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THE FRANCO-MANITOBANS: A STUDY ON CULTURAL LOSS
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ABSTRACT

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The basic problem in this study was one of investigating to what degree Franco-Manitoban adolescents were losing their parents' French-Canadian culture.

Underlying this problem was a theoretical orientation which postulated that as a result of culture contact with the English majority over a long period of time there would be a breakdown in ethnic continuity between Franco-Manitoban adults and Franco-Manitoban adolescents. Previous research had repeatedly explained the time factor involved in cultural loss in terms of the "third generation hypothesis". On the basis of this theoretical orientation and past research it was hypothesized that there would be a lack of congruity between the adherence of Franco-Manitoban adolescents to selected attributes of their parents' French culture and that of the Franco-Manitoban adults.

A sample of 333 Franco-Manitoban adolescents and 136 Franco-Manitoban adults was obtained from St. Boniface, which has a high concentration of French Canadians. Bilingual questionnaires were used to collect the data on French language use, use of the French mass media, attitude towards "outdating", religiosity and ethnic identity. Three

intervening variables were later taken into account for it was felt that these could affect the cultural loss of the adolescents. These were the type of school attended, peer influence and social class. The statistical measures used to determine the degree of association between the variables was Goodman and Kruskal's gamma and Theta. A second descriptive measure, an index of dissimilarity was also utilized.

In general, the hypotheses were substantiated. The data indicated a low degree of correspondence between Franco-Manitoban adolescents and Franco-Manitoban adults with regards to their adherence to four of the five selected cultural traits. However, an unexpected finding was the high ethnic identity expressed by the adolescents. When the intervening variables were taken into account, French peer influence and the French private school proved to be important factors in cultural maintenance. There were also differences in cultural maintenance between the social classes, with the upper classes generally maintaining their French culture in greater degree than the lower classes. However, the data suggested that the difference in cultural loss between generations was greater than the difference between social classes.

The findings in this study are necessarily limited for only elements which Franco-Manitoban adolescents are losing were taken into account. It was suggested that future research could attempt to discern exactly what elements Franco-Manitoban adolescents are taking on from the dominant English culture.

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INTRODUCTION

The study of minority and ethnic groups has been approached from a variety of perspectives. Some sociologists have attempted to discern general patterns that interacting racial and ethnic groups go through (Park 1950; Bogardus 1930; Brown 1934). Others have focused on factors which accelerate or retard the process of assimilation (Lieberson 1961; Schermerhorn 1964; Weinstock 1963). All of these theorists have been concerned with the "disappearance syndrome", that is, the process by which ethnic minority groups become culturally indistinguishable from the dominant (or other) cultural group (Fishman 1966).

Recent studies on Franco-Manitobans have focused on some aspects of this "disappearance syndrome". Both Labossière (1969) and Jolicoeur (1966) indicated that Franco-Manitoban adolescents made little use of French, their mother tongue and spoke English extensively. However, their data on adolescents was limited and both emphasized the importance of focusing exclusively on Franco-Manitoban adolescents.

The basic problem in this study is one of analyzing to what degree Franco-Manitoban adolescents are losing or maintaining their parents' French-Canadian culture. Variables such as type of school, peer influence, and social class will be taken into account as intervening variables which could affect the adolescents' cultural loss.

The present study is expected to increase our knowledge of French Canada and French-Canadians for as Garigue (1956) has pointed out, French Canada has been imperfectly studied. Many of the statements which have been brought forward have been too speculative to be reliable. The French minority in Manitoba has a special significance for it was singled out by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1967: Livre I) as one of the seven most important concentrations outside the province of Quebec. It is also one of the loci around which the Royal Commission proposes to establish a "bilingual district" where the French language and French culture can be maintained in a predominantly English area. Knowledge of the extent to which Franco-Manitoban adolescents are adopting and maintaining their parents' French culture would certainly shed some light on the situation of the French culture in Manitoba and the viability of the French culture outside the province of Quebec.

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This chapter will be divided into two main sections, the first dealing with the theoretical orientation of the thesis and the second, with a theoretical discussion of the independent, dependent and intervening variables to be considered in this research.

Two perspectives will be embodied in our theory of cultural loss among Franco-Manitoban adolescents. The first factor is the contact situation between the English majority and the French minority culture; the second is a time factor, often explained in terms of the third generation hypothesis. Both of these will now be examined.

Theoretical explanation:

When two cultures come into contact, influences spread from one to the other. However, rarely do we find a contact situation where both cultures influence one another equally (Banton 1967). One usually becomes dominant and is less influenced than the weaker one. The weaker culture is at a considerable disadvantage for as is often the case, a conflict of values is created within the weaker culture as a result of culture contact (Banton 1967). In the face of such a situation members of a minority culture may seek toleration for their cultural differences, assimilation, political and cultural independence or domination (Wirth 1945). However, even though a cultural minority seeks to maintain its distinctiveness

when contact between a dominant and minority culture is direct, face to face and sustained over long periods some changes are bound to occur in the minority culture.

Anthropologists agree that in every contact situation some aspects of the minority native culture change (Bruner 1956). There is less agreement however on what elements of culture do change. However change under contact conditions seems to proceed at uneven rates (SSRC 1954). At the level of the "mother culture" some elements are kept in all their integrity while others are abandoned more or less rapidly. Several propositions have been formulated as a result of studies of contact situations involving "primitive" peoples and Western civilization.

That material traits are more amenable to change than non-material traits is a proposition that has received wide acceptance. (Linton 1940; SSRC 1954; Herskovits 1941; Berry 1951; Kushner et al 1962).⁴ When it comes to non-material items however, we find less agreement among anthropologists on which non-material cultural items are lost and why.⁵ What can be concluded from the literature is that non-material cultural items do change as the result of culture contact though the items are more persistent and slower to change than material items. The change is also less obvious and more difficult to measure.

As a result of the contact situation inroads into the minority group culture occurs over time. This cultural loss has been described as a three-generation process (Nahirny and Fishman 1965; Kramer 1970; Walter 1952).⁶ It has been stated

that, "...ethnic heritage, including the ethnic mother tongue, usually ceases to play any viable rôle in the life of the third generation." (Nahirny and Fishman 1965:311).

According to this approach the first generation of immigrants were under strong pressure to acquire a minimal knowledge of the dominant language and of the occupational skills which provided them with a living (Walter 1952). However, they attempted to preserve and perpetuate the traditions of their ethnic group through the family, the minority school and the Church. They managed to remain socially isolated from the dominant group. However, the social isolation which gave security to the parents created conflict for the second generation (Kramer 1970) for it had come into direct contact with the representatives of the dominant group through education and occupations. This new world represented a sharp contrast with their parents' ethnic way of life.⁷ These influences were at variance with their traditional values and effectively weakened their ethnicity. By the third generation the dominant majority's cultural ways were normal and natural for they had come under the influence of the non-ethnic mass media, value systems and behavior patterns. It was for them to establish a community that encompassed all the elements of prestige enjoyed by the dominant group. The type of education and employment became the defining characteristic of the third generation and those who followed (Kramer 1970).⁸

Though we are not hypothesizing that third generation

Franco-Manitobans have lost their ethnic heritage entirely, we maintain that as a result of culture contact with the English over a long period of time, there has been a breakdown in ethnic continuity between Franco-Manitoban adults and Franco-Manitoban adolescents.

In this next section we shall present a discussion of the independent variable, (the concept of generation) and the dependent variable (the cultural loss of selected attributes).

Independent Variable: Generation

The concept of generation usually refers to people who are born during the same time period. In a review of the concept of generation Marias (1968) points out that certain people belong to the same generation when they have in a sense grown up together, passed through childhood and youth at about the same time and matured during more or less the same years. These people also constitute the same generation because they have been subject to the same leading influences. The notion of generation is therefore more than a space in time; it is also the contemporary relation of individuals to each other (Marias 1968).

In this study we are dealing with two age categories or generations - adults and adolescents. Previous studies (Jolicoeur 1966; Labossière 1969; Fishman 1966; Kramer 1970) have commented on the extent to which the younger generation

of the minority group has a greater tendency to take on the values and behavior patterns of the dominant group. The three generation hypothesis discussed in the previous section has pointed out the interaction effect of time and each succeeding generation. As Kramer (1970:135) stated:

"The minority is usually characterized by two somewhat divergent social systems that reflect generational change, the younger generation being always more acculturated than the older generation."

Dependent variable: Loss of selected attributes of culture

The term "cultural loss" as such has not been systematically used or defined. Van Stone (1965) used the term in a study of Chipewyan Indians and defined it as the loss of aboriginal Chipewyan cultural traits that had not been replaced by wholly acceptable or adequate new cultural traits. Kramer (1970) used the notion of deculturation (which has overtones of cultural loss) and implied that it referred to a people without a culture striving to reacquire the ethnicity they lost in subjugation.⁹ "Cultural confusion" as used in the Stirling County Study (Hughes et al 1960) also has overtones of cultural loss. In People of Cove and Woodlot (the second book in the series) cultural loss refers to those Acadians who depart from ideal Acadian sentiments and defining characteristics.¹⁰ About the most systematic discussion of cultural loss can be found in Kroeber's Anthropology (1948). Cultural loss appears to be a displacement by something new

rather than being an outright disappearance or mere melting
away.¹¹ A new custom or belief crowds out an old one.

Keesing (1958) points out that only over longer time periods or in highly dynamic situations of contact, is cultural loss likely to show at all.

This study is not taking into account which new elements are replacing the old ones but rather only those elements which are being crowded out. Therefore, for purposes of this study cultural loss among Franco-Manitoban adolescents will be defined as a departure or deviation from their parents' French-Canadian culture.¹² This French-Canadian culture¹³ will be defined by a number of selected cultural elements and in no way implies an "ideal" French-Canadian culture. Rather we will look at the parents' French-Canadian culture as it is actually lived.

The cultural traits we have chosen have been referred to by Gordon (1964) as intrinsic cultural traits. These include religious beliefs and practices, ethical values, recreational patterns, literature, historical language and sense of a common past and are considered vital components of a group's intrinsic cultural heritage. The cultural traits chosen for the present research are: language, religious beliefs, attitude towards outdating, ethnic identification and use of the French mass media, that is, television, radio and newspapers.

These will now be elaborated upon with an emphasis on

how these cultural traits are important to the Franco-Manitoban group.

Language:

In the culture contact situation language is of the utmost importance since language is one of the main vehicles for the transmission of culture (Samora and Diane 1956) and is a central feature in the continuity of an ethnic group in contact (Liebersen 1970). The study of the use of language reveals not only visible patterns of behavior but also goes beyond the visible pattern in its meanings and implications. (Samora and Diane 1956). Language maintenance has always been emphasized by the French-Canadian minority. In fact, many French Canadians have tended to equate language and culture and they have felt that if the French language was maintained other elements of the French Canadian culture would also be maintained. (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism Livre I,). Traditionally faith and language were the essentials of survival in Western Canada and in other areas where the French were a minority (Stanley 1960; Piddington 1961).. With traditional concepts evolving, the French language is increasingly a focus of group loyalty as well as the principal identity trait (Corbett 1967).

Religiosity:

Religious beliefs and practices are also important to many ethnic groups because they serve as a focus of in-group loyalty and tend to reinforce in-group solidarity. The church

often becomes the core of communal life for an ethnic group (Kramer 1970) where they can pray in their language and interact with members of their ethnic group. French Canadians have traditionally been associated with Roman Catholicism. They have always deemed it essential to preserve their faith and traditions and they were convinced that loyalty in these two areas depended fully on the preservation of the French language (Lemaire 1966; Corbett 1967; Wagley and Harris 1958). Loss of language meant loss of faith and loss of faith meant loss of language. 14

Endogamy:

Endogamy or the rule of marrying within the group is a device used by many minority groups in order to intensify group solidarity and to increase the physical and cultural homogeneity of the group (Wagley and Harris 1958).¹⁵ Inter-marriage is opposed by almost all minority groups although the intensity of opposition varies considerably. A high rate of intermarriage would rapidly eliminate any cultural or physical characteristics that differentiate the minority from others, and would lead to the disappearance of the group. In this light an ethnic group's attitudes towards out-marriage and "out-dating" become important. Endogamy has been the rule or the norm of the French-Canadian group because they were French and Catholic. (Wagley & Harris 1958).

Ethnic identification:

Ethnic identification is very important for an ethnic

group because it indicates the orientation of its members towards the group. The manner in which persons identify themselves is crucial, for what they do or do not do depends to a great extent upon their conception of themselves (Shibutani and Kwan 1965). Individuals must know who they are with some conviction and clarity if their behavior is to exhibit definiteness and force (Foote 1951) towards their ethnic group. The internal cohesiveness of a group depends to a large extent upon the degree to which the members are aware of their identity. Ethnic identification has been defined as a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself and thereby to relate himself to others (Glaser 1958). It has also been defined as an awareness of belonging to a group (Rothman 1957).¹⁶ What is really important for the vitality of the group is the individual's conviction of belonging to the group.

