

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE RURAL MILIEU AS A VARIABLE IN
THE MAINTENANCE OF TRADITIONALISM:

attitudes toward courtship, marriage, and
parenthood among French-Canadian adolescents.

by

Charlotte A. Walkty

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Science

Department of Family Studies

Winnipeg, Manitoba

October 1975

"THE RURAL MILIEU AS A VARIABLE IN
THE MAINTENANCE OF TRADITIONALISM:
ATTITUDES TOWARD COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, AND
PARENTHOOD AMONG FRENCH-CANADIAN ADOLESCENTS"

by

CHARLOTTE A. WALKY

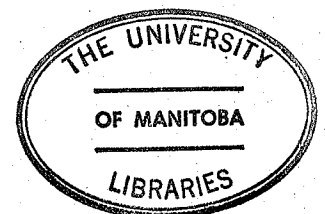
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

© 1975

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this dissertation, to
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this
dissertation and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this dissertation.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
dissertation nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.



ABSTRACT

A questionnaire was presented to 457 rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents. Areas of investigation included attitudes toward the double standard, religion as a normative guide in dating, divorce, sex-role differentiation, family size, delay of child-bearing after marriage, birth control, interfaith and interethnic marriage, child-rearing practices and the importance of religious education. The data were compared controlling for residence and sex. Statistically significant residential differences were found with respect to attitudes toward family size, birth control, and familism, with urban subjects being less traditionally oriented than rural subjects. Statistically significant attitudinal differences due to residential background were found in the female segment of the sample with regard to interfaith marriage, family size, birth control, and the importance of religious education. Urban females were less traditionally oriented than rural females. Statistically significant sex differences were noted in attitudes toward the double standard and religious education. Males were less traditionally oriented than females.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would have not been possible without the cooperation and support of many people to which I express sincere appreciation.

I am greatly indebted to my advisor, Dr. Dale Berg, for his guidance, and constant moral support which have made this project a truly valuable learning experience. My thanks to Dr. Berg for a friendly and honest working relationship, as well as the numerous incidences of help "beyond the call of duty". To my other committee members, Dr. Emily Nett, and Dr. Lola Jackson, thank you for their interest and time.

Special thanks to the school principals who allowed me to disrupt their class schedule in order to collect the data, and whose cooperation made this study feasible. To the adolescents who took part in the study, a special thanks. Their important role in this project will always be remembered with gratitude.

I am grateful to my fellow graduate students in the Department of Family Studies for their congeniality and keen interest which made for a pleasant working atmosphere.

This study would have probably never been undertaken without the encouragement of my parents throughout my years as a student. To their influence, I owe largely my decision to pursue this goal.

And finally, for providing support in every possible way, for being a good listener, and for being a source of cheer in more difficult times, a special thank-you to my husband, Gordon.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
ABSTRACT.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Statement of the problem.....	2
I. REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	3
The middle-class family model.....	3
The Canadian family.....	9
Early studies on the French-Canadian family.....	14
Theoretical models.....	18
Application of the folk-society model.....	22
Critical analyses of the folk society model.....	25
Recent studies.....	31
Recent non-Quebec studies.....	46
Application of the theory of urbanism.....	49
The major hypothesis.....	51
II. METHODOLOGY.....	54
Hypotheses.....	54
Operationalization of variables.....	56
Data collection.....	58
Analysis of data.....	61
Reliability and validity of indexes.....	68

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

CHAPTER	PAGE
III. RESULTS.....	71
IV. DISCUSSION.....	97
Attitudes toward courtship.....	97
Attitudes toward marriage.....	103
Attitudes toward child-rearing.....	117
Applicability of theoretical models.....	120
V. CONCLUSIONS.....	124
Summary of the findings.....	124
Limitations of the study.....	125
Suggestions for further research.....	128
REFERENCES.....	130
APPENDICES.....	137
A. THE INSTRUMENT AND PROCEDURE (FRENCH QUESTIONNAIRE).....	138
B. ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE.....	148
C. RESEARCH PROPOSAL AND LETTERS SENT TO SCHOOL PRINCIPALS.....	158

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1	Summary of split-half correlations by index.....70
2	Double standard attitudes by residence and sex.....72
3	Religion and dating attitudes by residence and sex.....74
4	Attitudes toward divorce by residence and sex.....76
5	Attitudes toward sex-role differentiation by residence and sex.....77
6	Attitudes toward family size by residence an and sex.....79
7	Attitudes toward early marriage by residence and sex.....81
8	Consistency comparison for two items related to childless time span by residence and sex.....83
9	Birth control attitudes by residence and sex.....85
10	Attitudes toward the use of birth control devices by residence and sex.....87
11	Attitudes toward interfaith marriage by residence and sex.....88
12	Consistency comparison on two interethnic marriage items by residence and sex.....90
13	Familistic attitudes by residence and sex.....91
14	Child-rearing attitudes by residence and sex.....93
15	Importance of religious education by residence and sex.....94
16	Consistency comparison for two corporal punishment items by residence and sex.....96
17	Responsibility in premarital behaviour by residence.....101

LIST OF TABLES (CONTINUED)

TABLE		PAGE
18	Inconsistency in responses on two double standard items by residence.....	102
19	Summary of courtship attitudes.....	104
20	Responses to two family size items by residence.....	106
21	Inconsistency on two birth control items by residence.....	109
22	Sex differences in responses on two birth control items.....	111
23	Inconsistency in responses to two familism items by residence.....	113
24	Summary of attitudes toward marriage.....	118
25	Summary of attitudes toward child-rearing.....	121

INTRODUCTION

Interest in the Canadian family has gained considerable momentum in the last twenty years. Since Canada is noted for its effort in preserving the cultural heritage of its multi-ethnic population, it is logical that a considerable number of research studies have focused on the various ethnic groups which make up the Canadian population. Ishwaran's (1971) book, The Canadian Family, is an example of the interest in ethnic variations in the Canadian family.

Of the different ethnic groups in Canada, the French-Canadians have been the most extensively studied, for reasons which will be discussed later. Most of the major studies on the French-Canadian family have originated from Quebec, so-called French Canada. However, to date, very little attention has been paid to the French-Canadian family outside of its homogeneous setting, i.e., in Canadian provinces other than Quebec. This is particularly true of the French-Canadian family in Western Canada.

Researchers such as Miner, Hughes, and Garigue have provided valuable descriptions of the French-Canadian family in Quebec. Their descriptions have given insight into the relationships between the French-Canadian family and its surrounding community, roles and relationships within the family, as well as the general attitudes and values of French-Canadian people regarding issues which are related to family life. Also, various explanations of change within the French-Canadian family have been put forth by these authors.

This study raises the question of whether the studies reported are descriptive of the French-Canadian family, regardless of its environment, or whether these characteristics will vary, especially when the French-Canadian family is situated in a culturally heterogeneous setting such as Manitoba.

The purpose of the study is three-fold:

- 1) to contribute to the knowledge of the French-Canadian family outside of its major cultural setting,
- 2) to investigate variations in the French-Canadian family due to immediate environment, i.e., rural vs. urban environment,
- 3) to compare findings with previously reported research on the French-Canadian family.

Statement of the problem

Rural-urban differences in the French-Canadian family have been the topic of considerable debate among researchers in Quebec, as will be seen in the review of literature. This study then attempts to distinguish between rural and urban family-related attitudes of French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba in order to identify situational variations, if any, within that particular component of the French-Canadian family.

Specifically, this study is a comparison of rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents by sex with respect to their attitudes toward courtship, marriage, and childrearing.

CHAPTER I

Review of literature

In reviewing the literature relevant to the study of the French-Canadian family, the following topics will be considered in logical sequence:

- 1) a brief description of the "typical" North American family as viewed by Sirjamaki (1947) and Udry (1971),
- 2) a consideration of sociological work on the Canadian family,
- 3) a review of early studies on the French-Canadian family,
- 4) a discussion of two selected theoretical models related to the study of rural-urban differences,
- 5) a review of more recent French-Canadian studies, focusing specifically on family-related issues.

The middle-class family model

Literature on the family in North America has characteristically focused its attention on an "ideal-type" family, the typical American family, "white, urban, middle-class, Protestant" (Burchinal, 1964: 159). However, studying the North American family in relation to an "ideal-type", while heuristically useful, can be misleading. Even in early American history, the cultural backgrounds of the North American population

evidenced great variation. Each immigrant family brought to North America the beliefs, customs, and attitudes of its native land, which still remain apparent today in varying degrees among North American families. Turner (1970: 4) has stated in this respect: "...actual family configurations are seldom precise replicas of culture patterns".

Nevertheless, the defense of a generalized approach to the study of the North American family has been supported with the following arguments: 1) many of the cultures which were brought to North America have become assimilated, such that differences are more relative than absolute and thus, there are sufficient commonalities to speak of the "North American family", 2) although it is limiting to speak of a generalized entity, it is often necessary to so generalize in order to assess the degree and complexity of social change. Because many factors contribute to family change and because it is undoubtedly true that these factors are closely interrelated, the respective influence of each of these these factors is difficult to measure. Procedurally, it is more convenient for the social scientist to speak of the American family as possessing homogeneous characteristics; consequently, the "typical middle-class family" model (Edwards, 1969: 4-6).

Although other authors have described the North American family, the descriptions of Sirjamaki and Udry will be reviewed here. These descriptions are not theoretical models and only serve to outline prevalent family values in North American society. As will be discussed later, such descriptions of the "typical" Canadian family are at present inadequate. This particular study attempts to investigate the

attitudes of members of "atypical" families, and thus a consideration of what is reported as "typical" family values seems appropriate. Only those characteristics of the North American family which are relevant to the variables under study will be reviewed.

Sirjamaki's "cultural configurations". One illustrative description of the normative American family is that of John Sirjamaki (1947). Sirjamaki outlines eight sets of norms which are most prominent in the white, urban, middle-class, Protestant family. Of these, the following are particularly relevant to this study:

- 1) Marriage is the normal way of life for adult members of both sexes, and marriage is defined as productive of personal happiness and satisfaction.
- 2) Marriage is based on love and free choice, i.e., "personal attraction", (Sirjamaki, 1947: 466).
- 3) The ultimate criterion for judging the success of a marriage is the personal happiness of the husband and wife. The logical consequence is that a relatively easy system of divorce is necessary to balance a marriage system wherein happiness is the criterion of success.
- 5) Childhood should be protected and prolonged. Children are physically and emotionally dependent on their parents and encouraged to be self-centered.
- 6) Sex relationships should be confined to marriage. Premarital and extramarital sexual experiences are condemned.
- 7) Husbands and wives should follow traditional roles, with men being expected to develop competence in occupational, social, and sexual

roles, and to support financially their wives and children. Women are expected to be primarily mothers and homemakers, and to cater to the needs of men. However, Sirjamaki (1947) adds that there is a tendency toward increasing equality for women, causing conflicting role expectations for both men and women.

7) Emphasis on individual values in the family, i.e., "The family should exist for its members rather than vice versa" (Leslie, 1967: 261).

Every member should be encouraged to seek personal fulfillment.

Familistic values are not very strong in the North American family.

Sirjamaki (1947) recognizes the fact that these norms do not apply to all North American families. He is, as he says, only attempting to "strike an average" (Sirjamaki, 1947: 465). It must also be kept in mind that with change continuously occurring, Sirjamaki's norms may not accurately describe the present value system of the North American family, since almost 30 years have lapsed since the publication of his work. The need for revision may be particularly true in the area of marital roles. In order to verify this, one need only consider a more recent description of the North American family.

Udry's "belief systems". Udry (1971: 11-14) discusses four belief systems which he feels are shared by the majority of North Americans. These are: 1) the Christian tradition, 2) democratic equalitarianism, 3) individualism, 4) secularism. These belief systems will now be reviewed.

1. The Christian tradition.

Although many Americans do not, in practice, identify with

Christianity, many values currently associated with marriage are the result of the Christian influence in America. Some of these values are the permanence of marriage, monogamy, and the authority of men. Furthermore, due to the Christian influence, child-bearing is encouraged and sex outside of marriage is considered wrong.

2. Democratic equalitarianism.

The value of equality among all people began as a political value but has extended to relationships in the family, especially male-female and parent-child relationships. Equality of the sexes is emphasized and children also learn very early to challenge the authority of the parents.

3. Individualism.

Individualism is a particularly strong value in America. Our society fosters the development of the individual personality and the achievement of individual goals to the subordination of group and family goals. This has brought about the wider acceptance of divorce and the little concern for family traditions.

4. Secularism.

Udry (1971: 14) defines a "secular society" as "one in which there is a generalized willingness to change social patterns and traditional beliefs", as contrasted to a "sacred society, in which people are reluctant and resistant to social change of any kind". This willingness to accept change encourages change to occur rapidly in the society, thereby affecting and transforming family relationships.

Comparing and contrasting Sirjamaki's cultural configurations

with Udry's belief systems, one finds many common factors which describe American family life. Both authors emphasize the importance of marriage in our society. Sirjamaki speaks of marriage as being the ultimate life goal of both men and women, while Udry relates marriage to the Christian influence with the consequent values of permanence, monogamy, and the authority of men. The values described by Sirjamaki are those of love, free choice, and happiness in marriage. Both authors relate American sexual values to the Christian tradition. Both authors emphasize the value placed on childhood. Sirjamaki explains divorce by relating it to the high value placed upon personal happiness in marriage, the logical consequence of failure to achieve happiness in marriage being divorce. Udry, however, relates divorce to the value of individualism. In essence, the two authors' explanations are similar, as personal happiness is a component of the value placed on individualism. Both authors emphasize the value placed on child-bearing in American society. Lastly, both authors speak of male-female roles in marriage. Sirjamaki (1947) describes traditional roles while recognizing that changes were taking place toward greater equality at the time. Udry's (1971) analysis reflects the changes that have taken place in male-female relationships and he stresses that marriage is becoming a more equalitarian relationship in this respect, adding, however, that conflict still exists between the traditional and modern orientations.

In sum, Sirjamaki and Udry are quite consistent in their respective descriptions of the North American family, although their works were

reported many years apart (1947/1971).

The Canadian family

Having briefly reviewed the value system of the "typical American family" as described by Sirjamaki and Udry, the question arises, "How does the Canadian family compare with the American family, and furthermore, is there a "typical" Canadian family?". Because this study is concerned with a particular segment of a Canadian ethnic family, French-Canadian adolescents, the available literature on the Canadian family will be reviewed so as to provide a framework within which the French-Canadian family can be studied. Because family systems are often closely related to societal structures, a selected characteristic of Canadian society, cultural pluralism will also be discussed.

One characteristic which is frequently mentioned as a distinguishing feature between Canadian and American society is cultural pluralism in Canada. Ossenberg (1967: 202) says, "Unlike the United States, Canada is a plural society in almost every sense of the term". Ossenberg (1971: 124) defines a plural society as "a society which has become segmented in terms of diverse and discrete institutional systems including the family, religion, and at times political and economic systems. Canada is similar to many plural societies wherein the concept of the "mosaic" has been encouraged and perpetuated. Pluralism is a characteristic common to many of the former British colonies".

Thus, whereas American society holds the "melting pot" ideal (Arnold, 1970: 13), Canadian society has been frequently referred to as a "salad bowl" (Ishwaran, 1971: 19) or "mosaic" (Porter, 1965), wherein ethnic differences are encouraged and the preservation of these differences is positively valued. In this respect, Canadian society clearly distinguishes itself from American society which attempts to assimilate its immigrants into the "American" way of life.

The above difference between the two societies is one which the author feels has a notable bearing on family life. If families in the United States are encouraged by the melting pot ideal to adopt similar value systems (Wrong, 1964), then it may be possible to describe the "typical American family". The situation in Canada appears to be quite different because ethnic families in Canada are able and therefore likely to maintain their beliefs, customs, and traditions. It is difficult to describe specifically how this process works, but one could surmise that rather than overt pressure to preserve ethnic differences in Canada, one finds a lack of pressure toward conformity that is found in American society. As a consequence of this maintenance of cultural differences, it becomes very difficult to speak of the "typical Canadian family". In fact, Elkin (1968: 92) states, "There is no one Canadian family. ... As the geographical setting and as the social class, religious, ethnic, occupational, and other groupings vary, so too do our families". Apart from the viewpoint that there is difficulty in defining what being a Canadian means (Jacobson, 1971), perhaps this is one reason why a sociology of the Canadian family has not been developed.

It must be noted that sociology in general has experienced slow growth in Canada. Clark (1974) suggests that this may be due to the strong British influence in the development of the Canadian social sciences. While sociology in the United States has experienced a tremendous growth since 1920, rapid growth of sociology in Canada has only taken place since 1960. It is quite understandable, then, that the study of the family in Canada has lagged behind the study of the family in the United States.

In some cases, the assumption has been made that the Canadian family is similar to the American family (Ishwaran, 1971). This is evident in the extensive use of American textbooks in Canadian universities. However, in recent years, efforts have been made to encourage and integrate research on the Canadian family (Elkin, 1968; Ishwaran, 1971). Still, research into the Canadian family has only recently gained momentum. Ishwaran gives three reasons for this:

1) Canada is a younger nation than the United States and has only recently experienced problems which would generate family sociology, 2) Canada's immigration policy has ensured that tensions between ethnic groups do not explode as in the United States, 3) because sociology tends to be problem-oriented, ethnic groups do not get studied until a problem arises, e.g., the French-Canadians. Ethnic groups in Canada are more autonomous than in the United States. As a result of the limited research in the area, Canada is thought of as being mainly bicultural.

It is difficult, for the reasons tendered earlier, to speak of the English-Canadian family. Vallee and Whyte (1968; 850) support

this statement by saying, "An entity called English-Canadian society probably exists, but only in the minds of those who lack a substantial knowledge of the whole of Canada". Because such a large number of ethnic groups comprise "English-Canadian society", it is therefore difficult to generalize about the English-speaking family. However, Schlesinger (1972: 4-6) attempts to describe families in Canada, and outlines a series of characteristics of Canadian families, which are similar to those noted of the American family. Some of these characteristics are: personal (vs. social) interests in marriage, acceptance of divorce, equation of love and sex (whether within marriage or not), the trend toward sexual equality of men and women, emphasis on children's rights, loss of productive functions in the family, high church membership as well as loss of power of the churches in instilling moral values and lastly, high family mobility. Schlesinger's account is highly generalized and certainly not descriptive of many segments of the Canadian population. Furthermore, Schlesinger does not indicate the sources of his generalizations and it is therefore difficult to assess the accuracy of his statements. However, it must be noted that Schlesinger's book was not intended as a summary of the research done on the Canadian family, but rather as a source book for students (high school) in family life.

Recent attempts have been made to describe the Canadian family on the basis of census information (Kubat and Thornton, 1974). Of relevance to this study is the dramatic decline in rural farm population in the prairie provinces, as evidenced by 1971 census data.

Kubat and Thornton (1974) also point out that census data indicates that the stereotype of the large Quebec rural family is no longer valid. The authors also report a recent trend toward early marriage and slight age differences between marriage partners, with the median age of first marriage being 23.5 years for males and 21.4 years for females (Kubat and Thornton, 1974: 87).

To the author's knowledge, there are no other recent works which have attempted to describe a "typical Canadian family" in terms of roles and relationships within the family, common values held by Canadian families, etc. Certainly as stated by Ishwaran (1971: 6), the French-Canadians have received the most extensive consideration in sociological literature. There are several reasons for this:

- 1) their ethnic solidarity is supported by a common language and religion. Wrong (1964: 25) says, "French-speaking Canadians are a good deal more culturally homogeneous than either Americans or English-speaking Canadians";

- 2) another factor is that French-Canadians in Canada are fairly geographically isolated. Although French-speaking Canadians are found in all parts of Canada, the majority are residents of Quebec. Thus, many French-Canadian studies have emanated from Quebec;

- 3) French-Canadians in Canada have received more privileges in the constitution than other ethnic groups and by law, they have been guaranteed the preservation of their language and religion, i.e., the system of bilingualism, with French being one of the official languages. Therefore, it could be said that the preservation of French-Canadian

culture has been facilitated in Canada, and thereby, French-Canadians have remained to date the most solid and distinct ethnic group in Canada.

Quebec, of course, is the cultural homeland of French-Canadians. Consequently, Quebec is frequently referred to as French Canada. However, to equate French Canada with Quebec is somewhat misleading, in light of the distribution of French-speaking people across Canada. This study focuses on French-Canadians outside of Quebec, thereby attempting to contribute to a wider knowledge of the French-Canadian family.

Since the majority of research has been done in Quebec, these studies will be considered first, after which the studies from western Canada will be reviewed. The major works will be presented in the time sequence in which they were done. Thus the early studies will be followed by the more recent studies.

Early studies on the French-Canadian family

The early French-Canadian studies give insight into the traditional values held by the French-Canadian family. Although one can expect that French-Canadian family values have changed since the early studies, as family values in general have changed (Parsons, 1955), these studies are relevant in that some of the traditional French-Canadian family values are being tested in this research. In reviewing the early studies, only those characteristics of the French-Canadian family which are relevant to this study will be discussed.

Gerin's work. The first sociological studies in French Canada began as an interest in the rural aspect of the French-Canadian culture. Leon Gerin (1971), a pioneer in the study of French-Canadian society, described French-Canadians as basically a rural society.¹ Gerin (1971: 32. 54-5) describes French Canada as the "stronghold of the family" with the two leading institutions being the family and the Roman Catholic Church. According to Gerin (1971: 43), the mother was the "ruler of the household" in the habitant² family. The family was the main educational institution in St. Irene, imparting traditions and rules of social behaviour to the children. Formal education was neglected and individual effort was not emphasized.

Miner's work. Other researchers have also described French Canada as a rural society. Miner's account of St. Denis, a French-Canadian parish in rural Quebec, is a "description of the old rural French-Canadian folk culture in its least altered form" (Miner, 1939: VII Preface). The territory defined by parish boundaries was the center of social life including religious, civil, and economic activities. At the core of the rural life was the family unit in which all members shared responsibility and cooperated toward the ultimate goal of family unity. Large families, averaging ten children were common,

1. It must be noted that, although the above cited article was published in 1971, Gerin's work dates back to the beginning of the 20th century.

2. The term "habitant" refers to "a settler or descendant of a settler of French origin belonging to the farming class in Canada" (Webster, 1967).

one of the suggested reasons being the need for labour on the farm. Also, the Roman Catholic doctrine encouraged large families. In this context, the importance of religion in St. Denis cannot be overlooked and will be further discussed in a subsequent chapter.

