if only in part), they demonstrate that even the SIMA items are not able to successfully predict many attitudes towards countries.

Some unanticipated results showed that the SIMA Assimilation item did not correlate with attitudes towards countries for both generations, suggesting a weakness with the item at predicting attitudes. This is surprising because SIMA Assimilation scores correlated positively with Kim's assimilation scores, leading me to expect a correlation between assimilation and attitudes, as found with Kim's assimilation scores. Thus far, the Kim and SIMA scales have not been successful at predicting as many attitudes towards countries as hoped. It may be that the scales are insensitive at measuring such relationships, or that a true relationship between acculturation strategies and attitudes does not exist. However, the findings add support to the psychometric properties which originally suggested that the scales are neither very reliable nor valid.

Five Factors from Pooled Sample and Country Attitudes

Although it is difficult to label the five factors obtained from the pooled sample of immigrants, another option was to see if they are related to country attitudes. In order to obtain five factor scores, I tallied participant's scores on items for each factor and divided them by the total number of items in that factor. Only Factor 2 correlated with attitude measures. Specifically, Factor 2 was negatively correlated with number of items disliked about Italy, $r(52) = -.28, p < .05$, and positively correlated with proportion of items liked about Italy, $r(52) = .29, p < .05$. Factor 2 included Integration and Separation items; "I prefer social activities which involve Italian members only" (Separation) and "I feel that as Italians we should maintain our own cultural traditions and also adopt those of Canada" (Integration).

Factors 1, 3, 4, and 5 surprisingly did not correlate with attitudes towards countries, implying that the items should not be factored as suggested. In sum, the five factors failed to predict country attitudes.

Individual Kim Items and Attitudes Towards Countries

As shown, correlations between Kim's four acculturation scores, the SIMA scores, the five factors and attitudes towards countries, at best weakly supported hypotheses linking Berry's acculturation strategies with attitudes towards Canada and Italy. I was left with one more option upon consultation with my supervisor. We thought that rather than combining items, I should look at the relationship between country attitudes and each individual item on Kim's scale.

I correlated each of the 16 items on Kim's scale with the 12 measures of country attitudes, yielding a 16x12 correlation matrix. As a crude test, I counted the correlations in the predicted and unpredicted directions without considering significance levels. With a pooled sample of participants, I obtained a total of 192 correlations, 109 of which occurred in the predicted direction, only 13 more than the $192/2 = 96$ expected by chance. This is a very weak indication that acculturation strategies are related to country attitudes. Although many of the predicted correlations were related to different items, items 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, and 15 correlated with most of the country attitude measures. Items 3, 6, and 15 deal with social activities with members of specific cultures (Marginalization, Assimilation and Integration items); item 5 deals with language choice (Integration item); item 9 deals with maintenance/rejection of cultures (Integration item); and items 11 and 13 deal with nationality of friendships (Assimilation and Marginalization items). However, 83 correlations did not occur in the expected direction. The majority of these correlations were related to

items 4, 14, and 16; items 14 and 16 dealing with nationality of friendships (Separation and Integration items) and item 4 dealing with social activities with members of specific cultures (Separation item).

I conducted similar correlations for separate 1st and 2nd generation samples. The number of predicted and unpredicted correlations was almost identical to the ones obtained with a pooled sample, and were predicted by very similar questionnaire items with slight variations. This further suggests that individual acculturation items are weak at predicting attitudes. Analyses of combined samples and of separate samples using Kim's items have all consistently pointed to six items as good predictors of country attitudes. Each item was shown to correlate with different measures of attitudes towards countries (including likeness ratings, number and proportion of items liked and disliked, and percentage of Italian and Canadian friends). The items are:

- “It is important to me to be fluent in both English and in Italian” (Integration), predicts positive attitudes towards both Italy and Canada,
- “I prefer social activities which involve Canadians only” (Assimilation), predicts negative attitudes toward Italy and positive attitudes towards Canada,
- “I feel that as Italians we should maintain our own cultural traditions and also adopt those of Canada” (Integration), predicts positive attitudes towards both Italy and Canada
- “I prefer to have only Canadian friends” (Assimilation), predicts negative attitudes toward Italy and positive attitudes towards Canada,
- “I don't want to have either Canadian or Italian friends” (Marginalization), predicts negative attitudes towards both Italy and Canada,

- “I prefer social activities which involve both Canadian members and Italian members” (Integration) predicts positive attitudes towards both Italy and Canada.

As demonstrated, three of the four Integration items from Kim’s scale were shown to predict attitudes towards countries. These items involve maintaining aspects of two cultures, maintaining both the Italian and English language, and engaging in social activities with members of both cultures. The item dealing with nationality of friendships did not predict country attitudes. This suggests that it is important for my 1st and 2nd generation Italian participants to maintain such aspects in order to acculturate by integration. The assimilation items were also found to be good predictors of country attitudes. The marginalization item suggests, again, that nationality of friendships is not a key aspect of culture that participants in this study consider when adapting.

The results indicate the different aspects of culture that immigrants consider maintaining when acculturating, and which aspects they may consider rejecting. The country attitudes that immigrants develop may also depend on the aspects of Italian and Canadian culture that they wish to maintain or reject. Yet overall, both the Kim and SIMA items have not been able to predict country attitudes very well.

If Kim and SIMA items do not predict country attitudes, what does?

One possible answer to the above question became the topic for my next analyses: generational differences. I decided to look at the relationship between generations and attitudes towards countries. Recall that participants were asked to rate how much they like Canada and Italy (on a 5-point *Likert*-scale ranging from 1=dislike very much to 5= like very much), to make a list of items they like and dislike of both countries, and to report the percentage of Canadian and Italian friends. *Table 2* shows the means and standard deviations

of country attitudes, the *t*-test values of attitude differences between generations, and correlations between generations for country attitudes.

Table 2. Means, Standard Deviations, *t*-test and correlations of country attitudes

		1 st Generation	2 nd Generation	<i>t</i> -value (df =26)	Correlations of attitudes
Like Italy	<u>M</u>	4.48	4.37	.59	.21
	<u>SD</u>	0.75	0.79		
Like Canada	<u>M</u>	4.30	4.07	1.10	.46*
	<u>SD</u>	0.86	1.10		
Percentage Canadian Friends	<u>M</u>	32.85	39.85	-1.22	.31
	<u>SD</u>	21.51	28.28		
Percentage Italian Friends	<u>M</u>	59.63	36.04	4.53*	.42*
	<u>SD</u>	23.69	26.23		
Number items like Italy	<u>M</u>	5.44	5.33	.19	.26
	<u>SD</u>	2.47	2.30		
Number items dislike Italy	<u>M</u>	2.59	1.89	1.33	.09
	<u>SD</u>	2.45	1.47		
Number items like Canada	<u>M</u>	4.67	5.74	1.68	.16
	<u>SD</u>	2.64	2.44		
Number items dislike Canada	<u>M</u>	2.52	3.04	1.28	.56**
	<u>SD</u>	2.37	2.04		
Proportion items like Italy	<u>M</u>	71.24	75.86	-1.42	.41*
	<u>SD</u>	17.34	12.87		
Proportion items dislike Italy	<u>M</u>	28.70	24.07	1.43	.40
	<u>SD</u>	17.35	12.84		
Proportion items like Canada	<u>M</u>	66.85	67.25	-.120	.35
	<u>SD</u>	15.72	15.37		
Proportion items dislike Canada	<u>M</u>	33.10	33.55	-1.30	.38*
	<u>SD</u>	15.72	16.20		

** $p < 0.01$. * $p < 0.05$.

As shown in Table 2, 1st and 2nd generation Italian immigrants have similar average attitudes towards Canada and Italy. Some differences were noticeable between generations, like percentage of Canadian and Italian friends, the number of items disliked about Italy and Canada, and proportion of items liked about Italy. Despite mean differences, a paired-

samples *t*-test revealed a significant difference only between 1st and 2nd generations in the percentage of Italian friends; $t(26) = -4.53, p = .001$. This finding suggests that the 1st generation may seek out other Italians upon arrival to Canada because, as Integrators, not only do they wish to adopt aspects of Canadian culture, but they also want to maintain Italian culture. One way of doing this is by having Italian friends who share that same culture. The 2nd generation may also have Italian friends, but probably not as many as their parents because they are Canadian.

I was also interested in examining the relationship between generations in their country attitudes. *Table 2* shows moderately strong positive correlations between 1st and 2nd generations for ratings of liking Canada, percentage of Italian friends, number of items disliked about Canada, proportion of items liked about Italy and Canada, and proportion of items disliked about Canada. These results suggest that there is a relationship between 1st and 2nd generation immigrants for attitudes towards Canada and Italy. Perhaps the 1st generation influences the 2nd generation, or perhaps the 2nd generation influences the 1st generation, or maybe a third party like community members influence both generations in attitudes towards Canada and Italy.

