

THE EFFECT OF ETHNICITY ON CLASS POSITION
AND UPWARD MOBILITY IN
ST. BONIFACE

by

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ABSTRACT

After reviewing the literature on the differential placement of those of British and those of French-origins in the Canadian class structure, it was suggested that those of French-origin constituted a minority group in Canadian society for, on the basis of their ethnic origin, they had an inferior class position and less chance of upward mobility than those of British-origin.

By using the 1961 Census, data on the different class positions of males of British and French-origin in St. Boniface, Manitoba was analysed. A postal questionnaire was sent to a sample of 'upper class' males living in St. Boniface in order to collect data on upward career mobility and several related variables including ethnic and religious origin.

Although French ethnic origin was found to be associated with a low social class position, it was found that a Roman Catholic religious affiliation was more highly correlated with low class on two of the three indices used. Among the sample, those of British Roman Catholic origin were the most mobile. Although French-origin was associated with low upward career mobility for those of lower class and small town origins and among the older part of the sample, those of French/Roman Catholic origin had undergone more upward mobility in almost all other cases than those of British/Protestant origins.

The study indicated the need to investigate the influence of religion as well as ethnicity in the "Vertical Mosaic". It also suggested that French Canadians outside Quebec may share a similar inferior class position but have better chances of upward mobility than those in Quebec.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM

In the past, inequality in class position of different ethnic groups has been attributed to many factors e.g. the date at which the group arrived viz a viz the other groups in the area was considered as important by Warner et al (1949), whereas Rosen (1959: 47-60) stressed the importance of differing achievement motivations based on cultural differences between the groups.

An important concern of Canadian sociologists has been the relationship between membership in certain ethnic groups and the class structure. In particular, interest has centred on the differential placement of the two Charter Groups - the British and the French. On the basis of previous research, it was suggested that, rather than considering the two as equal cultural groups, one (the British-origin group) constituted the dominant or superordinate group, in terms of its class position and upward mobility, whereas the other (the French-origin group) was a minority or subordinate group even where they formed the majority of the population (e.g. Quebec). That is to say that its members suffered from some form of discrimination in the class structure because of their ethnic origin.

Specifically the purpose of the present study is to consider whether such a relationship exists between the two Charter groups in the class structure of the relatively French city (see Chapter II) of Saint Boniface, Manitoba.

MAIN OBJECTIVE

The main objective of this thesis is to consider whether the relationship between the British-and French-origin groups in Saint Boniface was that of a dominant group to a minority group, as such would indeed seem to be the case in Quebec, although little was known of the situation elsewhere in Canada.

Therefore, the first objective of the study was to measure the differences in class positions between the two groups in Saint Boniface, examining the degree to which any differences found is related to ethnic rather than other selected factors. The second objective was to determine whether there was any difference in the incidence of upward mobility between the two groups which was attributable to ethnic rather than other factors.

A survey of the literature (Duncan and Blau: 1967; Bendix and Lipset: 1966; Anderson and Davidson: 1940; Richmond: 1968; Duncan and Duncan: 1968; 356-364; Breton and Roseborough 1968: 671-683; Porter 1965; Kelsall 1957; Mayer and Sharp 1962: 218-227; Greeley 1964: 20-33; Veroff et al 1962: 205-217; Mack 1954; Mack et al 1956: 295-300) indicated that it was neces-

sary to control on certain variables as they exhibit a strong relationship to the dependent variable, upward mobility.

These variables are (1) educational attainment (2) class of origin (3) age (4) rural/urban origin.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The study of the causes of social inequality has been one of the dominant themes in the development of **sociology** (Dahrendorf 1968: 151-178), dating from Rousseau's assumption that all men are created equal and thus posing the question of where social inequalities originate.

In Canada, interest in the unequal representation of ethnic groups in the class structure by sociologists stems mainly from the work of Hughes (1943) in his study of "Cantonville". He found that in the industrial hierarchy, those of British-origin held all the positions of great authority and performed all the functions requiring advanced technical training, whereas those of French-origin who were the majority of people employed in the industry, predominated strongly in the ranks of labour, but their numbers thinned out in moving from the workshop to the office and eventually disappeared as one went up the authority scale.