In St. Denis, family unity was exemplified by extensive kinship recognition. Children married according to their parents' wishes, usually with members of the family's social circle. When a child was born, the godparent was usually a family member, again a manifestation of family solidarity.

Child-rearing in St. Denis was largely the responsibility of the mother. Although the birth of another child meant an added burden for the mother, it was usually welcomed by the father because it meant an additional helping hand. A child began to participate in the religious and economic life at the age of six. At home, the boys occupied separate bedrooms from the girls and the sexes were also segregated in schools. Ideally, interest in the opposite sex should only occur when one was ready for marriage.

One of the salient characteristics of St. Denis was its homogeneity of religious affiliation. Since there was hardly any contact with other Christian expressions, Roman Catholic doctrines were accepted without question or contradiction. Children were taught the religious doctrines early and these beliefs formed the basis of the rules of conduct. Says Miner (1939: 94), "The religion is the focal point of a body of sentiments concerning correct social behaviour". To conform meant the reward of heaven and nonconformity meant the threat of hell. Religion

in St. Denis provided justification for the hard rural life (heaven as a reward)¹ and also provided for social unity in that all the inhabitants participated in the religious ceremonies.

Hughes's work. Another study which confirms Miner's views of French-Canadian society is that of a Quebec industrial town, Cantonville (Hughes, 1943). Hughes (1943: 2) describes Quebec people as "people of a somewhat rural cast of mind and with a close-knit traditional culture". Although French-Canadians are no longer predominantly an agricultural people, Hughes suggests that they are rural in spirit. Hughes describes family characteristics in Cantonville which are similar to that in Miner's account, such as strong familism among French-Canadians. Says Hughes (1943: 57), "Every family acts as a lobby for its members. The French-Canadian in public life feels this pressure to provide for friends, relatives, and French-Canadians". In Cantonville, it was taken for granted that Catholicism and French-Canadian culture went hand in hand. According to Hughes, although life in Cantonville differed from that of St. Denis, the changes did not indicate a weakening of valued traditions or an adoption of "English" ways.

One detects in the works of Gerin, Miner, and Hughes, a common concept of French-Canadian society, i.e., that of French Canada being

1. One is reminded of Weber's (1963) observation that the "reward of heaven" held special appeal for those whose lives held little promise of earthly rewards, as was probably the case with the habitant of St. Denis.

a rural society. In an attempt to categorize different societal patterns, many social theorists have developed dichotomies of ideal societal types, for example, Tonnies's *Gemeinschaft-Gessellschaft* model and Redfield's folk-urban continuum.

Theoretical models

As a means of integrating the writings of Gerin, Miner, and Hughes, it may be useful to compare and contrast their findings with regard to the French Canadian family in terms of such a model. In this respect, Redfield's (1947) concept of the folk society seems particularly appropriate. The folk society is the polar opposite of the urban society. Redfield's folk-urban continuum takes into account the fact that no real society precisely demonstrates the characteristics of a given ideal-type society. Furthermore, the simplicity of Redfield's model makes it heuristically workable, as compared to other more specific societal subtypes which have been criticized widely for their pragmatic meaninglessness (Martindale, 1960). Furthermore, Redfield (1971) has applied his concept of the folk society to Miner's account of St. Denis. Redfield (1971) has referred to French-Canadian society as a peasant society, which is a middle point in the continuum from the most primitive to the most complex societies. Because the folk-urban continuum implies two polar opposites, a model of the urban society will also be discussed. For this purpose, Wirth's theory of urbanism will be reviewed. The parallel natures of the models developed by

Redfield and Wirth render them particularly useful to the study of rural-urban differences.

Redfield's folk society. According to Redfield (1947: 293-308), the ideal folk society has characteristics which can be summarized as follows:

- 1) It is a small society containing few people who know each other well and associate with each other over a long period of time.
- 2) The folk society is isolated; its members remain within their territory and do not communicate with outsiders; the people of a folk society resemble each other biologically and in their patterns of thinking and doing things.
- 3) A third aspect of the folk society is that it is nonliterate; communication occurs by word of mouth rather than books.
- 4) There is little change in a folk society; young people follow the same pattern of behaviour as the preceding generation; the members of a folk society have a strong feeling of togetherness; they value their mutual similarity as compared with "others".
- 5) In a folk society, there is little division of labour, except according to sex differences.
- 6) The folk society is economically independent; the people produce what they consume and consume what they produce.
- 7) A folk society possesses a culture, defined by Redfield (1947: 298) as, "an organization or integration of conventional understandings"; behaviour corresponds to the goals set by the culture.
- 8) Religion plays an important role in a folk society: "Gaining a

livelihood takes support from religion, and the relations of men to men are justified in the conceptions held of the supernatural world or in some other aspect of the culture" (Redfield, 1947: 299).

- 9) In a folk society, there is no tendency to question traditions and any attempt to do so is frowned upon.
- 10) Another characteristic of a folk society is the absence of formal contracts or agreements.
- 11) Behaviour is personal; people have an intrinsic value rather than a utility value.
- 12) Family and kinship groups are the core of a folk society; family members exhibit strong family solidarity.
- 13) Money does not exist in a folk society; monetary value is not attributed to anything.

Wirth's theory of urbanism. In contrast to the folk society, urbanism, which is most evident in cities but extends its influence beyond the cities, has the following characteristics:

- 1) A city can be defined as "a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals" (Wirth, 1938: 8).
- 2) Urban populations are characterized by heterogeneity: "The city has thus historically been the melting-pot of races, peoples, and cultures, and a most favorable breeding-ground of new biological and cultural hybrids. It has not only tolerated, but rewarded individual differences" (Wirth, 1938: 10).
- 3) Due to the wide range of individual variation in cities, individuals become segregated spatially according to race, ethnicity, social class,

etc. This weakens the sense of togetherness of the members of the community.

4) Due to the large numbers of individuals in cities, the possibility of knowing all other members personally is limited.

5) Social relations in the urban setting are "impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental" (Wirth, 1938: 12) in character.

6) Acquaintances are utilitarian in nature and are related to the specialized tasks performed by individuals, especially in the occupation field.

7) Communication occurs indirectly, i.e., through representatives or groups which speak for the general population.

8) Location of work and residence are separated, "for the proximity of industrial and commercial establishments makes an area both economically and socially undesirable for residential purposes" (Wirth, 1938: 15).

9) Work relationships are characterized by close physical contact but minimal social and emotional ties. This generates competition and exploitation between individuals.

10) Instability and insecurity are accepted as normal by the urbanite.

11) There is no body of traditions to guide the individual in life. Because living patterns are transitory, the urbanite does not establish a total conception of the city in which he can determine his place.

12) The economic system of the city is based on division of labor and mass production. Thus individuals receive pecuniary rewards for

their labor and this in turn gives them purchasing power to acquire the mass-produced goods. Thus, the urban economy is one of dependence, not on particular persons, but on groups for the satisfaction of the life needs of its members.

13) The urban way of life is also associated with the prevalence of secondary rather than primary social relationships, weakened kinship bonds and the decline in the social significance of the family.

Application of the folk society model

In this section, the characteristics of the folk society which are directly relevant to the French-Canadian family as described by Gerin, Miner, and Hughes will be discussed. These are the existence of a distinct culture, the importance of religion, the tendency not to question traditions, and the importance of the kin group.

One characteristic of the folk society typology is that it possesses a distinct culture. French-Canadian culture is difficult, if not impossible, to separate from religion. Because these two factors are closely linked, they will be discussed together. According to Redfield (1947: 298), the French-Canadian people of St. Denis had a distinct culture which Redfield has defined as "an organization or integration of conventional understandings". The Roman Catholic faith which was shared by all the people formed a fundamental philosophy of life which either sanctioned or censored most behaviour. In Cantonville, Hughes (1943: 124) observes, "Even in the more secular organizations,

Catholicism and French-Canadian culture are taken for granted".

Although the population in Cantonville was not as homogeneous as that of St. Denis, the main ethnic element was French-Canadian. To illustrate the close relationship between French-Canadian culture and the Roman Catholic religion, Hughes (1943: 119) speaks of the English-Catholics as "one-dimensional Catholics". To be truly a part of the community in Cantonville, one had to be both French and Catholic, as most social organizations catered to this group. Even the Catholic schools strongly promoted the French culture such that English Catholics could feel no more at home in the Catholic schools than in the English-speaking non-Catholic schools. The important role of religion which is characteristic of a folk society is clearly seen in the works of Gerin, Miner, and Hughes. Gerin (1971) refers to the people's belief in the priest's supernatural powers (related to sacramental powers) and consequently their high regard for him. His role as a counsellor in all matters demonstrated his high status in the parish. In St. Denis, the habitant's life was seen to lead from the secular to the sacred. In leading a hard rural life, the habitant hoped to achieve the reward of heaven. Thus, religion provided the French-Canadians with "something to live for" (Redfield, 1971: 60). The importance of religion among French-Canadians was also noted by Hughes (1943). In Cantonville, schools were divided according to religion. The Sunday mass was an "important community ceremonial" (Hughes, 1943: 93), and the parishes had numerous auxiliary associations which were subdivided by age groups, and for women, by their marital

status.

Another characteristic of the folk society is the tendency not to question traditions. Any attempt to do so is usually frowned upon by others. With respect to this characteristic, Gerin says very little. Nevertheless, he mentions that some of the folkloric conceptions had been partly lost in the interval between 1920 and 1929 when he visited St. Irene. Miner, in his discussion of St. Denis, says that beliefs were rarely questioned, one reason being that the people had no contact with people of other faiths. Miner (1939: 91) adds, "Life in St. Denis is a flow of traditional behaviour". The Cantonville study reveals that changes have taken place, but even when confronted with different beliefs, the French-Canadian population has maintained its traditions, especially in the religious sphere (Hughes, 1943).

Family and kinship groups are the core of a folk society. Family members exhibit strong family solidarity. Gerin (1971: 32) refers to French Canada as the "stronghold of the family". Miner speaks of the cooperation between members of the rural family. The family members behaved as a unit in all matters. The extensive knowledge of one's kin, as reported by Miner (1939), also bears witness to the importance of the family. Hughes (1943) also observed this pressure among the French-Canadian people to provide for kin, even in the realm of business.

In summary, then, it is evident that the habitant family displayed some characteristics of the ideal folk society. The French-Canadian family had a unique culture which guided every member's behaviour

throughout life. Religion was of utmost importance and closely woven into the French-Canadian culture. The religion was the repository and the guarantor of French-Canadian tradition. Family and kinship solidarity was prevalent. Considering the above characteristics, it becomes evident why Redfield applied the folk society model to rural French-Canadian society.

In the following section, the merits of the application of the folk society model to French Canadian society will be discussed on the basis of the writings of Garigue (1971), Rioux (1971), and Guindon (1971).

Critical analyses of the folk society model

Garigue's position. The concept of French-Canadian society as a folk society has been strongly criticized by Garigue (1971), who does not believe that the concept is valid for application to French Canada. In Garigue's (1971: 123) words, "The use of arbitrary heuristic devices has come under criticism as experience has shown that they over-stress the importance of the "ad hoc" definition and minimize the relevance of empirical data not related to the definition". The use of the folk society concept, according to Garigue, fosters the view of French-Canadian society as a peasant society, and thus change is seen as a breakdown of the peasant society. Garigue favors the concept of socio-cultural integration as an explanation for change, rather than the peasant society concept because it draws attention to the direction of change and the maintenance of continuity. Garigue thus

presents data to support the model that he uses. He maintains that the establishment of towns preceeded the establishment of rural settlements in New France. Moreover, Garigue claims that the rural settlements were never isolated from the larger centers. The seignorial system of land settlement prevented cultural differentiation between the towns and the rural areas. The central parish system of the Catholic Church prevented the growth of cultural variations between communities. The Church was a powerful factor in maintaining cultural homogeneity between the rural and urban areas, according to Garigue, partly due to its effort in maintaining a unified Catholic group, all of which were also French-Canadians, the only such group in North America.

Speaking of present-day French Canada, Garigue (1971) says that most traits found in rural communities are also common in towns. The institutions of present-day French-Canadian rural communities can be said to be integrated at the provincial and national level rather than the community level. With respect to this statement, Garigue looked at the relationship between religious and political activities in several communities and found that generally the two spheres were distinguished from each other, although some confusion did exist as to the definition of what was sacred or secular activity. For example, although a priest did not actively make political decisions, his opinion was a determining factor in such decisions.¹ Garigue notes that this

1. Although Garigue is criticizing the folk society concept, this statement seems to confirm Gerin's use of the example of the priest as a counsellor in all matters as a folk characteristic.

intermingling of the religious and political activities was not a rural trait per se, but rather a cultural trait of French-Canadians as a whole.

Garigue agrees with the generally accepted statement that rural-urban differences exist. However, he rejects the assumption that with rapid change from rural to urban, tensions and conflicts occur. Garigue (1971: 135) summarizes his theoretical presentation as follows: "...rural-urban variations in French Canada operate within a single cultural background. Implicit in this statement is the assumption that it is axiomatic that the rural-urban dichotomy will show variations due to differences in responses to the conditions of rural and urban environments. However, the implications of the variations are modified according to the overall cultural homogeneity or dissimilarity. Furthermore, rural communities in French Canada have never been self-sufficient or functionally integrated systems at the level of the community. They have always been part of a wider social and cultural system".

Thus, Garigue (1971) believes that rural French-Canadian culture was merely a variation of a pervasive culture which was first established in the towns. Consequently, because of the similarities between rural and urban ways of life, the urbanization of rural areas did not bring about notable tensions.

Rioux's position. Rioux (1971), on the other hand, supports the use of the folk-urban continuum in describing French-Canadian society. Rioux favors the folk-urban concept to Garigue's (1971) concept of

socio-cultural integration as a theoretical framework for studying French-Canadian society. By discarding ideal-type analysis, Garigue does not compare his subject matter with other socio-cultural units, says Rioux. Although he admits that French Canada is a distinct entity in many respects, he states that in certain ways, it also resembles other societies. Rioux disagrees that French-Canadian society began with the establishment of towns. He maintains that French-Canadian settlers were formerly French peasants, and because culture is long lasting, the peasant way of life could not disappear merely with settlement in a new land. Whereas Garigue attacks the use of the folk society concept in relation to rural French-Canadian society because of its suggestion of isolation of rural communities, Rioux defends Redfield's description of French-Canadian society as a peasant society, because the term "peasant" does not imply total isolation. Thus, in his discussion of Garigue's statements, Rioux uses the word "folk" as being synonymous with Redfield's expression "peasant".

Rioux agrees with Garigue's statement of slight rural-urban variations, but maintains that the population as a whole was folk rather than urban. Rioux quotes the conflicts related to church building in French Canada as evidence of the importance of religion, which is a folk characteristic, "for such feuds can take place only in a culture in which the sacred is a dominant cultural feature" (Rioux, 1971: 169-170). Rioux cites other traits of the French-Canadian society which support the use of the folk society concept, such as the high birth rate from 1760 to 1850 (under English domination), and the illiteracy of the

habitant. Only about 10% of the inhabitants during the English regime had learned to read and write.

In sum, however, Rioux admits that demographic urbanization has taken place in French Canada, but he is not so convinced that cultural urbanization has taken place at the same pace. Although French-Canadian society has experienced a cultural lag (Shay, 1950), Rioux maintains that the culture has evolved and become more differentiated. Rioux concludes that cultural urbanization is still taking place and that with time, French-Canadian society will become more similar to other urban societies.¹

Guindon's position. Another author, Hubert Guindon (1971) has refuted three of Garigue's criticisms with regard to the use of the folk society concept.

In the first place, Guindon maintains that Gerin and his supporters used the folk society concept with a thorough knowledge of French-Canadian society, contrary to Garigue's statement. Secondly, although Garigue claims to have disproved Gerin's hypothesis of relationship between land and family, Guindon stresses that Garigue's data were not refined enough to make such a claim. Thirdly, Miner and Hughes did not postulate cultural conflict due to industrialization as suggested by Garigue, says Guindon.

Although Guindon (1971) has criticized Garigue rather emphatically,

1. It must be noted that Rioux's article was first published in Contributions a l'etude des sciences de l'homme, IV (1959), pp. 144-159.

he does recognize the limitation of the folk society concept. French-Canadian society is not totally represented in the parish as described by Miner (1939). Therefore, in focusing on the parish, Miner may have omitted some of the important aspects of French-Canadian society as a whole. Guindon (1971: 151) still believes, however, that "the parish was the pivot of the rural organization", and that there was merit in Miner's use of the parish as a unit for analysis.

Summary. Gerin, Miner and Hughes have viewed French-Canadian society as a rural society. Redfield (1947) has applied his folk-urban continuum to French-Canadian society, basing his comparison on Miner's work. The use of the folk society model has been severely criticized by Garigue (1971). Rioux (1971) and Guindon (1971) have refuted Garigue's arguments, and have tended to favor the folk society concept to Garigue's concept of socio-cultural integration. The controversy about rural-urban differences in French-Canadian society has led the author to investigate such differences in the present study.

Certainly, French-Canadian society is no longer predominantly rural and the folk characteristics which have been discussed may no longer be applicable to the French-Canadian family, as they were in early French-Canadian studies. More recent studies have focused on the French-Canadian family in the urban setting. Thus, Wirth's (1938) theory of urbanism will be used as a model for the discussion of the urban French-Canadian family. In the following section, recent studies related to the urban French-Canadian family will be discussed.

Recent studies

More recent studies have looked at the nature and the extent of changes in French-Canadian society. Of particular interest to this study are the changes with regard to family life. Authorities generally agree that the French-Canadian family has been transformed with industrialization and urbanization (Elkin, 1968). According to Moreux (1971: 127), "With the passing of the traditional rural order, however, the French-Canadian nuclear family, like the nuclear family under urban impact in many parts of the world has lost, or is losing, many of its traditional functions". In this section, the focus will be on the extent and the nature of changes in the family and its related aspects in French-Canadian society.

Falardeau (1971: 107) asks the following questions with regard to contemporary French-Canadian society: "What traditional institutions, if any, have remained untouched? Which have been transformed? Which have been forgotten or utterly discarded? What new structures have been imported or created in anticipation of, and in response to new situations?". With respect to the family, Falardeau states that the greatest proportion of French-Canadian families are now several generations away from the rural experience. Consequently, their behaviour reflects a mixture of adherence to traditional norms and a desire to adopt "emancipated" behaviour. It has been found that family size, although still rather large in rural communities, tends to decrease in larger cities, especially in upper-class suburban areas

(Charles, 1948). More recent data indicate that the decline in birth rate is becoming a generalized trend in Quebec. It has also been reported that families of French-Canadian industrial workers have shifted away from the characteristic solidarity of the rural society (Tremblay, 1951). Falardeau (1971: 116) states that, "Equalitarian and democratic-minded family units have substituted themselves for families of the traditional authoritarian, quasi-patriarchal type...". Certainly, the rural population has declined in Quebec as it has in other areas. Fewer people are employed in the agricultural industry and the nature of the industry has changed. In Falardeau's (1971: 119) words, "...the farmers...are now thinning out into a residual, well-to-do and businesslike social category". Falardeau also describes French-Canadian middle-class families as showing erratic behaviour with respect to values. It seems that some families hold the traditional ideals identifying with the clergy as well as spiritual and intellectual endeavours while others have a more secular orientation with emphasis on materialistic values. Referring to the importance of the clergy, Falardeau mentions that most of the recruits for the religious institutions come from the working class and recently urban families; the upper middle classes supply very few recruits.

According to Taylor (1971: 273), "French-Canadians in an urban environment continue to respond to symbols and apply the values established in a different setting". This orientation is seen in French-Canadian businessmen: "The spirit of independence and self-sufficiency, the emphasis of the personal element in relationships,

the importance of the family as the focus of activities and aspirations, the security complex, all reinforced through generations of peasant life in the small world of the parish, show themselves plainly in the responses of present-day French-Canadians in situations very different from that in which these characteristics were established". Even for the French-Canadian businessman in an industrial setting, the security of the family came first and foremost. Every individual is ascribed a particular status according to his family membership and family members are given priority with regard to certain roles.

In looking at Quebec's middle class, Brazeau (1971) says that between 1950 and 1960, attendance in grades 9 to 12 more than doubled and beyond grade 12 increased by more than 50%. The process of change with regard to education had thus begun; prior to this, education was the privilege of the selected few. Brazeau (1971: 326) comments, "Our research points to the fact that French-Canadians now are using the educational ladder for personal promotion".

Dumont and Rocher (1971) indicate that the ideology of a Catholic French Canada still held true in 1961, as well as the clerical spirit and the theocratic structure of Quebec. According to the authors, (Dumont and Rocher, 1971: 192), however, "this unitary consciousness is becoming less clear...Consequently, relations between the social and the religious, the clergy and the laity, have been rapidly transformed". Dumont and Rocher also point out that the sacred and the secular are becoming more distinct in several domains. Although in 1961, higher education was still administered by the clergy, lay people were

increasingly becoming part of the personnel in colleges and universities.¹ The authors also discuss the growth of indifferences to the Church in Quebec. This phenomenon is more prevalent in urban than in rural areas, and in urban areas, it can be observed in various segments of the population. Although the phenomenon is not easily observable due to the large numbers that still practice the faith, Dumont and Rocher (1971) claim that it is becoming increasingly evident that the French population is no longer religiously homogeneous.

Henripin (1971: 204) states that, "Economic evolution, urbanization, spread of knowledge, technical progress, have greatly modified individual and family life as well as the social environment" in French-Canadian society. These factors, according to the author, have affected the observance of the formal moral rules and consequently have also altered demographic patterns. The high fertility of French-Canadian women during colonial days was attributed to the fact that children were economic assets and the need for families to protect themselves against enemies, the Indians and the English, in that period. Although Henripin admits that it is difficult to determine when voluntary birth control began in French-Canadian society, there seems to be evidence that suggests that this occurred very late. The fertility of Quebec farm women in 1951 seemed as high as that of the 18th century. According to Enid Charles (1948), the effect of urbanization on the

1. Bill 60, proposing the institution of a Ministry of Youth and Education was presented in the Quebec legislature on June 27th, 1963.

fertility of women in Montreal in 1941 was noticeable for young women only. The present situation, according to Henripin (1971), using 1961 census data, is somewhat different. A change in marital fertility implies a change in the philosophy of life. The present change in the area of marital fertility indicates a trend toward the control of nature, rather than an acceptance of nature. Voluntary birth control seems to become more effective as the wife gets older, according to Henripin (1971). Enid Charles (1948) showed that education and rural-urban residence were important factors with regard to fertility among French-Canadians. Henripin's work (1971) shows that, in Montreal, marital fertility was only half that of farm residents. One study conducted by Keyfitz (1953) sought to establish whether the size of French-Canadian families was a function of diffusion from the English, i.e., the more English-Canadians in the vicinity, the lower the French-Canadian birth rate. However, Keyfitz found not such relationship and concluded that the crucial variable remained urbanization.