Ethnic Identity and Acculturation

The analyses above indicate that country attitudes are in part the result of generations and partly the result of external influences. We also saw that Kim's and the SIMA scales are not very good predictors of attitudes towards countries. Can these scales predict ethnic identity? As with the acculturation items and country attitudes, I correlated acculturation items with ethnic identity scores. I used four measures of ethnic identity: ratings of Canadian and Italian pride, and ratings of how Italian and Canadian one feels. The results for ethnic

identity measures and Kim's 16 items showed that just like with the 16 items and country attitudes, the correlation between acculturation items and ethnic identity items were weak.

Thus far, the analyses have shown low and insignificant correlations between Kim's items and attitudes, the SIMA items and attitudes, and Kim, SIMA and ethnic identity. The results also showed low Cronbach alpha's for Kim's questionnaire suggesting poor reliability and validity of the scales, and factor analyses whose items did not cluster as expected. These analyses and results imply that the acculturation measures I have used are poor and therefore unable to test fairly the idea that the four acculturation strategies can be reflected in attitudes towards countries. The findings also suggest that measuring acculturation strategies is more complex than hoped. Perhaps it is not so simple to classify immigrants according to which culture they reject or adopt. Given these results, I am unable to effectively test Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7, which aimed to look at the relationship between acculturation strategies and attitudes, and acculturation strategies and ethnic identity. Yet, I was still able to test Hypotheses 5, 6, 8, and 9.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 5. Hypothesis 5 predicted that 2nd generation immigrants will have similar acculturation strategies to those of their 1st generation immigrant parents. Although the acculturation scales were shown to be flawed, I decided to test this Hypothesis based on Kim's assumption that his scale is indeed valid in order to see what kind of findings emerge. However, the interpretation of results needs to be taken with caution. In order to test the relationship between 1st and 2nd generations on choice of acculturation strategy, I correlated the four Kim strategy scores and the four SIMA scores of the 1st generation with the equivalent eight scores of the 2nd generation. None of the eight correlations were significant.

Based on Hypothesis 5, I expected the two generations to adapt in similar ways, but their lack of correlation does not support Hypothesis 5. However, as mentioned before, this may be due to the insensitivity of instruments to detect any relationship at all.

I also wanted to see which of the two generations scored higher on each acculturation strategy. To do this I conducted *t*-tests between 1st and 2nd generations for each strategy using Kim's scores. The results showed a difference between 1st (5.70) and 2nd (6.93) generation Assimilation scores; $t(26) = -2.28, p = .03$, but not for Integration, Separation and Marginalization scores. I conducted similar analyses between 1st and 2nd generations using the SIMA scores. The results showed a difference between 1st (M= 4.70, SD= 0.66) and 2nd (M= 4.15, SD= 0.86) generation Integration scores, $t(26) = 2.57, p = .016$, and between 1st (M= 0.37, SD= 0.83) and 2nd (M= 1.26, SD= 1.35) generation Assimilation scores, $t(26) = -3.18, p = .004$, but not for Marginalization and Separation.

The SIMA score differences suggest that, although both generations scored highest on Integration, the 2nd generation is showing a trend toward lower integration and greater assimilation. The 1st generation on the other hand is showing to be more integrated than their children. Although findings generated from the SIMA and Kim scales are not extremely reliable, they suggest the two generations are adapting in different ways. It seems that the 1st generation has adopted and maintained both Canadian and Italian cultures, and that the 2nd generation, raised with both Canadian and Italian cultures, is showing expected signs of assimilation because a much greater proportion of their lives were spent in Canada. After seeing these results and keeping in mind the psychometric properties of Kim's scale, it may be that 1st and 2nd generations do not influence each other in choice of acculturation strategy.

However, such results are not confirmatory and future research should replicate them with better instruments.

Hypothesis 6. Hypothesis 6 predicted that 2nd generations will have similar attitudes towards Canada and Italy as 1st generations. In order to analyze this hypothesis, I correlated 1st and 2nd generation immigrants' scores on the 12 country attitude measures. The results revealed a positive correlation between 1st and 2nd generation immigrants on the number of items they dislike about Canada, $r(52) = .56, p < .01$, a positive correlation between 1st and 2nd generations on the proportion of items liked about Canada, $r(52) = .38, p < .05$, and a positive correlation between 1st and 2nd generations on the proportion of items liked about Italy, $r(52) = .41, p < .05$. Lastly, results revealed a positive correlation between 1st and 2nd generation immigrants' ratings of liking Canada, $r(52) = .45, p < .05$. I did not find significant correlations for Italian and Canadian friends.

The findings support the overall idea that the more the 1st generation likes Canada, the more the 2nd generation likes Canada, and the same for Italy. The results support Hypothesis 6, suggesting that a relationship between 1st and 2nd generations in attitudes towards Canada and Italy exists. Akhtar (1999) suggested that parents may actually influence their children by passing on memories of life back in Italy, as well as opinions about Canada. Passing on such memories can certainly help the 2nd generation form certain attitudes about both countries. However, it may also be that children influence their parents, or that both generations influence each other in attitudes towards countries, with the help of peers as well.

I was also interested in discovering if the 12 country attitude scores were correlated with each other for both 1st and 2nd generations. Results for the 1st generation demonstrated a positive correlation between ratings of liking Canada and proportion of things liked about

Canada, $r(25) = .42, p < .05$. There was also a positive correlation for 2nd generations between number of items liked about Canada and number of items disliked about Italy, $r(25) = .45, p < .05$. The results provide overall support for the country attitude measures, showing that ratings of liking a country and listing items liked about a country are both measuring attitudes towards countries. But the results also revealed that attitudes towards countries for the 2nd generation may not be independent of one another. Although the 2nd generation scored as integrators, suggesting that they like both Canada and Italy, the results imply that the more items they like about one country, the fewer items they like about the other country, again showing possible signs of Assimilation for the 2nd generation. Given that the 2nd generation has only really lived in Canada, they may not know what life in Italy is really like. Therefore, they cannot compare Canada and Italy like the 1st generation, which has lived in both countries. I was also interested in seeing which generation scored highest on each measure of country attitudes, however, none of the *t*-tests reached significance.

Hypothesis 8. Hypothesis 8 predicted a positive relationship between the strength of a person's ethnic identity and his or her attitudes towards each country. To test this hypothesis, I correlated ratings on the four ethnic identity measures with the 12 measures of attitudes towards Canada and Italy. For the 1st generation, the results showed the expected positive correlation between ratings of Italian pride and ratings of liking Italy, $r(25) = .58, p = .01$, and between feeling Italian and liking Italy, $r(25) = .64, p < .01$. There was also a positive correlation between ratings of Canadian pride and ratings of liking Canada, $r(25) = .84, p < .01$, and between feeling Canadian and ratings of liking Canada, $r(25) = .55, p < .01$. However, none of the correlations between ethnic identity (pride & feeling) and the numbers

or proportions of items listed, and the number of Italian and Canadian friends, used to answer “What do you like/dislike about Italy/Canada”, were significant for 1st and 2nd generations.

I found both similar and different results for the 2nd generation. Similar to their parents, there was a positive correlation between Italian pride and ratings of liking Italy, $r(25) = .39, p = .05$, but there was no significant correlation between feeling Italian and liking Italy. Similar to their parents, there were positive correlations between ratings of Canadian pride and ratings of liking Canada, $r(25) = .85, p < .01$ and between feeling Canadian and ratings of liking Canada, $r(25) = .82, p < .01$. Unlike the 1st generation, however, the 2nd generation showed a positive correlation between Canadian pride and proportion of items liked about Canada, $r(25) = .45, p < .05$. The rating data for both generations give relatively strong support for the hypothesis (#8) that ethnic identity is related to liking of country. I have no immediate explanation for the paucity of significant correlations between ethnic identity and the length of lists of things liked and disliked about a country. Perhaps it indicates no more than lists of things are insensitive indicators of subjective liking.

I became interested in exploring whether 1st and 2nd generations differed in the strength of their ethnic identities. In order to test the generational differences in Italian and Canadian identity, I conducted two, within-subject (family) t-tests, one for each culture. There were no significant generational differences in Italian pride and in feeling Italian, nor were there significant differences in Canadian pride and feeling Canadian. Which identity dominated? 1st generations show a significantly higher average rating of pride in Italy ($M = 4.63, SD = 0.68$) than pride in Canada ($M = 4.37, SD = 0.79$), $t(26) = -2.17, p = .039$, and 2nd generations show significantly higher pride in being Italian ($M = 4.70, SD = 0.61$) than in being Canadian ($M = 4.11, SD = 1.25$), $t(26) = -2.35, p = .026$. There were no significant

generational differences in feeling Italian or Canadian. The pattern of these results argues against the notion of assimilation; Italian pride did not diminish and Canadian pride did not increase from one generation to the next. This finding supports research by Falicov (2005) who stated that since 2nd generations are more involved in the culture of their parents, and have greater interest and knowledge in it, that they also feel pride in their parents' ethnicities.