For many French Canadians:

"Etre canadien-français signifie essentiellement que l'on s'identifie avec la collectivité canadienne-française; avec le peuple auquel spontanément on se réfère quand on dit ou quand on pense "nous".....
Falardeau 1960:26)

Mass media:

The mass media are a very important part of modern day life for they have the function of maintaining communication between the different sectors of society and of reaffirming the values of the group or groups they are catering to (Labossière 1969). For an ethnic group the mass media plays

a particularly important role. The ethnic press, radio and television promote the activities and the interests of the group and keep the mother tongue alive (Fishman 1966). Group ties are also expressed and reinforced. Therefore the importance of these media for teaching values and different kinds of behavior is obvious. The adolescent period appears to be the point at which the impact on ethnically-based language maintenance is most clearly felt (Fishman 1966). For Franco-Manitobans the French press is a factor which has bolstered French survival in the West (Stanley 1960). To this one can add radio and television. The mass media is a most important institution for it helps to determine whether a language will maintain its position among native speakers (Lieberson 1970).

Briefly then, these cultural elements, namely, language, religious beliefs, attitude towards outdating, ethnic identification and use of the French mass media, were selected because it was felt that they were important components of the French-Canadian culture.

We now present a discussion on the intervening variables selected for this study. However, before elaborating on these, it is necessary to define what intervening variables are.

Intervening variables:

The term intervening variables refers to variables that stand intermediate in a causal sequence between an "initial" or antecedent cause and the final effect (Blalock 1964).¹⁷

By using intervening variables, the researcher is making the

original notion of X causes Y more plausible by finding intermediate links between X and Y. Theoretically there is no end to the number of intervening variables that one can insert between X and Y. The researcher must limit himself to those which are particularly relevant to the problem at hand. Three such variables were selected in this study because it was felt that they could have an effect on the adolescents' cultural loss. These are: the type of school attended, social class and peer influence.

Type of school:

A very important and active language maintenance institution in the majority of ethnic communities in the United States has been the ethnic school (Fishman 1966). French Canadians as an ethnic group have also emphasized the importance of schools to transmit cultural values and maintain language use.¹⁸ Two types of schools are available to the Franco-Manitoban adolescent: one private French school and public schools.

Schools offering instruction in the mother tongue are more homogeneous with respect to the ethnicity of their pupils (Fishman 1966). In addition to teaching the adolescent how to write and read in the mother tongue, the minority school indirectly serves to maintain intragroup relations among minority group children. It also provides a focal point where pupils and active supporters meet and interact (Fishman 1966).

Contrary to the private school, public schools admit all children. This policy favors heterogeneity and "Anglification" for the admission of non-ethnics and other ethnics to membership inevitably and immediately pull in the direction of diversity or de-ethnization (Fishman 1966).¹⁹

Social class:

Social class defined objectively by education and/or occupation and/or income is significant in the life of an ethnic group and in the life of the minority group adolescent. A child grows up in a particular family which is part of a particular class and learns the cultural values of that class as those values are brought home to him in family training, neighborhood friends and class-oriented educational patterns (Gordon 1964).²⁰

That the upper and middle classes are more inclined to shift away from ethnic language use and cultural maintenance is an overgeneralization (Fishman 1966). Different patterns have been encountered. Fishman (1966) concluded from several studies of immigrants in the United States that the lower classes have been more retentive. In a study of the Manitos of New Mexico, Senter (1945) established an association between social class and acceleration of acculturation. Generally, he found that the upper strata were more Anglicized while lower ones retained traditional values. However, an exception to the correlation was revealed, that is the Elites among the minority Spanish group

had slower acculturation rates than the middle class who admired and tried to emulate the behavior of the Anglos. As far as religion, language and attitudes toward the host society, the middle class members were the first to lose their culture. In a study of French Canadians in Nova Scotia Tremblay (1961) found a somewhat different pattern. Using occupation and income as an index of social class, he found that social class was inversely related to the level of acculturation, that is, the higher one was in the social hierarchy, the lower the rate of acculturation. French Canadians who had a small income and whose occupation was low in status were the most attracted by Anglo-Saxon values and rejected most easily Acadian values.

Though no definite pattern between social class and cultural loss has been discerned, social class may have an effect on language and cultural maintenance. That a relationship exists needs to be tested.

Peer influence:

A reference group consists of those people whose perspective is used as a frame of reference in perceiving the world (Shibutani 1955). It is the source from which persons derive their goals and standards for developing their aspirations and judging their performance (Sherif and Sherif 1969). An individual's attitudes and modes of behavior stem from and are related to those of his significant others (Rosen 1955b).

Both parents and peers may be thought of as reference groups for adolescents as both provide perspectives in terms of which adolescents make choices (Brittain 1963). The family is the adolescents' first membership group and one which plays a primary role in the socialization process; his age-homogeneous group or peers provide him with immediate gratifications and rewards. A minority group adolescents' orientation toward his own ethnic group is affected by a multiplicity of factors two of which are very important - the specific attitudes held and conveyed by the parents and the attitudes of friends outside the immediate family circle. Both groups can exert pressure upon the adolescent. However, at no other time is the peer group as important to the individual as it is in adolescence for the peer group provides him with a sense of belongingness at a time when conflicting loyalties, identifications and values make him unsure of himself (Rosen 1955a). As a child passes through adolescence, the influence of the family becomes increasingly circumscribed while that of the peer group tends to be progressively extended (Fishman 1966). Studies which have attempted to demonstrate the relative influence of parents and peers upon adolescents have shown contradictory results.²¹ Some claim the predominant influence of peers; others, that of parents. Rosen (1955b) has pointed out that significant others are not necessarily referents for all areas of the individual's behavior. In certain

areas, peers may be more influential than parents; in other areas, the pattern may be reversed. Thus in a study on parent-peer group cross-pressures Brittain (1963) concluded that when status and identity needs were to be gratified peers were very important to the adolescent. However, when choices had to be made which pertained to the larger society (where status positions one can aspire to as an adult are found) parents were perceived as more competent guides. Brittain also pointed out that the responses of the adolescents reflected a concern to avoid being noticeably different from peers and also a concern about being separated from friends. For example, on a question about which of two high schools to attend, responses were predominantly peer-conforming. In another study on parent-peer group cross pressures, Rosen (1955a) found that when membership groups (in this case parents and peers) are found to be homogeneous in attitude on a particular issue (observing a religious practice) the probability is increased that adolescents will possess that attitude also. However, when both groups were not in agreement adolescents tended to conform more closely to the norm of their peers than the norm of their parents. The peer group was held responsible by both adolescents and the parents for the adolescents' deviation from traditional norms.

However, in the case where the adolescent is a member of a minority group, the influence of the majority group

must also be considered (Rosen 1955b). This influence which exerts a strong pull upon the minority group member forcing attitudinal conformity (Allport 1958) can be felt through friends who are not of one's ethnic group and even through friends who are of one's ethnic group but who have taken on the standards of the dominant group.

The major hypotheses will now be set forth.

Statement of the hypotheses:

The general hypothesis guiding this study is that there will be a low degree of correspondence between Franco-Manitoban adolescents and Franco-Manitoban adults with regards to their adherence to selected cultural traits.

More specifically, it is hypothesized that:

1. Franco-Manitoban adolescents will make less overall use of the French language than Franco-Manitoban adults.
2. Franco-Manitoban adolescents will make less use of the French mass media than Franco-Manitoban adults.
3. Franco-Manitoban adolescents will have a more positive attitude towards outdating than Franco-Manitoban adults.
4. Franco-Manitoban adolescents will have a weaker ethnic identity than Franco-Manitoban adults.
5. Franco-Manitoban adolescents will be less religiously oriented than Franco-Manitoban adults.

Three selected intervening variables will also be taken into account: type of school attended, social class and peer influence.

Footnotes:

1. The dominant culture by definition exercises control of the political and economic institutions. Because power is concentrated in the hands of the dominant group, the relationship between the two groups is ultimately controlled by the dominant group. (Kramer 1970).
2. The terms ethnic group and minority group have often been used interchangeably (Kramer 1970; Wagley and Harris 1958). However, it is important to note that differences do exist between the two terms. An ethnic group has been defined as a group of people whose members share a unique social and cultural heritage passed on from one generation to the next (Rose 1964). A minority on the other hand has been defined as a group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics are singled out for differential and unequal treatment (Wirth 1945). Cultural differences therefore characterize an ethnic group and unequal treatment or power differences characterize a minority group. Franco-Manitobans are considered an ethnic group because they are set off from the dominant majority predominantly because of their language, though they have other distinctive cultural traits. They also consider themselves a minority group for they feel that their rights have not been respected by the majority especially in the area of education. As the Royal Commission pointed out "The French language minority was expected to adjust to an English-language system of education and ultimately to the language itself." (Book II, Education: 52).
3. As a result of culture contact, four alternatives are possible in the minority culture. It can adopt new cultural elements, reject new cultural elements, retain old cultural elements or discard old cultural elements (Keesing 1958). Our interest lies in the last alternative.
4. However, in this study we will not concern ourselves with material traits for it is felt that the Franco-Manitoban group is not distinct from the larger dominant English community in the organization and provision of life sustaining activities such as the production and distribution of food, shelter, clothing and other necessities of life.
5. See Kushner et al (1962) for a review of various propositions which attempt to explain which cultural elements change and why. See also Linton (1940) and the SSRC seminar (1954) who suggest that patterns of behavior are harder to change. Linton further suggests that the elements of the "inferior" culture of which the superior group openly

disapproves will lose their value in the eyes of the inferior group and will tend to be abandoned more easily. See also Bruner (1956) who reviews previous hypotheses and presents his own hypotheses.

6. Hansen (1952) has brought forward the view that there is some kind of return to the fold of ethnicity whenever any immigrant group reaches the third generation of its development. However, Lazerwitz and Rowitz (1964) point out that Hansen's concepts were based on personal observations and that he did not present any substantial body of data on the actual behavior of the third generation.

7. Nahirny and Fishman (1965) maintain that the extent to which the immigrant fathers could have led their children to identify with ethnicity in the same manner as they did was very limited. For the immigrant fathers ethnicity was an outgrowth of past personal experience in the village community. It was deeply personal.

8. While this description has considerable validity for many American groups, there have been numerous exceptions (Walter 1952). In some cases the process has taken less time, in others it has taken more than three generations. It should be noted here that the situation of the Franco-Manitoban was different from that of the American immigrant. French explorers were the first to open up Western Canada and they were of sufficient number that the Manitoba Act of 1870 provided for a bilingual Manitoba. However as the French became swamped by English and other settlers, the position of their language was weakened and eventually destroyed (in 1890 and 1916). Lieberson (1970).

9. The notion of a "people without a culture" is hard to accept however, for most social scientists believe that to be human is to have a culture (Jaegar and Selznick 1964).

10. Departure from the ideal Acadian way of life was not accompanied by a balancing assimilation into the English group.

11. Kroeber's main concern is with tangible objects rather than non-material cultural elements. He cites examples of how environmental limitations, decline of skills, shrinkage of population or impoverishment may bring about the decline or disappearance of cultural elements.

12. Culture is not an easy concept to define. Different aspects of culture have been emphasized but a clear cut and precise definition is still to be found. There is no theory

of culture, only a "fairly well" delineated concept; however, a concept does not constitute a theory (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952). As defined by Kluckhohn (1963) culture means the total way of life of a people, the social legacy the individual acquires from his group. A culture is learned by individuals as the result of belonging to some particular group. Sociologists have often defined culture as the sum of the norms, values and beliefs in a society (Mott 1965).

13. Before elaborating on the dependent variable, it is necessary to justify our breaking or dividing culture into elements or attributes. As Herskovits (1941) pointed out, the student of culture contact must work with some convention such as the cultural trait for it is easier to speak of the study of entire cultures than it is to do so. As he also mentions, nowhere in the discussion of those who support this approach are there any specific methodological suggestion which would help analyse such unwieldy units as whole civilizations. "Analysis of a culture whether stable or undergoing change means it must be broken down into its components". (Herskovits 1941). Bierstedt (1963) also pointed out that it is necessary to break down culture and consider its various components in order to use the concept as a tool of sociological analysis.

14. Though thousands of French Canadians now profess their determination to remain French in culture even though they no longer consider themselves Catholic (see Corbett 1967) this approach is probably more evident in Quebec where everyday life can be carried out totally in French than in the other provinces where the Church is one of the few French institutions.

15. A good example of this is the American Jew. As traditional differences are progressively eliminated between the Jew and the non-Jew and there is little that marks the Jew as a Jew except Jewish self-consciousness and association with other Jews, group preservation depends more and more on the individual's decision to marry within the group. Parents attempt to transmit this desire to their children (Rosenthal 1960).

16. According to Allport (1958) a child is capable of a sense of ethnic identity as early as the age of five though it is not until nine or ten that he will be able to understand just what his membership signifies. Adolescents can therefore theoretically be expected to have a sense of ethnic identification.

17. The intervening variable must have occurred subsequent in time to the independent variable but prior to the dependent variable (Goode and Hatt 1952).

18. As recently as April 3, 1971 in a brief presented to the Provincial and Federal governments as part of a public demonstration, Franco-Manitobans once again expressed this opinion. (See *La Liberté et le Patriote*, Mercredi 7 Avril 1971, P. 5 et 11).

19. Comeau (1969) found an appreciable difference between the cultural orientation of Franco-Ontarian students who attended French private schools and those who attended bilingual schools. Students who attended private schools were more oriented towards the French culture. Jolicoeur (1966) also commented on the use of English in and outside the classrooms of the public schools in French parts of Manitoba and upon the "effet de francisation" of the private school.