Another important factor in looking at French-Canadian fertility is the lower nuptiality of French-Canadians than English-Canadians. Henripin (1971) suggests several reasons for this: 1) the reluctance to use birth control with the attached consequence of financial stress imposed by having a family, 2) the impossibility of divorce, and 3) the less favorable economic conditions.

Henripin also states that a relatively high proportion of French-Canadians belong to socio-economic classes that normally have large families. The religious and cultural characteristics of

French-Canadians also play an important role in French-Canadian fertility. High fertility among French-Canadians causes two major problems according to Henripin. In the first place, the inverse relationship between large families and higher education and social mobility is a major problem. Henripin states that a relatively great proportion of the French-Canadian labour force have lower class occupations. He attempts to explain the French-Canadian stand on birth control. The obvious explanation, of course, is adherence to the Roman Catholic Church's moral law which emphasizes the "priority of the creative forces over material comfort even to the realm of procreation" (Henripin, 1971: 215). Secondly, reluctance to use birth control has been seen as a reaction to prevent the ethnic group from disappearing. In spite of their relative reluctance to use birth control, French-Canadians are obviously nevertheless "straying from the narrow path" (Henripin, 1971: 216). This is evident from the latest statistics on the birth rate in Quebec.¹

In his book, The Family in Canada, Elkin (1964) summarizes the research on the French-Canadian family. With regard to the latter, Elkin cites two major works, that of Philippe Garigue (1970) and that of Marc-Adelard Tremblay and Gerald Fortin (1963). These works will be discussed in the following section.

1. In 1971, the birth rate in Quebec was 14.8 per 1000 population, as compared to the national birth rate which was 16.8 per 1000 population (Health and Welfare Canada pamphlet).

All authorities agree that urbanization and industrialization have brought about transformations in the French-Canadian family, although not all agree as to the effect of these changes. Rather than emphasizing the cultural differences between the rural and urban French-Canadian families, Garigue (1970) stresses the cultural homogeneity between the two segments of the population. He rejects the notion of cultural disintegration as a consequence of urbanization in French Canada. Rejecting also the concept of French-Canadian culture as a remnant of preindustrial times and that of the Roman Catholic Church as a static power in relation to the family, Garigue maintains that the French-Canadian family has internal resources which have enabled it to change in accordance with societal changes.

Garigue's study. Garigue's study is of particular value because of its descriptive analysis of relationships within the family. Garigue's (1970: VII Preface) sample consisted of 228 families:¹ 29 rural farm, 53 rural non-farm, and 136 urban. Selected findings from his study will be reviewed in detail in this section because of their direct relevance to this study. These are:

1. Sex role distribution in the French-Canadian family.

Garigue's (1970) results show that one of the main characteristics of the French-Canadian family is the precise distribution of roles and responsibilities. The responses of men and women in his study were

1. The above distribution and total were reported by Garigue (1970). He did not explain how the total was computed.

almost unanimous, The roles and responsibilities of men and women in the family were viewed by the subjects as being complementary. Authority, the duty to punish, protection, and economic support were considered to be a man's role; the welfare of the family, recreation, education, and the children were the responsibilities of the wife. The notion of complementarity, however, does not imply equal status between the husband and wife. In this respect, it is the wife who complements the husband and not vice versa. Because of his higher status, then, the man assumes the authority, although it is widely acknowledged that there are areas in family life where the man has no real authority.¹ Normatively, though, the man has final authority, even in activities that are specifically feminine. The father's authority is linked to the emotional distance between father and children in that for the father to exercise authority, he must not be too close to the children. The authority of the father is at a maximum during adolescence. Thereafter, the young people become fairly free, although the girl remains under parental control until she gets married. The idea of the authority of the man, however, does not exclude the idea of cooperation between husband and wife in certain tasks. With regard to the wife's

1. This type of family situation gives rise to the question concerning the differences between acknowledged and actual power based on communication networks in the family. There is theoretical reason to believe that, "the more unequal the authority of the father in the family, the more powerful the offsetting dominance arising out of the centrality of the mother" (Turner, 1970: 123).

role, subordination to the husband seems to be accepted. When the husband is absent from home, the wife is his delegate and derives her authority from him rather than act out of her own authority. Thus, the man has ascribed authority while the woman has influence, depending on her personal skills. The authority of the father is closely linked to his ability to provide adequately for his family. One is reminded here of Parson's (1955: 47, 317-319) definition of instrumental and expressive roles in the family.

With regard to tasks, sex differentiation seems to operate quite distinctly in the French-Canadian family. The husband works outside the home and tends to household repairs while the wife looks after the children and does the housework. This differentiation stems from a fundamental view of the nature of man and woman. Man is regarded as having strength of character and able to face life's problems. Woman, on the other hand, is regarded as being more emotional and her first concern is assumed to be the welfare of her family. Further, the husband is also expected to be the strength which balances his wife's weaknesses. Only when she is tired or sick, does he take over household duties. The wife also acts as a mediator in family relationships. Turner (1970: 123) has suggested that, "The greater the father's authority, the less the children are likely to make requests directly to him".

Briefly, the wife's role is that of supporting and pleasing her husband. After the birth of children, the French-Canadian woman considers her role as mother to be just as important as that of wife.

The role of mother tends to become more important as the number of children increases and with the length of married life. Being a mother is a woman's main vocation. Marriage and motherhood are closely linked and for the French-Canadian woman, a couple's life is not complete without children.

2. Parent-child relationships.

In studying parent-child relationships in the French-Canadian family, Garigue found that children show a strong preference for the mother. Emotional relationships within the family show elements of confidence toward the mother, and respect mixed with aggressiveness toward the father. This difference is especially visible in father-son relationships. This relationship seems to be characterized by lack of spontaneity, by formal respect or by admiration alternated with rejection of paternal authority. On the other hand, mother-son relationships are more emotional and indicated preference for the mother. The girl also receives the same kind of attention as her brother, but the father is more demonstrative toward his daughter than his son. After marriage, it seems that the husband becomes closer to his wife's parents than vice versa.

With respect to child-rearing practices, 60% of the families used physical punishment as the normal and the main method of punishment (Garigue, 1970: 80). Physical punishment was used for certain behaviours and mainly for young children.

3. Kinship ties.

With respect to kinship ties, Garigue (1970) found rural-urban

differences with respect to behaviour toward kin. The major difference was the frequency of contact. The density of the kin group in the small community is greater. However, according to Garigue, lack of density does not seem to weaken to any great extent the importance attached to the kin group among urban French-Canadians. The difference seems to be explained by the number of kin in a given area (often higher in rural areas) rather than a different perception of the importance of the kin group between rural and urban French-Canadians.

4. Influence of religion.

Garigue (1970) found that family values and religious values were closely linked. The two elements can not be separated from behaviour. Although it is not possible to say that the family life of French-Canadians is identified with religion, it is certain that family values are strongly influenced by religious practices and by the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church with regard to family behaviour. There is a close relationship between certain family values and the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church with regard to marital duties. In spite of the importance of religious beliefs with regard to familial behaviour, there are areas of family behaviour which are not directly influenced by religion.

5. Love and marriage.

To the French-Canadian, marriage is a confirmation of adult status. Marriage is a normal state for the woman, and consequently, the unmarried woman is considered a failure. Marriage is not an end in itself, but its importance rests in its function: the foundation of a

new family. The choice of a mate occurs within the framework of certain definitions of education, religion, and ethnic group. The cultural orientation toward marriage predisposes the French-Canadian to a personal choice within the limits of certain norms. Garigue mentions that in 1951, one out of eight French-Canadians in Canada married outside their ethnic group, while in Quebec, only one out of twenty did so.¹ Parental influence in mate selection is rather indirect. Family discussions regarding the future mate reflect the acceptance or lack of acceptance of the person. Although parental influence is quite strong, French-Canadian parents do not directly choose their children's mates. In some cases, the kin group has been known to influence the selection of a mate. More or less consciously, the choice of a mate is institutionalized by norms which favor the establishment of family life in which the notions of responsibility, motherhood as a vocation, and service to others predominate. Garigue's (1970) analysis also shows that young people tend to accept the influence of the family group and even of the kin group and make a choice that conforms with the established norms. The notion of freedom of personal choice in mate selection is frequently presented as a major condition for marriage. An expression frequently encountered is, "Ce qui compte, c'est de s'aimer" (Garigue, 1970: 87).² There is reason to believe, however, that

1. The reason for this is evident; a greater field of eligible French-Canadian mates would be available in Quebec than in the rest of Canada.

2. This expression could be translated as "Love is what counts".

this conception of love is not general among French-Canadians. In many cases, the notion of love is linked to the notion of family life and not to the idea of love as a personal feeling. Love is identified with family activities and especially with family responsibilities. There is a tendency to make concrete the concept of love by giving it a meaning of service to others: "La famille, c'est l'amour realise..." (Garigue, 1970: 88).² There exists a definite preference among French-Canadians for a person that shows self-control, who is cautious even in moments of strong emotion.

These attitudes of French-Canadians toward love are evident in their attitudes toward sex. Sexual intercourse is surrounded with mystery and references to physical love are taboo in the family. Sexual intercourse outside of marriage is regarded as a serious offence, and even a sin. Sex education is very superficial and often avoided. It is often obtained from persons other than parents. The attitude of French-Canadians toward love and heterosexual relationships also derives from their cultural orientation to the family. Thus it is within the context of parental roles and husband and wife roles that the question of love and heterosexual relationships is situated. For example, the birth of children is seen as the definite establishment of a family, consolidating the relationship between husband and wife and the principal act of family responsibility.

1. A suitable expression would be, "The family is the realization of love".

6. Birth control.

Their beliefs regarding birth control are rationalized as being for the good of the family. French-Canadians prefer birth control methods which are consistent with the teachings of the Church and which demand a certain amount of self-control. There is a tendency among French-Canadians to deny emotions, to adopt a "reasonable" attitude toward heterosexual relationships and toward responsibility in family values.

The work of Colette Moreux (1971) confirms many of Garigue's (1970) statements. According to Moreux, urbanism has contributed to a recent transformation in the French-Canadian family. In relation to the transformations in the French-Canadian family, Moreux (1971: 127) states: "Thus, those who are now over 30 were brought up under the aegis of the traditional beliefs and until about a decade ago, brought up their own families in terms of these beliefs. One frequently finds households where the older children would seem to have grown up without problems due, apparently, to conformity with traditional beliefs, while the younger children and adolescents are caught up in the crisis of transition from traditionalism to modernity. Both in their behaviour and in their spontaneous comments, those who live in the ambiguous crisis of transition from traditionalism to modernity reveal their active and indubitable involvement in traditionalism". "Traditionalism" has been viewed as encompassing the following orientation variables: large family size, authoritarian child-rearing practices, narrow definition of the husband's role as instrumental

and the wife's role as expressive, and strong opposition to divorce (Hobart, 1973). The opposites of these variables are referred to by Moreux (1971) as characteristics of the transition to modernity, while Hobart (1973: 71) refers to them as the "more emergent or liberal perspective".

In her study, Moreux (1971) examined the role of the young unmarried woman and found that the prime importance of premarital virginity remains. Moreux also found evidence of the double standard in heterosexual relationships. Although it is acceptable for a young man to make sexual advances to a girl, it is the girl who bears the responsibility and blame, should sexual relations occur. Moreux also confirmed the importance of motherhood to the French-Canadian woman, and the emphasis placed on the man's role as a breadwinner. Despite her affirmation that confusion exists between traditional and modern values among French-Canadians, Moreux (1971: 145) concludes, "Children and adolescents in spite of their apparent deliberate opposition to the models transmitted by adults, have themselves an unconscious attachment to values similar to those of their parents".

Tremblay's and Fortin's work. Another major work on the French-Canadian family is that of Tremblay and Fortin (1963) who studied salaried French-Canadian families in Quebec. Of particular interest to this study is Tremblay's (1973) description of the authority models in the modern French-Canadian family. Tremblay describes husband-wife relations as being more democratic in some respects, while remaining distinct in others. Decisions concerning

the well-being of the entire family seem to be made jointly, while husband and wife tend to retain their authority in areas in which each feels most competent. Says Tremblay (1973: 116), "The function of providing economic security belongs to the father, that of affective security, to the mother; the function of provider belongs to the husband, that of the consumer, to the wife". Women seek to establish their equality by working outside the home. However, the effect of this on the authority structure of the French-Canadian family is not known. A change in the authority structure seems to be particularly evident in parent-child relations. Tremblay (1973) reports such factors as greater permissiveness in child-rearing, parents' recognition of personality differences among children, importance of socialization agencies other than the family, greater freedom of children to express their own ideas and attitudes, etc.

Recent non-Quebec studies

To the writer's knowledge, only two studies have been carried out on the French-Canadian family in Manitoba.

Piddington's (1961) study of a farming community in Manitoba confirms Garigue's (1970) study in demonstrating the wide range of kinship awareness among French-Canadians. Referring to the French-Canadian family, Piddington concludes that although a discrete residential and economic unit, it is the center of a widely ramifying constellation of kinship relationships. One factor which may cause

an individual to become alienated from the kin group is marriage to a person of a different ethnic origin. Differences in language, culture, and religion may cause the alien spouse and his family to drift away from French-Canadian associations. Like Garigue (1970), Piddington disagrees that such factors as migration, urbanization, industrialization, loss of economic self-sufficiency in rural communities, and the economic dominance of Anglo-American interests will make the French-Canadian way of life disappear. According to Piddington, the fundamental organizing principles of the French-Canadian society, remain, even today, the Church, and its associated institutions: educational and political, and attitudes toward "les Anglais", the French language and French-Canadian conceptions of kinship.

Backeland's (1971) study was an analysis of the degree to which Franco-Manitoban adolescents were losing or maintaining their parents' French-Canadian culture.

Selected cultural characteristics which were tested included: use of the French language, use of the French mass media, attitudes toward outdating, ethnic identity, and religious orientation. Generally, Backeland's hypothesis of low correspondence between the adolescents and the adults in the sample with regard to adherence to the above cultural traits was substantiated. One exception was the greater use of French magazines and newspapers by the adolescents than the adults. This was explained by the greater availability of such media in the schools than in the homes. However, adolescents made less use of the French language, had more positive attitudes toward outdating, had

a somewhat weaker ethnic identity (although differences between the adolescents and the adults were very slight), and were less religiously oriented than their parents. Although adolescent scores on religious beliefs were low, church attendance was similar to that of the adults.

Therefore, Backeland's work seems to cast some doubts on Piddington's affirmation that the French-Canadian way of life will not disappear. It must be noted that Piddington's work was done in a farming community while Backeland's work was done in an urban setting. Also, a period of ten years separates the two studies.

Finally, Hobart's (1972) study on sexual permissiveness in young English and French-Canadians indicated that among French-Canadian subjects, the Church is the most powerful source of normative guidance. Another study by the same author (1973) revealed similarities between French and English respondents as to the ideal number of children and the number of children they wanted. However, more English than French-speaking subjects wanted to use birth control devices. In their attitudes toward child-rearing procedures, French-speaking subjects were consistently more traditional than English-speaking subjects. French subjects viewed child-rearing as mostly the responsibility of the woman, while the man's role was chiefly seen as that of breadwinner and disciplinarian. Although both groups (French and English) showed a high level of acceptance for divorce, the French-speaking group was less accepting than the English-speaking group.

In sum, the available literature on the urban French-Canadian family indicates that the modern French-Canadian family differs considerably

from the "rural" French-Canadian family as described in the early studies. In the following section, then, the applicability of Wirth's (1938) theory of urbanism to the urban French-Canadian family will be discussed.

Application of the theory of urbanism

In applying Wirth's (1938) theory of urbanism to the French-Canadian family, only those characteristics of the urban life style which are directly relevant to this study will be considered.

One characteristic of the urban setting, according to Wirth, is the segregation of the members of the community according to race, social class, ethnicity, etc., with the attached consequence of a weakening in the sense of togetherness of community members. In recent literature on the French-Canadian family, the existence of different social classes among the French-Canadian population is frequently mentioned (Falardeau, 1971; Henripin, 1971; Brazeau, 1971). It is obvious, then, that French-Canadian society has become more segmented with respect to social class. This is deemed by Wirth to be one of the characteristics of urbanism, and this segmentation was much less obvious in the literature on the rural French-Canadian family.

Secondly, according to Wirth, the urbanite does not possess a total conception of the environment in which he lives, such that there is no body of traditions which can guide his behaviour throughout life. This characteristic is evident in the literature which indicates a

greater distinction between the sacred and the secular in French-Canadian society (Dumont and Rocher, 1971), and a display of "erratic" behaviour among French-Canadians with regard to mixed adherence to traditional and non-traditional values (Falardeau, 1971).

A third characteristic of the urban life style is an economic system based on division of labour and mass production. Tremblay (1973) makes it evident in his description of the authority structure of salaried French-Canadian families, that urban French-Canadian families depend on an economic system where production and consumption are the two major processes. In the urban French-Canadian family unit, Tremblay (1973) claims that the role of the husband is that of provider (i.e., producer) and the role of the wife is that of consumer. The influence of such an economic system has reached far beyond the city, however. In referring to Quebec farmers, Falardeau (1971) describes them as a "business-like" group, thereby indicating that the principles of division of labour, production, and consumption are also operative in the rural setting.

Lastly, the urban life style is conducive to the weakening of kinship bonds and the loss of the social significance of the family. With respect to the two above characteristics, the literature is contradictory. Moreux (1971) claims the loss of traditional functions in the French-Canadian family. Tremblay (1973) confirms this by reporting the increased dependence of the French-Canadian family on other socialization agencies. Falardeau (1971) also reports the loss of family solidarity. On the other hand, however, Piddington (1961) stresses

the importance of kinship ties in the French-Canadian family. Taylor (1971) also reports the persistence of the importance of the family in the urban setting, and Garigue (1970) claims no evidence of the weakening of the importance of the kin group among urban French-Canadians.

In sum, of the components of Wirth's theory of urbanism which are directly related to the study of the French-Canadian family, the hypothesis of weak kinship bonds and loss of family significance seems to be the least applicable. This suggests that some of the values traditionally associated with rural French-Canadian families may still be operative in the urban setting.

In the following section, the rationale for the development of the major hypothesis will be presented.

The major hypothesis

Broadly speaking, the literature on the French-Canadian family can be divided into two main categories: early studies of the rural French-Canadian family, and more recent studies of the urban French-Canadian family.

In this chapter, the rural and the urban French-Canadian family have been contrasted through the use of two ideal-type models representing two extremes of the rural-urban dichotomy. It was found that the urban model (Wirth, 1938) could not be applied to the urban French-Canadian family without qualifications. The urban French-Canadian

family, as described in the literature, possessed some characteristics inherent in the folk society model (Redfield, 1947). This suggests that the urban French-Canadian family has possibly maintained some of the values traditionally associated with the rural French-Canadian family. Furthermore, if the maintenance of traditional values is evident in a culturally heterogeneous setting (Wirth, 1938), then one could expect traditional values to be even more operative in the rural environment which is characterized by cultural similarity (Redfield, 1947).

The literature on the French-Canadian family has also indicated differential roles of men and women in the French-Canadian family (Moreux, 1971; Garigue, 1970; Miner, 1939). Hobart (1972) also reported the attitudes of French-speaking males and females with respect to sexual permissiveness. Sex differences were noted in the French-speaking sample, i.e., females were less permissive than males (Hobart, 1972). Moreux's (1971) suggestion of the existence of the double standard was based on data obtained from women only. This suggests a need for further data on the attitudes of both males and females with respect to family-related issues.

Because the younger generation has been associated with change in values (Backeland, 1971), it was decided to test the above hypothesis with a sample of adolescents. Hence, the major hypothesis:

ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARD FAMILY LIFE
AMONG FRENCH-CANADIAN ADOLESCENTS ARE
RELATED TO RURAL-URBAN AND SEX DIFFERENCES.

In both early and recent studies which have described French-Canadian family life, three general topics of discussion may be identified: courtship, marriage, and child-rearing. Thus, the research hypotheses were developed to test rural-urban and sex differences in each of these three major areas. Based on the review of literature, the three major areas of investigation were operationalized to include selected variables which have been considered by previous researchers in studying the French-Canadian family. These variables are: attitudes toward the double standard (Moreux, 1971), the influence of religion on dating attitudes (Hobart, 1972), attitudes toward divorce (Hobart, 1973), attitudes toward sex-role differentiation in marriage (Garigue, 1970), attitudes toward family size (Hobart, 1973; Henripin, 1971), attitudes toward early marriage (Henripin, 1971), attitudes toward the principle of birth control and the use of birth control devices (Hobart, 1973; Henripin, 1971; Garigue, 1970), attitudes toward interfaith marriage and interethnic marriage (Garigue, 1970; Piddington, 1961), familistic attitudes (Taylor, 1971; Garigue, 1970; Piddington, 1961), attitudes toward child-rearing practices (Hobart, 1973; Garigue, 1970), attitudes toward the importance of religious education (Garigue, 1970) and attitudes toward corporal punishment (Garigue, (1970).

The three hypotheses (regarding each major area of family life) and their component variables (listed in the form of null hypotheses) will be presented in the next chapter. The fourth research hypothesis deals with sex differences with regard to courtship, marriage and child-rearing attitudes among French-Canadian adolescents.

CHAPTER II

MethodologyHypotheses

Four research hypotheses¹ were derived from the major hypothesis. The null hypotheses are given below each of the first three research hypotheses, and are identified with alphabetic notations. Because of the lack of clarity in the literature with regard to the existence and the direction of rural-urban variations in the French-Canadian culture, (Ishwaran, 1971), it was assumed that no differences existed between the attitudes of rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents.

The research and null hypotheses were:

- I. ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARD COURTSHIP AMONG FRENCH-CANADIAN ADOLESCENTS ARE RELATED TO RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES.
 - A. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ with respect to adherence to the double standard.
 - B. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ with regard to the influence of religious beliefs on dating attitudes.