I also investigated whether Canadian and Italian identity are related for both generations. There were no significant *correlations* between Canadian pride and Italian pride for 1st generations, but there was a negative correlation between feeling Canadian and feeling Italian, $r(25) = -.41, p < .05$. I did not find a correlation between Canadian and Italian pride, and between feeling Canadian and feeling Italian for 2nd generations. The results suggest that the 1st generation does not always identify as both Canadian and Italian. Although the direction of the correlation is still unknown, I would venture to say that they identify more as Italians, however, future research would have to discover this. The lack of correlations for the 2nd generation proposes that maybe they do not identify as both Italians and Canadians all the time, but rather, that on some days they feel more Italian and on others they feel more Canadian. This goes with what Vedder and Virta (2005) stated that growing up between two cultures can lead to identity confusion and adaptation problems. Perhaps the 2nd generation is confused about having two identities and do not identify as both at the same time, all the time.

Hypothesis 9. Hypothesis 9 predicted a positive relationship between the time 1st and 2nd generation immigrants spent communicating with people in a country, and their attitudes toward the country. In order to test this Hypothesis, I correlated participants' scores of attitudes towards countries, with eight measures of communication or engagement in

Canadian and Italian activities. These include number of hours a week spent speaking on the phone with family and friends in Canada and in Italy, amount of time spent watching Canadian and Italian TV, amount of time spent listening to Canadian and Italian radio, and amount of time spent reading Canadian and Italian newspapers. The results revealed no significant correlations, providing no support for Hypothesis 9. The results imply that we cannot easily infer positive or negative attitudes towards countries based on how much time we spend communicating with people in the country, watching Italian or Canadian TV, etc.

Additional Analyses

Along with the correlations reported above, several interesting findings emerged from the content of participants' replies to "List what you like/dislike about Canada and Italy". I categorized answers that appeared several times according to common themes. For example, for items liked about Italy, words such as beaches, landscapes, and mountains were categorized as *scenery*. Tables 3 and 4 below show the number and percentage of items liked and disliked of each country, for both 1st and 2nd generations.

Table 3. *Categories of Things Liked and Disliked about Italy*

Things Disliked Italy	1 st	2 nd	Things Liked Italy	1 st	2 nd
	Generation	Generation		Generation	Generation
	Percent %	Percent %		Percent %	Percent %
Government / Politics	22.9	15.7	Weather	14.9	12.5
Bureaucracy	11.4	13.7	Food	12.2	11.1
Finding jobs / cost of living	12.9	23.5	Culture	17.0	6.9
People	12.9	11.8	People/family	14.3	6.3
			Art/History	12.9	15.3
			Music/fashion	5.4	11.8
			Scenery	14.9	20.1
			Quality Life	4.1	8.3

The Tables show that 1st and 2nd generation immigrants have similar ideas about what they like and dislike about Canada and Italy.

Table 4. *Categories of Things Liked and Disliked about Canada*

Things Disliked Canada	1 st Gen.	2 nd Gen.	Things Liked Canada	1 st Gen.	2 nd Gen.
	Percent %	Percent %		Percent %	Percent %
Weather	35.3	31.7	Health care	7.1	9.7
Government / Politics	27.9	20.7	Jobs	14.3	6.4
People	8.8	8.5	Multi- culturalism	6.3	8.4
Lack of Culture	4.4	10.9	People	6.3	8.4
			Government Bureaucracy	7.9	10.3
			Scenery	9.5	10.3
			Freedom / Safety	10.3	7.7
			Education system	7.9	9.7
			Weather	0.8	8.4

The majority of categories liked and disliked about both countries included cultural aspects of Canada and Italy, such as food, art, history, quality of life, etc. Only five categories are about the country itself, such as government, cost of living, health and education system, and bureaucracy. I was interested to learn if the two generations differed on which category they liked or disliked the most. I hoped to conduct significance tests but I was faced with some problems. Given that 1st and 2nd generation immigrants are related, I am unable to assume that they are independent observations. In addition, some of the categories were combined, like art and history, and so I was unable to conduct tests on them. Despite these issues, I found that Chi-squared tests only revealed a difference in generations for the category of Jobs, for things liked about Canada, $\chi^2 (1, 54) = 4.74, p < .05$. I would expect that

1st generations like Canada's job opportunities more than the 2nd generation, because the majority of 1st generations left Italy without jobs and were able to find work in Canada. The 1st generation is able to compare job opportunities between both countries, unlike the 2nd generation who has only worked in Canada.

Interviews

In addition to asking participants questions about their adaptation strategies, I also interviewed them in the hopes of obtaining a better understanding of their experiences in Canada and Italy. I asked participants about their best and worst memories of living in Italy, as well as of when they arrived to Canada, if they faced difficulties as Italian immigrants in Canada, etc. (see Appendix E). I asked the 2nd generation a variation of these questions taking into account being born and raised in Canada, such as if they wished they were raised in Italy, etc. I content-analyzed the responses to the interview questions for common themes.

First Generation Views. First generation respondents became quite chatty when asked about their best memories of Italy. For example, a man in his 50s answered "we lived on a beautiful large farm and had lots of wide open spaces to run about. We had lots of farm animals and we could go fishing close to our home." Ten 1st generation respondents mentioned family in their accounts of best memories of Italy, making the topic the most popular of the generation. Family gatherings, spending time with family and strong family ties were all mentioned. Ten of the 1st generation respondents mentioned playing or spending time with friends as positive memories of Italy. For five others, happiness was found in memories of working in the fields. Two people could not recall memories of life in Italy because they were too young when they left Italy. In addition, 21 of the 27 1st generation respondents also spoke of bad memories of Italy. Of these, five reported the death of a family

member. Three people reported natural disasters like floods and earthquakes, and four reported unfair treatment of people. Poverty and war were reported as bad memories three times. Four people could not recall bad memories and eight did not have any.

It was interesting to see that all 1st generation participants mentioned at least one good memory of Italy and eight did not report any bad ones. It is obvious that participants still have strong feelings for Italy, even if they left it for a better future. This can also be seen with the fact that the majority of good and bad memories were of events that took place in the country of Italy, like family gatherings and war, rather than being about the country and culture itself. Only four people reported unfair treatment from other Italians.

First generation respondents also spoke of their best and worst memories of settling in Canada. Twelve immigrants recalled novel experiences among their best memories. For a man in his 50s, access to consumer items was memorable because “in Italy, as farmers, we had to wait for specific seasons to sell and buy things, and here everything was store bought.” Two people thought snow was a wonderful discovery. Also included in good memories were family reunions and starting a new life with new opportunities; six respondents mentioned these. Five 1st generations reported that they did not have any good memories of Canada because times were too difficult, and two people did not remember much. Along with good memories were 1st generation immigrants’ bad memories of life in Canada. Snow or cold was reported as a bad memory eleven times. Nine people reported difficulty being understood. One person reported seeing his parents struggle and two others recalled being in Canada without family as bad memories. Two people did not have bad memories, and two could not remember any.

As participants recalled memories of Canada, all but two 1st generations had no trouble recalling bad memories. However, five people claimed they did not have any good memories. This suggests that although respondents chose to come to Canada, they are perhaps apprehensive about their decision to immigrate. Or, maybe they simply experienced the trials that are expected of migration. It is perhaps for this reason that both good and bad memories of Canada are associated with Canadian people and culture, like consumer items and the people, and about the country itself like the weather. So while the memories of Italy were about events taking place in the country of Italy, memories of Canada were about the Canadian culture and country.

In addition to good and bad memories of Italy and Canada, I asked 1st generation immigrants if they faced any difficulties as Italian immigrants in Canada. Eleven people said they did not face any difficulties, but ten reported ethnic prejudice. A language barrier was reported as a difficulty six times, and two people saw starting a new life as difficult. These seem to be typical issues faced by all immigrants whose culture differs from the one of the host country.

Along with questions about the home and host countries, I inquired about people's lives using a variation of the *critical incident technique* in the hopes that I could better understand how they acculturate. I asked participants about moments that changed their life for both the better and for the worse. Sixteen respondents said that the birth of their children or starting their own families were positive moments. Seven respondents mentioned finding a job or going to school as a positive event. Two people mentioned coming to Canada, and one person said that "it all came slowly; nothing changed my life drastically." When asked about events that changed their life for the worse, fourteen 1st generation immigrants reported death

of a family member. Three respondents recalled leaving Italy and beginning a new life in Canada as a negative event because, as a woman in her 40s said, immigration “has not allowed me to take one path and follow it. Instead I have had many possibilities and experiences. I am happy, but at the same time, I feel I am still looking for a stable future and job.” Three participants recalled a specific difficult moment such as going through a divorce. Five participants claimed that nothing changed their life for the worse, and one said that she could not discuss it.

I expected participants to report events directly related to acculturation, but only three participants recalled immigration as a major negative event. Most participants recalled life events having to do with starting a family or finding a job. Although these events may have contributed to participants’ overall adaptation to Canada, I was unable to extract further information about this influence. This suggests that positive and negative life events may not be the best way of understanding immigrant acculturation.

I also asked participants if they thought their children were more or less Italian than they are. In response, seventeen 1st generation parents thought that their children were less Italian, which is expected because the 2nd generation was born and raised in Canada. However, ten 1st generation parents thought that their children were similar to them, which was surprising. Even though it suggests that the two generations are indeed integrated, 2nd generations have not experienced Italian culture and life like the 1st generation that lived in Italy. Maybe the 1st generation has adopted enough of the Canadian culture, and the 2nd generation has adopted enough of the Italian culture, to make the generations feel equal.