20. Each ethnic group may be thought of as being divided on the basis of social class. Theoretically each ethnic group might have the whole spectrum of classes within it, although in reality, some ethnic groups contain only a partial distribution of social classes (Gordon 1964).

21. See for example Coleman (1961) who maintains that adolescents are totally influenced by their peers and Simpson (1962) who maintains that parents are more influential than peers.

22. That the dominant group influences adolescents was commented upon by Labossière (1969) who stated that the influence of the ethnic community had less impact upon the Franco-Manitoban adolescents and that of the dominant culture was much greater.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The first section of this chapter will deal with a description of the sample studied and the collection of the data. This will be followed by a discussion of how the variables were operationalized and a summary of the statistical techniques used in the analysis of the data.

Sample:

The sample was made up of grade 10 to 12 Franco-Manitoban high school students and their parents residing in the city of St. Boniface in Manitoba.¹ This area was designated for the study because it has the highest concentration of French Canadians in an urban centre in Manitoba. Of the 45,226 Franco-Manitobans residing in an urban area 13,400 are concentrated in St. Boniface (DBS 1961).²

All of the data were collected from four high schools in the St. Boniface area. One of the schools was a private French school with an enrolment of approximately 245 students. Most of these are of French background and all courses are offered in French. Approximately one hundred questionnaires were administered, 58 of which were returned. Of these, 57 were classified as Franco-Manitobans and included in the study. The remaining three schools used in the sample were public high schools. However, they differed among each other in the ethnic make-up of their student population and in the French courses they offered. Public school

"A" had a student population of approximately 800, two thirds of which are of French background. ³It offers more advanced courses for the teaching of French to Francophones. Three hundred questionnaires were administered in this school and of these 187 claimed that French was their mother tongue. Public school "B" had a high school population of approximately 125, all of which are said to be of French background. Like school "A", it also offers advanced courses in French. One hundred questionnaires were administered and 86 students claimed their mother tongue to be French. Public school "C" was predominantly English with a student population of about 500. Of these, it is estimated that 50 are of French background. No special courses are offered for the Francophones. Approximately 40 questionnaires were administered. Only three students claimed French as their mother tongue. Thus, the total number of Franco-Manitoba students used in the study is 333.

Collection of the data:

Questionnaires were used to gather the necessary data. Two separate questionnaires were constructed - one for the parents and one for the students. Both were bilingual.

Permission to enter the schools and to distribute the questionnaires was obtained from the superintendants of the two school divisions involved and from the principal of the private school. In three of the schools the principal gave the responsibility of selecting classes and administering the questionnaires to teachers or to the guidance counsellor.

In the fourth school, the author administered the questionnaires herself to classes selected by the principal's secretary.

The students answered the questionnaires in the classroom; it took approximately twenty to thirty minutes to fill out the questionnaire. All those students who answered "French" to the question "What language did you first learn at home as a child?" were then asked to take a questionnaire home to their parents. A self-addressed and pre-stamped envelope was included with every parents' questionnaire. A short letter explained the purpose of the project and asked the parents to mail the questionnaire when they were finished.⁴

Independent Variable Operationalized:

In this study we are dealing with two generations or age categories, that is, adults and adolescents. The parents representing the older generation were asked to fill out questionnaires so that a baseline of French Canadian culture could be established and a comparison between the younger generation, namely adolescents now attending high school, and the older generation could be made. Since cultural loss has repeatedly been described as a three generation process (Walter 1952; Kramer 1970; Nahirny and Fishman 1965) it was felt that it was important to try and ascertain with what generation of adults we were dealing with. Two questions were included in the parents' questionnaire only. The parents were asked who was the first member in their father's

family and who was the first member in their mother's family to settle in Manitoba. Although we did not control for the effect of generation, on cultural loss, this data allowed us to ascertain with what generation of parents and adolescents we were dealing.

Dependent variable operationalized:

Language use was defined as the percentage of the time respondents spoke French in various social and work activities. Both students and parents were asked what percentage of the time they spoke French at home, in their extra-curricular activities (social activities for the parents) and with their French Canadian friends. In addition, the students were asked to what extent they spoke French at school while the parents were asked what opportunity they had of speaking French at work and to what extent they did speak French. Percentages were calculated for the amount of time French was used in each of these various activities. (See questions 18-21 for adolescents and 18-22 for adults).

In an attempt to get at the religious orientation of both parents and adolescents, two dimensions of religiosity were measured - that is, their belief in important points of dogma in the Roman Catholic Church and secondly, the degree to which they fulfilled some ritual expectations of their Church. The intensity of their beliefs was measured by a five point Likert scale composed of eight items. The behavioral dimension was measured by two questions dealing

with actual religious practice. One question attempted to get at how often they attended church services and the other at how often they received the sacraments. (See questions 28-32 for adolescents and 25-28 for adults).

One form of the semantic differential was used to measure ethnic identification. It was made up of eleven bi-polar adjectives taken as representative of the three standard semantic factors (evaluation, potency, and activity) and others. ⁵The choice of the adjectives making up the scale was based on past research and a review of the theoretical literature and it was felt that they were most appropriate for rating the concept "French Canadian". In addition a second measure was used to tap the degree of ethnic identity. Respondents were asked to indicate to which three groups out of a possible seven they saw themselves as belonging. (See questions 33-34 for adolescents and 29-30 for adults).

Data on the respondents' attitude towards exogamy were obtained by asking the students directly how willing they were to date a non-French-Canadian and by asking parents how they would feel if one of their children wanted to date a non-French-Canadian (See question 22 in adolescents' questionnaire and 24 in parents' questionnaire).

Use of the French mass media was measured by asking the respondents to what extent they watched television, listened to the radio and read magazines and newspapers.

They were then asked to what extent they engaged in these activities in French. An index for the use of the French mass media was then constructed. (See questions 12-17 for adolescents and 12-17 for parents).

Intervening variables operationalized:

This next section examines the operationalization of the three intervening variables used in this study - namely social class, type of school attended and peer influence.

Social class was measured by rating the adult respondents' occupation (i.e. head of household) and the adolescents' parents' occupation according to the Blishen scale (1968). (See question 7-8 for adolescents and 5-6 for adults).

As stated previously four different schools were included in the study - the distinguishing characteristic being whether they were public or private. Three of the schools were public and the fourth was private.

In attempting to operationalize peer influence, four questions were formulated. Since a major concern was to determine if their friends were Franco-Manitobans or Anglo-Manitobans the students were asked to indicate to what ethnic group their four closest friends belonged. They were then asked who had the greatest influence on their decisions in nine specific situations - their French friends or their English friends. Two additional questions were aimed at obtaining information on the extent to which

their French-Canadian friends insisted that they speak in French and in English. (See questions 24-27 for adolescents).

Statistical analysis:

No tests of significance were used in analyzing the data since these are not utilized on basic survey data (Selvin 1957).

The statistical measure used to determine the degree of association between variables was Goodman and Kruskal's gamma and Theta.⁶ Gamma measures the predictability of order on one variable from order on the other (Mueller et al 1970) and it varies from -1 to +1. The numerical value of gamma represents the degree of association while the sign indicates the association as predominantly negative or positive.⁷ Unlike Gamma where order on one variable is predicted from order on the other, Theta predicts order on one variable from classification on the other (Freeman 1965). Since only one of the variables is ordered the sign is meaningless and therefore dropped. Theta varies from 0 to 1.⁸

Another feature according to Costner (1965) of both Gamma and Theta is that they can be given a Proportional Reduction in Error interpretation. That is, the absolute value of Gamma and Theta can be interpreted as the amount of error which can be eliminated by using knowledge of the independent variable in relation to the dependent variable as compared to knowledge of the dependent variable alone.

A second descriptive measure was also utilized. An

index of dissimilarity based on Duncan and Duncan's (1955) measurement of the spatial "distance" between occupation groups was used to derive a measure of dissimilarity between parents and adolescents. To compute this index, the percentage of all those, for example, making use of the French language in the home was calculated for each group. The index of dissimilarity is then one half the sum of the absolute values of the difference between the distribution.⁹

In the next section we will present the research findings with an analysis of the results.

Footnotes:

1. For this study, a Franco-Manitoban has been defined as a person whose mother tongue is French and presently resides in Manitoba. All respondents who answered "French" to the question "What language did you first learn at home as a child?" were defined as Franco-Manitobans and included in the sample. This definition differs slightly from the one used by DBS which defines mother tongue as the language first learned in childhood AND still understood. According to Lieberman (1970) this runs counter to the normal view of mother tongue as simply the first learned language in childhood, without taking into account the respondent's current ability to use the language. A second question was included in order to estimate their present ability to use the French language.
2. Founded in 1818 by French missionaries, St-Boniface and its French institutions have been considered by many as the "citadel of French culture within dominantly English areas" of Western Canada (Frémont 1954). Though the survival of the French culture in Manitoba has met with much opposition (all of their privileges were eliminated by the Manitoba legislature in 1890 and 1916) there is still a substantial French community in St-Boniface and other rural areas of Manitoba. In spite of their numerical weakness, for they make up only 6.6% of the total population (DBS 1961) they have been successful enough in maintaining themselves as a distinct group.
3. DBS figures dividing the school population by ethnic or language groups are not available. However, since pupils enrolled in the "Français" courses must have a good background in the French language, it is assumed that those taking "Français" are of French descent. Based on this assumption, the Manitoba Department of Education estimates that there are approximately 11,634 French students in Manitoba as of 1969. Of these, approximately 4,000 are in grades 10-12. However, these figures may be grossly inaccurate for there are many Francophones who opt for the easier "French" course.
4. Approximately 37 parents (37%) of the private school students returned the questionnaires. Fifty three parents (or 28%) of the 187 Franco-Manitoban students in the predominantly French public school responded and 57 or 57% of the parents of the students in the all French public school returned their questionnaires. The overall return rate was 41%. (N=136).

5. See Osgood et al for more detailed information on the semantic differential.
6. Theta provides no sign; therefore, a verbal interpretation must be provided.
7. Gamma was used when both independent and dependent variables were ordinal. Theta was used when one variable was ordinal and the other nominal.
8. When the sign is positive, order on the dependent variable is predicted to be the same on the independent variable. When the sign is negative the reverse is predicted, that is, order on the dependent variable is predicted to be the opposite of the order on the independent variable.
9. If for example the index of dissimilarity was 42 percent, the interpretation of this would be that in essence 42 percent of the adolescents would have to change their behavior in order to make their distribution identical with that of the parents'.

CHAPTER III
ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

This chapter which presents the research findings will be divided into two main parts. In the first section, we will present data bearing on the five main hypotheses and in the second part, this data will be discussed in relation to the three intervening variables.

The first hypothesis stated that Franco-Manitoban adolescents would make less use of the French language than Franco-Manitoban adults. The data presented in Table I on language use in various activities is in the direction predicted. There is a very strong positive association between generation and language use which suggests that Franco-Manitoban parents make more use of the French language than do adolescents.

Table I. Relationship between generation and use of the French language for selected situations.

	Home	Social activities	French-Canadian friends	School/work
Gamma	.74	.88	.95	.56
Index of Dissimilarity	42%	70%	77%	23%

Hypothesis two stated that Franco-Manitoban adolescents would make less use of the French mass media than Franco-Manitoban adults. The data in Table II on the use of French

television and of the French radio station support the hypothesis. However, the data also indicates that the relationship between generation and use of French magazines and newspapers is a negative one. Though the relationship is a very weak one (error in predicting the order of the dependent variable with knowledge of the independent variable would only be reduced by 7 percent) it does suggest that Franco-Manitoban adolescents may be reading more French magazines and papers than Franco-Manitoban adults.

Table II. Relationship between generation and the use of the selective facets of French mass media.

	Television	Radio	Newspapers and magazines
Gamma	.54	.65	-.07
Index of Dissimilarity	33%	37%	6%

Part of our hypothesis is therefore disconfirmed. One possible explanation for this could be that French magazines and newspapers are more readily available and in greater variety in the school libraries than in the homes and that Franco-Manitoban adolescents use this opportunity to read French magazines and newspapers.

Table III. Relationship between generation and attitude towards outdating.

Attitude	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
Would object strongly if children dated non-French Canadian/Adolescents not willing to date non-French Canadian	4	(3)	6	(2)
Would object somewhat if children dated non-French Canadian/Adolescents willing but only for a few dates	49	(39)	49	(15)
Would not object at all if children dated non-French Canadian/Adolescents very willing to date non-French Canadian	74	(58)	272	(83)
Total	127	(100)	327	(100)
Gamma	.54			
Index of Dissimilarity	25%			

Hypothesis three stated that Franco-Manitoban adolescents would have a more positive attitude towards outdating than Franco-Manitoban adults. The data in Table III is in the direction predicted. Nearly one half (42 percent) of the parents would have some objection to their children dating a non French-Canadian but only 17 percent of the adolescents

would have any objection. Fifty-eight percent of the parents would have no objection if their children wanted to date a non French-Canadian while fully 83 percent of the adolescents would be very willing to date a non French-Canadian.

It was stated in hypothesis four that Franco-Manitoban adolescents would have a weaker ethnic identity than Franco-Manitoban adults. Table IV indicates that the relationship is in the direction predicted although it is a very weak one. The index of dissimilarity is also very low.