1. The research hypothesis has also been referred to as the alternative hypothesis (Blalock, 1972).

II. ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARD MARRIAGE AMONG FRENCH-CANADIAN ADOLESCENTS ARE RELATED TO RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES.

- A. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward divorce.
- B. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward sex-role differentiation in marriage.
- C. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward family size.
- D. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward early marriage.
- E. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward the desirable length of childless time span after marriage.
- F. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward birth control.
- G. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward the use of birth control devices.
- H. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward marrying within the same faith.
- I. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward marrying within the same ethnic group.
- J. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ with respect to familistic attitudes.

III. ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARD CHILD-REARING AMONG FRENCH-CANADIAN ADOLESCENTS ARE RELATED TO RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES.

- A. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward child-rearing practices.
- B. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward the importance of religious education.
- C. Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward the corporal punishment of children.

IV. ATTITUDINAL ORIENTATIONS TOWARD COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, AND CHILD-REARING AMONG FRENCH-CANADIAN ADOLESCENTS ARE RELATED TO SEX DIFFERENCES.

- A. Male and female French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward courtship, marriage, and child-rearing.

Operationalization of variables

The basic problem of this study was to investigate whether differences in attitudes toward courtship, marriage, and child-rearing exist between rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents. Because the literature indicated that some differences in attitudes could possibly also be explained by the sex of the respondents, sex differences were investigated.

Independent variables. One independent variable in this study was the residence of the subjects. Subjects were asked to state whether

they were farm, village, or city dwellers in the personal information section of the questionnaire. Another category was allowed for subjects who could not answer definitely in one of the above-mentioned residence categories.

The other independent variable in this study was the sex of the respondents. Again, subjects were asked to state their sex in the personal information section of the questionnaire.

Dependent variable. The dependent variable consisted of the attitudes of the subjects with regard to courtship, marriage, and child-rearing. An attitude was operationally defined as an expression of agreement, disagreement, or uncertainty to a statement related to the topics of courtship, marriage, and child-rearing.

Based on the review of literature, operational definitions of traditional attitudes were developed. Thus, a traditional attitudinal orientation encompassed the following perspectives:

- 1) agreement with the double standard,
- 2) importance of religion as a normative guide in dating,
- 3) opposition to divorce,
- 4) agreement with definite sex-role differentiation in marriage,
- 5) favoring large family size,
- 6) favoring early marriage,
- 7) favoring a short childless time span after marriage,
- 8) opposition to the principle of birth control and to the use of birth control devices,
- 9) favoring marriage within the same faith and ethnic group,

- 10) strong familistic tendencies,
- 11) agreement with authoritarian child-rearing practices,
including corporal punishment,
- 12) importance of transmitting religion to children.

The Bardis (1959) definition of familism was adopted for this study:

"the feeling and the conviction among the members of a family that their family unit is a worthwhile group demanding the loyalty and cooperation of all its members, and one that should be preserved and perpetuated".¹

Control variables. Two control variables were present with regard to the nature of the sample. In the first place, only grade eleven and twelve students answered the questionnaire. Secondly, all subjects who responded to the questionnaire were French-speaking.

Data collection

The instrument. A questionnaire, consisting of 147 items was developed to test the hypotheses. Of these, 145 questions consisted of attitudinal statements followed by a five-point Likert scale. The other two questions were fill-in-the-blank questions regarding age of marriage.

The questionnaire was first developed in English and then translated into French. The questionnaire included several items from existing scales. For example, to assess familism, items from the Bardis Familism

1. This definition originated from John T. Zdrovny's Dictionary of Social Science, Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1959, p. 116.

Scale (1959) were selected. For assessing premarital sexual standards, several items from the Christensen and Carpenter (1962) scale were utilized. With respect to child-rearing practices (traditional and non-traditional), selected items from the scale developed by Connor, Greene, and Walters (1958) were included. Relative to husband-wife roles, items from the Marital Authority Expectations Scale by Blood and Hamblin (1958) were included. Other sources for items were Leary's Interpersonal Checklist (1957) and Dunn's Marital Expectation Scale (1960). Based on the review of literature and an examination of Humanae Vitae (1968), other items were developed by the author.

The French version of the questionnaire was presented to two judges whose mother tongue was French. The judges were asked to translate the questions back into English. The three English versions (i.e., that of the two judges and that of the author) were then compared for consistency in meaning and the appropriate corrections in the French version were made.

Questions were then placed randomly in the questionnaire such that the questions dealing with any particular topic would not be identifiable by position. An instruction sheet was provided, giving an example of how the questionnaire should be answered. The instruction sheet assured the subjects that there were no right or wrong answers and that the questionnaire was anonymous.

The sample. A list of high schools teaching the "Francais" program in Manitoba (i.e., which were predominantly of French influence) was obtained from the Manitoba Department of Education. The list consisted of a total of fourteen such schools, ten of which could be

classified as rural and four of which could be classified as urban,¹ within Unicity (Winnipeg) limits. All of the schools were contacted by mail and asked to participate in the study. A copy of the questionnaire, as well as a summary of the research proposal, were also mailed to the principals of each high school (see Appendix C, page 158). One rural school and one urban school refused to participate in the study.²

The final sample consisted of grade eleven and grade twelve students, males and females, whose school had agreed to participate in the study, and who were present when the questionnaire was administered.

The subjects ranged in age from 14 to 19 years. The mean age of the subjects was 16.97 years, and the modal age was 17 years. The total sample consisted of 460 subjects. Three questionnaires were discarded because they were incomplete, thus leaving 457 subjects in the final sample. Of all the subjects in the final sample, 181 (39.66%) were male, and 276 (60.34%) were female. Of the total sample, French was the mother tongue for 422 (92.25%) of the subjects, while another language was the mother tongue for 35 (7.75%) of the subjects. All subjects had a working knowledge of the French language. With respect to residence, 161 (35.23%) of the subjects resided on the farm, 117 (25.60%) resided in a village, and 161 (35.23%) resided in the city.³

1. An urban population has been defined as "all persons living in cities, towns, or villages with 1000 or over population" (Statistics Canada, Dictionary of the 1971 Census Terms, December 1972: page 29). None of the villages in the study had a population of 1000, hence they were classified as rural.

2. One school principal expressed disapproval of the questionnaire, and the other refusal did not give any specific reasons.

3. Percentages unaccounted for are cases where subjects did not reside with parents.

Presentation of the questionnaire. The dates and times of the presentation of the questionnaire were arranged by the principal of each school. At each school, the questionnaire was presented in group sessions to the subjects during class time. The sessions lasted an average of one hour. The experimenter was introduced to the group of subjects by the principal or by the teacher responsible for the particular classroom in question. The experimenter then briefly explained the purpose of the research, and gave the standard instructions to the subjects (see Appendix A, page 138).¹ The experimenter was present throughout the testing period so as to answer any of the subjects' questions. In general, the experimenter was impressed with the cooperation of the subjects. The questionnaire was answered very conscientiously by the majority of the subjects.

When the analysis of the data was completed, each school received a copy of the results which included a comparison of the responses of that particular school with the responses of the total sample. The responses for each question were divided according to the sex of the respondents.

Analysis of data

Use of the chi-square statistic. The format of the questionnaire allowed for five categories of responses: strongly disagree, disagree, uncertain, agree, strongly agree. In the analysis of the data, however,

1. In order to encourage honest and spontaneous responses, subjects were asked to state their first reactions to each question.

only three categories of responses were utilized. For example, "strongly disagree" and "disagree" responses were both classified as "disagree", and the same procedure was followed for agreement responses. The reasons for following this procedure were: 1) the operational definition of an "attitude" did not require that the degree of agreement or disagreement be specified; 2) examination of the data revealed that subjects tended to respond toward the middle of the scale rather than toward the extremes; 3) the volume of the data required that a simplified method of recording be adopted; 4) the use of only three categories of response assured that the expected frequency in each cell would be greater than five, thereby making possible the use of the chi-square statistic. This method of reducing categories is justified if combinations of categories are meaningful and if there were more than two categories to start with (Siegel, 1956: 178).

In this study, the researcher was interested in the number of subjects who responded in each category, and whether these frequencies differed from those which would be expected. According to Blalock (1972: 275), "The chi-square statistic is a very general test that can be used whenever we wish to evaluate whether or not frequencies which have been empirically obtained differ significantly from those which would be expected under a certain set of theoretical assumptions". Therefore, it seemed that the non-parametric chi-square test was particularly appropriate to this study, because the data were of the nominal type, with more than two categories.

Subjects were categorized according to residential background and also according to whether they agreed or disagreed with or were

uncertain about a particular statement. The researcher was primarily interested in testing for differences in response due to residential background. In addition to the test for rural-urban differences, it was also decided to test for rural-urban differences according to the sex of the respondents and also for sex differences alone, regardless of residential background. A fourth research hypothesis was formulated with regard to sex differences, and subsequently, an examination of the data lead the researcher to postulate that sex could possibly explain some differences in response. It was felt that testing for sex differences would contribute to the information derived from the study.

Throughout this study, a significance level of $\leq .05$ was accepted for the chi-square test. In reporting the results, the expression "statistically significant" refers to a significance level of .05 or less, unless otherwise specified.

Measures of central tendency were also computed, but were not reported, except in a few cases, because it was felt that they did not contribute any more information than was derived from the chi-square test.

Development of indexes--

Due to the length of the questionnaire, it would have been difficult and confusing to report the responses to every individual question. Furthermore, in most cases, a large number of questions were used to test a particular hypothesis. Therefore, an index was developed for each hypothesis for which there were at least three questions in the questionnaire. Where only two questions were used to test the

hypothesis, a consistency comparison was performed to compare the responses to the two questions.

Not all questions which were designed to test the hypothesis were included in the index test. Only those questions which were stated in either definite traditional or non-traditional terms were selected.¹ The criterion for the selection of index questions was the operational definition of traditionalism (see page 57). Only those questions which were completely agreed upon by the investigator and another judge were selected for each index. The remainder of the questions were used for descriptive purposes in the discussion of results, where it was felt that they contributed to the understanding of results. Thus, the number of questions used in each index varied, depending on the number of questions which met the criterion established.

Each subjects was then scored on each question in the index. The subjects received one point for every incidence of agreement to a question. The maximum score a subject could obtain was equivalent to the number of questions in the index. Generally, the higher the score, the more traditional the response, with one exception (the divorce index) where a high score indicated a non-traditional attitude. Scores were then placed into arbitrary categories such that "non-traditional", "intermediate", and "traditional" scores were identified. In every case, the low and high score categories were made as stringent as possible

1. Some of the items in the questionnaire were stated in such terms as to identify subjects with "moderate" attitudes. These questions were omitted from the index test because it was felt that the "intermediate" score category would serve the same purpose.

such that extremely traditional or non-traditional respondents would be identified. The medium category then represented subjects who had answered some questions traditionally and others non-traditionally within the index, i.e., "intermediate". Intermediate scores thus consisted of inconsistent responses to the issue measured by the index.¹

Double standard index. Six questions were selected for the double standard index. These were questions 21, 22, 55, 64, 83, 131 (see Appendix B). Scores were arbitrarily divided such that a non-traditional score consisted of a score of 0 or 1, an intermediate score was 2 to 4, and a traditional score was 5 or 6.

Religion-dating index. Eight attitudinal items were selected to develop a religion-dating index score for each subject. These were questions 2, 3, 23, 41, 56, 69, 80, 142 (see Appendix B). Scores of 0 to 2 were arbitrarily classified as non-traditional scores, 3 to 5 as intermediate scores, and 6 to 8 as traditional scores.

Divorce index. The divorce index consisted of nine items on which the subjects were scored. These were questions 4, 5, 25, 42, 43, 70, 111, 116, 124 (see Appendix B). For this index, a high score indicated acceptance of divorce, a non-traditional attitude.² Scores were divided such that 0 to 2 was a traditional score, 3 to 6 was an intermediate score, and 7 to 9 was a non-traditional score.

1. As stated above, "intermediate" scores possibly represented configurations of attitudes embracing both traditional and non-traditional attitudes.

2. For other indexes, a high score represented a traditional attitude. The divorce index was an exception to the rule.

Sex role index. Subjects were scored on a total of twelve questions for the sex role index. These were questions 10, 11, 30, 31, 32, 46, 47, 48, 61, 62, 74, 100 (see Appendix B). Scores were arbitrarily divided such that 0 to 3 indicated a non-traditional score, 4 to 8 indicated an intermediate score and 9 to 12 indicated a traditional score, definite sex-role differentiation.

Family size index. The family size index consisted of five questions: 7, 27, 44, 82, 99 (see Appendix B). Scores were arbitrarily divided such that 0 or 1 indicated a non-traditional score, 2 or 3 indicated an intermediate score, and 4 or 5 indicated a traditional score. A high index score indicated a traditional attitude toward family size, i.e., favoring large families.

Age of marriage index. The index test consisted of three questions: 6, 58, 130 (see Appendix B). A high score indicated a traditional attitude, i.e., favoring early marriage. Scores were divided such that 0 constituted a non-traditional score, 1 or 2, an intermediate score, and 3, a traditional score.

Birth control index. The birth control index was made up of thirteen questions: 13, 14, 33, 49, 63, 75, 85, 108, 113, 118, 122, 136, 140 (see Appendix B). Scores were divided such that 0 to 3 was a non-traditional score, 4 to 9 was an intermediate score, 10 to 13 was a traditional score. A traditional score indicated a traditional attitude toward birth control, i.e., opposition to birth control.

Birth control device index. The birth control device index consisted of five questions: 15, 16, 86, 102, 146 (see Appendix B). A high score indicated opposition to the use of birth control devices. A score of

0 or 1 was classified as a non-traditional score, 2 or 3 was an intermediate score, and 4 or 5 was a traditional score.

Interfaith index. Five items made up the interfaith index. These were questions 17, 35, 65, 114, 126 (see Appendix B). A non-traditional score consisted of a score of 0 or 1, an intermediate score was 2 or 3, and a traditional score was 4 or 5. A traditional attitude implied a strong preference for marrying within the same faith.

Familism index. The familism index consisted of fifteen questions: 8, 9, 28, 29, 45, 59, 60, 72, 92, 106, 121, 134, 143, 144, 147 (see Appendix B). Scores were arbitrarily divided such that 0 to 4 was a non-traditional score, 5 to 10 was an intermediate score and 11 to 15 was a traditional score.

Child-rearing index. Nine questions made up the child-rearing index. These were questions 18, 38, 52, 66, 78, 87, 103, 123, 129 (see Appendix B). Scores of 0 to 2 were classified as non-traditional, 3 to 6 as intermediate, and 7 to 9 as traditional, i.e., authoritarian child-rearing attitudes.

Religious education index. Six attitudinal items made up the religious education index. The questions were: 20, 54, 67, 88, 133, 135 (see Appendix B). Scores were divided such that 0 or 1 was a non-traditional score, 2 to 4 was an intermediate score, and 5 or 6 was a traditional score.

Consistency checks

Childless time span. Because there were only two items in the

questionnaire related to the childless time span hypothesis (11E), an index was not developed. Instead, a consistency check was done by crosstabulating the answers to the two questions. In order to be consistent, subjects had to disagree to one item and agree to the other item, or else be uncertain about both items. Therefore, any other combination of responses was classified as inconsistent. The consistency check was first carried out for the entire sample, with no controls, and subsequently, with residence and sex controls.

Interethnic marriage. In order to be consistent on the interfaith consistency check, subjects had to give the same response (i.e., agree, uncertain, or disagree) to both questions.

Corporal punishment. The consistency check for the two corporal punishment items was performed in the same manner as the two consistency checks listed above. In order to be consistent, subjects had to agree to one item and disagree to the other item, or else be uncertain about both items.

The consistency checks do not serve to test the hypotheses in question (11E, 11I, and 111C) but rather, are only intended to give the reader an idea of how the subjects responded to the pairs of questions involved in each consistency check.

Reliability and validity of indexes

In order to apply survey research findings to tests of hypotheses regarding the population under study, the reliability, consistency and stability of responses should be evaluated. Consistency of

response can be evaluated using the split-half technique in which each index is divided into two parts of approximately equal numbers of items. Each subject's scores on the two halves of the index were correlated using the non-parametric Kendall's tau. The correlation coefficients and significance levels are summarized on Table 1, page 70. It can be seen from the table that eleven of the twelve indexes correlated at a significance level of .05 or less, while one index (the child-rearing index) did not correlate at the acceptable significance level, thereby casting some doubt on the findings which were derived from it. This problem will be dealt with in the discussion of results where applicable.

Estimating reliability for each index rather than for the questionnaire as a whole seemed preferable in that reliability tends to increase with the length of the instrument. Since each index contained a relatively small number of items, the reliability estimate for each index is likely to be smaller than for the whole instrument. Therefore, it is unlikely that the reported reliability of each index would be overestimated by this procedure.

~~With regard to the validity of the instrument, the most that~~ can be claimed for the indexes which showed a certain degree of reliability is content validity. The items which were selected to make up the indexes were derived from the hypotheses which were based on the review of literature.

TABLE 1. Summary of Split-Half Correlations by Index.

<u>INDEX</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ITEMS</u>	<u>CORRELATION COEFFICIENT</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL</u>
Double Standard	6	.1011	.001
Religion- Dating	8	.4405	.001
Divorce	9	.3781	.001
Sex Role	12	.3271	.001
Family Size	5	.1066	.001
Age of Marriage	3	.5300	.001
Birth Control	12	.4122	.001
Birth Control Device	5	.4726	.001
Interfaith	5	.2056	.001
Familism	15	.3195	.001
Child- Rearing	9	.0437	.085
Religious Education	6	.3505	.001

CHAPTER III

ResultsHypothesis 1A

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ with respect to adherence to the double standard.

Double standard index. When all the subjects were compared on the double standard index, controlling for residence only, no significant differences were found between the farm, the village, and the city adolescents.

No significant differences were found when the sample was controlled for sex. No rural-urban differences were found in either the male segment or the female segment of the sample.

Controlling for the sex of the respondents only, significant differences were found ($\chi^2=6.77$; $df=2$; $p=.03$). Males had a higher percentage of non-traditional scores than females, while females had a higher percentage of intermediate scores than males. There were no notable differences between males and females as to the percentage of traditional scores, which were very low for both sexes (see Table 2, page 71).

TABLE 2. Double Standard Attitudes by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439) ¹		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T	INT	TRA
	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %			
MALE	47.1	51.5	1.5	53.1	43.8	3.1	61.1	37.5	1.4	54.3	43.9	1.7
FEMALE	46.2	53.8	0.0	41.2	57.6	1.2	46.1	53.9	0.0	44.6	55.1	0.4
TOTAL	46.6	52.8	0.6	44.4	53.8	1.7	52.8	46.6	0.6	48.4	50.7	0.9
N's	(75)	(85)	(1)	(52)	(63)	(2)	(85)	(75)	(1)	(213)	(223)	(4)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267 ¹	

1. Discrepancy in totals due to one subject not reporting residence.

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=3.15$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=3.26$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=2.62$; $df=4$; n.s.

Sex differences: $\chi^2=6.77$; $df=2$; $p=.03$

Hypothesis 1B

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ with regard to the influence of religious beliefs on attitudes toward dating behaviour.

Religion-dating index. No significant differences were found controlling for residence only.

For the male segment of the sample, no significant residential differences were found. Likewise, responses in the female segment of the sample did not reveal any statistically significant rural-urban differences.

No significant sex differences were found on the religion-dating index (see Table 3, page 74).

Hypothesis 11A

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward divorce.

Divorce index. No significant rural-urban differences were found on the divorce index.

No significant rural-urban differences were found among the males or the females in the sample.

TABLE 3. Religion and Dating Attitudes by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T %	INT %	TRA %
	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %			
MALE	64.7	29.4	5.9	68.8	28.1	3.1	73.6	20.8	5.6	69.4	25.4	5.2
FEMALE	59.1	36.6	4.3	60.0	37.6	2.4	69.7	28.1	2.2	62.9	34.1	3.0
TOTAL	61.5	33.5	5.0	62.4	35.0	2.6	71.4	24.8	3.7	65.4	30.8	3.9
N's	(99)	(54)	(8)	(73)	(41)	(3)	(115)	(40)	(6)	(287)	(135)	(17)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=5.39$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=1.85$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=3.20$; $df=4$; n.s.

Sex differences: $\chi^2=4.55$; $df=2$; n.s.

Sex differences with respect to attitudes toward divorce were not found to be significant (see Table 4, page 76).

Hypothesis 11B

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward sex-role differentiation in marriage.

Sex role index. No statistically significant rural-urban differences were found with respect to attitudes toward sex-role differentiation in marriage.

Rural-urban differences among the males in the sample were not statistically significant. Likewise, rural-urban differences for the females in the sample did not prove to be significant.

No statistically significant sex differences were found on the sex-role index (see Table 5, page 77).

Hypothesis 11C

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward family size.

Family size index. Differences between residence groups were found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2=10.11$; $df=4$; $p=.04$). A smaller

TABLE 4. Attitudes Toward Divorce by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T %	INT %	TRA %
	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %			
MALE	4.4	54.4	41.2	6.3	50.0	43.8	4.2	50.0	45.8	4.6	51.4	43.9
FEMALE	6.5	43.0	50.5	4.7	56.5	38.8	12.4	41.6	46.1	7.9	46.8	45.3
TOTAL	5.6	47.8	46.6	5.1	54.7	40.2	8.7	45.3	46.0	6.6	48.7	44.6
N's	(9)	(77)	(75)	(6)	(64)	(47)	(14)	(73)	(74)	(29)	(214)	(196)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=3.69$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=0.55$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=7.46$; $df=4$; n.s.

Sex differences: $\chi^2=2.18$; $df=2$; n.s.

TABLE 5. Attitudes Toward Sex-Role Differentiation by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T %	INT %	TRA %
	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %			
MALE	48.5	48.5	2.9	59.4	40.6	0.0	65.3	34.7	0.0	57.8	41.0	1.2
FEMALE	71.0	29.0	0.0	68.2	31.8	0.0	64.0	34.8	1.1	67.8	31.8	0.4
TOTAL	61.5	37.3	1.2	65.8	34.2	0.0	64.6	34.8	0.6	63.8	35.5	0.7
N's	(99)	(60)	(2)	(77)	(40)	(0)	(104)	(56)	(1)	(281)	(156)	(3)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=1.99$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=6.40$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=2.81$; $df=4$; n.s.