Various students at the University of McGill have studied the distribution of French and British in the different categories of occupations in Quebec (Roy, 1935; Jamieson, 1935;

Rennie, 1953). All point to the pattern of French over-representation in lower class occupations and under-representation in the upper class ones. The picture for those of British-origin is exactly the reverse. Although from 1931 to 1951 there was some redistribution of the groups in the occupational structure (Rennie, 1953), the pattern of French under-representation and British over-representation in the upper class occupations had persisted.

Blishen (1958: 521-531), after constructing an occupational scale based on income and education, found that the pattern described above for Quebec held for the whole of Canada. The study indicated that French representation in Blishen's seven classes was almost exactly the same as that of the Italians and Poles and slightly worse than the Scandinavian and German representation. He concluded that:

"The proportion of British in each class generally increases from the lowest to the highest class, whereas the reverse is true for the French."
(Blishen, 1958: 526).

Porter in his analyses of the economic and political elites in Canada came to the same conclusion. The French constituted approximately 30% of the total Canadian population but of the 202 high officials in the civil service only 13% were French (Porter, 1958: 483-501) and among the people defined by Porter as the economic power elite, only 6.7% were identified as French Canadian, (Porter, 1957: 377-394).

In his broader analysis of the vertical mosaic, Porter (1965) considered that the French and British as Charter groups had fared very differently in the class system during the growth of industrialization. In Ontario, Porter indicated that the Quebec pattern of French under-representation in upper class occupations existed.

Baxter (1968) indicated that in Metro Winnipeg, there was a correlation between relatively high socio-economic status and British origin. Nicolson and Yeates (1969; 162-178) in a similar study of Winnipeg suggested that their findings on the relationship between ethnicity and class position:

"....largely corroborate those of Porter (1965: 60-103) for the whole of Canadian society." (Nicolson and Yeates, 1969: 176).

If as the above studies would suggest, despite the ideal of biculturalism, those of French-origin in Canada have an inferior class position to those of British-origin, then one would expect in spite of the policy of bilingualism, those French people who cannot speak English would have an even more inferior class situation.

Keyfitz (1968: 168-178) indicated that in spite of the fact that Canadian society is formally bilingual, in economic activities the English language predominates. The world of work may be divided into two areas, in the first, work involves "things" rather than "words" and therefore:

"there is likely to be a genuine equality of competition among people speaking different languages."
(Keyfitz, 1968: 171).

but in the second, jobs involved "communication". Inability to understand always exactly what was being said, would make an otherwise competent candidate whose first language was French, unable to do such work as well as an English candidate.

Richer and Laporte (1969) suggest a similar view but add that those of British and French origins have different cognitive styles, as well as a different first language. The problems of linguistic ability may be increased by differences in the approach to problems, tasks and decision-making, particularly where success is gauged in terms of one cognitive style.

Brazeau (1958: 532-540) also suggested that as English is the sole language which has currency in all aspects of social activity in Canada, people of different mother tongues have unequal opportunities for work. Richmond (1967) in his analysis of ethnic groups in the class structure of Toronto, found that not only was there a difference in class position on ethnic lines but there was an even greater difference along lines related to the ability to speak English. He found that for the non-British origin population, those unable to speak English had a lower social class position than those who were

able to speak English.

Not only are certain ethnic groups disproportionately represented in some classes, but also movement between the class levels for the members of different ethnic groups does not occur at the same rate. Many studies relating ethnicity to upward mobility in the USA concentrate on movement into the elites. Keller, 1953; Mills, 1959, indicate that those who gain entry into the elites are disproportionately members of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant groups.

Canadian interest in the interrelation of ethnicity and upward mobility also stems from the work of Hughes (1943). In analysing the social structure of a factory, he found that not only were the French and British-origin groups differentially represented at the staff, supervisory and workshop levels, but also the movement between the levels differed on ethnic lines. Thus those of British-origin predominated at the staff and supervisory levels whereas the vast proportion of shop floor workers were French. In spite of the French predominance at this level, those shop floor workers of British-origin were more likely than those of French-origin to be promoted to foreman rank.