Table IV. Relationship between generation and ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	60	(50)	142	(43)
Medium	43	(36)	119	(35)
Low	18	(14)	72	(22)
Total	121	(100)	333	(100)

Gamma .10

Index of
Dissimilarity 7.5%

A higher ethnic identity was expressed by the adolescents than was actually expected. One possible explanation for this finding could be that the situation which existed in

some of the schools at the time the questionnaires were distributed had increased the students' awareness of their ethnic identity. The students in public school "B" were faced with the possibility that 100 English students would be sent to their school in the fall. If this were allowed to happen the school would in effect become an English school. At the time the questionnaires were distributed the students were engaged in various activities in an attempt to prevent this from happening. The school division where public school A was located was engaged in a program of consultation with the parents and some students on the implications and the practical implementations of Bill 113.¹ Some of the residents of the school division wanted as much French instruction as Bill 113 would allow; others did not want the teaching of French to be increased. Committees were formed for the preservation of the status quo and others for the promotion of French. When the questionnaires were distributed the debate was at its peak.

However, even though the adolescents scored high on the ethnic identity scale when they were asked to choose the most important groups to them, they were divided between the Canadian group (41 percent) and the French Canadian group (39 percent) as their first choice. On the other hand (47 percent) of the parents chose the French Canadian group as the most important to them.

Hypothesis five stated that Franco-Manitoban adolescents would be less religiously oriented than Franco-Manitoban adults. Two indicators of religiosity were used - beliefs and practices. As Table V indicates the relationships are in the direction predicted.

Table V. Relationship between generation and religious beliefs and behavior.

	Religious beliefs	Church attendance	Use of sacraments
Gamma	.63	.49	.35
Index of Dissimilarity	32%	16%	21%

Adults in general are more religiously oriented than the adolescents. However, it is interesting to note that though the adolescents scored low on religious beliefs their score in terms of actual church attendance was close to that of the parents. In spite of the fact that they scored low on the religiosity scale, 59 percent of the adolescents stated that they attended church services because they wanted to attend. One wonders if Franco-Manitoban adolescents are questioning the Roman Catholic Church's basic doctrine and are not questioning the practice of attending church regularly or if in reality, parents are exerting pressure on them to attend church and they do

not want to acknowledge that this pressure actually exists.

In summary then, it appears that the five main hypotheses were well substantiated although some important qualifications should be made. Our results indicate that in general, French-Canadian parents seem to be making considerably greater use of the French language in selected situations and of the French mass media with the exception of French newspapers; they also expressed more endogamous feelings and were more religiously oriented toward Catholicism than the adolescents. However, the adolescents expressed a higher ethnic identity than was expected and there was virtually no difference between generations. An important point should be mentioned. There seems to be a contradiction between the adolescents' low use of the French language etc... and their high score on the ethnic identity scale. This will be discussed more fully later. From this data it would seem then, that to some extent Franco-Manitoban adolescents are deviating from their parents' French-Canadian culture.

In this next section we will discuss the five main hypotheses in relationship with the three intervening variables - type of school attended, peer influence and social class. Table VI presents a summary of the relationships between these intervening variables and the main hypotheses. (See Appendix B for more detailed tables) We will first look at the relationship between the type of school attended and cultural loss.

Table VI. Relationship between type of school attended, peer influence and social class and the selected cultural traits.

Selected traits	Type of school *	Peer influence	Social class	
			Parents	Adolescents
<u>1) Language use</u>				
a) Home	.29	.31	.21	.23
b) School/ work	.67	.53	.10	.11
c) Extra/social activity	.32	.65	.11	.18
d) With French friends	.48	.49	-.06	.10
<u>2) Mass media</u>				
a) French television	.25	.65	.24	.57
b) French radio	.20	.48	.35	.23
c) French maga- zines and papers	.08	.40	.26	.17
<u>3) Ethnic identity</u>				
	.04	.33	.22	.01
<u>4) Attitude to- wards out- dating</u>				
	.05	.34	.14	.09
<u>5) Religiosity</u>				
a) Beliefs	.14	-.04	.04	.04
b) Church attendance	.05	.32	.46	-.13
c) Sacrements	.10	.27	.20	.09
* =	Theta			
Others =	Gamma			

As Table Vi indicates the relationships between language use and type of school is in the expected direction - students attending the private French school make more use of the French language than public school students. The intensity or the strength of the relationships varies from situation to situation. The relationship between type of school attended and language use in the home is lower than the other three relationships. One explanation for this could be that many parents insist that their children speak French at home regardless of which school they attend. It is clear from the data that for most public school students the home is the only place where they make some use of the French language (and even then only 37 percent speak French). (See Table XX in Appendix B).

The relationship between type of school attended and use of all three media are quite low (see Table VI). However, the data does suggest that use of French television and French radio is greater for private school students than for public school students, though this is not the case for the use of French newspapers and magazines. In fact, predicting the use of French newspapers on the basis of type of school attended would be unproductive - only 8 percent of the error would be eliminated. As suggested earlier, French magazines and papers may be available in greater quantity and variety in the schools and some of the Franco-Manitoban

students, regardless of the school they attend, make use of this opportunity. However, as the data suggests, the majority of Franco-Manitoban adolescents make a very low use of the French mass media. Labossière (1969) has suggested that one reason why Franco-Manitoban adolescents make so little use of the French mass media is that they feel that the English media offer more variety and more contemporary values than the French media.

Predicting the degree of ethnic identity on the basis of type of school attended would be unproductive for virtually none of the error would be eliminated. (See Table VI). A high percentage of adolescents from both types of school scored high on the identity scale. The "crisis" referred to earlier could be the reason why the public school students scored as high as the private school students. In terms of the choice of important groups to them the differences between the types of school are again minimal. The Canadian group is their first choice with the French-Canadian group as their second choice.

Predicting students' attitude towards outdating on the basis of type of school attended would also be unproductive - only 5 percent of the error would be eliminated. This weak relationship was not expected for it was believed that private school students would express more endogamous feelings. A possible explanation for the weak relationship could be found in the environment such as the one that exists in

Manitoba where many different ethnic groups live side by side with the English language as their common meeting point. Such an environment discourages cultural differences. As one respondent stated when asked if she would consider marrying a non French-Canadian, "Love doesn't respect language".

The type of school attended has little relationship with the strength of religious beliefs, church attendance or use of the sacraments. The students again scored high on church attendance but low on religious beliefs. That there is but a slight difference between the two types of schools was expected because the private school's distinguishing characteristic is not a religious one, but a linguistic one.

Briefly, then, the results seem to indicate that the influence of the private French school is greater in maintaining the use of the French language among the adolescents than in maintaining the other selected attributes with the exception of the French mass media. That there was no appreciable difference between students attending the two different types of school and their ethnic identity and their attitude towards outdating was unexpected. An attempt was made to explain these results.

The second intervening variable used in this study was peer influence.² The relationship between peer influence and language use is in the direction expected (see Table VI). Those respondents who claimed that their French friends

had the greatest influence on them in nine particular situations tend to make more use of French in their activities, with their friends, at school and at home.

In terms of the use of the French mass media, the relationship is also in the direction expected and quite strong.

There is also a positive association between ethnic identity and peer influence (see Table VI). This is further substantiated by the choice of groups most important to the adolescents. Forty-three percent of the respondents who claimed to be influenced by their French-Canadian friends chose the French-Canadian group as the most important one to them, while 56 percent of the respondents who said that their English friends have the greatest influence over them chose the Canadian group as the most important group to them.

As Table VI indicates the relationship between out-dating and peer influence is in the expected direction. Adolescents who are influenced in some way by their French friends seem to have more in-group feeling. Fully 100 percent of those who are most influenced by their English friends had no reservations at all in dating a non French-Canadian while of those who said that their peer influence was French 22 percent had some reservations and 21 percent of those who said they were influenced equally by the French

and English also had some reservations.

There is a positive relationship between peer influence and church attendance and the use of the sacraments (see Table VI). Those students who claimed to be more influenced by their French friends seem to go to church and receive the sacraments more often. However, there is a very weak (-.04) negative relationship between religious beliefs and peer influence.

In general then, there seems to be an appreciable difference in terms of cultural loss between those students who are most influenced by their French friends and those who are influenced by their English friends. Adolescents whose peer influence is French seem to be maintaining these selected cultural traits more than the Franco-Manitoban adolescents who are influenced by their English friends.

The last intervening variable used was social class. It was measured by the father's occupation or by that of the head of the household and it was the only intervening variable which was used in relation to both adolescents and parents.

From Table VI, it can be seen that there is a positive association between social class and language use in the home and a positive but much weaker relationship between social class and language use in social or extra curricular activities. However, predicting language use with French-Canadian

friends on the basis of social class would be unproductive for both parents (-.06) and adolescents (.10) with parents generally making a high use of French regardless of social class and the adolescents a very low use. It is to be noticed that the relationship between language use with French-Canadian friends and social class for the parents is a negative one, suggesting that lower class parents may be using the French language just a little more with their French-Canadian friends than upper-class parents. A possible explanation could be that most lower class French-Canadians earn their living doing manual work which probably does not oblige them to speak English very much. On the other hand semi-professional and professional people may be involved in work which develops their communication skills in English rather than in French, thus giving them the habit of speaking English rather than French when they interact with other French-Canadians outside the home. However, as noted before this would apply only to a few cases, for language use with French-Canadian friends is very high regardless of class position.

There is a positive relationship between social class and use of the French mass media for both parents and adolescents though the relationships vary in intensity from one generation to the other and from media to media. Of the three media, social class seems to have the greatest

influence on the adolescents' use of television. In fact, the relationship is a strong one (.57). As for the parents, social class has the greatest influence on their use of French radio.

The relationship between ethnic identity and social class is positive (.22) in the case of the parents. However, it is virtually non-existent in the case of the adolescents (.01) for most of the adolescents regardless of social class expressed a high ethnic identity.

As Table VI indicates there is a positive but very weak relationship between social class and attitude towards out-dating. In general, both parents and adolescents had no objections to outdating though more parents than adolescents expressed some objection.

There is virtually no relationship between social class and religious beliefs for both parents and adolescents - the parents, in general, scoring high and the adolescents scoring low. Regardless of their social background Franco-Manitoban adolescents seem to be questioning some of the Roman Catholic Church's main propositions. A strong positive relationship (.46) exists between social class and church attendance for the parents but in the case of the adolescents the relationship is negative (-.13). Though weak it does suggest that lower class adolescents are more regular church goers than upper class adolescents. A possible explanation could be that upper class parents though fervent believers

and church goers themselves, give more freedom to their children as far as church attendance is concerned. As for the use of the sacraments, the association is positive though too weak for both adolescents (.09) and parents (.20) to make any real valid predictions.

In summary, then it would seem from the data, that there is a relationship between social class and cultural loss. However, a closer look at Table VI indicates that for some cultural attributes, namely ethnic identity and attitude towards outdating, social class seems to have a greater effect on the parents than on the adolescents. In general, class differences are less obvious than generational ones.

In order to ascertain with what generation of Franco-Manitobans we were dealing with, the parents were asked to state who were the first members in their families to come to Manitoba. Thirty-six percent of the parents said that their grandfather was the first member on their father's side to settle in Manitoba and 50 percent said that their grandmother was the first on their mother's side to settle here. It therefore seems that we were dealing primarily with third generation parents and consequently fourth generation adolescents.

In the next chapter we will review the findings and present a brief discussion on the most important of these findings.

Footnotes:

1. This Bill was recently passed by the Manitoba Legislature and allows French or English to be used as the language of instruction in the schools.

2. Of the 313 who answered the question on the ethnicity of their friends, 174 or 56 percent claimed that their four closest friends were French-Canadian, 75 or 24 percent claimed three French-Canadians as closest friends, 45 or 14 percent had two French-Canadians as their closest friends and only 6 percent had one French-Canadian as their closest friend. Only one respondent said that none of his four best friends were French-Canadian.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The basic problem in this study was one of investigating to what degree Franco-Manitoban adolescents were losing their parents' French-Canadian culture. Underlying this problem was a theoretical orientation which postulated that as a result of culture contact with the English over a long period of time there would be a breakdown in ethnic continuity between Franco-Manitoban adults and Franco-Manitoban adolescents. In previous research, the time factor had repeatedly been explained in terms of the third generation hypothesis. On the basis of this theoretical orientation and past research, it was hypothesized that there would be a lack of congruity between the adherence of Franco-Manitoban adolescents to their French culture and that of the Franco-Manitoban adults. Five main hypotheses were postulated and three intervening variables were later taken into account.

In summary, then, the main findings of this study were the following:

1. The data suggests that there is a low degree of correspondence between Franco-Manitoban adolescents and Franco-Manitoban adults with regards to their adherence to selected cultural traits. However, two qualifications must be made. Franco-Manitoban adolescents made a greater use of French newspapers and magazines than Franco-Manitoban adults and expressed a higher ethnic identity than was expected.
2. When the intervening variables were taken into account it was found that:

- a) Those Franco-Manitoban adolescents whose peer influence was French scored higher on the five selected cultural attributes than those whose peer influence was English. The data therefore suggests that there is an appreciable difference in terms of cultural loss between the two groups.
 - b) Those students who were attending the private French school made a considerably greater use of the French language than public school students. However, the type of school attended did not seem to affect the adolescents' ethnic identity and attitude towards outdating. There was some indication that the students attending the private French school made more use of French television and radio than the public school students.
 - c) Upper class adults and adolescents seem to be maintaining their French culture in greater degree than lower class Franco-Manitobans, although the data suggests that the difference in cultural loss between generations is greater than the difference between social classes.
3. The literature had suggested that cultural loss was a three generation phenomenon. Although we did not control for the parents' generation and we did not examine the cultural loss of each successive generation, we did ascertain that in our sample, we were dealing primarily with third generation parents and consequently fourth generation adolescents. Our findings indicate that the third generation is still using the French language and maintaining other aspects of its culture. As was stated earlier, there have been numerous exceptions to the third generation hypothesis. Though the third generations of Franco-Manitobans is still maintaining many aspects of its ethnic heritage, it has been clearly demonstrated that there has been a breakdown in ethnic continuity between Franco-Manitoban adults and Franco-Manitoban adolescents.