Sex differences: $\chi^2=5.09$; $df=2$; n.s.

percentage of farm and village subjects had non-traditional scores than city subjects. Correspondingly, city subjects had a smaller percentage of intermediate scores than their farm and village counterparts. For all residence categories, however, the greatest percentage of responses was in the intermediate score category. The percentages of traditional scores were relatively small for all residence groups.

Rural-urban differences for the male segment of the sample were not statistically significant. However, rural-urban differences were found to be significant for the females in the sample ($\chi^2=10.07$; $df=4$; $p=.04$). City females had the highest percentage of both non-traditional and traditional scores, and the least percentage of intermediate scores. The responses for the farm and the village females were very similar. For all residence groups, the greatest proportion of responses was in the intermediate score category (see Table 6, page 79).

Hypothesis 11D

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents
will not differ with regard to attitudes
toward early marriage.

Age of marriage index. No significant rural-urban differences were found with respect to attitudes toward early marriage.

No significant rural-urban differences were found in the male segment of the sample. Likewise, no statistically significant differences were found in the female segment of the sample.

TABLE 6. Attitudes Toward Family Size by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T	INT	TRA
	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
MALE	29.4	61.8	8.8	15.6	65.6	18.8	34.7	59.7	5.6	29.5	61.3	9.2
FEMALE	18.3	74.2	7.5	21.2	69.4	9.4	33.7	52.8	13.5	24.3	65.5	10.1
TOTAL	23.0	68.9	8.1	19.7	68.4	12.0	34.2	55.9	9.9	26.4	63.9	9.8
N's	(37)	(111)	(13)	(23)	(80)	(14)	(55)	(90)	(16)	(116)	(281)	(43)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=10.11$; $df=4$; $p=.04$

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=7.08$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=10.07$; $df=4$; $p=.04$

Sex differences: $\chi^2=1.43$; $df=2$; n.s.

Sex differences on the age of marriage index were not statistically significant (see Table 7, page 81).

Additional results. No significant rural-urban differences were found on the question, "A boy should be at least ___ years old before he gets married." However, significant differences between the residence groups were found on the question, "A girl should be at least ___ years old before she gets married" ($\chi^2=20.90$; $df=6$; $p<.01$). A greater proportion of rural (farm and village) subjects answered in the 18-20 year range than city adolescents and correspondingly, a greater percentage of city subjects answered in the 21-24 year range than rural (farm and village) adolescents.

In the male segment of the sample, no significant rural-urban differences were found in responses to the "age boy marry" question. Also, no significant rural-urban differences were found among the males with regard to responses to the "age girl marry" question. No rural-urban differences were found in the female sample with regard to the "age boy marry" question. However, rural-urban differences were found in the female sample with regard to the "age girl marry" question ($\chi^2=11.79$; $df=4$; $p<.02$). The farm and village females had a greater proportion of response in the 18-20 year range than the city females, while the city females had a greater proportion of response in the 21-24 year range than the farm and the village subjects.

Significant sex differences in response were found for the question, "A boy should be at least..." ($\chi^2=21.59$; $df=2$; $p=.0001$). A greater percentage of females answered in the 21-24 year range than males.

TABLE 7. Attitudes Toward Early Marriage by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T	INT	TRA
	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
MALE	55.9	27.9	16.2	53.1	21.9	25.0	51.4	37.5	11.1	53.8	30.6	15.6
FEMALE	44.1	37.6	18.3	38.8	45.9	15.3	50.6	36.0	13.5	44.6	39.7	15.7
TOTAL	49.1	33.5	17.4	42.7	39.3	17.9	50.9	36.6	12.4	48.2	36.1	15.7
N's	(79)	(54)	(28)	(50)	(46)	(21)	(82)	(59)	(20)	(212)	(159)	(69)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=3.41$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=4.93$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=3.26$; $df=4$; n.s.

Sex differences: $\chi^2=4.22$; $df=2$; n.s.

Significant sex differences were also found for the question, "A girl should be at least..." ($\chi^2=14.74$; $df=2$; $p=.0021$). A greater percentage of males answered in the "less than 17" year range than females, and also a greater percentage of females answered in the 21-24 year range than males. The majority of responses for both sexes were in the 18-20 year range.

Hypothesis 11E

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward the length of the childless time span after marriage.

Consistency check. Because there were many possible combinations of responses, the results will not be itemized here, but rather, the responses have been tabled so as to render the task of interpretation less confusing (see Table 8, page 83).

Hypothesis 11F

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward birth control.

Birth control index. Statistically significant rural-urban

TABLE 8. Consistency Comparison for Two Items Related to Childless Time Span by Residence and Sex

		DISAGREE %			UNCERTAIN %			AGREE %		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
DISAGREE %		29.4	30.5	28.5	10.4	13.2	8.7	42.6	32.3	49.0
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	29.2	28.1	32.9	15.4	6.3	14.3	33.8	28.1	32.9
	FEMALES	28.3	36.5	20.9	12.0	7.1	7.0	46.7	48.2	52.3
UNCERTAIN %		6.3	8.4	4.9	4.2	6.6	2.7	3.7	4.2	3.4
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	6.2	21.9	4.3	7.7	0.0	8.6	7.7	0.0	2.9
	FEMALES	6.5	3.5	4.7	2.2	1.2	4.7	4.3	1.2	4.7
AGREE %		1.9	3.6	0.8	0.7	1.2	0.6	0.9	0.0	1.5
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	0.0	9.4	4.3	0.0	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	FEMALES	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.2	3.5

1. indicates consistent responses.

differences were found on the birth control index ($\chi^2=17.04$; $df=4$; $p=.0019$). The city subjects had more non-traditional scores (acceptance of birth control) than the farm and the village subjects. The greatest proportion of response was in the intermediate score category for all residence groups, although the percentage of farm and village response in the intermediate category was significantly greater than the percentage of city response.

No significant rural-urban differences were found for the male segment of the sample. However, significant rural-urban differences were found among the females ($\chi^2=12.64$; $df=4$; $p=.0132$). City females had the highest percentage of non-traditional scores as well as the lowest percentage of intermediate scores. Farm and village females were very similar in their responses.

Controlling for the sex of the subjects only, no significant differences were found (see Table 9, page 85).

Hypothesis 11G

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward the use of birth control devices.¹

Birth control device index. No significant rural-urban differences

1. Because the Church opposes the use of birth control devices, but does not oppose the concept of birth control per se, it was decided to distinguish between these two ideas in testing the attitudes of French-Canadian adolescents.

TABLE 9. Birth Control Attitudes by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T	INT	TRA
	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA			
MALE	29.4	64.7	5.9	28.1	71.9	0.0	44.4	52.8	2.8	35.8	60.7	3.5
FEMALE	24.7	73.1	2.2	23.5	72.9	3.5	44.9	53.9	1.1	31.1	66.7	2.2
TOTAL	26.7	69.6	3.7	24.8	72.6	2.6	44.7	53.4	1.9	33.0	64.3	2.7
N's	(43)	(112)	(6)	(29)	(85)	(3)	(72)	(86)	(3)	(145)	(283)	(12)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=17.04$; $df=4$; $p=.0019$

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=6.73$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=12.64$; $df=4$; $p=.0132$

Sex differences: $\chi^2=1.88$; $df=2$; n.s.

were found on the birth control device index.

No significant rural-urban differences were found for the males in the sample. Likewise, no significant rural-urban differences were found for the female segment of the sample.

No significant sex differences were found on the birth control device index (see Table 10, page 87).

Hypothesis 11H

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward marrying within the same faith.

Interfaith index. No significant rural-urban differences were found on the birth control device index.

No significant rural-urban differences were found among the males in the sample. However, statistically significant rural-urban differences were found in the female segment of the sample ($\chi^2=10.40$; $df=4$; $p=.03$). Urban females had the highest percentage of non-traditional scores.

No significant sex differences were found (see Table 11, page 88).

TABLE 10. Attitudes Toward the Use of Birth Control Devices by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T %	INT %	TRA %
	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %			
MALE	54.4	33.8	11.8	59.4	28.1	12.5	56.9	30.6	12.5			
FEMALE	53.8	37.6	8.6	51.8	35.3	12.9	50.6	29.2	20.2	52.1	34.1	13.9
TOTAL	54.0	36.0	9.9	53.8	33.3	12.8	53.4	29.8	16.8	53.9	33.0	13.2
N's	(87)	(58)	(16)	(63)	(39)	(15)	(86)	(48)	(27)	(237)	(145)	(58)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=3.81$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=0.37$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=5.60$; $df=4$; n.s.

Sex differences: $\chi^2=0.91$; $df=2$; n.s.

TABLE 11. Attitudes Toward Interfaith Marriage by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T	INT	TRA
	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
MALE	72.1	23.5	4.4	68.8	28.1	3.1	77.8	20.8	1.4	74.0	23.1	2.9
FEMALE	71.0	29.0	0.0	68.2	28.2	3.5	82.0	18.0	0.0	73.8	25.1	1.1
TOTAL	71.4	26.7	1.9	68.4	28.2	3.4	80.1	19.3	0.6	73.9	24.3	1.8
N's	(115)	(43)	(3)	(80)	(33)	(4)	(129)	(31)	(1)	(325)	(107)	(8)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=7.17$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=1.91$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=10.40$; $df=4$; $p=.03$

Sex differences: $\chi^2=1.97$; $df=2$; n.s.

Hypothesis 11I

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward marrying within the same ethnic group.

Consistency check. The results of the consistency check for this hypothesis have been tabled on page 90.

Hypothesis 11J

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ with respect to familistic attitudes.

Familism index. Significant rural-urban differences were found on the familism index ($\chi^2=9.39$; $df=2$; $p=.05$). Urban subjects had the greatest percentage of non-traditional scores (see Table 13, page 91).

Controlling for sex, no significant rural-urban differences were found.

No significant sex differences were found on the familism index.

Hypothesis 11IA

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward child-rearing practices.

TABLE 12. Consistency Comparison on Two Interethnic Marriage Items by Residence and Sex

		DISAGREE %			UNCERTAIN %			AGREE %		
		Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
DISAGREE %		53.6	49.7	56.5	15.5	15.0	16.0	11.8	13.8	10.7
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	39.4	53.1	58.0	18.2	15.6	11.6	15.2	9.4	14.5
	FEMALES	51.1	52.4	66.3	16.3	13.1	18.6	14.1	9.5	8.1
UNCERTAIN %		4.9	4.2	8.4	4.6	5.4	4.1	4.4	6.0	3.7
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	6.1	6.3	1.4	6.1	3.1	5.8	7.6	0.0	7.2
	FEMALES	6.5	7.1	2.3	2.2	9.5	0.0	4.3	4.8	1.2
AGREE %		1.9	3.6	0.8	0.5	0.0	0.4	2.8	2.4	3.3
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	3.0	9.4	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.5	3.1	0.0
	FEMALES	0.0	2.4	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	4.3	1.2	3.5

1. indicates consistent responses.

TABLE 13. Familistic Attitudes by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T	INT	TRA
	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %			
MALE	39.7	60.3	0.0	46.9	53.1	0.0	59.7	40.3	0.0	49.7	50.3	0.0
FEMALE	41.9	58.1	0.0	49.4	49.4	1.2	51.7	48.3	0.0	47.6	52.1	0.4
TOTAL	41.0	59.0	0.0	48.7	50.4	0.9	55.3	44.7	0.0	48.4	51.4	0.2
N's	(66)	(95)	(0)	(57)	(59)	(1)	(89)	(72)	(0)	(213)	(226)	(1)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2 = 6.61$; $df=2$; $p=.05^1$

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2 = 5.71$; $df=2$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2 = 4.14$; $df=4$; n.s.

Sex differences: $\chi^2 = 0.81$; $df=2$; n.s.

1. The TRA category was dropped for this analysis since only one subject scored TRA.

Child-rearing index. No significant rural-urban differences were found on the child-rearing index.

No significant rural-urban differences were found in either the male segment or the female segment of the sample.

Sex differences on the child-rearing index did not prove to be significant (see Table 14, page 93).

Hypothesis 111B

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents will not differ in their attitudes toward the importance of religious education.

Religious education index. Rural-urban differences were not found to be significant on the religious education index.

No significant rural-urban differences were found for the male sample with regard to the importance of religious education. Significant differences were found for the female sample ($\chi^2=11.44$; $df=4$; $p=.0221$). City females had the least percentage of traditional scores and the greatest percentage of non-traditional scores.

Significant sex differences were found on the religious education index ($\chi^2=15.80$; $df=2$; $p=.0004$). Males had a greater percentage of non-traditional scores than females and also less traditional scores than the females. Females also had a greater percentage of intermediate scores than males (see Table 15, page 94).

TABLE 14. Child-Rearing Attitudes by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T %	INT %	TRA %
	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA	N-T	INT	TRA			
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
MALE	25.0	70.6	4.4	6.3	90.6	3.1	20.8	76.4	2.8	20.2	76.3	3.5
FEMALE	25.8	74.2	0.0	20.0	80.0	0.0	29.2	68.5	2.2	25.1	74.2	0.7
TOTAL	25.5	72.7	1.9	16.2	82.9	0.9	25.5	72.0	2.5	23.2	75.0	1.8
N's	(41)	(117)	(3)	(19)	(97)	(1)	(41)	(116)	(4)	(102)	(330)	(8)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=5.44$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=5.36$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=6.27$; $df=4$; n.s.

Sex differences: $\chi^2=5.40$; $df=2$; n.s.

TABLE 15. Importance of Religious Education by Residence and Sex

	RESIDENCE									TOTAL (N=439)		
	FARM (N=161)			VILLAGE (N=117)			CITY (N=161)			N-T	INT	TRA
	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %	N-T %	INT %	TRA %			
MALE	19.1	51.5	29.4	6.3	50.0	43.8	20.8	41.7	37.5	17.9	46.8	35.3
FEMALE	0.0	58.1	41.9	7.1	47.1	45.9	11.2	49.4	39.3	6.0	51.7	42.3
TOTAL	8.1	55.3	36.6	6.8	47.9	45.3	15.5	46.0	38.5	16.7	49.8	39.5
N's	(13)	(89)	(59)	(8)	(56)	(53)	(25)	(74)	(62)	(47)	(219)	(174)
	M=68	F=93		M=32	F=85		M=72	F=89		M=173	F=267	

Rural-urban differences: $\chi^2=9.18$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, males: $\chi^2=5.07$; $df=4$; n.s.

Rural-urban differences, females: $\chi^2=11.44$; $df=4$; $p=.02$

Sex differences: $\chi^2=15.80$; $df=2$; $p=.0004$

Hypothesis 111C

Rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents
will not differ in their attitudes toward
corporal punishment of children.

Consistency check. The results of the consistency check have been
tabled on page 96.

TABLE 16. Consistency Comparison for Two Corporal Punishment Items by Residence and Sex.

		DISAGREE %			UNCERTAIN %			AGREE %		
		Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
DISAGREE %		36.7	30.0	41.5	3.2	1.8	4.2	1.4	2.4	0.8
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	32.3	34.4	23.6	4.6	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	2.8
	FEMALES	39.8	43.5	41.4	5.4	2.4	4.6	1.1	1.2	0.0
UNCERTAIN %		18.1	16.0	19.6	0.7	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.0
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	13.8	6.3	22.2	0.0	0.0	2.8	1.5	0.0	0.0
	FEMALES	16.1	20.0	23.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
AGREE %		38.1	46.2	32.8	0.9	1.2	0.8	0.7	1.8	0.0
		<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>C</u>
	MALES	44.6	53.1	44.4	0.0	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2
	FEMALES	36.6	30.6	31.0	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

1. indicates consistent responses.

CHAPTER IV

Discussion

The discussion of results will focus on the three main areas of investigation: courtship, marriage, and child-rearing. Where statistically significant differences were found on separate indexes, these will be discussed in relation to the main topic which they represented.

Attitudes toward courtship

Two indexes were included to test for rural-urban differences with regard to attitudes toward courtship. These were attitudes toward the double standard in dating and the influence of religious beliefs on dating attitudes.

With respect to attitudes toward courtship, the only statistically significant differences which were found were sex differences on the double standard index. Contrary to expectations, a greater percentage of males (54.3%) scored non-traditionally than females (44.6%). This was accompanied by a significantly greater percentage of intermediate scores (55.1%) among females than among males (43.9%).

One would expect males to be more in favor of the double standard than females. Traditionally, the double standard has been thought to be to the male's advantage, because of its association with male

dominance (Leslie, 1967). The double standard also assigns total responsibility for the degree of sexual activity to the female (Leslie, 1967). However, the data suggest that the opposite is true, that females adhere more to the double standard than males. In light of traditional male adherence to the double standard, it is difficult to explain these findings. According to Udry (1966: 132), the double standard is accepted by some women as "a source of self-definition and role prescription". But why females in the sample would adhere more to the double standard than the males remains a puzzling issue. It may be that males in that age group (mean age of subjects: 16.97 years) have less dating experience than the females, due to the dating age differential (Saxton, 1968). Consequently, the males may be voicing current attitudes which discredit the double standard, without actually having the dating experience to substantiate these attitudes. The females may not approve of the double standard, but having more dating experience may be, in their responses, acknowledging the double standard as a "given" in the dating system. Acknowledging the "name of the game" is a different dimension than subscribing to the double standard. If this is so, then a further explanation can be made. Even though the males apparently repudiated the double standard, double standard attitudes may be latent among, and unrecognized by these males (Udry, 1966).

Another possible explanation is that the double standard may not be as much in favor of the male as it was once thought to be. If the disappearance of the double standard means greater sexual freedom for females, then this may result in an advantage for the males, through

the provision of a greater field of eligible females. If the disappearance of the double standard also means the end of classifying women as "good" and "bad", then the male need no longer restrict his sexual activity to "bad" women. Consequently, it would be logical that the males appeared more anti-double standard than the females.

Although the percentage of intermediate scores for females (55.1%) was higher than that for the males, the percentage of male intermediate scores (43.9%) was sufficiently high to suggest that males tended to be confused over the issue of the double standard. With respect to the double standard, Leslie (1967: 399) states: "As it weakens, it forces young people toward a choice between the abstinence standard or a permissive standard for both men and women". Our data suggest that males gravitated toward the permissive standard, while females favored the abstinence standard. It could thus be questioned whether the double standard is disappearing at all, or if instead of one double standard, there may possibly be two conflicting single standards.

Additional findings. A consideration of specific items in the double standard index provides further evidence for the statement that confusion exists with regard to the double standard. Two notable examples were found.

All residence groups showed a high percentage of agreement (89.3% farm, 91.5% village, 91.3% city) to the statement attributing the responsibility of setting limits in sexual behaviour on a date to both parties. However, when the same statement was worded such that the responsibility was attributed solely to the boy, or solely to the girl,

responses conflicted. Although all residential groups tended to disagree with the statement that responsibility belonged solely to either the girl or the boy, the percentage of disagreement was greater for attributing the responsibility to the boy than for attributing the responsibility to the girl. Correspondingly, the percentage of agreement to attributing the responsibility to the boy was less than the percentage of agreement to attributing the responsibility to the girl. Percentages of "uncertain" responses were also considerably higher for the "boy" item than for the "girl" item (see Table 17, page 101).

Another example of inconsistency was high agreement with the item that stated that a young man should "test" his girlfriend, and much lesser disagreement to the statement that a girl who yields to a boy's sexual advances is weak (see Table 18, page 102). The above examples lend support to the suggestion of the latency of the double standard. The inconsistencies noted in the responses to the responses to the two pairs of items suggest that the same standard of sexual behaviour is not being applied to both sexes. Evidence of the double standard in heterosexual relationships among French-Canadian young people has previously been noted by Moreux (1971).

Summary. The hypotheses of no differences between rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents with regard to double standard attitudes and the influence of religious beliefs on dating attitudes were accepted. The hypothesis of no differences between males and females with respect to attitudes toward courtship was also accepted. Although sex differences were found in double standard attitudes,

TABLE 17. Responsibility in Premarital Behaviour by Residence

<u>RESIDENCE</u>	<u>"Boy responsible"¹</u>			<u>"Girl responsible"²</u>		
	DISAGREE %	UNCERTAIN %	AGREE %	DISAGREE %	UNCERTAIN %	AGREE %
FARM	53.1	27.5	19.4	49.1	17.4	33.5
VILLAGE	54.8	27.8	17.4	51.3	12.8	35.9
CITY	67.1	17.4	15.5	56.3	14.3	29.2

1. "The responsibility for "establishing limits" in sexual matters during dating is that of the boy".
2. "The responsibility for "establishing limits" in sexual matters during dating is that of the girl".

TABLE 18. Inconsistency in Responses on two Double Standard Items by Residence

<u>RESIDENCE</u>	<u>ITEM 1¹</u>		<u>ITEM 2²</u>	
	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>DISAGREE</u> %	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>DISAGREE³</u> %
FARM	8.8	70.0	41.5	43.4
VILLAGE	11.1	72.6	44.4	42.7
CITY	6.2	78.9	34.8	47.5

1. "A young man should "test" his girlfriend by making sexual advances to her".
2. "A girl who yields to a boy's sexual advances is weak".
3. For clarity purposes, uncertain responses have been omitted from these tables; therefore, percentages do not add up to 100.

insufficient evidence was found for the rejection of the hypothesis of overall sex differences in attitudes toward courtship. Therefore, the data provided no support for the research hypothesis of rural-urban differences and only minimal support for the research hypothesis of sex differences with regard to attitudes toward courtship among French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba (see Table 19, page 104). The fact that sex differences were found on one index while no rural-urban differences were found on either index may suggest that sex may be a better indicator of differences in attitudes toward courtship than residence.

Attitudes toward marriage

Attitudes toward marriage were tested by using ten selected variables. These were attitudes toward divorce, sex-role differentiation, family size, early marriage, delay of child-bearing, birth control, use of birth control devices, interfaith marriage, interethnic marriage, and familism.

With respect to attitudes toward marriage, statistically significant rural-urban differences were found regarding attitudes toward family size, birth control, and familism.