Before ending the interview with the 1st generation, I asked them if and how they would live their life over again. Sixteen respondents wished they could. Of these, four said

they would never have left Italy and six said they would have liked to obtain higher education or better work. In addition, two of the sixteen people who wished to relive life wished they had enjoyed it more. Although a slight majority wishes they could relive life, ten respondents said they would not. Finally, one person replied to the question by saying, "I wouldn't know how my life would have been had we remained in Italy. I think everything is well the way we have it now." I was curious to find out how many people regretted immigrating to Canada. I was happy to see that of the people who wished to relive their life, only four wished they had never immigrated. This means that all others are acceptant of their new life in a new country. However, I was unable to extract information regarding acculturation experiences.

I began this study with the intention of interviewing participants so as to obtain a better understanding of their immigrant experiences and ways of acculturating. I was able to see that for 1st generations, Italy is a country of positive memories that will remain very dear to them, whereas Canada is a materialistic country offering good opportunities. Although some participants had difficulties normally experienced by immigrants, all participants were able to successfully pass on the Italian culture to their children. In addition, positive and negative life events seemed to be about personal events such as deaths and births. These interviews have shown me that collecting information about immigrant adaptation is not as simple as I had hoped. Even if the questions asked led to some interesting responses about the life of Italian immigrants, more direct questions are needed in order to evoke responses directly related to how these immigrants adapt.

Second Generation Views. Like their parents, 2nd generation respondents were talkative when interviewed. For example, when asked if they wished they had been raised in Italy, ten said yes. Fourteen 2nd generations did not wish their parents had raised them in Italy

because, as one woman said “Canada has so much to offer. That is why my parents immigrated to Canada.” Three respondents could not say what life would have been like being raised in Italy. The fact that 10 participants wished they were raised in Italy suggests that the 2nd generation wishes to experience the other part of their identity which is not Canadian, i.e., their Italian identity. In addition, having heard their parents’ wonderful stories of life in Italy could lead them to want to experience that same life. However, the fact that so many participants would never want to be raised in Italy shows their more assimilative side. Even if they have visited Italy before, they only know the life they lived in Canada.

In order to understand the 2nd generation views, I asked them to describe what comes to mind when they hear the words Canada and Italy. When thinking about Italy, all respondents’ answers included different combinations of things such as food, culture, beaches, fashion, and family. When thinking about Canada, fourteen people mentioned combinations of typical things belonging to Canada like winter, hockey, maple syrup, etc. Eight respondents thought of opportunities, health/education systems, and peace. Two people thought of work and two people thought that Canada had no culture and “lacks the importance of family. Although some still value time, especially for family, the majority of society has become socialized by their environment.” Just like in the questionnaire where participants were asked to list what they like and dislike about Canada and Italy, here too participants replied with things that make up Canadian and Italian culture. These answers are to be expected of the 2nd generation because they never lived in Italy, and therefore cannot speak of life in Italy. I was surprised to see that Canada did not call to mind personal memories, but only aspects of Canadian culture.

Just as when I asked 1st generations to recall memories of Canada and their responses were about the Canadian culture, so too were the responses of the 2nd generation. Personal events were only recalled by the 1st generation when speaking of Italy. One might expect the 1st generation to speak of personal events that took place in Canada as well, but as mentioned by Akhtar (1999), these Italian immigrants most likely came to Canada and lived in Italian neighborhoods with Italian doctors, grocers, etc. Although they were able to interact with Canadians and take part in Canadian traditions, they returned to their Italian lifestyles.

Just as the 1st generation, I asked 2nd generation immigrants if, and what kind of, difficulties they face as Italians in Canada. Fifteen respondents did not report having any difficulties. Four students said that when people find out they are Italian they “are almost fascinated.” Eight participants said they experienced difficulties like bullying. As seen with their parents, the majority of 2nd generations did not experience difficulties, probably because they are perceived as Canadian, born and raised here. It was not surprising to see that some participants experienced difficulties, because discrimination is expected for all people with cultures that differ from the Canadian culture.

I also tried to understand 2nd generation respondents’ experiences as Italian-Canadians by asking them about their childhood memories. Everyone recalled childhood memories with combinations of playing with friends, being with family, going to school, and family traditions. However, only two mentioned Italian traditions, for example, a young woman remembers when “Nonna (grandmother) would speak Italian to me and I would watch Italian soap operas with her. I used to love working with my grandparents in their garden and would help them make tomato sauce.” Only one person reported not having any fond memories. It seems that the question was not effective at extracting information about memories of Italian

culture and traditions. Only two people recalled Italian traditions, while others naturally said whatever came to mind about their childhood, usually involving memories of playing with friends, going to school, etc. Although not directly related to acculturation, responses to this question show the 2nd generation's attachment to Canada because it is the place in which they were raised. This also explains their tendency to assimilate.

Lastly, I asked participants if they thought they were more or less Italian than their parents. Eighteen people thought that their parents are more Italian so they could pass on the Italian culture to them. One woman expressed that "because they were no longer in their country, the Italian heritage was the only concrete thing that was left for them to show and to convey to their children." Interestingly, eight people believed that they are as Italian as their parents. One respondent believed that she is more Italian than her father. She said quite frankly, "I find him very 'Canadianized'. He still [has his] Italian mentality, but I will choose Italian [things] more than him." These findings parallel those of the 1st generation. The fact that more 2nd generations saw their parents as more Italian than them supports research by Constantinou and Harvey (1985) who state that identification with the parent's ethnic group declines in generations following the 1st, especially since they are native Canadians. Similarly, the fact that so many 1st and 2nd generations considered themselves equally Italian supports Falicov (2005), who believed that 2nd generations are becoming more interested and involved in their parent's culture.

The interviews with the 2nd generation revealed that they tend to think of cultural aspects when asked to describe what both Canada and Italy mean to them. The 2nd generation has been exposed to both life in Canada, where they were raised, and to their parents' stories of life in Italy, which in turn has led them to develop certain views of each country. This

may also have influenced the process of becoming integrated. However, like with the 1st generation, I was unable to obtain any clear understanding of acculturation from the 2nd generation. Perhaps the questions were not geared to extracting such information, or perhaps acculturation is more complex to understand than hoped.

Discussion

The original purpose of my research was to examine the relationship between (a) choice of acculturation strategy and (b) attitudes towards the home and host countries, for 1st and 2nd generation immigrants. I hoped to do this by addressing three questions: 1) Are 1st and 2nd generation immigrants' attitudes towards Italy and Canada related to their acculturation strategy? 2) Is there a relationship between 1st generation immigrants' attitudes towards Canada and Italy, and their children's attitudes towards Canada and Italy? 3) Are the acculturation strategies chosen by 1st generation immigrants passed on to their 2nd generation immigrant children? From these questions I generated nine research hypotheses.

Alas, many of my hopes of testing these hypotheses were unfulfilled. I had intended to obtain samples of participants in each of the four acculturation strategy categories: Integration, Assimilation, Separation and Marginalization. All 54 participants, however, scored highest as Integrators, vitiating my hopes that I would find samples of immigrants scoring highest on the other three strategies. The discovery made it difficult to test my hypotheses relating acculturation strategies with attitudes or ethnic identity.

So, rather than classify participants according to their highest ranking acculturation score (as recommended by Kim, 2008), I tried to test my nine hypotheses using participants' four acculturation scores -- one score for each acculturation strategy. However, my preliminary examination of the statistical properties of Kim's acculturation scale and the

SIMA scale, showed neither of them to be very reliable nor valid in measuring immigrants' acculturation strategies. Indeed, I found that the main acculturation category opposites of Integration versus Marginalization, and of Separation versus Assimilation, were not negatively correlated as expected from Berry's (1997) Acculturation model. I also conducted a Factor Analysis to determine if Kim's items would cluster as Berry assumed, however, they did not. The SIMA scale also showed that the category opposites of Separation versus Assimilation were not negatively correlated as expected from Berry's model, but it did show Integration versus Marginalization to be negatively correlated. Therefore, psychometric properties of both scales were below par.

I decided to use Kim's scale and the SIMA scale because few others exist and because the most viable alternative, Berry et al.'s (1989) *Immigrant Acculturation Scale* was too long (80 items) for participants to complete, in addition to my questionnaires and interviews. The analyses of Kim's scale and the SIMA scale taught me that both are weak instruments. Hoping to salvage something useful from the Kim and SIMA scales, I examined the correlations between each of Kim's 16, and the four SIMA, questionnaire items and attitudes towards Italy and Canada. The findings showed that some questionnaire items could predict country attitudes, but that the majority could not. For both generations, three of Kim's Integration items (maintenance/rejection of cultures, language preferences and involvement in social activities with members of specific cultures), two of his Assimilation items (involvement in social activities with members of specific cultures and nationality of friendships) and one of his Marginalization items (nationality of friendships) predicted attitudes towards Canada and Italy well.