Closer analysis of the data reveals several important findings. Franco-Manitoban adolescents make greater use of French at home than in any of the other three situations taken into account in this study. In fact for many adolescents the home is the only place where they speak any French at all.

It has long been recognized that the French-Canadian family has been an important, if not the most important factor in the survival of the French-Canadians as an ethnic group (Piddington 1961; Garigue 1962). This must be particularly true of the French outside Quebec. The importance of the home in language maintenance is underlined by the general finding that "... active use of the mother tongue in the home is primarily responsible for enabling children to attain mastery of it. Without this, the best of school instruction is likely to fall far short of functional mastery." (Hayden 1966:198)

It would then seem from our data, that the home, where primary relations based on personal, informal and total interaction exists, is one of the important bulwarks of French culture in Manitoba.

A second most important finding is the effect of the French private school on language maintenance in all four situations - the private school student speaks much more French at school, with his French-Canadian friends and in extra-curricular activities than does his public school counterpart. This is most important for the private school student, unlike the public school student, speaks French outside the home and learns to use his mother tongue in a variety of situations. In other words, he learns to communicate effectively in French. Contrary to public schools where "Anglification" and "de-ethnization" are encouraged in part by an English curriculum and in part by a policy of mixed membership, the private school with an all French

curriculum and a homogeneous student body, encourages the use of French as an active language in various activities and even the use of French television and radio. Since the school is only one of the institutions affecting the linguistic development of the child, if it is to promote effectively this linguistic and cultural development, it is not enough to teach the mother tongue as a subject (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II). The school must compensate for the linguistic environment of the minority adolescent where the majority language is heard on the street everywhere and even brought into the home by radio and television. Continued French language use by Franco-Manitoban adolescents is very important for as Lieberman (1970) has pointed out language use is the central feature in the continuity of an ethnic group in contact. This underlines the important role that schools can play in cultural maintenance, and also underlines the importance of Bill 113 for the survival of the French in Manitoba.

The importance of peer influence on cultural maintenance was also underlined by the data. As stated earlier, an individual's modes of behavior stem from and are related to those who are most significant to him (Rosen 1955b). Those Franco-Manitoban adolescents whose peer influence was French were influenced favorably in terms of attitudes and behavior towards the selected cultural traits. Of particular significance was the influence of the peers on the

use of the French mass media. Close interaction with other French-Canadian adolescents whose actions and attitudes are important to the adolescents coupled with the influence of the French mass media could effectively encourage cultural maintenance.

However, another finding should also be pointed out. As mentioned earlier there seems to be a contradiction between the adolescents' expressed ethnic identity on the one hand and their behavior on the other. Most of the adolescents scored high on the identity scale but scored low in terms of actual language use, use of the French mass media and in their feelings towards outdating. Two possible explanations can be offered for this finding. The first explanation was referred to earlier as a "crisis" which existed in the schools we visited. Previous events may have increased the students' awareness of themselves as French-Canadians but not to the extent that this new awareness changed their behavior in any significant way. On the other hand it is possible that our form of the Osgood Semantic Differential was not really measuring ethnic identity per se but was really measuring the adolescents' attitude towards the group. In this case it is possible that the adolescents have a favorable attitude towards their own group but do not really identify with it as such. Evidence has been presented elsewhere which suggests that even when a culture has been lost, an identity or an awareness of membership in an ethnic

group has persisted along with positive attitudes with respect to the parents' heritage (Fishman 1966; Elkin 1964).

Obviously the findings in this study are limited for we have taken into account only some of the cultural elements which Franco-Manitoban adolescents are losing without considering which elements the adolescents are adopting from the dominant English group which surrounds them. Future research could attempt to discern exactly what the adolescents are taking on from the dominant culture. Since the school seems to be playing such an important role in language and cultural maintenance, the role of the teacher could perhaps be examined to see what influence (if any) the teacher has on cultural maintenance. Another important aspect which could be taken into consideration in future research is the unpopularity of the French mass media among the Franco-Manitoban adolescents.

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APPENDICES

QUESTIONNAIRE

(This section for parents only)

Chers parents,

Vous trouverez ci-inclus un questionnaire dont on vous prie de répondre. S'il vous plaît n'inscrivez pas votre nom sur le questionnaire. De cette façon vous serez assuré que vos réponses seront anonymes. Ce questionnaire sera utilisé dans un projet de recherche qui a pour but de donner une vue d'ensemble sur la vie française à Saint-Boniface.

Vous pouvez répondre à presque toutes les questions en faisant un crochet dans l'espace qui correspond à la réponse que vous avez choisie. Il est très important que vous réondiez à toutes les questions.

Quand vous aurez terminé le questionnaire, veuillez s'il vous plaît le mettre à la poste dans l'enveloppe affranchie qu'on a ci-incluse. Essayez de le répondre dans les meilleurs délais de temps possible.

Merci beaucoup pour votre obligeance.

Dear parents,

Enclosed you will find a questionnaire which we ask you to fill out. Please do not sign your name on the questionnaire. You will thus be assured that your answers will remain anonymous. The questionnaire will be used for a research project, the purpose of which is to get a general view of French life in St. Boniface.

Most of the questions can be answered by making a simple check mark in the space beside the answer you choose. It is extremely important that you answer all the questions.

When you have finished the questionnaire, please mail it back in the enclosed pre-stamped envelope. Please try and answer it as soon as it is possible for you.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

RENSEIGNEMENTS GENERAUX / GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Quel âge avez-vous? / How old are you? _____

2. Sexe / Sex _____

3. Qui a été le premier membre du côté de votre père à se fixer au Manitoba?

Who was the first member in your father's family to settle in Manitoba?

1. vous-même / yourself _____
2. votre père / your father _____
3. votre grand-père / your grandfather _____
4. votre arrière grand-père / your great grandfather _____
5. votre arrière arrière grand-père / your great great grandfather _____

4. Qui a été le premier membre du côté de la famille de votre mère à se fixer au Manitoba?

Who was the first member in your mother's family to settle in Manitoba?

1. vous même / yourself _____
2. votre mère / your mother _____
3. votre grand-mère / your grandmother _____
4. votre arrière grand-mère / your great grandmother _____
5. votre arrière arrière grand-mère / your great great grandmother _____

5. Quel est l'emploi du chef du foyer? (Veuillez s'il vous plaît être très précis et expliquer au long les fonctions de travail si le nom de l'emploi n'est pas très clair.)

What is the occupation of the head of the household? (Please be very specific and spell out his work duties if the name of his occupation is not clear enough).

6. Quel est le niveau d'éducation du chef du foyer?

What is the level of education of the head of the household?

1. 8^e année ou moins / grade 8 or less _____
2. quelques années au cours secondaire / some high school _____

3. le cours secondaire assuré / completed high school _____
4. quelques années de formation dans les métiers / some technical training _____
5. une formation complète dans un métier / completed technical training _____
6. quelques années universitaires / some university _____
7. un diplôme universitaire / university graduate _____
8. un diplôme d'études supérieures / post graduate _____

7. Quelle langue avez-vous apprise la première à la maison comme enfant?

What language did you first learn at home as a child?

Français / French _____ Anglais / English _____
Autre / Other _____

8. Veuillez évaluer votre compétence quant à l'usage de la langue française. (Faites un cercle autour de la réponse qui correspond le mieux à indiquer votre compétence)

Please rate your ability at present to use the French language. (Circle the answer which best indicates your ability)

Très pauvre Très bon

Very Poor Very good

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. compréhension orale / understanding | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 2. compréhension écrite / reading | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 3. expression orale / speaking | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 4. expression écrite / writing | 1 2 3 4 5 |

9. Est-ce que vous avez toujours demeuré à Saint-Boniface?

Have you always lived in St. Boniface?

1. oui / yes _____

2. non / no _____

SI LA REPONSE A LA 9è QUESTION EST NON, S.V.P. REPONDEZ A LA 10è ET 11è QUESTION. AUTREMENT REPRENEZ A LA 12è

QUESTION QUI DOIT ETRE REPONDU PAR TOUS

IF YOUR ANSWER TO (9) IS NO, PLEASE ANSWER (10) AND
(11) IF NOT SKIP TO (12)

10. Depuis combien de temps demeurez-vous à Saint-Boniface?

How long have you been living in St. Boniface?

1. moins d'un (1) an / less than one (1) year _____
2. de un (1) à trois (3) ans / one (1) to three
years _____
3. plus de trois (3) ans / more than three (3)
years _____

11. Veuillez s'il-vous plaît indiquer l'endroit où vous
avez demeuré antérieurement?

Please indicate where you lived previously?

1. dans une région rurale / in a rural area
où la majorité était canadienne-française / _____
where the majority was French-Canadian
où la majorité n'était pas canadienne-française / _____
where the majority was not French-Canadian
2. dans une région urbaine / in an urban area
où la majorité était canadienne-française / _____
where the majority was French-Canadian
où la majorité n'était pas canadienne-française / _____
where the majority was not French-Canadian

UTILISATION DES MEDIA DE MASSE / USE OF THE MASS MEDIA

12. Combien de temps consacrez-vous à regarder la télévision?

How often do you watch television?

1. jamais / never _____
2. moins de deux (2) heures par semaine / less
than two (2) hours a week _____
3. de deux (2) heures à quatre (4) heures par semaine /
between two (2) hours to four (4) hours a week _____
4. de quatre (4) à six (6) heures par semaine /
between four (4) to six (6) hours a week _____
5. de sept (7) à douze (12) heures par semaine /
between seven (7) to twelve (12) hours a week _____
6. plus de douze (12) heures par semaine / more than
twelve (12) hours a week _____

13. Est-ce que vous regardez CBWFT, le canal français de télévision?

Do you watch CBWFT, the French television station?

1. jamais / never _____
2. moins de 2 heures par semaine / less than 2 hours a week _____
3. de 2 heures à 4 heures par semaine / between 2 to 4 hours a week _____
4. de 4 à 6 heures par semaine / between 4 to 6 hours a week _____
5. de 7 à 12 heures par semaine / between 7 to 12 hours a week _____
6. plus de 12 heures par semaine / more than 12 hours a week _____

14. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio? / Do you listen to the radio?

1. jamais / never _____
2. moins de 2 heures par semaine / less than 2 hours a week _____
3. de 2 heures à 4 heures par semaine / between 2 to 4 hours a week _____
4. de 4 à 6 heures par semaine / between 4 to 6 hours a week _____
5. de 7 à 12 heures par semaine / between 7 to 12 hours a week _____
6. plus de 12 heures par semaine / more than 12 hours a week _____

15. Est-ce que vous écoutez CKSB, le poste de radio français?

Do you listen to CKSB, the French radio station?

1. jamais / never _____
2. moins de 2 heures par semaine / less than 2 hours a week _____
3. de 2 heures à 4 heures par semaine / between 2 to 4 hours a week _____
4. de 4 à 6 heures par semaine / between 4 to 6 hours a week _____
5. de 7 à 12 heures par semaine / between 7 to 12 hours a week _____
6. plus de 12 heures par semaine / more than 12 hours a week _____

16. Lisez-vous des journaux et des revues? / Do you read magazines and newspapers?

1. jamais / never
2. très peu, environ une fois par semaine / very little, about once a week _____
3. plusieurs fois par semaine / several times a week _____
4. à tous les jours / every day _____

17. Lisez-vous des journaux et des revues français?

Do you read French magazines and newspapers?

1. jamais / never
2. très peu, environ une fois par semaine / very little, about once a week _____
3. plusieurs fois par semaine / several times a week _____
4. à tous les jours / every day _____

UTILISATION DE LA LANGUE / LANGUAGE USE

18. A quel pourcentage du temps parlez-vous en français à la maison?

What percentage of the time do you speak French at home?

1. 100% _____
2. 75% _____
3. 50% _____
4. 25% _____
5. 0% _____

19. A quel pourcentage du temps parlez-vous en français dans vos activités sociales?

What percentage of the time do you speak French in your social activities?

1. 100% _____
2. 75% _____
3. 50% _____
4. 25% _____
5. 0% _____

20. Avez-vous l'occasion de parler en français au travail?

Do you have the opportunity to speak French at work?

1. je parle toujours en français au travail /
I always speak French at work _____
2. très souvent / very often _____
3. quelque fois / sometimes _____
4. très peu / very seldom _____
5. jamais / never _____

21. Quel pourcentage du temps parlez-vous en français au travail?

What percentage of the time do you speak French at work?

1. 100% _____
2. 75% _____
3. 50% _____
4. 25% _____
5. 0% _____

22. A quel pourcentage du temps parlez-vous en français avec vos amis canadiens-français?

What percentage of the time do you speak French with your French-Canadian friends?