A greater percentage of city subjects scored non-traditionally on the family size index than village and farm subjects. This difference was largely accounted for by the female segment of the sample. However, it is noteworthy that the percentages of traditional scores were small for all residence groups, indicating that only a few

TABLE 19. Summary of Courtship Attitudes by Index

<u>INDEX</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ITEMS</u>	<u>RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES</u>		<u>SEX DIFFERENCES</u>
			M	F	
1A. Double Standard	6	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	p=.03 ¹
1B. Religion- Dating	8	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

1. Refers to significance level of chi-square value.

adolescents in the sample had strongly favorable attitudes toward large families. Decrease in family size has been reported for both rural and urban French-Canadian families in Quebec (Kubat and Thornton, 1974; Henripin, 1971). Information from 1971 census data shows only small differences between the average number of children per family in urban, rural non-farm, and farm families in Manitoba. Also, it is shown that the greatest proportion of families in Manitoba have between zero and two children under the age of 25 living in the family (Kubat and Thornton, 1974: 97). Therefore, it is not surprising that the adolescents in this sample generally did not respond traditionally on the family size index. However, the high percentages of intermediate scores among all residence groups (63.9% of the total sample) warrant particular attention. The intermediate scores may suggest a certain degree of ambivalence in the attitudes of French-Canadian adolescents toward family size.

The responses to two of the items included in the family size index seem to suggest a non-traditional attitudinal orientation to family size among French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba. There was substantial disagreement to the statements, "A married couple should have as many children as their income will permit", and "Married couples who decide not to have any children, even if they can afford to, are selfish" (see Table 20, page 105). It seems, then, that there was agreement to the ideas that married couples have a choice in deciding whether or not to have children, and furthermore, in deciding how many children they want.

Rural-urban differences in attitudes toward birth control showed

TABLE 20. Responses to Two Family Size Items by Residence

<u>RESIDENCE</u>	<u>ITEM 1¹</u>		<u>ITEM 2²</u>	
	AGREE %	DISAGREE %	AGREE %	DISAGREE ³ %
FARM	27.5	52.5	21.4	62.3
VILLAGE	30.8	53.0	23.1	59.0
CITY	23.0	61.5	20.5	63.4

1. "Married couples who decide not to have any children, even if they can afford to, are selfish".
2. "A married couple should have as many children as their income will permit".
3. Uncertain responses have been omitted from these tables for clarity; therefore, percentages do not add up to 100.

the city subjects to be the least traditional in their attitudes. The percentage of non-traditional scores for the city subjects was substantially higher than the percentage of non-traditional scores for the farm and village subjects. As with family size attitudes, it was found that the female segment of the sample accounted largely for the residential differences. It should be noted that the percentages of traditional scores were very small for all residence groups, indicating virtually no strong opposition to birth control among all residence groups. The high percentages of intermediate responses suggest that the adolescents in the sample, especially the "rural" segment (farm and village), held both positive and negative attitudes toward birth control. Assuming that the majority of subjects were of the Roman Catholic faith, it is evident why the subjects responded mostly in the intermediate score category. Although the Roman Catholic Church does not oppose the principle of birth control, it places strict restrictions on the practice of birth control. With respect to birth control, Garigue (1970) has pointed out the close relationship between the Church's teachings and marital duties in the French-Canadian family, and that French-Canadians prefer to use birth control methods which are consistent with the teachings of the Church. In his sample of adolescents, Hobart (1972) found that more English than French-speaking subjects wanted to use birth control. The tendency for urban adolescents in this sample to be less traditional than their rural counterparts with regard to attitudes toward birth control suggests that urban living is more conducive to positive attitudes toward birth control. One is reminded here of Wirth's (1938) description of urban family life in which mothers are

more likely to be employed and families are more likely to be smaller or even childless, than in rural families. Thus, in such a setting, birth control becomes a necessity and thus any moral deterrents which may exist against birth control may become less effective. It is debatable, however, whether adolescents would view birth control in this light (i.e., as an economic necessity), because this is not a problem of immediate concern to them. However, it may be that urban adolescents come from smaller families than the rural adolescents, and therefore, have accepted birth control as a given in marriage. Urban adolescents are possibly more sensitized to the publicity on birth control (or family planning) than rural adolescents.

As suggested by the high percentages of intermediate responses on the birth control index, responses to individual birth control items varied from very traditional to very non-traditional. One example of this type of contradiction was high percentage of agreement among all residence groups to the questions, "It is the duty of married persons to transmit human life", coupled with relatively high percentage of disagreement to the question, "Married couples who do not want to have any children are not fulfilling their Christian vocation" (see Table 21, page 109). One is reminded here of Moreux's (1971) statement with respect to the "unconscious attachment" of French-Canadian youth to traditional values.

Two interesting examples of sex differences in responses to birth control items were noted. Females were more traditional than males in their responses to the item, "A married couple's life is incomplete without children". This suggests that parenthood is more

TABLE 21. Inconsistency on Two Birth Control Items by Residence

<u>RESIDENCE</u>	<u>ITEM 1¹</u>		<u>ITEM 2²</u>	
	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>DISAGREE</u> %	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>DISAGREE³</u> %
FARM	71.9	16.3	24.5	56.0
VILLAGE	73.5	16.2	24.8	55.6
CITY	63.1	18.1	11.9	69.8

1. "It is the duty of married persons to transmit human life".

2. "Married couples who do not want to have any children are not fulfilling their Christian vocation".

3. Uncertain responses have been omitted from these tables for clarity; therefore, percentages do not add up to 100.

important to the females than the males, thus lending support to the statements of Garigue (1970) and Moreux (1971), affirming the importance of motherhood for the French-Canadian woman. However, females were less traditional than males on the question, "Sexual relations in marriage should be destined exclusively toward the procreation of children" (see Table 22, page 110). Therefore, although it seems important to the females that married couples have children, it also seems important that family size be controlled. This may be explained by the perceived greater burden on the female when family size is large. This explanation has previously been suggested by Miner (1939). Also, the "recreational" (vs. procreative) aspect of sexual relations has become more emphasized for the female in recent years.

As with family size and birth control, urban subjects were also found to be less traditional than rural subjects with respect to familistic attitudes. The major difference in scores was between the farm and the city subjects. Again, substantial percentages of intermediate scores were noted for all residence groups and especially among farm adolescents, where the proportion of intermediate scores exceeded the proportion of non-traditional scores. This indicates the presence of feelings of loyalty among French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba. A clearer picture of the extent of this loyalty can be obtained by focusing on some of the items in the familism index. High agreement to the statement, "A person should always be completely loyal to his family" was noted among all residence groups (83.1% farm, 77.8% village, 78.8% city). However, this loyalty seemed to extend

TABLE 22. Sex Differences in Responses on Two Birth Control Items

	<u>ITEM 1¹</u>			<u>ITEM 2²</u>		
	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>UNCERTAIN</u> %	<u>DISAGREE</u> %	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>UNCERTAIN</u> %	<u>DISAGREE</u> %
MALES	47.5	10.2	42.4	19.5	21.3	59.2
FEMALES	59.5	10.6	29.9	9.9	17.2	72.9

1. "A married couple's life is incomplete without children" ($\chi^2=7.64$; $df=2$; $p=.02$).
2. "Sexual relations in marriage should be destined exclusively toward the procreation of children" ($\chi^2=11.13$; $df=2$; $p=.004$).

mostly to nuclear family (parents and siblings) boundaries. For example, subjects tended to agree that one should help parents support younger brothers and sisters if need be (75.9% farm, 76.1% village, 76.6% city). Feelings of loyalty to parents, however, did not seem to encompass the duty to reside close to the parental home. Generally, subjects tended to disagree that at least one married child should reside close to parents (67.3% farm, 74.4% village, 71.3% city). This is understandable in that it is often impossible for children to reside close to parents, especially if there are no economic opportunities for them close to the parents' residence. Although there was general disagreement to the item stating that the family should have the right to dictate the conduct of its members, there was a tendency to agree that a person should avoid actions which displease his family (see Table 23, page 112). In relation to the previous statement, Garigue (1970) found that the selection of a mate by French-Canadian young people is influenced by the kin group. Although the influence is indirect, in that the kin group does not choose the mate, the choice usually corresponds to the expectations of the family.

Thus the data indicate that familistic attitudes are operative among both rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba, although somewhat less among urban adolescents. Both Piddington (1961) and Garigue (1970) have stressed the importance of kinship ties among French-Canadians. Although the attitudes of the adolescents in this sample indicate that the characteristic solidarity of the kin group as manifested in the ideal folk society (Redfield, 1947)

TABLE 23 . Inconsistency in Responses to Two Familism Items by Residence

<u>RESIDENCE</u>	<u>ITEM 1¹</u>		<u>ITEM 2²</u>	
	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>DISAGREE</u> %	<u>AGREE</u> %	<u>DISAGREE³</u> %
FARM	23.3	57.2	43.5	31.1
VILLAGE	22.2	52.1	43.6	29.9
CITY	24.4	57.8	50.9	29.8

1. "The family should have the right to dictate the conduct of its members".
2. "A person should avoid all actions which displease his family".
3. Uncertain responses have been omitted from these tables for clarity; therefore, percentages do not add up to 100.

does not exist, it is evident that feelings of loyalty toward the family are present.

With respect to attitudes toward interfaith marriage, significant rural-urban differences were found in the female segment of the sample only. More urban females scored non-traditionally than farm and village females. Females of all residence groups, however, were highly favorable toward interfaith marriage. This is not surprising, because it has been estimated by Thomas (1956) that 30% of Roman Catholics marry outside their faith. Since this figure is somewhat outdated and because Thomas referred to the United States in his estimate, it is difficult to know how closely Roman Catholics in Canada follow this pattern. However, it can be reasonably suggested that the proportion is probably higher than that estimated by Thomas. The rationale that "the smaller the proportion a religious group is of the population, the fewer the potential marriage partners of the same faith" (Nye and Berardo, 1973: 145), may help to explain the greater percentage of non-traditional scores among the urban French-Canadian females in Manitoba. Other causes for the increase in interfaith marriages have been reported. These are: 1) cultural similarity resulting from different groups coming into contact with each other, 2) acceptance of certain cultural values such as the democratic ideal, the romantic complex, and the right of young people to select their own mates, and 3) the weakening of church controls over marriage (Barnett, 1971). To this list may be added the fact that the Roman Catholic Church has relaxed its rules

with regard to interfaith marriage; rather than discouraging interfaith marriage, the Church now attempts to support such marriages through various counselling programs.

It is interesting to note that rural-urban differences did not exist in the male segment of the sample with respect to attitudes toward interfaith marriage. This could be explained by the possibility that females subscribe more to the romantic ideal than males (Udry, 1966).

With respect to marriage, no overall rural-urban differences were found in attitudes toward divorce, sex-role differentiation, age of marriage, use of birth control devices, and interfaith marriage. It must be noted that although no rural-urban differences were found with respect to divorce attitudes, subjects of all residence groups tended to score in the non-traditional direction. This could be attributed to the fact that divorce is probably the one issue on which the Roman Catholic Church has maintained its strict stand. There has been no relaxation of rules with respect to divorce, as there has been in other areas, for example, interfaith marriage. It is surprising, however, that rural-urban differences were found with respect to the principle of birth control, but not with respect to the use of birth control devices. This may be explained by the fact that questions in the birth control index invoked religious beliefs while questions in the birth control device index did not. In the birth control index, the invocation of religious beliefs perhaps made the statements more personal. Because the questions in the birth control device index were stated in such a general way, it

could be suggested that the subjects did not perceive the questions as applying to themselves necessarily, but rather to the population as a whole. It seems possible that the adolescents in the sample held two sets of attitudes with regard to birth control, i.e., ambivalence toward birth control for oneself, and acceptance of birth control for the population as a whole.

Finally, it is interesting that rural-urban differences were found with respect to family size, birth control, and familism but not with respect to the other dimensions of marriage which were tested. Differences in family size and birth control attitudes between the residence groups may be explained by the close relationship between these two dimensions, and by the controversy within the Roman Catholic Church which surrounds these issues. Rural-urban differences in familistic attitudes could possibly be related to the differences in the nature of rural and urban family relationships as seen in the theoretical models which were presented (Redfield, 1947; Wirth, 1938).

Summary. Three of the null hypotheses testing rural-urban differences with respect to attitudes toward marriage were rejected. These were the family size hypothesis, the birth control hypothesis, and the familism hypothesis. On the basis of the data obtained, the hypotheses of no differences with respect to divorce, sex-role differentiation, early marriage, the use of birth control devices, and interfaith marriage were accepted. It was impossible to test the hypotheses of no differences with respect to delay of child-bearing after marriage and interethnic marriage because of an insufficient number of items on each index.

Therefore, the data provide only minimal support for the research hypothesis of rural-urban differences with regard to attitudes toward marriage among French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba. The null hypothesis with regard to sex differences in attitudes toward marriage was also accepted. No support was found for the research hypothesis of sex differences with respect to attitudes toward marriage (see Table 24, page 117).

Attitudes toward child-rearing

Three indexes tested attitudes toward child-rearing. These were: attitudes toward child-rearing practices, the importance of religious education, and attitudes toward corporal punishment.

With respect to child-rearing attitudes, significant rural-urban differences were found in the female segment of the sample only in relation to the importance of religious education. Again, urban females appeared to be the least traditional, but the trend for females of all residence groups was toward traditional attitudes toward religious education. Sex differences with respect to the importance of religious education were also significant, indicating the greater importance of religion for females than for males. These findings seem consistent with male and female roles as described in the literature on the French-Canadian family. The educator role of the mother has been stressed both in early studies (Miner, 1939) and in more recent studies (Garigue, 1970). The importance of religion in general has also been stressed for both rural and urban

TABLE 24. Summary of Attitudes Toward Marriage by Index

<u>INDEX</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ITEMS</u>	<u>RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES</u>		<u>SEX DIFFERENCES</u>
			M	F	
11A. Divorce	9	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s. ¹
11B. Sex-role	12	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
11C. Family Size	5	p=.04	n.s.	p=.04	n.s.
11D. Age of Marriage	3	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
11F. Birth Control	13	p=.0019	n.s.	p=.01	n.s.
11G. Use of Birth Control Devices	5	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
11H. Interfaith	5	n.s.	n.s.	p=.03	n.s.
11J. Familism	15	p=.05	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

1. In all cases, "n.s." refers to significance level of chi-square value; significant values at .05 or smaller are indicated.

French-Canadian families (Miner, 1939; Hughes, 1943; Piddington, 1961; Garigue, 1970; Gerin, 1971). The greater concern with religious education which was found among the females than the males in this sample suggests that the French-Canadian family in Manitoba may tend to be matricentric. The matricentric structure of the French-Canadian family in the history of French Canada (Quebec) has been noted by Ishwaran (1971). The French-Canadian male's attraction for trading and hunting pursuits was seen as an attempt to flee the influence of church leaders, who stressed the merits of agriculture.

Summary. The null hypotheses regarding rural-urban differences with respect to child-rearing practices and the importance of religious education were accepted. Although rural-urban differences with respect to the importance of religious education were found among the females in the sample, insufficient evidence was found for the rejection of the null hypothesis regarding overall rural-urban differences. Because of the insufficient number of items regarding corporal punishment, it was impossible to test the hypothesis of no differences with respect to attitudes toward corporal punishment. Therefore, no support was found for the research hypothesis which postulated rural-urban differences with respect to attitudes toward child-rearing.

The hypothesis of no differences between males and females with respect to attitudes toward child-rearing was accepted because sex differences were found on one of the three indexes only. Thus, only minimal evidence was found to support the research hypothesis of sex differences with respect to child-rearing attitudes. It must

be noted that the child-rearing index showed poor split-half reliability and thus, the hypothesis requires further investigation. Attitudes toward child-rearing have been summarized on Table 25, page 120.

Applicability of theoretical models

Rural-urban variations with regard to family size and birth control among French-Canadians have previously been noted (Henripin, 1971; Keyfitz, 1953; Charles, 1948). Researchers have related these variations to the process of urbanization. Traditionally, French-Canadians were noted for their high fertility. This was attributed mainly to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which encouraged large families (Miner, 1939). However, with population growth also came the flow of population into urban centers. The urban setting, according to Wirth (1938), is more conducive to smaller families. In contrast to the folk society where the family is both a production and a consumption unit (Redfield, 1947), the urban lifestyle is characterized by separation of work place and residence (Wirth, 1938). Therefore, the home (and hence, the family) is mostly a consumption unit, and consequently large families are economically unnecessary (perhaps even undesirable) and thus not positively valued. However, Wirth (1938) has stated that the influence of urbanism extends beyond the cities. In this study, the findings with respect to attitudes toward family size and birth control seem to testify to the statement that, "In a highly urbanized country, the

TABLE 25. Summary of Child-rearing Attitudes by Index

<u>INDEX</u>	<u>NUMBER OF ITEMS</u>	<u>RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES</u>		<u>SEX DIFFERENCES</u>
			M	F	
111A. Child-rearing	9	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s. ¹
111B. Religious Education	6	n.s.	n.s.	p=.02	p=.0004

1. Refers to significance level of chi-square value.

rural cannot be all that rural" (Ishwaran, 1971: 383). Instead of divergent rural-urban attitudes, parallel attitudes in the non-traditional direction were found. The variations in attitudes were consistent, however, in that a greater proportion of urban adolescents responded non-traditionally than rural adolescents. on on both indexes, i.e., family size and birth control. Wirth (1938: 1) has described the city as "the characteristic locus of urbanism". Although the influence of urbanism is most evident in cities, it is not confined to the city. In this study, the findings with regard to family size and birth control are a testimony to that statement.

The importance of the kin group in the rural French-Canadian family has been well documented (Hughes, 1943; Miner, 1939). Whereas familistic attitudes have been reported to be weak among urban North American families in general (Udry, 1971; Sirjamaki, 1947), the importance of kinship ties in the urban French-Canadian family has been stressed (Garigue, 1970; Piddington, 1961). Wirth (1938: 21) has suggested that in the urban setting, the characteristic solidarity of the kin group in the folk society (Redfield, 1947) is weakened and the family unit is "emancipated from the larger kinship group". Evidence of this urban phenomenon was found in this study. Generally, familistic attitudes of the French-Canadian adolescents in the sample reflected a strong commitment to nuclear family members (parents and siblings) but weaker bonds to other kin.

Finally, the importance of religious education among French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba warrants particular attention in terms of the theoretical models which have been

presented. The pattern of responses with respect to religious education indicated a traditional direction among all residence groups (no significant rural-urban differences). The importance of religion is characteristic of the folk society (Redfield, 1947). However, the importance of religion has also been reported for urban French-Canadian families (Garigue, 1970), and may be inferred from the attitudes toward religious education expressed by both rural and urban adolescents in this study. Wirth (1938) has suggested that in the urban setting there is no fundamental philosophy of life which can guide an individual's behaviour. The importance of religious education among rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba may be a manifestation of the retention of the importance of religion in an urban society in order to maintain "an organization or integration of conventional understandings" (Redfield, 1947: 298).

CHAPTER V

Conclusions

This study attempted to identify rural-urban variations with respect to family-related values among French-Canadian adolescents. It was felt that the rural environment would facilitate the maintenance of traditional values due to the cultural homogeneity of population in rural Franco-Manitoban communities. It was expected that adolescents living in rural communities would have been exposed to a homogeneous set of values which were supported by the vast majority of community members. In the urban setting, which is characterized by pluralism, the urban adolescent would be more likely to be exposed to different and perhaps conflicting attitudes toward family life through residence in a multi-cultural environment and attendance in culturally heterogeneous schools.

Summary of findings

A comparison of rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents (grade eleven and grade twelve students) in Manitoba showed that rural-urban variations in attitudes existed on three of the eight indexes measuring attitudes toward marriage. Findings were in the direction expected, i.e., urban subjects were less traditionally oriented than their rural counterparts. The female segment of the

sample accounted largely for rural-urban differences with respect to family size and birth control. No overall rural-urban differences were found with respect to attitudes toward courtship and child-rearing. However, rural-urban variations with regard to interfaith marriage and the importance of religious education were found among the females in the sample. Urban females were less traditionally oriented than rural females. Sex differences were noted on double standard attitudes and attitudes toward the importance of religious education. Males were less traditionally oriented than females on both indexes.

Generally, the attitudes of French-Canadian adolescents with respect to courtship, marriage, and child-rearing supported the model of the urban family, and furthermore, supported the concept of cultural similarity between the rural and urban segments of the French-Canadian population. The high percentages of intermediate responses as well as the importance of religious education expressed by the subjects seem to suggest confusion among French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba, and also a perceived need for moral guidance.

Limitations of the study

Assuming that the responses of the subjects correctly reflected attitudes commonly held by Franco-Manitoban families represented by the adolescents in the sample, this study has identified some areas of variation between rural and urban family values among a group of French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba.

The major methodological limitation of this study was that the

instrument was not pre-tested. Although the possibility of a pilot study was considered by the investigator, it was rejected due to the uncertainty of obtaining an adequate sample for the study. It was impossible for the investigator to predict the reaction of school principals to the study, and it was feared that, in case of opposition to the study, a pilot sample would have reduced the possibility of obtaining an adequate sample for the study. However, support for the study was overwhelming and consequently a pilot study would have been feasible.

A pilot study would have eliminated several problems in relation to the instrument. In the first place, the reliability and validity of the questionnaire could have been established prior to the data collection. Instead, a split-half reliability check was performed on the twelve indexes after the data was collected. Poor split-half reliability was found on one of the twelve indexes. This problem could have been dealt with, had a pilot test been conducted. Since the child-rearing index showed poor split-half reliability, the findings derived from it are rendered doubtful. Secondly, the index method of analysis could have been developed using pre-test data. It would have been evident, then, that a minimum of three items was required to test a hypothesis adequately, using the index method. As it was, three null hypotheses were not tested due to an insufficient number of items. Also, a pilot test would have probably reduced the number of items in the questionnaire, as the index method of analysis identified "intermediate" attitudes (neither strongly traditional or strongly non-traditional). Therefore, it was unnecessary to include

"intermediate" items in the questionnaire.

A second limitation of the study is that the investigator failed to ask the religious affiliation of the subjects in the personal information section of the questionnaire. Although it can be reasonably assumed that the majority of subjects were of the Roman Catholic faith, it is impossible to state this as a fact.

A third limitation of the study is one which is inherent in the type of instrument which was used, the questionnaire. It was evident that some of the questions may have been confusing to the subjects, and furthermore, that subjects may have interpreted some questions differently than the investigator. Some possibly misinterpreted or confusing questions were identified by high percentages of uncertain responses on the part of the subjects. Although precautions had been taken to avoid this problem by having the questionnaire translated back into English by the two judges, the problem was apparently not totally alleviated.