These items predicted liking Italy and proportion of items liked about Italy the best. The remaining items predicted some attitudes but not others. For example, liking Canada was predicted only by the two Assimilation items and one Integration item. The Separation and Assimilation items on the SIMA Scale were successful at predicting attitudes such as liking Canada, followed by proportion and number of things liked about Italy. However, Kim's and the SIMA items were still not able to predict ethnic identity.

These findings suggest that the nationality of their friends, and the activities they choose to engage in with members of specific groups, are important aspects of acculturation for 1st and 2nd generation Italian immigrants. Although results suggest that the extent of maintenance or rejection of a culture and language preferences are not as essential as the two previously mentioned, I believe they are still important aspects to consider when it comes to predicting acculturation and attitudes towards countries. As suggested by Berry's (1997) *acculturation attitudes*, people who arrive in a new country must decide whether to reject or maintain their own culture and the culture of the host country. I believe that such a decision is subconscious, taking place over time after several experiences and interactions with members of the host culture. These interactions and experiences will then determine the acculturation strategy that immigrants adopt.

There is a great need for a better instrument to measure acculturation strategies, as well as a better understanding of immigrant acculturation. My results indicate that some of the items on Kim's scale and on the SIMA scale would be good candidates for a better acculturation instrument. However, given that the psychometric properties of the acculturation scales were not good, I was unable to link Berry's acculturation strategies with country attitudes, and thus unable to test Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 to learn whether

strategies were related to country attitudes (Question 1). The problems I encountered with the scales suggest to me either (a) that Kim's scale items do not cluster according to Berry's categories, or (b) that Kim's scale and the *SIMA* scale are not sufficiently sensitive to measure participants' acculturation strategies, or (c) that Berry's four acculturation categories are not as clear and simple as he believes.

Therefore, I decided to re-focus my study on the remaining questions and hypotheses regarding cultural attitudes, generational differences, ethnic identity and transnationalism. Before doing so, I think it is necessary to mention the outcome of my personal correspondence with Kim with regards to acculturation scales. When I came across Kim's AAE scale, I contacted him to obtain some information about its psychometric properties. Kim had suggested I use the AAE scale, and to refer to its psychometric properties as found in one of his studies about Korean immigrants' adaptation strategies and mental health status.

In Kim's study of Koreans (2008), his scale was shown to be reliable and to have face validity. He found a positive correlation between Integration and life satisfaction, and a negative correlation between mental health and Separation and Marginalization. I could argue that according to Kim, the AAE scale is effective even though my analyses suggested otherwise. But if I abandoned the scales, I abandoned one of the main topics of this study, which was looking at the relationship between acculturation strategies and country attitudes. Therefore, I decided to continue under Kim's assumption that the scale is valid for testing my hypothesis correlating acculturation strategies between generations, but to be cautious when interpreting the results.

The finding that all 54 participants scored highest on Integration suggests, for my sample, that it may be important to maintain aspects of the Italian culture as well as to adopt

aspects of the Canadian culture. The finding suggests that, according to Berry et al. (1989), my participants have the preferred and most adaptive acculturation strategy of the four, and in turn, are more likely to experience long term health and well-being, and less likely to experience acculturative stress because they want to live with aspects of both cultures (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997). Despite this finding, there was no correlation between the 1st and 2nd generations in their acculturation strategies. What does the lack of correlation imply? Although both generations are Integrators, it seems either that, a) parents do not significantly influence their children's adaptation strategy, and that perhaps external influences may be playing a role, such as peers, or b) that the Kim and SIMA scales were powerless to detect any existing differences.

As mentioned previously, it is important to note that my conclusions are preliminary given the limitations of the scale. However, if the case is that generations do not influence each other, it could mean that the parents' choice of adaptation strategy is independent from their children's choice of adaptation strategy. As proposed by Ying (2005), other people may influence adaptation to a country. For example, Italian immigrants may be influenced by their co-workers, their immigrant companions and even members of the host country. Immigrant children, on the other hand, may be influenced by their peers and teachers. And all may be influenced by North American media. It may be futile for parents to keep trying to influence their children to adapt in a particular way. Therefore, in order for newly arrived immigrants to ensure the best adaptation strategy for their children, they should foster an environment for them that values contact with peers and/or organizations reflecting the type of adaptation strategy they want. Because research has pointed to Integration as the best strategy for physical and psychological adaptation (Sayegh & Lasry, 1993), it would be beneficial for

immigration services to work with immigrants and their children, helping them to understand what influences their overall adaptation to the new country, and how to choose the most adaptive strategy.

However, if the case is that Kim's scale simply did not detect differences between generations, then it would be beneficial for future research to find a more effective scale that can conduct this study and then interpret the results accordingly. Results thus far have not supported Hypothesis 5 that there is a relationship between 1st and 2nd generations in choice of acculturation strategy. The results have also attempted to answer Question 3, again suggesting that acculturation strategies chosen by 1st generation immigrants are perhaps not passed on to their 2nd generation immigrant children.

In addition to finding that my sample is integrated, participants' four scores on each acculturation strategy showed signs that the 2nd generation is assimilating more than their 1st generation parents. Although the acculturation scales were not perfectly effective, this finding suggests that influences beyond the family may be persuading the 2nd generation to assimilate. As Integrators, it is expected that the 2nd generation wishes to maintain aspects of both Canadian and Italian culture, but it is also normal for them to be leaning towards assimilation because they were born and raised in Canada. They are constantly being influenced by Canadian media, peers and Canadian "things" that they are bound to show signs of assimilation. This is also supported by Hernandez-Ramdwar (2006) who says that the 2nd generation is likely to be more assimilated as well as more educated and economically and socially successful than their immigrant parents.

Although the data failed to show a relationship between 1st and 2nd generations on choice of acculturation strategy, there was support for Hypothesis 6 that a relationship

between 1st and 2nd generations on attitudes towards Canada and Italy exists. Specifically, there was a correlation between 1st and 2nd generations on number of items disliked about Canada, proportion of items liked about both Italy and Canada, and ratings of liking Canada. The findings answered Question 2 that 1st and 2nd generation immigrants have similar attitudes towards Canada and Italy. I believe that the parents of 2nd generations may be influential in the formation of their children's attitudes. As explained by Stone et al. (2005), the 2nd generation is often raised hearing their parents' stories of good and bad times in the home country, and consequently, of good and bad things experienced upon their arrival in Canada. One would then think that the children's attitudes are shaped by their parent's experiences. I would also expect external influences to contribute somewhat to the formation of attitudes.

Although there is a possibility that the acculturation scales did not detect a relationship between generations in adaptation, participants in my study seemed to have positive attitudes towards both Canada and Italy, suggesting a need to live with aspects of both Italian and Canadian culture. Additional support for this finding comes from Akhtar (1999) and Falicov (2005) who mention that when 1st generation immigrants miss the home country, they often idealize everything associated with the country, then pass these memories on to their children who come to believe that such a place exists. The 2nd generation is then more likely to form attitudes towards that country based on what they heard from their parents. If parents and children hold similar attitudes, there would be a higher chance of, as stated by Stone et al. (2005), reduced conflict. I have witnessed discussions between my father and his parents, where my grandparents inspired in my father positive attitudes about both Italy, which they considered their homeland, and Canada, which they considered their

adopted country. Such views allowed them to live a peaceful life because they shared similar feelings towards both countries. If my father displayed negative attitudes towards Italy (displaying Assimilation or Marginalization) family tensions would likely have increased.

So although research supports the finding of shared country attitudes between generations, research on 2nd generations would suggest that a relationship between generations in choice of acculturation strategy does not exist, despite issues with the scales. Research proposes that the 2nd generation should be more assimilated than their parents, rather than adopting the same strategy. Yet, because I am integrated like my parents, I was hoping to prove that such a relationship exists. These findings may have some implications for newly arrived Italian immigrants who fear their children might become too assimilated. By speaking of, and by promoting Italy, parents may be able to instill and pass on the Italian culture to their children. I also believe that Kim's scale was not capable of detecting a relationship between generations in choice of acculturation strategy because I noticed two scenarios, 1) some participants scored 20 on Integration and 4 on the remaining categories, making them Integrated, and 2) some participants scored, for example, 20 on Integration and 16 on assimilation, 8 on separation and 5 on marginalization, also making them Integrated. Despite the obvious variation in scores between these participants, they both score as Integrators. I think it would necessary for future research to re-analyze this relationship with the use of instruments that are more sensitive to such differences in acculturation strategies.

Thus far we have seen that despite insufficient evidence supporting Kim's scale, immigrant parents may not be influencing their children's choice of acculturation strategy. Instead, the two generations share the same attitudes towards Canada and Italy. But what happens to these immigrants' identities upon arrival to a new country? I was further

interested in examining the relationship between immigrants' ethnic identities and their attitudes towards Canada and Italy. Ethnic identity is defined in terms of degree of identification with one's culture group. Phinney (1992) stated that the best way to measure ethnic identity is by measuring people's pride and feelings of belonging towards a particular culture group. In order to examine this, I asked participants to report how Canadian and how Italian they feel, and how proud they are to be Canadian and how proud they are to be Italian. I was pleased to see for both generations that the prouder they are to be Canadian or the more Canadian they feel, the more they like Canada. Similarly, I found that the prouder they are to be Italian or the more Italian they feel, the more they like Italy. Only 2nd generations did not show a relationship between feeling Italian and liking Italy.