1. 100% _____
2. 75% _____
3. 50% _____
4. 25% _____
5. 0% _____
6. je n'ai pas d'amis canadiens-français / I have no French-Canadian friends _____

23. Quel genre de réaction auriez-vous si un de vos enfants voulait fréquenter quelqu'un qui n'est pas Canadian français? / How would you feel if one of your children wanted to date someone who was not a French Canadian?

1. Je m'y refuserais fortement / I would object strongly _____
2. Je m'y refuserais quelque peu / I would object somewhat _____
3. J'aurais aucune objection / I wouldn't object at all _____

24. Quel genre de réaction auriez-vous si un de vos enfants voulait épouser quelqu'un qui n'est pas Canadien français? / How would you feel if one of your children wanted to marry someone who was not a French Canadian?

1. Je m'y refuserais fortement / I would object strongly
2. Je m'y refuserais quelque peu / I would object somewhat
3. Je n'aurais aucune objection / I would not object at all

CROYANCES RELIGIEUSES / RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

25. Quelle est votre religion? What is your religious affiliation? _____
26. Veuillez faire un cercle autour de la réponse qui indique le mieux votre attitude devant les déclarations suivantes:

Circle the answer which best indicates your attitude towards the following statements:

entièrement d'accord strongly agree	1	en accord agree	2	indécis uncertain	3
en désaccord disagree	4	complètement en désaccord strongly disagree			5

Exemple / Example:

LA TERRE EST RONDE / THE EARTH IS ROUND

① 2 3 4 5

1. Jésus Christ devrait être conçu comme l'incarnation humaine de Dieu / Jesus Christ should be regarded as the human incarnation of God 1 2 3 4 5
2. Il n'y a pas de vie éternelle après la mort / There is no eternal life after death 1 2 3 4 5
3. Dieu existe en tant que Père, Fils et Esprit Saint / God exists as Father, Son and Holy Spirit 1 2 3 4 5

4. Jésus Christ n'est pas vraiment ressuscité d'entre les morts
Jesus Christ did not really rise from the dead 1 2 3 4 5
5. Jésus Christ est né d'une vierge
Jesus Christ was born of a virgin 1 2 3 4 5
6. Les prières ne montent pas plus haut que le plafond de la chambre dans laquelle elles sont prononcées /
Prayers do not go above the ceiling of the room in which they were uttered 1 2 3 4 5
7. La croyance en Dieu rend ma vie plus significative / Belief in God makes my life more meaningful 1 2 3 4 5
8. Le pain et le vin utilisés pendant la messe deviennent vraiment le corps et le sang de Jésus Christ /
The bread and wine used during mass really becomes the body and blood of Jesus Christ 1 2 3 4 5

27. Combien de fois assistez-vous aux offices religieux?
How often do you attend church services?

1. chaque semaine / every week _____
2. 2 à 3 fois par mois / 2 to 3 times a month _____
3. 1 fois par mois / once a month _____
4. quelque fois par année / a few times a year _____
5. une fois par année / once a year _____
6. jamais / never _____

28. Combien de fois recevez-vous les sacrements (tels que la communion ou la confession)?

How often do you receive the sacrements (such as Communion and Confession)?

1. chaque semaine / every week _____
2. 2 à 3 fois par mois / 2 to 3 times a month _____
3. 1 fois par mois / once a month _____
4. quelque fois par année / a few times a year _____
5. une fois par année / once a year _____
6. jamais / never _____

29. Le but de cette section est de mesurer la réaction de différentes personnes envers le concept ou l'idée CANADIEN FRANÇAIS. On vous demande de juger ce concept par rapport à une série de deux adjectifs opposés.

Faites votre jugement en vous basant sur ce que le concept signifie pour vous.

Voici un exemple:

Si vous sentez que le concept "CHINOIS" par exemple, se situe pour vous plus près d'un adjectif que de l'autre, placez votre crochet comme ceci:

fort								faible
strong	<u>X</u>	—	—	—	—	—	—	weak
			OU / OR					

fort								faible
strong	—	—	—	—	—	—	<u>X</u>	weak

Evidemment, il peut y avoir des degrés dans votre jugement. Si vous sentez que le concept se situe à un degré assez haut d'intensité, mais moins haut que dans le premier exemple, il faudrait l'indiquer comme tel:

fort								faible
strong	—	<u>X</u>	—	—	—	—	—	weak
			OU / OR					

fort								faible
strong	—	—	—	—	—	<u>X</u>	—	weak

The purpose of this section is to measure the reaction of different people towards the concept or idea FRENCH CANADIAN. You are asked to judge this concept against a series of two opposite adjectives.

Make your judgement on the basis of what the concept means to you.

Here is an example:

If you feel that the concept "CHINESE" for example, is very closely related to one adjective rather than the other, place your check mark as follows:

Obviously, there may be different degrees of intensity in your judgement.

If you feel that the concept is closely related to one adjective, but not as closely as in the above example, place your check mark as follows:

Par contre, si vous sentez que le concept se situe à un degré un peu moins haut d'intensité, il faudrait l'indiquer comme tel:

fort strong ___ ___ X ___ ___ ___ ___ faible weak

OU / OR

fort strong ___ ___ ___ ___ X ___ ___ faible weak

Par ailleurs, si vous sentez que le concept vous dit rien, vous pouvez l'indiquer comme tel:

If the concept means nothing to you, then you should place your check mark as follows:

fort strong ___ ___ ___ X ___ ___ ___ faible weak

TOURNEZ LA PAGE ET COMMENCEZ

TURN THE PAGE AND START

ATTENTION:

- 1) Ne placez jamais plus qu'un crochet par ligne

ATTENTION:

- 1) Never put more than one check mark on a single line

CANADIEN FRANCAIS / FRENCH CANADIAN

	Beau coup	Un peu	Très peu	Neu tre	Très peu	Un peu	Beau coup	
	Very Much	Some what	Very little	Neu tral	Very little	Some what	Very much	
1. significatif meaningful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	non-significatif meaningless
2. mauvais bad	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bon good
3. attrayant attracting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	repoussant repelling
4. intéressant interesting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ennuyant boring
5. stable stable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	changeant changing
6. croissant growing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	décroissant declining
7. faible weak	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	fort strong
8. existant existent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	non-existant non-existent
9. facile easy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	difficile difficult
10 familier familiar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	étrange strange
11 supérieur superior	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	inférieur inferior

30. Auxquels des groupes suivants est-ce que vous sentez que vous appartenez? Choisissez-en 3 seulement, en commençant avec le plus important pour vous au moins important.

To which of the following groups do you see yourself as belonging? Choose only three (3) starting with the most important one to you to the less important one.

1. Un Nord Américain / a North American
2. un Canadien / a Canadian
3. un Canadien français / a French Canadian
4. un Canadien anglais / an English Canadian
5. un Manitobain / a Manitoban
6. un Franco-Manitobain / a Franco-Manitoban
7. un Anglo-Manitobain / an English-Manitoban

Vos choix / Your choices

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

(This section for adolescents only)

INSTRUCTIONS

Vous pouvez répondre à la plupart des questions en faisant un crochet, soit avec une plume ou un crayon, dans l'espace qui correspond à la réponse que vous avez choisie.

Quelques questions peuvent sembler ne pas vous convenir. Cependant on vous prie de les répondre le mieux possible. Il est très important que vous répondiez à toutes les questions.

S'il vous plaît n'inscrivez pas votre nom sur le questionnaire. De cette façon vous serez assuré que vos réponses demeureront anonymes.

Merci beaucoup pour votre obligeance.

Almost all the questions can be answered by making a simple check mark, with a pen or pencil, in the space beside the answer you choose.

Some of the questions may seem inappropriate to you, however, we ask you to answer them to the best of your ability. It is very important that you answer all of the questions.

Please do not sign your name on the questionnaire. In this way you will be assured that your answers will remain anonymous.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

-
1. Quel âge avez-vous? / How old are you? _____
 2. Sexe / Sex _____
 3. Quelle langue avez-vous apprise la première à la maison comme enfant?

What language did you first learn at home as a child?

1. Français / French _____
2. Anglais / English _____
3. Autre / Other _____

4. Veuillez évaluer votre compétence quant à l'usage de la langue française.

Please rate your ability at present to use the French language.

	Très faible			Très fort	
	Very poor			Very good	
1. compréhension orale / understanding	1	2	3	4	5
2. compréhension écrite / reading	1	2	3	4	5
3. expression orale / speaking	1	2	3	4	5
4. expression écrite / writing	1	2	3	4	5

5. Est-ce que votre père parle français? / Can your father speak French?

1. oui, couramment / yes, fluently _____
2. assez bien / quite well _____
3. un peu / a little bit _____
4. pas du tout / not at all _____

6. Est-ce que votre mère parle français? / Can your mother speak French?

1. oui, couramment / yes, fluently _____
2. assez bien / quite well _____
3. un peu / a little bit _____
4. pas du tout / not at all _____

7. Quel est l'emploi de votre père? (Veuillez s'il vous plaît être très précis et expliquer au long les fonctions de travail si le nom de l'emploi n'est pas très clair.)

What is your father's occupation. (Please be very specific and spell out his work duties if the name of his occupation is not clear enough.)

8. Quel est le niveau d'éducation de votre père? /
What is your father's level of education?

1. 8^e année ou moins / grade 8 or less _____
2. quelques années au cours secondaire / some high school _____
3. le cours secondaire assuré / completed high school _____

4. quelques années de formation dans les métiers /
some technical training _____
 5. une formation complète dans un métier / completed
technical training _____
 6. quelques années universitaires / some univer-
sity _____
 7. un diplôme universitaire / university
graduate _____
 8. un diplôme d'études supérieures / post graduate _____
9. Est-ce que vous avez toujours demeuré à Saint-Boniface? /
Have you always lived in St. Boniface?

1. oui / yes _____
2. non / no _____

Si votre réponse à la 9^e question est non, s'il vous
plaît répondez à la 10^e et 11^e question; si vous avez
répondu oui, sautez à la 12^e question.

If you answer to (9) is no, please answer (10) and (11);
if not, skip to (12).

10. Depuis combien de temps demeurez-vous à Saint-Boniface? /
How long have you been living in St. Boniface?
1. moins d'un an / less than one year _____
 2. de un à trois ans / one year to three years _____
 3. plus de trois ans / more than three years _____
11. Veuillez s'il vous plaît indiquer l'endroit où vous avez
demeuré antérieurement.

Please indicate where you lived previously.

1. dans une région rurale / in a rural area _____
où la majorité était canadienne-française /
where the majority was French-Canadian _____
où la majorité n'était pas canadienne-française /
where the majority was not French-Canadian _____
2. dans une région urbaine / in an urban area _____
où la majorité était canadienne-française / where
the majority was French-Canadian _____
où la majorité n'était pas canadienne-française /
where the majority was not French-Canadian _____

UTILISATION DES MEDIA DE MASSE / USE OF THE MASS MEDIA

12. Combien de temps consacrez-vous à la télévision?

How often do you watch television?

1. jamais / never _____
2. moins de 2 heures par semaine / less than 2 hours
a week _____
3. de 2 à 4 heures par semaine / from 2 to 4 hours
a week _____
4. de 4 à 6 heures par semaine / from 4 to 6 hours
a week _____
5. de 7 à 12 heures par semaine / from 7 to 12 hours
a week _____
6. plus de 12 heures par semaine / more than 12 hours
a week _____

13. Est-ce que vous regardez CBWFT le canal français de télévision?

Do you watch CBWFT, the French television station?

1. jamais / never _____
2. moins de 2 heures par semaine / less than 2 hours
a week _____
3. de 2 à 4 heures par semaine / from 2 to 4 hours
a week _____
4. de 4 à 6 heures par semaine / from 4 to 6 hours
a week _____
5. de 7 à 12 heures par semaine / from 7 to 12 hours
a week _____
6. plus de 12 heures par semaine / more than 12 hours
a week _____

14. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio? / Do you listen to the radio?

1. jamais / never _____
2. moins de 2 heures par semaine / less than 2 hours
a week _____
3. de 2 à 4 heures par semaine / from 2 to 4 hours
a week _____
4. de 4 à 6 heures par semaine / from 4 to 6 hours
a week _____
5. de 7 à 12 heures par semaine / from 7 to 12 hours
a week _____
6. plus de 12 heures par semaine / more than 12 hours
a week _____

15. Est-ce que vous écoutez CKSB, le poste de radio français? / Do you listen to CKSB, the French radio station?

1. jamais / never _____
2. moins de 2 heures par semaine / less than 2 hours a week _____
3. de 2 à 4 heures par semaine / from 2 to 4 hours a week _____
4. de 4 à 6 heures par semaine / from 4 to 6 hours a week _____
5. de 7 à 12 heures par semaine / from 7 to 12 hours a week _____
6. plus de 12 heures par semaine / more than 12 hours a week _____

16. Lisez-vous des revues et des journaux? / Do you read magazines and newspapers?

1. jamais / never _____
2. très peu, environ une fois par semaine / very little, about once a week _____
3. quelque fois par semaine / several times a week _____
4. à tous les jours / every day _____

17. Lisez-vous des revues et des journaux français? / Do you read French magazines and newspapers?

1. jamais / never _____
2. très peu, environ une fois par semaine / very little, about once a week _____
3. quelque fois par semaine / several times a week _____
4. à tous les jours / every day _____

UTILISATION DE LA LANGUE / LANGUAGE USE

18. A quel pourcentage du temps parlez-vous en français à la maison?

What percentage of the time do you speak French at home?