A fourth limitation is that testing the attitudes of subjects gives very little information with regard to actual behaviour. However, it is debatable whether subjects would be as honest in answering questions relating to behaviour as in answering attitudinal questions. Also, in testing attitudes, it is difficult to know what influences underly the attitudes expressed by subjects. One wonders whether findings would have been similar had the adolescents been tested in the home environment rather than the school environment.

Suggestions for further research

This study raises some important questions in relation to the French-Canadian family. In order to adequately test the effects of a heterogeneous environment (such as Manitoba) on French-Canadian family values, a parallel study of rural and urban French-Canadian adolescents in Quebec could be conducted. Also, in order to distinguish between cultural values and religious values in certain areas of family life, it would be interesting to compare French-Canadian adolescents with adolescents of another ethnic group closely associated with Catholicism, e.g., Ukrainian Canadians. Thirdly, this study was concerned with the present attitudes of one generation of French-Canadians only. Assessment of change in family values could be accomplished through the presentation of the questionnaire to two generations of French-Canadians, i.e., adolescents and their parents. Fourthly, in order to test the suggestion that the attitudes expressed by the adolescents in this sample reflected values commonly held by urban families in general, a sample of French-Canadian adolescents could be compared to an English-speaking sample of adolescents. Furthermore, the relative differences between the attitudes expressed by the rural and urban segments of this sample suggests the possibility of testing a cultural lag theory in relation to rural-urban differences. This could be done by comparing a French-Canadian sample and a sample of another ethnic group in relation to rural-urban variations.

In sum, by identifying some of the attitudes of French-Canadian adolescents in Manitoba, this study may be of value to those who are

directly involved in working with French-Canadian youth, such as educators, youth group leaders, and religious leaders. It is hoped that other studies on the French-Canadian family in Manitoba will follow.

- Arnold, A.J.
1970 "How far do we go with multi-culturalism?" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 2 (2): 7-14.
- Backeland, Lucille L.
1971 *The Franco-Manitobans: a study on cultural loss.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba.
- Bardis, Panos D.
1959 "A familism scale." *Marriage and Family Living* 21: 340-341
- Barnett, Larry D.
1971 "Research in interreligious dating and marriage." Pp. 52-57 in J.P. Wiseman (ed.) *People as Partners.* San Francisco: Canfield Press.
- Blalock, Hubert M.
1972 *Social Statistics. U.S.:* McGraw-Hill (2nd ed.).
- Blishen, B.R., Jones, F.E., Naegle, K.D., Porter, J. (eds.)
1968 *Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives.* Toronto: MacMillan (3rd ed.).
- Blood, R.O., Hamblin, R.L.
1958 "The effect of the wife's employment on the family power structure." *Social Forces* 36: 347-352.
- Brazeau, Jacques
1971 "Quebec's emerging middle-class." Pp. 319-327 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (ed.) *French-Canadian Society (Vol. I).* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).
- Burchinal, Lee G.
1964 "The rural family of the future." Pp. 159-197 in James H. Copp (ed.) *Our Changing Rural Society: Perspectives and Trends.* Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press.
- Charles, Enid
1948 *The Changing Size of the Family in Canada.* Ottawa: King's Printer.
- Christensen, Harold T., Carpenter, George, R.
1962 "Value-behaviour discrepancies regarding premarital coitus in three Western cultures." *American Sociological Review* 27: 66-74.
- Clark, S.D.
1974 "The American take-over of Canadian sociology: myth or reality." *University Affairs (September):* 16-18.

- Clark, S.D.
1964 "Canada and her great neighbour." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 1 (4): 193-201.
- Connors, R., Greene, H.F. Walters, J.
1958 "Agreement of family member conceptions of "good" parent and child roles." Social Forces 36: 353-358.
- Dumont, F., Rocher, G.
1971 "An introduction to a sociology of French Canada." Pp. 178-200 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.) French-Canadian Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).
- Dunn, Marie S.
1960 "Marriage role expectations of adolescents." Marriage and Family Living 22: 99-111.
- Edwards, John N. (ed.)
1969 The Family and Change. New York: a.a. Knopf.
- Elkin, Frederick
1968 The Family in Canada. Ottawa: The Vanier Institute of the Family (5th ed.)
- Elkin, Frederick
1968 "Variations in Canadian family life." Pp. 92-115 in W.E. Mann (ed.) Canada: A Sociological Profile. Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company.
- Falardeau, Jean-Charles
1971 "The changing social structures of contemporary French-Canadian society." Pp. 106-122 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.) French-Canadian Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).
- Gallagher, J.E., Lambert, R.D.
1971 Social Process and Institution: the Canadian Case. Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd.
- Garigue, Philippe
1971 "Change and continuity in French Canada." Pp. 123-137 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.) French-Canadian Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).
- Garigue, Philippe
1970 La vie familiale des canadiens francais. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Universite de Montreal (2nd ed.).

- Garigue, Philippe
 1964 "French Canada: a case study in sociological analysis."
 The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 1 (4):
 186-192.
- Gerin, Leon
 1971 "The French-Canadian family--its strengths and weaknesses."
 Pp. 32-57 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.)
 French-Canadian Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and
 Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).
- Gold, Gerald L., Trembaly, Marc-Adelard,
 1973 Communities and Culture in French Canada. Canada: Holt,
 Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd.
- Grandpre, Pere Marcel de
 1963 Pour un ministere de l'education vraiment moderne.
 Federation des Colleges Classiques. Document no. 25.
- Guindon, Hubert
 1971 "The social evolution of Quebec reconsidered." Pp. 137-162
 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.) French-Canadian
 Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.
 (5th ed.).
- Henripin, Jacques
 1971 "From acceptance of mature to control: the demography of
 French-Canadians since the seventeenth century." Pp. 204-
 216 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.) French-Canadian
 Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.
 (5th ed.).
- Hobart, C.W.
 1973 "Attitudes toward parenthood among Canadian young people."
 Journal of Marriage and the Family 35 (1): 71-83.
- Hobart, C.W.
 1972 "Sexual permissiveness in young English and French Canadians."
 Journal of Marriage and the Family 34 (2): 292-303.
- Hughes, Everett C.
 1943 French Canada in Transition. Chicago: University of Chicago
 Press.
- Irving, Howard
 1972 The Family Myth. Canada: The Copp Clark Publishing Company.
- Ishwaran, K.
 1971 The Canadian Family. Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Ltd.

- Ishwaran, K.
1971 "The Canadian family: an overview." Pp. 3-20 in K. Ishwaran (ed.) The Canadian Family. Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Ltd.
- Ishwaran, K.
1971 "The Canadian family: variations and uniformities." Pp. 372-395 in J.E. Gallagher and R.D. Lambert (eds.) Social Process and Institution: the Canadian Case. Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Ltd.
- Jacobson, Helga E.
1971 "The family in Canada: some problems and questions." Pp. 23-28 in K. Ishwaran (ed.) The Canadian Family. Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Ltd.
- Keyfitz, Nathan
1953 "Population problems." Pp. 67-95 in Jean-C. Falardeau (ed.) Essais sur le Quebec contemporain--Essays on Contemporary Quebec. Quebec: Les Presses Universitaires Laval.
- Kubat, D., Thornton, D.
1974 A Statistical Profile of Canadian Society. Canada: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.
- Leary, T.F.
1957 Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality. New York: Roland Press.
- Leslie, Gerald
1967 The Family in Social Context. U.S.: Oxford University Press.
- Martindale, Don
1960 The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory. Cambridge: The Riverside Press.
- Miner, H.
1939 St-Denis: a French-Canadian Parish. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moreux, Colette
1971 "The French-Canadian family." Pp. 126-147 in K. Ishwaran (ed.) The Canadian Family. Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Ltd.
- Nye, F. Ivan, Berardo, Felix M.
1973 The Family: Its Structure and Interaction. N.Y.: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc.
- Ossenberg, Richard J.
1971 Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change, and Conflict. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd.

- Ossenberg, Richard J.
 1967 "The conquest revisited: another look at Canadian dualism."
 The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 4 (4):
 201-218.
- Paul VI, Pope
 1968 Humanae Vitae: Encyclical on Birth Control. St. Louis:
 Knights of Columbus.
- Parsons, T., Bales, R.F.
 1955 Family, Socialization and Interaction Process. New York:
 The Free Press.
- Piddington, Ralph
 1961 "A study of French-Canadian kinship." International Journal
 of Comparative Sociology 2 (March): 3-32.
- Porter, John A.
 1965 The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Redfield, Robert
 1971 "French-Canadian culture in St-Denis." Pp. 57-62 in
 Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.) French-Canadian Society
 (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).
- Redfield, R.
 1947 "The folk society." The American Journal of Sociology 52
 (4): 293-308.
- Reiss, Ira L.
 1971 The Family System in America. U.S. Holt, Rinehart and
 Winston, Inc.
- Rioux, M., Martin, Y.,
 1971 French-Canadian Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland
 and Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).
- Rioux, Marcel
 1971 "Remarks of the socio-cultural development of French Canada."
 Pp. 162-178 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.)
 French-Canadian Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and
 Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).
- Saxton, Lloyd
 1968 The Individual, Marriage, and the Family. California:
 Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.
- Schlesinger, Benjamin
 1972 Families: a Canadian Perspective. Canada: McGraw-Hill
 Ryerson Ltd.

Shay, Margaret, E.

- 1950 A preliminary Review of the Asbestos Strike: a Study in the Dynamics of Social Change. New York: Unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

Siegel, Sidney

- 1956 Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences. U.S.: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Sirjamaki, J.

- 1947 "Culture configurations in the American family." American Journal of Sociology 53 (May): 464-470.

Taylor, Norman W.

- 1971 "The French-Canadian industrial entrepreneur and his social environment." Pp. 271-295 in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin (eds.) French-Canadian Society (Vol. I). Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd. (5th ed.).

Thomas, John L.

- 1956 The American Catholic Family. N.J., Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Tonnies, Ferdinand

- 1965 Community and Society. N.Y.: Harper and Row.

Tremblay, M.-A.,

- 1973 "Authority models in the French-Canadian family." Pp. 109-122 in G.L. Gold and M.-A. Tremblay (eds.) Communities and Culture in French Canada. Canada: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd.

Tremblay, M.-A., Fortin, G.,

- 1963 Etude des conditions de vie, des besoins et des aspirations des familles salariees canadiennes-francaises (3 vols.) Quebec: Centre des Recherches Sociales de l'Universite Laval.

Tremblay, Maurice

- 1951 "Securite de la famille ouvriere: position du probleme et principes de solution." Pp. 13-14 in M. Tremblay Securite de la famille ouvriere. Sixieme Congres des Relations Industrielles de Laval. Quebec: Les Presses Universitaires de Laval.

Turner, Ralph

- 1970 Family Interaction. U.S. John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Vallee, F.G., Whyte, D.R.

- 1968 "Canadian society: trends and perspectives." Pp. 833-852
in B.R. Blishen et al. (eds.) Canadian Society: Sociological
Perspectives. Toronto: MacMillan.

Weber, Max

- 1963 The Sociology of Religion. Beacon Press.

Wrong, Dennis

- 1964 "Background for understanding." Pp. 23-30 in R. Laskin (ed.)
Social Problems: a Canadian Profile. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Udry, Richard J.

- 1971 The Social Context of Marriage. U.S.: J.B. Lippincott
Company (2nd ed.).

Udry, Richard J.

- 1966 The Social Context of Marriage. U.S.: J.B. Lippincott
Company (1rst ed.).

Wirth, Louis

- 1938 "Urbanism as a way of life." American Journal of Sociology
44: 1-24.

Zadrovny, John T.

- 1959 Dictionary of Social Science. Washington, D.C.: Public
Affairs Press.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
THE INSTRUMENT AND PROCEDURE
(FRENCH QUESTIONNAIRE)

Dans les pages suivantes, vous trouverez plusieurs déclarations que vous avez déjà probablement entendues au sujet des fréquentations, du mariage et de la vie familiale. A moins d'instructions spéciales, indiquez vos sentiments envers chaque déclaration, en vous servant de la mesure suivante:

PDTD--Je ne suis Pas Du Tout D'accord

PB----Je ne suis Pas D'accord

I-----Incertain

D-----Je suis D'accord

ED-----Je suis Entièrement D'accord

Pour chaque question, encerclez la réponse qui décrit le mieux vos sentiments.

Par exemple:

Les jeunes d'aujourd'hui ne sont pas responsables. PDTD PD I D ED.

N.B. CECI N'EST PAS UN EXAMEN. IL N'Y A PAS DE "BONNES" OU "MAUVAISES" REPONSES. NOUS VOUS DEMANDONS SEULEMENT DE REPONDRE A CHAQUE QUESTION HONNETEMENT. LE QUESTIONNAIRE EST ANONYME, DONC N'ECRIVEZ PAS VOTRE NOM SUR CETTE COPIE.

AGE _____

SEXE: M _____ F _____

LANGUE MATERNELLE: _____

RESIDENCE: FERME _____

VILLAGE _____

VILLE _____

AUTRE (spécifiez) _____

Ayant complété la 12^e année, comptez-vous poursuivre vos études? OUI _____ NON _____

PEUT-ETRE _____

1. Ce serait une bonne chose que les filles soient aussi libres que les garçons de faire des rendez-vous avec ceux-ci.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
2. Une personne qui a des rapports sexuels avant le mariage ne pourra jamais parvenir au bonheur dans le mariage.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
3. Les plaisirs du corps perdent l'âme.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
4. Une personne séparée de son époux(se) ne devrait pas fréquenter (sortir avec) d'autres personnes du sexe opposé.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
5. Quand un couple marié ne s'aime plus, il est acceptable qu'il obtienne un divorce.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
6. Un garçon devrait compléter son éducation avant de se marier.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
7. Un couple marié avec un revenu suffisant ne devrait avoir que deux enfants même s'il a les moyens d'en élever plus.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
8. Jusqu'à l'âge de 18 ans, un enfant devrait toujours obéir à ses parents.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
9. Jusqu'à l'âge de 18 ans, les enfants devraient donner l'argent qu'ils gagnent à leurs parents si les parents en ont besoin.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
10. Le mari devrait faire toutes les décisions qui concernent les matières financières.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
11. L'autorité de faire les décisions devrait être celle du mari, même pour les choses qui concernent la femme.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
12. Quand il y a des enfants dans la famille, le rôle de mère est aussi important que le rôle de femme.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
13. C'est le devoir des personnes mariées de transmettre la vie humaine.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
14. Un couple marié qui ne veut pas du tout avoir d'enfants ne remplit pas sa vocation chrétienne.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
15. Personne ne devrait avoir accès aux méthodes artificielles de limiter les naissances.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
16. Les moyens artificiels de limiter les naissances ne sont pas naturels et donc, personne ne devrait s'en servir.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
17. Il est tout probable qu'un mariage mixte faillisse.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
18. Un enfant devrait respecter ses parents et leur obéir à tout temps.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
19. Il est plus important pour une mère de bien baigner, habiller et soigner ses enfants que de jouer avec eux.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
20. Aucun enfant devrait être élevé sans éducation religieuse.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED

21. Un garçon ne veut pas épouser une fille qui cède à ses invites sexuelles.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
22. Lors des fréquentations, la responsabilité "d'établir les limites" dans les matières sexuelles est celle de la fille.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
23. Quand on embrasse chaque garçon/fille qu'on fréquente, on diminue la valeur de ce symbole sacré d'affection.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
24. Le "petting" est acceptable n'importe quand avant le mariage.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
25. Le mariage, c'est pour toujours; donc, le divorce n'est pas du tout acceptable.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
26. Les jeunes couples mariés devraient commencer à avoir des enfants durant la première année de leur mariage.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
27. Les couples mariés qui décident de ne pas avoir d'enfants, même s'ils en ont les moyens, sont égoïstes.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
28. Une personne devrait toujours être complètement loyale à sa famille.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
29. Toute personne devrait faire vivre ses oncles et ses tantes si ceux-ci en ont besoin.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
30. Le mari et la femme devraient avoir voix égale dans les décisions qui regardent toute la famille.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
31. Maintenir le ménage et élever les enfants sont les responsabilités de la femme.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
32. La vocation d'une femme, c'est d'être mère de famille.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
33. L'abstinence dans les relations sexuelles augmente l'amour conjugal en aidant au couple à surmonter son égoïsme.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
34. Seulement les couples mariés ou les couples fiancés devraient avoir accès aux méthodes artificielles de limiter les naissances.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
35. Si un parti catholique épouse un parti non-catholique, le parti non-catholique devrait se convertir.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
36. Il est plus important qu'un enfant soit heureux et contenté que propre.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
37. Il est plus important pour un père de comprendre ses enfants que de les punir lorsqu'ils se conduisent mal.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
38. La vie d'un enfant est trop facile aujourd'hui.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
39. Il est convenable de claquer des enfants qui se conduisent mal.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
40. Une jeune fille devrait toujours s'habiller modestement.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED

41. Pour une jeune fille, il est péché d'avoir des rapports sexuels avant le mariage.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
42. Si un mariage est insupportable, il est mieux que le couple obtienne une séparation légale plutôt qu'un divorce.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
43. Quand un homme est infidèle, sa femme devrait endurer l'infidélité pour le bien de la famille.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
44. Les familles nombreuses sont plus heureuses que les petites familles.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
45. Une personne devrait éviter toute action qui déplaît à sa famille.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
46. L'opinion de la femme devrait avoir autant de poids dans les matières financières que celle du mari.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
47. Dans la famille, c'est le père qui devrait punir les enfants pour des inconduites majeures.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
48. Les hommes ont tendance à avoir le caractère plus ferme que les femmes.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
49. "Le mariage et l'amour conjugal sont ordonnés par leur nature à la procréation et à l'éducation des enfants." (Humanæ Vitæ)	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
50. L'utilisation des méthodes de limiter les naissances devrait être une question laissée à la conscience individuelle.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
51. Il importe peu quelle religion chrétienne un couple marié décide de suivre, tant que les deux époux suivent la même religion.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
52. Les parents devraient faire toutes les décisions concernant ce qui est le mieux pour leurs enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
53. Un père devrait passer autant de temps avec ses filles qu'avec ses garçons.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
54. La religion devrait être enseignée à la maison et non pas à l'école.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
55. Un jeune homme devrait mettre son amie à l'épreuve en lui faisant des invites sexuelles.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
56. Les rapports sexuels avant le mariage violent le caractère sacré du mariage.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
57. L'infidélité dans le mariage est un péché grave.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
58. Une fille devrait compléter son éducation avant de se marier.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
59. La famille devrait avoir le droit de diriger totalement la conduite de chacun de ses membres.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
60. Les besoins de la famille en général sont plus importants que les besoins de l'individu.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED

61. Après l'ouvrage et durant les vacances, le mari devrait se sentir tout aussi responsable que la femme envers les enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
62. Par nature, les hommes et les femmes ont des tempéraments différents.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
63. "De fait les enfants sont le don le plus excellent du mariage et ils contribuent grandement au bien des parents eux-mêmes." (Humanas Vitae)	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
64. Lors des fréquentations, la responsabilité "d'établir les limites" dans les matières sexuelles est celle du garçon.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
65. Les mariages mixtes sont généralement de mauvais mariages.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
66. Un enfant devrait se sentir libre de mettre en question les règlements établis par ses parents s'il juge que ces règlements ne sont pas justes.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
67. Une éducation sans religion n'est pas une éducation complète.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
68. Un jeune homme honnête ne devrait pas fréquenter une jeune fille qui donne l'apparence d'être promiscueuse.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
69. Pour un jeune garçon, il est péché d'avoir des rapports sexuels avant le mariage.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
70. Quand on se marie, c'est pour toujours, que le mariage soit heureux ou non.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
71. Un jeune homme devrait être au moins de l'âge de ___ ans avant de se marier.					
72. Lorsque leurs parents se mêlent de ce qui ne les regarde pas, un couple marié devrait cesser de s'associer avec eux.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
73. C'est la responsabilité d'un mari envers sa famille de gagner un bon salaire et de leur fournir un foyer convenable.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
74. Une femme devrait supporter les décisions de son mari, n'importe ce qu'elle en pense.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
75. La plupart des gens se servent du contrôle des naissances pour des raisons égoïstes.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
76. Quand un couple décide qu'il a assez d'enfants, il est justifié de se servir de moyens artificiels pour empêcher d'autres naissances.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
77. Les enfants devraient pouvoir partager, selon leurs capacités, les décisions familiales.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
78. Des bons parents s'efforcent de bâtir le caractère de leurs enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
79. Par tempérament, les garçons ont tendance à faire mauvais usage des plaisirs du sexe.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
80. Les convictions religieuses d'une jeune personne lui aident à surmonter les tentations lors des fréquentations.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED

81. Le divorce est justifiable seulement lorsque les époux ont échoué complètement dans leurs efforts de s'entendre.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
82. Un couple marié devrait avoir autant d'enfants que son revenu financier lui permet.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
83. Lors des fréquentations, la responsabilité "d'établir les limites" dans les matières sexuelles est celle des deux partis.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
84. Une partie du rôle d'un homme comme mari et père est celle d'être le disciplinaire.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
85. L'éducation sexuelle devrait être donnée par des religieuses et des prêtres pour assurer que les jeunes gens forment des attitudes correctes.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
86. Les moyens artificiels de limiter les naissances encouragent les maris à se servir de leurs femmes comme objets sexuels.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
87. Les enfants devraient être encouragés à grandir de leur propre façon.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
88. Les parents devraient voir à ce que leurs enfants reçoivent une éducation religieuse.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
89. Je préférerais épouser quelqu'un qui n'est pas virginal(e).	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
90. Il est acceptable pour un couple qui est en amour d'avoir des rapports sexuels.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
91. Une jeune fille devrait être au moins de l'âge de ___ ans avant de se marier.					
92. Au moins un enfant, lorsque marié, devrait résider proche de ses parents.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
93. C'est le mari qui devrait faire les décisions finales mais il devrait premièrement en discuter avec sa femme.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
94. Les méthodes de limiter les naissances devraient être utilisées seulement que par des couples mariés.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
95. Quand on épouse quelqu'un qui n'appartient pas à son groupe ethnique, c'est comme si on abandonnait "les nôtres".	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
96. Il est plus important pour un père de participer dans les activités récréationnelles de ses enfants que de développer des habitudes d'obéissance chez ses enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
97. Il est mal pour un jeune homme de persuader son amie à prendre part à des actions qui occasionnent le plaisir sexuel.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
98. Il est acceptable d'avoir des rapports sexuels avec n'importe quel ami(e) qu'on fréquente(qu'on sort avec).	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED

99. La définition d'une famille nombreuse, c'est une famille ou il y a plus de deux enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
100. Un mari devrait aider sa femme à faire les travaux domestiques.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
101. Les femmes sont des personnes émotionnelles qui se concernent premièrement du bien-être de leur mari et de leurs enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
102. N'importe qui, de l'âge de 18 ans et plus devrait avoir accès aux méthodes artificielles de limiter les naissances.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
103. Les parents devraient enseigner à leurs enfants de travailler fort à la maison et à l'école.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
104. Ce serait une bonne chose si les filles paieraient la moitié des dépenses d'une sortie.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
105. Il est acceptable pour un couple fiancé d'avoir des rapports sexuels.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
106. Une personne devrait toujours partager son foyer avec ses beaux-parents s'ils sont dans le besoin.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
107. Si le père est absent et ne peut pas punir un enfant pour sa mauvaise conduite, la mère devrait agir de la même façon que l'aurait fait le père.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
108. Les couples mariés ont le droit de limiter leurs familles.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
109. Les enfants devraient apprendre à respecter la propriété des autres et à prendre soin de ce qu'il leur appartient.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
110. Un garçon qui rend une fille enceinte devrait l'épouser.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
111. Si le mari est infidèle, sa femme a raison de chercher le divorce.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
112. Une femme devrait s'adapter au style de vie de son mari.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
113. La vie d'un couple marié n'est pas complète sans enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
114. Dans le mariage, les obstacles de la langue sont plus faciles à surmonter que les obstacles de la religion.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
115. Un bon conseil aux parents: ne frappez pas l'enfant; gâtez-le.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
116. Quand un mariage devient insupportable, il est acceptable que les époux se séparent.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
117. C'est la femme qui devrait avoir la charge entière des enfants lorsqu'ils sont bébés.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
118. "Tout acte matrimonial doit rester ouvert à la transmission de la vie." (Humanæ Vitæ)	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
119. Il est nécessaire qu'une mère soit affectueuse envers ses enfants et qu'elle les guide avec compréhension.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
120. Pour les couples non-mariés, le petting est péché.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED

121.	On ne devrait jamais oublier, même lorsque marié, l'obligation envers les parents qui nous ont élevé.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
122.	L'accès facile aux contraceptifs a rendu les gens plus promiscueux.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
123.	Les parents devraient toujours répondre franchement aux questions de leurs enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
124.	Le mariage est sacré et donc, le divorce est une violation de la loi de Dieu.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
125.	Le mari devrait organiser son temps afin de pouvoir participer dans les activités de ses enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
126.	Il est important d'épouser une personne de la même foi.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
127.	Vaut mieux ne jamais fréquenter des garçons(filles) que de s'engager à des plaisirs coupables lors des sorties.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
128.	Les hommes ont une plus grande capacité d'envisager les problèmes de la vie que les femmes.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
129.	Lorsque les enfants grandissent, les garçons devraient être la responsabilité du mari et les filles devraient être la responsabilité de la femme.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
130.	On ne devrait pas se marier lorsqu'on est encore aux études.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
131.	Une fille qui cède aux invites sexuelles d'un garçon est faible.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
132.	Puisque faire le lavage, le nettoyage et prendre soin des enfants est un travail de femme, le mari ne devrait pas en être responsable.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
133.	Dans le monde d'aujourd'hui, la religion n'a aucune importance.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
134.	Une personne devrait toujours aider ses parents à faire vivre ses jeunes frères et soeurs, s'il est nécessaire.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
135.	L'Eglise ne s'est pas tenue à la page et en conséquence, a peu à dire aux jeunes d'aujourd'hui.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
136.	Les relations sexuelles dans le mariage devraient être destinées exclusivement à la procréation des enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
137.	Les jeunes couples mariés devraient attendre au moins un an après leur mariage avant d'avoir des enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
138.	Les mariages sont les plus heureux lorsqu'on choisit un(e) époux(se) qui est du même groupe ethnique que soi.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
139.	Il est acceptable de se servir des méthodes artificielles pour limiter les naissances si l'on est en mauvaise santé.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
140.	Les pouvoirs du sexe ont été désigné par le Créateur pour la procréation des enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED

141.	Le libertin avant le mariage deviendra tout probablement l'adultère après le mariage.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
142.	Les baisers prolongés occasionent presque toujours le péché.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
143.	Une personne devrait être prête à défendre sa famille contre des étrangers même au dépens de sa sécurité personnelle.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
144.	Jusqu'à l'âge de 18 ans, un enfant devrait obéir à ses frères et soeurs aînés.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
145.	C'est le devoir d'un mari de protéger sa femme et ses enfants.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
146.	Tout le monde devrait avoir accès aux moyens artificiels de limiter les naissances.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED
147.	Le but du mariage est d'établir une famille.	PDTD	PD	I	D	ED

APPENDIX B
ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. It would be a good thing if girls could be as free as boys in asking for dates.
2. Sexual relations before marriage prevents one from achieving happiness in marriage. (IB)
3. A lot of things attractive to the body ruin the soul. (IB)
4. It is wrong for a separated person to date other people. (IIA)
5. If a married couple falls "out of love" with each other, it is acceptable for them to get a divorce. (IIA)
6. A boy's education should be finished before he gets married. (IID)
7. A married couple with a comfortable income should only have two children even if they can afford to have more. (IIC)
8. Children below 18 should always obey their parents. (IIJ)
9. Children below 18 should give all of their earnings to their parents, if they are in need. (IIJ)
10. The husband should decide almost all money matters. (IIB)
11. The main authority for decisions should belong to the husband even in the spheres or activities which concern the wife. (IIB)
12. When there are children in the family, the role of mother is just as important as the role of wife.
13. It is the duty of married persons to transmit human life. (IIF)
14. A couple who does not want to have any children is not fulfilling their Christian vocation. (IIF)
15. No one should have access to artificial birth control methods. (IIG)
16. Birth control devices are unnatural and therefore should not be used. (IIG)
17. Interfaith marriages are likely to fail. (IIH)
18. A child should respect his parents and obey them at all times. (IIIA)

19. It is more important for a mother to bathe, dress and feed her children well than to play with them.
20. No child should be brought up without religious training. (IIIB)
21. A boy does not want to marry a girl who yields to his sexual advances. (IA)
22. The responsibility of establishing limits in sexual matters during dating is that of the girl. (IA)
23. Kissing every dating partner cheapens this sacred symbol of affection. (IB)
24. Petting is acceptable anytime before marriage.
25. Marriage is forever and for no reason is divorce acceptable. (IIA)
26. Young couples should start a family during the first year of their marriage. (IIE)
27. Married couples who decide to have no children, when they can afford to, are being selfish. (IIC)
28. A person should always be completely loyal to his family. (IIJ)
29. A person should always support his aunts and uncles if they are in need. (IIJ)
30. The husband and wife should have equal voice in decisions affecting the family as a whole. (IIB)
31. Maintenance of the household and rearing of the children is the wife's duty. (IIB)
32. A woman's vocation is to be a mother. (IIB)
33. Abstinence from sexual relations enhances conjugal love by helping the couple to overcome selfishness. (IIF)
34. Only married couples or engaged couples should have access to artificial methods of birth control.
35. If a Catholic party marries a non-Catholic party, the non-Catholic party should convert to Catholicism. (IIH)

36. It is more important for a child to be happy and contented than to be neat and clean.
37. It is more important for a father to understand his children than to punish them when they misbehave.
38. Life is too easy for a child today. (IIIA)
39. It is proper to spank children who misbehave. (IIIC)
40. A girl should always dress modestly.
41. Having sexual relations before marriage is a sin for a girl. (IB)
42. If a marriage is unbearable, it is better to obtain a legal separation than a divorce. (IIA)
43. If a husband is being unfaithful to his wife, his wife should endure it for the sake of the family. (IIA)
44. Large families are happier than small families. (IIC)
45. A person should try to avoid every action which displeases his family.
46. The wife's opinion should carry as much weight as the husband's^(IIJ) in money matters. (IIB)
47. In a family, it is the father who should punish the children for major misbehaviour. (IIB)
48. Men tend to have a more firm character than women. (IIB)
49. "Marriage and conjugal love are by their nature ordained toward the begetting and educating of children." (Humanae Vitae) (IIF)
50. Whether or not to use birth control devices should be a matter of individual conscience.
51. It doesn't matter which Christian religion a married couple practices as long as they both practice the same religion.
52. Parents should make all the decisions concerning what is best for the children in the family. (IIIA)

53. A father should spend as much time with the girls in the family as with the boys.
54. Religion should be taught in the home, not in the school.
55. A young man should test the fidelity of his girl friend by making sexual advances to her. (IA)
56. Having sexual relations before marriage violates the sacredness of marriage. (IB)
57. Infidelity in marriage is a serious sin.
58. A girl's education should be finished before she gets married. (IID)
59. The family should have the right to control the behaviour of each of its members. (IIJ)
60. One should never forget, when married, his obligation to the parents who nurtured him. (IIJ)
61. A husband should feel equally as responsible for the children after work and on holidays as the wife does. (IIB)
62. By nature, men and women have different temperaments. (IIB)
63. "Children are really the supreme gift of marriage and contribute very substantially to the welfare of their parents." (Humanae Vitae) (IIF)
64. The responsibility for establishing limits in sexual matters during dating is that of the boy. (IA)
65. Interfaith marriages are generally bad marriages. (IIH)
66. A child should be free to challenge the rules established by his parents when he feels the rules to be unfair. (IIIA)
67. Education without religion is not a complete education. (IIIB)
68. A decent boy should not date a girl who shows evidence of promiscuity.
69. Having sexual relations before marriage is a sin for a boy. (IB)
70. When one gets married, one should stay married regardless of whether the marriage is happy or not. (IIA)

71. A boy should be at least ____ years old before he gets married.
72. When parents meddle in a married couple's affairs, the married couple should cease to associate with them. (IIJ)
73. A husband's responsibility to his family is to make a good living and provide a good home.
74. A wife should support her husband's decisions regardless of how she may feel about them. (IIB)
75. Most people use birth control for selfish reasons. (IIF)
76. When a couple feel that they have the ideal number of children they are justified in using birth control devices to prevent further pregnancies.
77. The children should be allowed to share, according to their abilities with the parents in making family decisions.
78. A good parent strives to build his child's character. (IIIA)
79. By nature, boys have a tendency to misuse the pleasures of sex.
80. Having religious convictions helps to keep one from temptation during dating. (IB)
81. Divorce is justified only after married persons have failed entirely in a serious attempt to get along with one another.
82. A married couple should have at least as many children as their income will permit. (IIC)
83. The responsibility of establishing limits in sexual matters during dating is that of both parties. (IA)
84. Being a disciplinarian is part of a man's role as husband and father.
85. Sex education should be given by religious people (nuns and priests) to ensure that young people adopt the proper attitudes. (IIF)

86. The use of birth control devices encourages husbands to use their ¹⁵⁴ wives as sexual objects. (IIG)
87. Children should be encouraged to grow up in their own way. (IIIA)
88. Parents should see to it that their children receive a religious education. (IIIB)
89. I would prefer marrying a non-virgin.
90. It is acceptable for a couple to have sexual relations when they are in love.
91. A girl should be at least _____ years old before she gets married.
92. At least one married child should be expected to live close to the parental home. (IIJ)
93. It is the husband who should make final decisions but he should first discuss the matter with his wife.
94. Birth control should be used by married couples only.
95. Marrying outside one's ethnic group is equivalent to rejecting one's own kind. (II I)
96. It is more important for a father to participate in recreational activities with his children than to develop habits of obedience in his children.
97. It is wrong for a young man to persuade his girlfriend to take part in activities which bring about sexual pleasure.
98. It is acceptable to have sexual relations with any dating partner.
99. A "large" family can be defined as a family with more than two children. (IIC)
100. A husband should help his wife with the housework. (IIB)
101. Women are emotional beings whose first concern is the welfare of their husbands and children.

102. Anyone over 18 should have access to birth control devices.
103. Parents should teach their children to work hard at home and at school. (IIIA) (IIG)
104. It would be a good thing if girls would pay half the expense of dates.
105. It is acceptable for a couple to have sexual relations when they are engaged.
106. A person should always share his home with his parents-in-law if they are in need. (IIJ)
107. If the husband is absent and cannot punish a child for misbehaviour, the mother should deal with the situation as the father would.
108. Married couples have a right to control the size of their families. (IIF)
109. Children should be taught to respect others' property and take care of their things.
110. A boy who gets a girl pregnant should marry her.
111. If the husband is being unfaithful to his wife, his wife has reason to seek a divorce. (IIA)
112. A wife should fit her life to her husband's lifestyle.
113. The life of a married couple is incomplete without children. (IIF)
114. In marriage, language barriers are more easily overcome than religious barriers. (IIH)
115. Spare the rod and spoil the child is good advice for parents. (IIIC)
116. If a marriage becomes unbearable, it is acceptable for the couple to separate. (IIA)
117. The care of infants should be left entirely up to the wife.
118. "Each and every marriage act must remain open to the transmission of life." (Humanae Vitae) (IIF)

119. It is necessary for a mother to show love and affection to her children and to guide them with love and understanding.
120. For unmarried couples, petting is sinful.
121. One should never forget, when married, his obligation to the parents who nurtured him. (IIJ)
122. Easy access to contraceptives has made people more promiscuous.
123. Parents should always answer all their children's questions frankly. (IIIA)
124. Marriage is sacred and therefore divorce is a breach of God's law. (IIA)
125. The husband should manage his time so that he can be involved in his children's activities.
126. It is important to marry someone of the same faith. (IIH)
127. It is better never to date anyone than to engage in sinful behaviour on a date.
128. Men have a greater ability to face the problems of life than women.
129. As children grow up, the boys should be more the responsibility of the husband while the girls should be the wife's responsibility. (IIIA)
130. One should not get married while one is still in school. (IID)
131. A girl who yields to a boy's sexual advances is weak. (IA)
132. Since doing things like laundry, cleaning and child care are woman's work, the husband should feel no responsibility for them.
133. In today's world, religion is not important. (IIIB)
134. A person should always help his parents with the support of his younger brothers and sisters if necessary. (IIJ)
135. The Church has not kept up to date and therefore has little to say to young people. (IIIB)

136. Sexual relations within marriage should be exclusively intended for the procreation of children. (IIF)
137. Young married couples should wait at least one year before they start a family. (IIE)
138. Marriages are most successful when one chooses a mate from one's own ethnic group. (II I)
139. It is acceptable to use birth control devices when one is in poor health.
140. The powers of sex were designed by the Creator for the purpose of procreation of children. (IIF)
141. The libertine before marriage usually becomes the adulterer after marriage.
142. Prolonged kissing on a date usually leads to sin. (IB)
143. A person should be expected to defend his family against outsiders even at the expense of his own safety. (IIJ)
144. Children below the age of 18 should always obey their older brothers and sisters. (IIJ)
145. A husband's duty is to protect his wife and children.
146. Anyone should have access to birth control devices. (IIG)
147. The goal of marriage is to have a family. (IIJ)

APPENDIX C
RESEARCH PROPOSAL AND LETTERS
SENT TO SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

RESUME D'UNE PROPOSITION DE RECHERCHES:

Une étude des attitudes envers les
fréquentations, le mariage et la vie
familiale parmi les adolescents
francophones du Manitoba.

Mme. Charlotte Deroche-Walkty
Programme d'Etudes sur la Famille
Université du Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Dans la plupart des oeuvres littéraires publiées sur la famille en Amérique, les auteurs ont concentré leur attention sur la famille "typique", c'est-à-dire, la famille urbaine et bourgeoise. Souvent, on a appliqué à la famille canadienne les résultats des recherches menées aux Etats-Unis.

Au Canada, comme aux Etats-Unis, des efforts, certes trop limités, ont été faits pour élargir nos connaissances des familles qui se distinguent de la famille "typique" par des différences résidentielles, ethniques et religieuses. Parmi les familles qui se distinguent de la famille "typique" (telle que décrite ci-dessus) nous remarquons la famille rurale et les familles qui s'identifient fortement à leur groupe ethnique, par exemple, la famille canadienne-française.

Malgré l'affirmation assez générale à l'effet que ces deux groupes adhèrent à des valeurs plus traditionnelles que la famille canadienne "typique", certains travaux de recherches nous suggèrent que l'urbanisation a produit un changement dans les valeurs de ces familles traditionnelles.

En général, les résultats des recherches sur la famille rurale se contredisent. D'un côté, on maintient que la famille rurale a retenu des valeurs plus traditionnelles que la famille urbaine. De l'autre, on soutient que la famille rurale a adopté les valeurs de la famille urbaine. Donc, ces deux déclarations contradictoires indiquent le besoin de recherches supplémentaires pour répondre à la question des changements qui se produisent dans nos familles rurales.

La plupart des connaissances que nous avons sur le style de vie des Canadiens-français viennent de recherches faites au Québec qui ont été généralisées à tous les francophones du Canada. Cependant, nous croyons qu'il n'est pas juste de faire de telles généralisations. Il est alors nécessaire de poursuivre des recherches sur la culture canadienne-française dans d'autres provinces telles que le Manitoba, où les Canadiens-français vivent dans un milieu multi-culturel plutôt qu'un milieu homogène tel que le Québec.

METHODE

L'étude ici proposée cherche à examiner et comparer les attitudes des adolescents canadiens-français à l'égard des fréquentations, du mariage et de la vie familiale. Les attitudes des adolescents ruraux seront comparées à celles des adolescents urbains.

Un questionnaire anonyme, consistant d'environ 150 questions sur les fréquentations, le mariage et la vie familiale sera présenté à un nombre égal d'adolescents francophones de milieu rural et urbain.

Idéalement, nous aimerions interroger des adolescents de 11^e et de 12^e année, pour les raisons suivantes:

- 1) Les adolescents de cet âge (de 16 à 18 ans) sont près de l'âge du mariage et les fréquentations deviennent très importantes pour eux. Donc, la plupart auront déjà formé certaines attitudes à l'égard des fréquentations et du mariage.
- 2) Si, en effet, il y a des différences entre les attitudes des familles rurales et celles des familles urbaines, ces différences devraient être apparentes dans les réponses des adolescents puisqu'ils sont encore dépendants de leurs parents et donc influencés par eux.

IMPORTANCE DE L'ETUDE

L'étude ici proposée contient des implications pratiques pour tous les établissements publics et privés qui se préoccupent du développement et de l'éducation de l'adolescent. Des institutions telles que le système scolaire, les bureaux d'assistance sociale, les organisations de jeunes et les établissements religieux pourraient certainement bénéficier d'une compréhension plus profonde de nos adolescents ruraux et urbains.



THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF HOME ECONOMICS

WINNIPEG, CANADA R3T 2N2

TELEPHONE 204 474-9432

162

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

le 9 mars, 1974

Cher M.

Ci-inclus un résumé d'un travail de recherches que j'ai entrepris comme sujet de thèse en vue d'obtenir une Maîtrise ès Sciences dans le programme d'Etudes sur la Famille à l'Université du Manitoba. Comme l'indique le résumé, le sujet que j'ai choisi est relié à la culture canadienne-française au Manitoba. Etant moi-même canadienne-française, mon intérêt pour ce projet n'est pas seulement académique mais aussi personnel.

De nos jours, on fait partout de grands efforts pour préserver la culture de tous les groupes ethniques au Canada. Je crois sincèrement que nous pouvons contribuer à cet effort en faisant plus de recherches sur les différentes cultures au Canada. Plusieurs études sur la famille canadienne-française ont été menées au Québec, mais très peu de recherches ont été faites au Manitoba. Il y a un besoin urgent d'entreprendre de telles études et c'est pourquoi je me suis lancée dans un tel travail de recherches.

De plus, nous avons depuis longtemps reconnu la nécessité de préparer nos jeunes pour leur rôle d'adulte. Dans ce domaine, nous avons surtout souligné le côté académique de l'éducation en les préparant à une carrière. Cependant, nous avons souvent oublié que pour la grande majorité de nos jeunes, la carrière la plus importante qu'ils entreprendront dans le future

est celle du mariage. Récemment, beaucoup d'éducateurs laïcs et religieux se sont rendus compte du grand besoin de préparer nos jeunes pour leur future vie familiale. Je crois que les recherches que je propose pourront contribuer à l'éducation de nos jeunes dans ce domaine.

Donc, je fais appel à tous les directeurs d'écoles secondaires francophones au Manitoba afin d'obtenir un groupe d'adolescents urbains et ruraux qui pourraient répondre à un questionnaire anonyme sur les fréquentations, le mariage et la vie familiale. Le questionnaire est en français et je désire le présenter à des adolescents dont la langue maternelle est le français. La réponse au questionnaire exigera une heure de travail.

J'aimerais obtenir une réponse à cette demande avant le 1^{er} avril, 1974. Si vous décidez de permettre la distribution de ce questionnaire dans votre école, j'aimerais que vous indiquiez une date (soit au mois d'avril ou mai) ou il serait possible que je vienne à votre école pour présenter le questionnaire. Je suis à votre disposition en ce qui concerne la date et le temps qui vous conviendrait.

Toute école qui participera à cette étude recevra un résumé des résultats de la recherche, une fois le projet complété, environ au mois de septembre, 1974. Je serai très heureuse de répondre à toute question que vous pourrez avoir en rapport à ce projet. Vous pouvez me rejoindre aux numéros suivants: 269-5459 (Université du Manitoba) ou 269-1364 (résidence). Veuillez s.v.p. envoyer votre réponse à l'adresse suivante:

Mme Charlotte Deroche-Walkty
Department of Family Studies
Home Economics Building
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2

Votre coopération sera grandement appréciée.

Bien à vous,

Mme Charlotte Deroche-Walkty



THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF HOME ECONOMICS

WINNIPEG, CANADA R3T 2N2

TELEPHONE 204 474-9432

164

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

Cher M.

Sincères remerciements pour votre coopération lors de ma visite à votre école. J'aimerais aussi remercier tous les élèves qui ont répondu au questionnaire, ainsi que les professeurs qui ont sacrifié leurs cours pour la présentation de ce questionnaire.

Par votre générosité, vous avez rendu mon travail beaucoup plus facile. J'espère pouvoir vous communiquer les résultats de cette étude au plus tôt possible.

Sincèrement,

Charlotte Deroche-Walkty