I found that participants identify as Italians and as Canadians, and that each of these identities is related to positive attitudes towards both countries. As Phinney (1990) believed, immigrants may identify either strongly or weakly with both their own culture and with the host culture. In this case, 1st and 2nd generation Italian immigrants identified themselves as both Canadian and Italian, and liked both Canada and Italy. These results support Hypothesis 8 predicting a positive relationship between ethnic identity and attitudes towards countries. This finding is also in line with Louie (2006) and Akhtar (1999) who mentioned that feeling a connection with the home country often comes from the 1st generation's feelings of nostalgia. Because of this nostalgia, immigrants try to re-create an ethnic surrounding that reminds them of their life back home. Their children, in turn, may feel a connection to both their parents' culture and to their native culture. This suggests that if a person identifies with a certain culture group, that they most probably also like it. In this study, my participants

identified themselves as both Italian and Canadian because, as they reported, they like feeling a part of both cultures.

In addition, Phinney (1990) stated that identity is like acculturation in that people can vary the degree of identification with their own culture and the degree of identification with the host culture. In turn, these immigrants can deal with ethnic group membership in diverse societies in one of four ways, each associated with one of the four acculturation strategies. In this study, Italian immigrants identify strongly as Italian and Canadian, suggesting they should prefer integration (and biculturalism). However, it can be daunting for people to re-adjust their identities, especially in a foreign country. I believe that immigration services can assist Italian immigrants going through such a process as well as adapting to the country upon arrival.

In addition to these findings, there was a negative correlation for the 1st generation between feeling Canadian and feeling Italian. This suggests that although the 1st generation identifies as both Canadian and Italian, there may be moments of confusion where they feel more like one ethnicity than the other. This fits in with research by Vedder and Virta (2005) who thought that living in-between two cultures can lead to identity confusion and adaptation problems. This may indeed be the case for my participants because they were born in Italy with one culture, and then immigrated to Canada and adopted aspects of Canadian culture.

Interestingly enough, these findings may seem obvious prompting the question, could an immigrant identify as an Italian and not like Italy? In this study, a positive relationship was suggested between ethnic identity and attitudes towards each country. However, it is conceivable for people to like a culture and not feel a part of it. For example, tourists who visit Italy may like the Italian culture, but they do not necessarily identify as Italians.

Likewise, some people can identify with a culture group and not like the country. For example, it is the case for some Iranians that they identify as Iranians but dislike Iran due to its government. These examples also bring up the concept of culture, because some people choose to like certain aspects of a culture instead of the whole culture. So do people also identify with some aspects of culture rather than the whole culture? Research in this area should look into understanding if, and which, aspects of culture people like more than others.

Finally, the lack of correlation between time spent communicating, or engaging, with members of a country and attitudes towards that country, does not support Hypothesis 9, for both generations. Although surprising, I can speculate that the attitudes Italian immigrants form about Italy and Canada do not necessarily imply increased or decreased likelihood of communicating with people in the countries, or vice versa. For example, a person may have very positive attitudes towards Italy, but he or she may not know anyone in Italy to speak with. It seems we cannot easily predict loyalty to a culture group based on amount of time spent watching Italian TV or reading Canadian newspapers.

To summarize, it was not possible to link the acculturation strategies in Berry's (1997) model with attitudes towards Canada and Italy. But I did find weak support for the idea that, although 1st and 2nd generation Italian immigrants do not influence each other in the choice of acculturation strategy, they do seem to share similar attitudes towards both Italy and Canada. Likewise, attitudes towards countries were related to ethnic identity. My research has shown that acculturation strategies and attitudes towards countries are more complex and subtle than first thought. Perhaps Berry oversimplified the concept by assuming that immigrants simply reject and/or maintaining a whole culture. A person may, for example, decide to reject the Italian language, but this does not imply they reject the whole

culture. But then, which aspects of a culture are more important for immigrants to maintain? Language, traditions, friendships? Future research should look into discovering what culture means for immigrants who acculturate.

The results have also led me to think about methodological issues associated with research in this area. Having participants simply tick-off a box, or substitute an opinion with a number, does not benefit cultural studies. This method of measuring attitudes towards cultures does not capture what people believe is the true essence of a culture. Berry and Kim attempted to identify, and include, the different domains and aspects of culture in their scales. For example, Kim's items were divided into domains about friends, languages, taking part in activities with members of specific cultures, and maintenance/rejection of cultures. Berry et al.'s (1989) Acculturation scales included items about domains of friendship, Canadian society, ethnic identity, etc.

I noticed that my participants had trouble articulating responses to what they liked about a culture as a whole; instead, their answers were multifarious. They were able to specify sections or parts of a culture they liked and disliked, like government, the weather, the people, etc. but not the whole culture. It would be beneficial to find another way to study people's attitudes towards culture, like having immigrants discuss the individual aspects of a culture and then determine which are more important to maintain for their adaptation.

I also noticed that the majority of 1st generation Italian immigrants in my study probably came to Canada and settled in "little Italy" with Italian doctors, grocers, bankers, teachers, etc. They did not begin a new life in Canada by living according to the "Canadian way," but they began a life in Canada by living according to the old ways they brought from Italy. This goes with research by Akhtar (1999) who suggests that feelings of nostalgia leads

many immigrants to re-create an ethnic surrounding which reminds them of their life in the home country, creating an almost second motherland. Their 2nd generation children are then raised in this “little Italy” as well. Although this may not be the case for all of my participants, it is something to consider when conducting cultural studies and using Canada, or Canadians, as a cultural group.

The interviews also led to some interesting findings. The majority of good and bad memories recalled about Italy by the 1st generation were about personal events that took place in the country of Italy, like family gatherings, births, war, and not about Italian culture. The majority of good and bad memories about Canada were about Canadian cultural aspects, like consumer items. I also noticed that everyone remembered good memories of Italy and bad memories of Canada, but some people failed to recall bad memories of Italy and good memories of Canada. This prompts the question, if 1st generation immigrants have such good memories of Italy, why did they leave? And if more bad memories of life in Canada are recalled than good memories, why did these people come to Canada at all? As some reported, family and financial difficulties pushed these people to leave Italy even though they still love the country and culture.

Surprisingly, however, only a handful of 1st generations would re-live their life by not coming to Canada. The others would re-live life by getting an education or working less, but only a few are unhappy with their decision of coming to Canada. Therefore, it must be important for my participants to maintain aspects of Italian culture whilst adopting aspects of the Canadian culture. In addition, it even seems that all 1st generations were successful at passing on the Italian culture to their children. Unfortunately, most of the questions,

including the ones about positive and negative life events, did not allow for a better understanding of acculturation experiences as hoped.

Similarly, when interviewing the 2nd generation about what Canada and Italy meant for them, both countries were thought of in terms of cultural components rather than personal events, for example, Italy reminded people of beaches, art, and food, and Canada reminded them of cold, hockey, and work. Interestingly, the 1st generation recalled most of their memories of Canada as including cultural aspects as well. I was also surprised to see that 40% of the 2nd generation wished they were raised in Italy. I suspect that, again, their parent's stories of a wonderful country have led them to want to be a part of something they feel they belong to. And given that 2nd generations identified with both Italy and Canada, it would make sense for them to want to experience life in Italy as well.

I also discovered that although the majority of 1st and 2nd generations did not experience difficulties as Italian-Canadians, a small portion did. This is expected when people settle in a new country and are forced to interact with the host country members. Finally, the majority of immigrant children felt less Italian than their parents, which makes sense given that they were born and raised in Canada and not Italy. The portion of 2nd generations that felt as Italian as their parents would suggest that the 1st generation was successful at passing the Italian culture on to their children. However, like for the 1st generation's interviews, the 2nd generation's interviews did not offer a better understanding of acculturation. It seems that measuring acculturation is not as simple as I had hoped.

Limitations. Despite the promising results of the study, it had several limitations. First, as noted previously, I did not have a good quality acculturation scale with which to classify participants. Second, I was unable to obtain a sample of participants in each of the

four acculturation strategies seeing as everyone scored as an Integrator. This prevented me from saying much about the other three categories, and to compare them. Perhaps some of the participants were not dominant Integrators, but the acculturation scales were unable to detect this. Third, my sample consisted strictly of Italian immigrants, so making generalizations to other cultures is risky. For example, in American culture parents may have less control over their children, so there might be a different relationship between 1st and 2nd generation's choice of acculturation strategies.

Fourth, the sample of Italian immigrants was a mixed one including participants who immigrated here over 40 years ago, and immigrants who only immigrated 20 years ago, with a spread of ages. This means that the ages of the 2nd generation also differ. This age difference may be related to different acculturation scores and attitudes towards Italy and Canada, however future research will have to analyze it. A bigger and more ethnically diverse sample of participants could benefit research in this area, so as to encourage generalizability of results. Lastly, I noticed that when participants were asked to list what they like and dislike about Canada and Italy, some people reported words like "culture" and others reported words like "traditions, art, history, etc." which belong to Italian culture. Future research should attempt to define culture in a simpler way so as to avoid issues like this.