1. 100% _____
2. 75% _____
3. 50% _____
4. 25% _____
5. 0% _____

19. A quel pourcentage du temps parlez-vous en français à l'école?

What percentage of the time do you speak French at school?

1. 100% _____
 2. 75% _____
 3. 50% _____
 4. 25% _____
 5. 0% _____

20. A quel pourcentage du temps parlez-vous en français dans vos activités parascolaires (ex. danses, sports, etc...)?

What percentage of the time do you speak French in your extra-curricular activities (ex. dances, sports, etc...)?

1. 100% _____
 2. 75% _____
 3. 50% _____
 4. 25% _____
 5. 0% _____

21. A quel pourcentage du temps parlez-vous en français avec vos amis canadiens-français?

What percentage of the time do you speak French with your French-Canadian friends?

1. 100% _____
 2. 75% _____
 3. 50% _____
 4. 25% _____
 5. 0% _____
 6. Je n'ai pas d'amis canadiens-français / I have no French-Canadian friends _____

VOUS ET VOS AMIS / YOU AND YOUR FRIENDS

22. Seriez-vous disposé à fréquenter quelqu'un qui n'est pas Canadien-français?

Would you be willing to date someone who is not a French-Canadian?

1. j'y serais très disposé / I would be very willing _____
2. j'y serais disposé, mais seulement pour quelques sorties / I would be willing, but only for a few dates _____
3. je n'y serais pas disposé du tout / I would not be willing at all _____
4. je préférerais fréquenter quelqu'un qui n'est pas canadien-français / I would prefer to date a non-French-Canadian _____

23. Seriez-vous disposé à épouser quelqu'un qui n'est pas canadien-français?

Would you be willing to marry someone who is not a French-Canadian?

1. j'y serais très disposé / I would be very willing _____
2. je n'y serais pas disposé du tout / I would not be willing at all _____
3. je préférerais épouser quelqu'un qui n'est pas canadien-français / I would prefer to marry a non-French-Canadian _____

24. A quel groupe ethnique appartiennent vos 4 meilleurs ami (e)s? (ex. français, anglais, allemand, polonais, etc...)

To what ethnic group do your 4 closest friends belong to? (ex. french, english, german, polish, etc...)

Ami / Friend 1	_____	Ami / Friend 3	_____
Ami / Friend 2	_____	Ami / Friend 4	_____

25. Pour les situations suivantes, lequel des deux groupes auraient le plus grand influence sur votre décision.

For the following situations which of the following two groups would have the greatest influence on your decision? Indicate with a check mark.

Amis français Amis anglais
 French friends English friends

- | | | |
|-------|-------|--|
| _____ | _____ | 1. quel garçon/fille fréquenter
which boy/girl to go out with |
| _____ | _____ | 2. quelle langue parler à l'école/
which language to speak at
school |
| _____ | _____ | 3. quelles émissions de télé-
vision vous regardez / which
television programs to watch |
| _____ | _____ | 4. quelle école fréquenter /
which school to attend |
| _____ | _____ | 5. quels cours suivrent à l'école /
which courses to take at school |
| _____ | _____ | 6. quelle carrière poursuivre
après l'école secondaire /
which career to pursue after
high school |
| _____ | _____ | 7. quelles croyances religieuses
sont importantes / which
religious beliefs are important |
| _____ | _____ | 8. quelle langue parler à la
maison / which language to
speak at home |
| _____ | _____ | 9. quels revus et livres vous
lisez / which magazines and
books you read |

26. Jusqu'à quel point est-ce que vos amis canadiens-français exigent que vous parlez en français?

To what degree do your French-Canadian friends insist that you speak French?

1. ils insistent beaucoup / they insist a great deal _____
2. ils insistent un peu / they insist somewhat _____
3. ils n'insistent pas beaucoup / they don't insist very much _____
4. ils n'insistent pas du tout / they don't insist at all _____
5. je n'ai pas d'amis canadiens-français / I have no French-Canadian friends _____

27. Jusqu'à quel point est-ce que vos amis canadiens-français exigent que vous parlez en anglais?

To what degree do your French-Canadian friends insist that you speak English?

1. ils insistent beaucoup / they insist a great deal
2. ils insistent un peu / they insist somewhat
3. ils n'insistent pas beaucoup / they don't insist very much
4. ils n'insistent pas du tout / they don't insist at all
5. je n'ai pas d'amis canadiens-français / I have no French-Canadian friends

CROYANCES RELIGIEUSES / RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

28. Quelle est votre religion / What is your religious affiliation? _____
29. Veuillez faire un cercle autour de la réponse qui indique le mieux votre attitude devant les déclarations suivantes:

Circle the answer which best indicates your attitude towards the following statements:

entièrement d'accord strongly agree	1	en désaccord disagree	4
en accord agree	2	complètement en désaccord strongly disagree	5
indécis uncertain	3		

Exemple / Example:

La terre est ronde / The earth is round

(1) 2 3 4 5

1. Jésus Christ devrait être conçu comme la forme humaine de Dieu

1 2 3 4 5

Jesus Christ should be regarded as the human form of God

2. Il n'y a pas de vie éternelle après la mort 1 2 3 4 5
 There is no eternal life after death
3. Dieu existe en tant que Père, Fils et Esprit Saint 1 2 3 4 5
 God exists as Father, Son and Holy Spirit
4. Jésus Christ n'a pas vraiment ressuscité d'entre les morts 1 2 3 4 5
 Jesus Christ did not really rise from the dead
5. Jésus Christ est né d'une vierge 1 2 3 4 5
 Jesus Christ was born of a virgin
6. Les prières ne montent pas plus haut que le plafond de la chambre dans laquelle elles sont prononcées 1 2 3 4 5
 Prayers don't go above the ceiling of the room in which they were uttered
7. La croyance en Dieu rend ma vie plus significative 1 2 3 4 5
 Belief in God makes my life more meaningful
8. Le pain et le vin utilisés pendant la messe deviennent vraiment le corps et le sang de Jésus Christ 1 2 3 4 5
 The bread and wine used during mass really become the body and blood of Jesus Christ

30. Combien de fois assistez-vous aux offices religieux? /
How often do you attend church services?

1. chaque semaine / every week _____
2. 2 à 3 fois par mois / 2 to 3 times a month _____
3. 1 fois par mois / once a month _____
4. quelque fois par année / a few times a year _____
5. une fois par année / once a year _____
6. jamais / never _____

31. Pourquoi assistez-vous aux offices religieux? /
Why do you attend church services?

1. parce que mes parents le veulent / because my
parents want me to _____
2. parce que mes amis y vont / because my friends go _____
3. parce que je veux y aller / because I want to go _____
4. parce que c'est mal de ne pas y aller / because
it is wrong not to go _____
5. parce que ça fait parti d'être canadien-français /
because it is part of being a French-Canadian _____

32. Combien de fois recevez-vous les sacrements (tels que
la communion ou la confession)?

How often do you receive the sacrements (for ex. Holy
Communion or Confession)?

1. chaque semaine / every week _____
2. 2 à 3 fois par mois / 2 or 3 times a month _____
3. 1 fois par mois / once a month _____
4. quelques fois par année / a few times a year _____
5. 1 fois par année / once a year _____
6. jamais / never _____

33. Le but de cette section est de mesurer la réaction de différentes personnes envers le concept (ou l'idée) CANADIEN FRANCAIS. The purpose of this section is to measure the reaction of different people towards the concept (or idea) FRENCH CANADIAN.

On vous demande de juger ce concept par rapport à une série de 2 adjectifs opposés. Faite votre jugement en vous basant sur ce que le concept CANADIEN FRANCAIS signifie pour vous. You are asked to judge this concept against a series of 2 opposite adjectives. Make your judgment on the basis of what the concept FRENCH CANADIAN means to you.

Voici un exemple:

Si vous sentez que le concept "Chinois", par exemple, se situe pour vous plus près d'un adjectif que de l'autre placez votre crochet comme ceci:

fort	<u>X</u>	—	—	—	—	—	—	faible
strong								weak
OU / OR								

fort	—	—	—	—	—	—	<u>X</u>	faible
strong								weak

Evidemment, il peut avoir des degrés dans votre jugement.

Si vous sentez que le concept se situe à un degré assez haut d'intensité mais moins haut que dans le premier exemple il faudrait l'indiquer comme tel:

fort	—	<u>X</u>	—	—	—	—	—	faible
strong								weak
OU / OR								

fort	—	—	—	—	—	<u>X</u>	—	faible
strong								weak

Par contre, si vous sentez que le concept se situe à un degré un peu moins haut d'intensité, il faudrait l'indiquer comme tel:

Here is an example:

If you feel that the concept "Chinese" for example, is very closely related to one adjective rather than the other, place your check as follows:

Obviously there may be different degrees of intensity in your judgment.

If you feel that the concept is closely related to one adjective but not as closely as in the above example, place your check mark as follows:

If you feel that the concept is related to one adjective but not too closely, you should place your check mark as follows:

fort strong	—	—	<u>X</u>	—	—	—	—	faible weak
----------------	---	---	----------	---	---	---	---	----------------

OU / OR

fort strong	—	—	—	—	<u>X</u>	—	—	faible weak
----------------	---	---	---	---	----------	---	---	----------------

Par ailleurs, si vous sentez que le concept vous dit rien, vous pouvez l'indiquer comme tel:

On the other hand if the concept means nothing to you, then you should place your check mark as follows:

fort strong	—	—	—	<u>X</u>	—	—	—	faible weak
----------------	---	---	---	----------	---	---	---	----------------

ATTENTION:

1) Ne placez jamais plus d'un crochet par ligne

ATTENTION:

1) Never put more than one check mark per line

Tournez la page et commencez.

Turn the page and start.

CANADIEN FRANCAIS/ FRENCH CANADIAN

	Beau coup	Un peu	Très peu	Neu tre	Très peu	Un peu	Beau coup	
	Very much	Some what	Very little	Neu tral	Very little	Some what	Very much	
1. significatif meaningful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	non-significatif meaningless
2. mauvais bad	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bon good
3. attrayant attracting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	repoussant repelling
4. intéressant interesting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ennuyant boring
5. stable stable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	changeant changing
6. croissant growing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	décroissant declining
7. faible weak	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	fort strong
8. existant existent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	non-existant non-existent
9. facile easy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	difficile difficult
10. familier familiar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	étrange strange
11. supérieur superior	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	inférieur inferior

34. Auxquels des groupes suivants est-ce que vous sentez que vous appartenez? Choisissez en 3 seulement, en commençant avec le plus important pour vous au moins important.

To which of the following groups do you see yourself as belonging? Choose only 3, starting with the most important one to you to the less important one.

1. un Nord Américain / a North American

2. un Canadien / a Canadian
3. un Canadien-français / a French-Canadian
4. un Canadien-anglais / an English-Canadian
5. un Manitobain / a Manitoban
6. un Franco-Manitobain / a Franco-Manitoban
7. un Anglo-Manitobain / an English-Manitoban

Vos choix / your choices

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

APPENDIX B

Table VII. Relationship between generation and use of the French language in the home.

Use of French language	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	114	(84)	138	(42)
Medium	17	(12)	74	(22)
Low	4	(3)	83	(25)
Never	1	(1)	35	(11)
Total	136*	(100)	330	(100)

*Totals do not add up to the total N because respondents who did not answer the question were excluded. This applies to all following tables.

Gamma .74

Index of Dissimilarity 42%

Table VIII. Relationship between generation and use of the French language in extra-curricular / social activities.

Use of French language	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	80	(61)	19	(6)
Medium	35	(26)	40	(12)
Low	13	(10)	127	(39)
Never	4	(3)	142	(43)
Total	132	(100)	328	(100)

Gamma .88

Index of Dissimilarity 70%

Table IX. Relationship between generation and use of the French language with French-Canadian friends.

Use of French language	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	122	(91)	46	(14)
Medium	7	(5)	48	(15)
Low	4	(3)	147	(45)
Never	1	(1)	86	(26)
Total	134	(100)	327	(100)

Gamma .95

Index of Dissimilarity 77%

Table X. Relationship between generation and use of the French language at school/work.

Use of French language	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	35	(27)	26	(8)
Medium	27	(21)	52	(16)
Low	61	(48)	209	(63)
Never	5	(4)	43	(13)
Total	128*	(100)	330	(100)

*Includes only those parents who work and who have the opportunity to speak French.

Gamma .56

Index of Dissimilarity 23%

Table XI. Relationship between generation and use of French television.

Use of French television	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	50	(37)	38	(11)
Medium	41	(30)	81	(24)
Low	44	(33)	212	(65)
Total	135	(100)	331	(100)
Gamma	.54			
Index of Dissimilarity	33%			

Table XII. Relationship between generation and use of French radio

Use of French radio	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	66	(48)	43	(13)
Medium	22	(16)	45	(14)
Low	48	(36)	243	(73)
Total	136	(100)	331	(100)
Gamma	.65			
Index of Dissimilarity	37%			

Table XIII. Relationship between generation and use of French magazines and newspapers.