My study led me to several suggestions for improving future research. Foremost among them: it is imperative to develop an effective instrument for measuring acculturation strategies, which is simple to use by all immigrants. Second, future research should look into understanding which parts of a culture people decide to maintain and reject when adapting to a new country. Third, a similar study should be conducted using immigrants from diverse

ethnic groups and who have immigrated to different types of host countries. Fourth, future research should look into obtaining immigrants from the other three acculturation categories, and then compare their attitudes towards countries.

This study also has several strengths. Unlike most research conducted on immigration, my study had a unique sample of parent-child, 1st and 2nd generation immigrants. Rather than studying 1st and 2nd generations separately, I thought it would be interesting to look at the dynamics between Italian immigrant parents and their Canadian children. I was able to see that the two generations may influence one another in attitudes towards Canada and Italy, and this has allowed me to contribute to generational research.

In addition to a unique sample, my study has demonstrated the difficulties associated with measuring immigrant adaptation to the host country. Although the Kim and SIMA scales had face-validity, it was evident that not all people could be neatly categorized into one adaptation strategy. Several participants had varying scores on all four categories, making it difficult to simply categorize them according to the one they score the highest on. This study has shown that it is difficult to neatly summarize 20-30 years of immigrant adaptation to a country, with one single word such as *Integrated*. This suggests that the idea of immigrant adaptation is much more complex than perhaps originally thought.

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APPENDIX A

Background, Attitudes, and Cultural Contact Questionnaire

(Below is a prototype of the questionnaire for Italian immigrants. The questionnaire should be personalized for each participant according to their home country)

First Generation

1. Are you a male or female? _____
2. In what country were you born? _____ In what year? _____
 - a. Which child are you (1st born, 2nd born, 3rd born, etc.)? _____ born
3. What languages do you speak? _____
4. Which language do you speak the most at home? _____
 - Which language do you speak the most with your children? _____
 - Which language do you speak the most at work? _____
 - Which language do you speak the most with your friends? _____
5. Are you married, widowed, divorced, single, or other? _____ If married:
 - a. In which country did you marry? _____
 - b. Which country is your spouse from? _____
6. How many sons do you have? _____ How many daughters? _____
7. Do you belong to a specific ethnic group from Italy? _____
 - a. If so, which ethnic group? _____
8. Do you think of yourself as Italian, Canadian or both? _____
9. Which countries are you a citizen of? _____
10. How many years have you lived in Canada? Years _____ Months _____
11. Why did you come to Canada? _____
12. Did you consider emigrating to other countries beside Canada? Yes No
 - a. If yes, which other countries? _____
 - b. Why did you decide to come to Canada?

13. Who else came to Canada with you? (family, friends etc.) _____
14. Before coming to Canada, did you have a job in Italy? Yes No
 - a. If yes, what job did you have in Italy? _____
15. How many times since coming to Canada have you visited Italy? _____
 - a. Why have you visited Italy? _____
 - b. If you have not visited Italy in the past 10 years, why have you not visited?

16. Have you lived anywhere else in the world other than Italy and Canada? Yes No
 - a. If yes, where have you lived? And for how long? Country Years

17. How many friends do you still have in Italy? _____

18. Do you still keep in contact with your **friends** in Italy? Yes No
 a. If yes, how? (e-mail, phone, letters, other) _____
 19. How many of these friends have visited you in Canada? _____
 20. How many of these friends have you visited since coming to Canada? _____
 21. How many visits have you had from each person? _____

22. How many family members do you still have in Italy? _____
 23. Do you still keep in contact with your **family** members in Italy? Yes No
 a. If yes, how? (e-mail, phone, letters, other) _____
 24. How many of these family members have visited you in Canada? _____
 25. How many of these family members have you visited since coming to Canada?

 26. How many visits have you had from each person? _____

27. What percent of your friends in Canada are Italian? _____ %
 28. What percent of your friends in Canada are Canadian _____ %
 29. What percent of your friends in Canada are of other nationalities? _____ %
 a. Where are they from? _____
 30. What percent of your relatives live in Canada? _____ %
 31. What percent of your relatives live in Italy? _____ %
 32. What percent of your relatives live in other countries? _____ %

Please rate yourself on the following scales by circling the relevant number

33. How **proud** are you to be **Canadian**?
 Not at all Proud 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Proud
 34. How **Canadian** do you feel?
 Not at all Canadian 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Canadian
 35. How **proud** are you to be **Italian**?
 Not at all Proud 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Proud
 36. How **Italian** do you feel?
 Not at all Italian 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Italian
 37. If you could choose to live anywhere you wanted, regardless of family, money and work, in what country would you choose to live? _____
 a. Why? _____
 38. Please list what you like about Canada:

39. Please list up what you do **not** like about Canada:
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

40. Please list what you like about Italy:

41. Please list what you do **not** like about Italy:

42. Please rate how much you like **Canada** by **circling the relevant number on the following scale**

Dislike very much -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 Like very much

43. Please rate how much you like **Italy** by **circling the relevant number on the following scale**

Dislike very much -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 Like very much

44. Please rate how important it is for you to teach Italian culture to your children by **circling the relevant number on the following scale**

not at all important 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Important

45. If important, how did you pass on your Italian culture? (Ex: you frequented people of your culture, you taught your children your native language, you encouraged them watch TV shows from your country, etc.) _____

46. How important is it for you that your children marry Italians?

Not at all important 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Important

47. How many hours a week do you watch Italian television shows? _____

48. How many hours a week do you listen to Italian radio shows? _____

49. How many hours a week do you read Italian newspaper or internet sites? _____

50. How many hours a week do you watch Canadian television? _____

51. How many hours a week do you listen to Canadian radio? _____

52. How many hours a week do you read the newspaper or the internet of Canada? _____

53. How many hours a week do you communicate (by e-mail or phone) with friends, family, colleagues etc. in Italy? _____

54. How many hours a week do you communicate (by e-mail or phone) with friends, family, colleagues etc. in Canada? _____

APPENDIX B
Background, Attitudes, and Cultural Contact Questionnaire
Second Generation

1. Are you male or female? _____
2. In what year were you born? _____
 - a. Which child are you (1st born, 2nd born, 3rd born, etc.)? _____ born
3. What country where your parents born in? Mother _____ Father

4. Which language do you speak the most at home? _____
 - Which language do you speak the most with your parents? _____
 - Which language do you speak the most at work/school? _____
 - Which language do you speak the most with your friends? _____
5. Have you ever been to Italy? Yes No
 - a. If yes, how many times have you visited Italy? _____
 - b. Why have you visited Italy? _____

 - c. If No, why have you not visited Italy? _____

6. Have you lived anywhere else in the world other than Italy and Canada? Yes No
 - a. If yes, where have you lived? And for how long?

Country	Years
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
7. Do you have friends in Italy? Yes No
 - a. If yes, how many? _____
8. Do you still keep in contact with your **friends** in Italy? Yes No
 - a. If yes, how many? how? (e-mail, phone, letters, other) _____
9. How many of these friends have visited you in Canada? _____
10. How many of these friends have you visited since coming to Canada? _____
11. How many visits have you had from each person? _____

12. How many family members do you still have in Italy? _____
13. Do you still keep in contact with your **family** members in Italy? Yes No
 - a. If yes, how? (e-mail, phone, letters, other) _____
14. How many of these family members have visited you in Canada? _____
15. How many of these family members have you visited since coming to Canada?

16. How many visits have you had from each person? _____

17. Have you gone to Italy to visit them? Yes No
18. What percent of your friends in Canada are Italian? _____%

- 19. What percent of your friends in Canada are Canadian _____%
- 20. What percent of your friends in Canada are of other nationalities? _____%
 - a. Where are they from? _____
- 21. What percent of your relatives live in Canada? _____%
- 22. What percent of your relatives live in Italy? _____%
- 23. What percent of your relatives live in other countries? _____%

Please rate yourself on the following scales by circling the relevant number

- 24. How **proud** are you to be **Canadian**
Not at all Proud 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Proud
- 25. How **Canadian** do you feel?
Not at all Canadian 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Canadian
- 26. How **proud** are you to be **Italian**?
Not at all Proud 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Proud
- 27. How **Italian** do you feel?
Not at all Italian 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Italian
- 28. If you could choose to live anywhere you wanted, regardless of family, money and work, in what country would you choose to live? _____
 - a. Why? _____

29. Please list what you like about Canada:

30. Please list what you do **not** like about Canada:

31. Please list what you like about Italy:

32. Please list what you do **not** like about Italy:

33. Please rate how much you like **Canada** by **circling the relevant number on the following scale**

Dislike very much -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 Like very much