Use of French magazines and newspapers	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	30	(22)	94	(28)
Medium	42	(31)	88	(27)
Low	64	(47)	150	(45)
Total	136	(100)	332	(100)

Gamma -.07

Index of Dissimilarity 6%

Table XIV. Relationship between generation and religiosity.

Religiosity	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
High	83	(61)	84	(26)
Medium	43	(32)	120	(36)
Low	10	(7)	125	(38)
Total	136	(100)	329	(100)

Gamma .63

Index of Dissimilarity 32%

Table XV. Relationship between generation and church attendance.

Church attendance	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
Regularly	123	(90)	248	(75)
Often	6	(4)	34	(10)
Occasionally	5	(4)	40	(12)
Never	2	(2)	9	(3)
Total	136	(100)	331	(100)
Gamma	.49			
Index of Dissimilarity	16%			

Table XVI. Relationship between generation and use of the sacraments.

Use of sacraments	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
Regularly	71	(52)	103	(31)
Often	24	(18)	68	(21)
Occasionally	37	(27)	130	(39)
Never	4	(3)	30	(9)
Total	136	(100)	331	(100)
Gamma	.35			
Index of Dissimilarity	21%			

Table XVII. Relationship between type of school attended and use of the French language at school.

Type of School	Use of the French language									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	22	(39)	16	(28)	16	(28)	2	(5)	56	(100)
Public	4	(1)	36	(14)	192	(70)	41	(15)	273	(100)
Theta	.67									

Table XVIII. Relationship between type of school attended and use of the French language with French-Canadian friends.

Type of school	Use of the French language									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	24	(43)	9	(16)	19	(34)	4	(7)	56	(100)
Public	22	(8)	39	(14)	128	(47)	82	(31)	271	(100)
Theta	.48									

Table XIX. Relationship between type of school attended and use of the French language in extra-curricular activities.

Type of school	Use of the French language									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	13	(23)	14	(25)	19	(34)	10	(18)	56	(100)
Public	5	(2)	32	(12)	182	(66)	56	(20)	275	(100)
Theta	.32									

Table XX. Relationship between type of school attended and use of the French language at home.

Type of school	Use of French language									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	37	(66)	7	(13)	10	(18)	2	(3)	56	(100)
Public	101	(37)	66	(24)	73	(27)	33	(12)	273	(100)
Theta	.29									

Table XXI. Relationship between type of school attended and use of French television.

Type of school	Use of French television							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	15	(27)	15	(27)	26	(46)	56	(100)
Public	23	(8)	65	(24)	187	(68)	275	(100)
Theta	.25							

Table XXII. Relationship between type of school attended and use of French radio.

Type of school	Use of French radio							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	16	(29)	7	(13)	33	(58)	56	(100)
Public	27	(10)	38	(14)	210	(76)	275	(100)
Theta	.20							

Table XXIII. Relationship between type of school attended and use of French magazines and newspapers.

Type of school	Magazines & papers							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	16	(28)	20	(36)	20	(36)	56	(100)
Public	78	(28)	67	(24)	131	(48)	276	(100)
Theta	.08							

Table XXIV. Relationship between type of school attended and ethnic identity

Type of school	Ethnic identity							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	23	(44)	21	(40)	8	(16)	52	(100)
Public	119	(43)	97	(35)	60	(22)	276	(100)
Theta	.04							

Table XXV. Relationship between type of school attended and attitude towards outdated.

Type of school	Attitude towards outdated							
	Not willing to date non French Can.		Willing only for a few dates		Very willing to date non French Can.		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	2	(3)	10	(18)	44	(79)	56	(100)
Public	4	(1)	39	(14)	228	(85)	271	(100)
Theta	.05							

Table XXVI. Relationship between type of school attended and religiosity.

Type of school	Religiosity							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	21	(38)	17	(30)	18	(32)	56	(100)
Public	63	(23)	103	(38)	107	(39)	273	(100)
Theta	.14							

Table XXVII. Relationship between type of school attended and church attendance.

Type of school	Church attendance									
	Regularly		Often		Occ.		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	44	(79)	7	(12)	5	(9)	0		56	(100)
Public	204	(74)	27	(10)	35	(13)	9	(3)	275	(100)
Theta	.05									

Table XXVIII. Relationship between type of school attended and use of the sacraments.

Type of school	Sacraments									
	Regularly		Often		Occ.		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Private	20	(37)	12	(22)	19	(35)	3	(6)	54	(100)
Public	84	(31)	56	(20)	109	(40)	26	(9)	275	(100)
Theta	.10									

Table XXIX. Relationship between peer influence and use of the French language at home.

Peer influence	Use of the French language									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	86	(50)	41	(24)	34	(20)	12	(6)	173	(100)
Equal	34	(41)	19	(23)	20	(24)	9	(12)	82	(100)
English	10	(23)	4	(9)	20	(47)	9	(21)	43	(100)
Gamma	.31									

Table XXX. Relationship between peer influence and use of the French language at school.

Peer influence	Use of the French language									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	25	(15)	34	(19)	103	(60)	10	(6)	172	(100)
Equal	1	(1)	14	(17)	54	(66)	13	(16)	82	(100)
English	0		1	(2)	31	(72)	11	(26)	43	(100)
Gamma	.53									

Table XXXI. Relationship between peer influence and use of the French language in extra-curricular activities.

Peer influence	Use of French language									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	18	(11)	29	(17)	86	(50)	38	(22)	171	(100)
Equal	0		9	(11)	26	(32)	46	(57)	81	(100)
English	0		1	(2)	7	(16)	35	(82)	43	(100)
Gamma	.65									

Table XXXII. Relationship between peer influence and use of the French language with French-Canadian friends.

Peer influence	Use of French language									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	37	(22)	37	(22)	72	(42)	26	(14)	172	(100)
Equal	7	(9)	10	(12)	37	(45)	28	(34)	82	(100)
English	2	(5)	0		18	(45)	20	(50)	40	(100)
Gamma	.49									

Table XXXIII. Relationship between peer influence and use of French television.

Peer influence	Use of French television							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	97	(56)	45	(26)	31	(18)	173	(100)
Equal	1	(1)	27	(33)	54	(66)	82	(100)
English	2	(5)	3	(7)	38	(88)	43	(100)
Gamma	.65							

Table XXXIV. Relationship between peer influence and use of French radio.

Peer influence	Use of French radio							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	33	(19)	27	(16)	113	(65)	173	(100)
Equal	7	(9)	13	(16)	62	(75)	82	(100)
English	0		1	(2)	42	(98)	43	(100)
Gamma	.48							

Table XXXV. Relationship between peer influence and use of French magazines and newspapers.

Peer influence	Magazines and newspapers							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	60	(34)	53	(31)	61	(35)	174	(100)
Equal	22	(27)	24	(29)	36	(44)	82	(100)
English	3	(7)	4	(9)	36	(84)	43	(100)
Gamma	.40							

Table XXXVI. Relationship between peer influence and attitude towards outdated.

Peer influence	Not willing to date non French Can.		Willing only for a few dates		Very willing to date non French Can.		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
	French	3	(2)	35	(20)	133	(78)	171
Equal	3	(4)	14	(17)	65	(79)	82	(100)
English	0		0		42	(100)	42	(100)
Gamma	.34							

Table XXXVII. Relationship between peer influence and ethnic identity.

Peer influence	Ethnic identity							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	88	(51)	67	(39)	19	(10)	174	(100)
Equal	37	(45)	25	(31)	20	(24)	82	(100)
English	10	(23)	15	(35)	18	(42)	43	(100)
Gamma	.33							

Table XXXVIII. Relationship between peer influence and religiosity.

Peer influence	Religiosity							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
French	38	(22)	73	(42)	63	(36)	174	(100)
Equal	34	(41)	18	(22)	30	(37)	82	(100)
English	8	(18)	18	(42)	17	(40)	43	(100)
Gamma	-.04							

Table XLIII. Relationship between social class and parents' use of the French language with French Canadian friends.

Social class	Parents' use of French									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	11	(92)	1	(8)	0		0		12	(100)
Middle	33	(87)	3	(7)	1	(3)	1	(3)	38	(100)
Lower	56	(90)	3	(5)	3	(5)	0		62	(100)
Gamma	-.06									

Table XLIV. Relationship between social class and adolescents' use of the French language with French Canadian friends.

Social class	Adolescents' use of French									
	High		Medium		Low		Never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	2	(7)	0		21	(75)	5	(18)	28	(100)
Middle	16	(18)	17	(19)	35	(40)	20	(23)	88	(100)
Lower	19	(12)	22	(13)	73	(45)	50	(30)	164	(100)
Gamma	.10									

Table XLIX. Relationship between social class and parents' use of French television.

Social class	Use of French television							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	7	(58)	3	(25)	2	(17)	12	(100)
Middle	13	(34)	15	(39)	10	(27)	38	(100)
Lower	22	(35)	14	(22)	27	(43)	63	(100)
Gamma		.24						

Table L. Relationship between social class and adolescents' use of French television.

Social class	Use of French television							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	7	(25)	5	(18)	16	(57)	28	(100)
Middle	13	(15)	26	(30)	49	(55)	88	(100)
Lower	11	(7)	37	(22)	118	(71)	166	(100)
Gamma		.57						

Table LI. Relationship between social class and parents' use of French radio.

Social class	Use of French radio							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	8	(67)	1	(8)	3	(25)	12	(100)
Middle	22	(58)	6	(16)	10	(26)	38	(100)
Lower	23	(37)	12	(19)	28	(44)	63	(100)
Gamma							.35	

Table LII. Relationship between social class and adolescents' use of French radio.

Social class	Use of French radio							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	3	(11)	5	(18)	20	(71)	28	(100)
Middle	17	(19)	11	(12)	61	(69)	89	(100)
Lower	16	(10)	20	(12)	129	(78)	165	(100)
Gamma							.23	

Table LIII. Relationship between social class and parents' use of French magazines and newspapers.

Social class	Use of French magazines and newspapers							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	4	(33)	6	(50)	2	(17)	12	(100)
Middle	5	(13)	15	(40)	18	(47)	38	(100)
Lower	13	(21)	11	(17)	39	(62)	63	(100)
Gamma	.26							

Table LIV. Relationship between social class and adolescents' use of French magazines and newspapers.

Social class	Use of French magazines and newspapers							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	10	(36)	6	(21)	12	(43)	28	(100)
Middle	28	(31)	30	(34)	31	(35)	89	(100)
Lower	41	(25)	43	(26)	82	(49)	166	(100)
Gamma	.17							

Table LV. Relationship between social class and parents' ethnic identity.

Social class	Parents' ethnic identity							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	5	(42)	4	(33)	3	(25)	12	(100)
Middle	21	(55)	13	(34)	4	(11)	38	(100)
Lower	25	(40)	18	(29)	20	(31)	63	(100)
Gamma	.22							

Table LVI. Relationship between social class and adolescents' ethnic identity.

Social class	Adolescents' ethnic identity							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	12	(43)	11	(39)	5	(18)	28	(100)
Middle	37	(42)	38	(43)	13	(15)	88	(100)
Lower	74	(45)	54	(33)	35	(22)	163	(100)
Gamma	.01							

Table LVII. Relationship between social class and parents' attitude towards "outdating".

Social class	Parents' attitude							
	Object strongly		Object somewhat		No objection		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	0		5	(38)	8	(62)	13	(100)
Middle	0		18	(49)	19	(51)	37	(100)
Lower	2	(4)	18	(31)	38	(65)	58	(100)
Gamma		.14						

Table LVIII. Relationship between social class and adolescents' attitude towards "outdating".

Social class	Adolescents' attitude							
	Not willing		Only for a few dates		Very willing		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	0		4	(14)	24	(86)	28	(100)
Middle	3	(3)	16	(18)	69	(79)	88	(100)
Lower	1	(1)	25	(15)	137	(84)	163	(100)
Gamma		.09						

Table LIX. Relationship between social class and parents' religiosity.

Social class	Parents' religiosity							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	8	(67)	3	(25)	1	(8)	12	(100)
Middle	23	(60)	12	(32)	3	(8)	38	(100)
Lower	38	(60)	20	(32)	5	(8)	63	(100)
Gamma	.04							

Table LX. Relationship between social class and adolescents' religiosity.

Social class	Adolescents' religiosity							
	High		Medium		Low		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Upper	7	(25)	9	(32)	12	(43)	28	(100)
Middle	25	(28)	36	(40)	28	(32)	89	(100)
Lower	44	(27)	55	(33)	65	(40)	164	(100)
Gamma	.04							

Table LXV. The most important groups for adolescents' according to peer influence.

Group	French		Equal		English	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
North American	3	(2)	5	(6)	2	(5)
Canadian	57	(33)	30	(38)	24	(56)
French Canadian	74	(43)	34	(43)	12	(28)
English Canadian					1	(2)
Manitoban	4	(2)	6	(7)	4	(9)
Franco-Manitoban	34	(20)	5	(6)		
English Manitoban						
Total	172	(100)	80	(100)	43	(100)

Table LXVI. The most important group for parents and adolescents.

Group	Parents		Adolescents	
	N	%	N	%
North American	4	(3)	10	(3)
Canadian	47	(36)	132	(41)
French Canadian	61	(47)	128	(39)
English Canadian			1	
Manitoban	8	(6)	15	(5)
Franco-Manitoban	11	(8)	39	(12)
English Manitoban				
Total	131	(100)	325	(100)