34. Please rate how much you like **Italy** by **circling the relevant number on the following scale**
Dislike very much -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 Like very much
35. Please rate how important it is for you to teach Italian culture to your children by **circling the relevant number on the following scale**
not at all important 0 1 2 3 4 5 Extremely Important
36. Is it important for you to marry an Italian? Yes No
a. Why? _____
37. How many hours a week do you watch Italian television shows? _____
38. How many hours a week do you listen to Italian radio shows? _____
39. How many hours a week do you read Italian newspaper or internet sites? _____
40. How many hours a week do you watch Canadian television? _____
41. How many hours a week do you listen to Canadian radio? _____
42. How many hours a week do you read the newspaper or the internet of Canada? _____
43. How many hours a week do you communicate (by e-mail or phone) with friends, family, colleagues etc. in Italy? _____
44. How many hours a week do you communicate (by e-mail or phone) with friends, family, colleagues etc. in Canada? _____

APPENDIX C

Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale (Kim, 1984)

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Not sure/ neutral	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
1. I feel that [Italians] should maintain our own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of [Canada]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2. It is not important to me to be fluent either in [Italian] or [English]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3. I don't want to attend either [Canadian] or [Italian] social activities	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4. I prefer social activities which involve [Italian] members only	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5. It is important to me to be fluent in both [English] and in [Italian]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6. I prefer social activities which involve [Canadians] only	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
7. I feel that it is not important for [Italians] either to maintain their own cultural traditions or to adopt those of [Canada]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
8. It is more important to me to be fluent in [Italian] than in [English]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
9. I feel that [Italians] should maintain our own cultural traditions but also adopt those of [Canada]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 10. | I feel that [Italians] should adopt the [Canadian] cultural traditions and not maintain those of our own | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 11. | I prefer to have only [Canadian] friends | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 12. | It is more important to me to be fluent in [English] than in [Italian] | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 13. | I don't want to have either [Canadian] or [Italian] friends | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 14. | I prefer to have only [Italian] friends | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 15. | I prefer social activities which involve both [Canadian] members and [Italian] members. | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |
| 16. | I prefer to have both [Italian] and [Canadian] friends | [] | [] | [] | [] | [] |

APPENDIX D

Acculturation Statements

Please rate the following statements on the scales provided by circling the appropriate number

- I prefer to be with Italians and participate in Italian activities, institutions and traditions only (Separation)

Strongly disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

- I prefer to be with both Italians and Canadians, as well as participate in both Italian and Canadian activities, institutions and traditions (Integration)

Strongly disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

- I prefer to be with Canadians and participate in Canadian activities, institutions and traditions only (Assimilation)

Strongly disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

- I prefer not to be with Italians or Canadians, and I do not want to participate in Italian or Canadian activities, institutions and traditions (Marginalization).

Strongly disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

APPENDIX E

Interviews

1st generation

1. What are your best memories of Italy?
2. What are your worst memories of Italy?
3. Did you face any difficulties as an Italian immigrant in Canada? If so, what were they?
4. What are your best memories of Canada?
5. What are your worst memories of Canada?
6. What was the most important positive event of your life in Canada?
7. What was the most important negative event that took place in your life in Canada?
8. Do you believe your children are more or less Italian than you are? Is this a good thing? Why or why not?
9. If you had to live your life over again, would you live it differently? If yes, how?

2nd generation

1. Do you wish your parents had raised you in Italy? Why or why not?
2. What comes to mind when I say "Italy"?
3. What comes to mind when I say "Canada"?
4. Do you face any difficulties as an Italian in Canada? If so, what were they?
5. What are your fondest memories of Canada as a child?
6. Do you believe your parents are more or less Italian than you are? Is this a good thing? Why or why not?

APPENDIX F

Informed Consent

The purpose of an informed consent is to ensure that you understand the purpose of the study and the nature of your involvement. For clarification, please ask the researcher.

Title: First and Second generation immigrants' attitudes towards their home and host countries

Principal Investigator: Francesca Ruscito (Researcher, fruscito@connect.carleton.ca)

Research Personnel: Dr. Warren Thorngate (Faculty Sponsor, 613 520-2600 ext. 2706)

With regards to ethical concerns about this study, please contact Dr. Monique Senechal, Chair of the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychological Research, at 613 520-2600 ext. 1155 or monique_sénéchal@carleton.ca. For any other concerns pertaining to this study, please contact Dr. Janet Mantler, Chair of the Department of Psychology, at 613 520-2600 ext. 4173.

Purpose: In this study we are interested in first and second generation immigrant's attitudes towards Canada and the home country.

Task Requirements: Participants will be asked to fill out a background questionnaire which will ask them about life in Canada and the home country. They will also be asked to fill out the *Acculturation Attitudes and Expectations Scale* which will record their adaptation strategies. Lastly, participants will be interviewed about their attitudes towards Canada and the home country.

Duration and Locale: The study should take no longer than 2.5 hours (1 hour for the questionnaire and 1.5 hours for the interview). It will take place at a location convenient to the participant (from social networks) and in room 2111 HCI for students in psych 1001. Students from the psych 1001 pool will receive 4% towards their course credits.

Potential Risk and Discomfort: This study is not associated with any potential for harm. If you feel anxious during the study, please notify the researchers immediately. You may decline to answer questions that you do not feel comfortable answering and you may decide to withdraw your data from the study at any time.

Anonymity/Confidentiality: The data collected during this study will be kept private and confidential. Any information that you provide will only be used by the researchers for the sake of this study.

Right to withdraw: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. If at some point in the study you feel uncomfortable, you have the right to withdraw and cease further participation.

I have read the above consent form and description of the study. I understand that the data collected will be used for research as well as publishing and teaching purposes. My authorization indicates that I agree to participate in the study, and this in no way constitutes a waiver of my rights. This study has been approved by the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychological Research.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher signature: _____

APPENDIX G

Release Agreement

I, [print your name] _____, give the researchers of the study “First and Second generation immigrants’ attitudes towards their home and host countries” permission to make an audio recording of my interview answers, as well as to quote me anonymously.

I understand that my responses to the interviews may be used or quoted for the purpose of the study. I also understand that my identity will not be revealed. Any information that I provide will only be used by the researchers for the sake of this study. The audio recording will be erased after completion of the research.

PARTICIPANT/ PARENT OR GUARDIAN

Signature

**IF YOU ARE UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE, YOU AND YOUR PARENT OR
GUARDIAN MUST SIGN THIS FORM WHERE INDICATED**

APPENDIX H

Debriefing

Thank you for participating in this study

What are we trying to learn in this research? We are interested in seeing if there is a relationship between the adaptation strategies chosen by first and second generation immigrants, and their attitudes towards the home country and Canada.

Why is this important to scientists or the general public? This research will have important implications for the general public and scientists who wish to understand how immigrants adapt to a new country, and how it may affect the immigrant's relationship with the host country and home country.

What are our hypotheses and predictions? In this study we predict that first and second generation immigrants will have similar attitudes towards their home country and Canada, and that they will have adopted similar adaptation strategies. Likewise, we expect that adaptation strategies will be related to attitudes towards countries.

Where can I learn more? You can learn more about this from the following studies:

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 5-68.

Christou, A. (2006). Deciphering diaspora – translating transnationalism: Family dynamics, identity constructions and the legacy of 'home' in second-generation Greek-American return migration. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29, 1040-1056.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research. *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, 499-514.

What if I have questions later? For any questions or concerns regarding the research, please contact either the Principal Investigator (Francesca Ruscito, fruscito@connect.carleton.ca) or the Faculty Sponsor (Dr. Warren Thorngate, (613) 526-2600 ext. 2706). For ethical concerns, please contact Dr. Monique Senechal, Chair of the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychology Research, at (613) 520-2600 ext. 1155, monique_sénéchal@carleton.ca. For other concerns, please contact Dr. Janet Mantler, the Chair of Carleton University's Psychology Department, at (613) 520-2600 ext. 4173, psychchair@carleton.ca. If you are a Carleton University student and you wish to speak to someone, please make an appointment with the Carleton University Health and Counselling Services, (613) 520-6674. For participants not attending Carleton University, you may wish to contact the Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region, at (613) 238-3311.

Is there anything that I can do if I found this experiment emotionally draining? We are aware of the fact that some questions may cause some anxiety or feelings of invaded privacy. If you are a Carleton University student and you continue to feel this distress, please make an appointment with the Carleton University Health and Counseling Services, 613 520-6674. For participants not attending Carleton University, you may wish to contact the Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region, at 613 238-3311 for any help.

APPENDIX I

Recruiting Announcement on Experiment Management System (SONA)

Study Name: First and Second generation immigrants' attitudes towards their home and host countries

Description: In this study we are interested in first and second generation immigrant's attitudes towards Canada and the home country. Participants must be first or second generation immigrants. First generation participants should have at least one university-aged child living in Ottawa who is willing to consider participation. Second generation participants should have at least one parent living in Ottawa who is willing to consider participation.

Duration: 2.5 hours

Location: 2111 HCI

Percentage/pay: 4 credits

Researcher: Francesca Ruscito, fruscito@connect.carleton.ca

Supervisor: Dr. Warren Thorngate, A404 Loeb Building

Participant sign-up deadline: 24 hours before the study

Participant cancellation deadline: 12 hours before the study.