Porter's (1965) analysis of the social origins of the Canadian elites showed that although both French and British are the legitimate cultures of Canadian society, those of

British-origin were more likely to gain access to the elites than French-origin people of similar class origins.

Rocher and de Jocas (1957: 58-66) in a study of inter-generational occupational mobility in Quebec, considered that those of French-origin had less chance of upward mobility than those of British-origin. They concluded that:

"On the whole it can be said that the channels and barriers of mobility that we have observed for the French Canadians are not the same as for the English-speaking Canadians. The former go up the ladder, so to speak, step by step, while the latter seem to move more rapidly to the top occupational levels." (de Jocas & Rocher 1957: 66)

Richmond (1968: 724-740) in assessing the mobility of immigrants to Canada, compared those of British-origin with those of non British-origin, in relation to upward mobility. He found that the British-origin immigrants had a better chance of upward mobility than those of other origins but the difference was only on the borderline of significance.

Breton and Roseborough (1968: 683-701) in a study of a large Canadian business organisation, observed wide differences in the occupational status of employees of different ethnic origins. Although there were differences between those of British-origin, French-origin and all other origins, the largest difference was between French and non French-origins.

In summarising this previous research into the relations between the two Charter Groups in Canada, it could be suggest-

ed that:

- (I) French-origin Canadians constitute a minority* group viz a viz those of British-origin for, on the basis of their ethnic origin, they have an inferior class position.
- (II) French-origin Canadians show lower upward mobility in the class structure than those of British-origin.

Although these two propositions would seem to describe adequately the relevant published research in Canada, it has been suggested in the United States that ethnic differences in class representation and upward mobility are related to other cultural factors than ethnicity, and among these factors which have been suggested is religious affiliation.

Sociological interest in the relationship between religion and class position dates back to the work of Weber (1930) on the rise of capitalism in Europe. Weber's views have been applied to present-day capitalist societies in order to explain the persistence of class differences between those of Catholic and non-Catholic religious affiliations.

Pope's (1948: 84-91) analysis of religion and the class structure indicated that in the USA, Catholics were under-re-

* "Minority group" in this study is used to indicate a subordinate social position not numerical status. Thus although they are the largest ethnic group, French Canadians in Quebec are a minority group in terms of their social position.

presented in the upper and middle classes and over-represented in the lower classes whereas all the Protestant denominations (except for the Baptists) had a more favourable class position. In terms of occupational distribution the Protestants tended to be over-represented in business occupations, whereas the Catholics were over-represented in urban manual occupations. Catholics were also over-represented as High School drop-outs and under-represented as High School and College graduates. The reverse was true for Protestants (except for the Baptists and Lutherans). Thus the relationships outlined between Catholics and Protestants in the USA were similar to those between French and British-origin Canadians in Canada.

Laserwitz (1961: 568-579) in a more recent analysis of the differences between the major religious groups in the USA substantiated Pope's findings. Laserwitz ranked the religious groups into three strata in terms of their occupation, education and income. The top rank having high percentages of college graduates was composed of Episcopalians, Jews and Presbyterians. The middle rank containing smaller percentages of white collar workers and college graduates earning less income consisted of Methodists, Lutherans and Roman Catholics and at the bottom were the Baptists, with few white collar workers and college graduates, and low family income.

Herberg (1955) also suggested that the religious groups were differentially placed in the class system and that most of the Protestant denominations ranked higher than the Catholics. Lenski (1961) pointed to a similar situation in the distribution of the groups in the class structure of Detroit.

Research into the relationship between religion and the class structure in Canada is sparse. Porter (1965), in a short analysis of this relationship in Winnipeg, found that areas with a relatively high median income had low Catholic populations. He found similar relationships in Halifax, Ottawa-Hull, and Windsor but he indicated that it is difficult to separate the influence of ethnicity and religion for French Canadians are 99% Catholic.

However, it would seem that in the USA religious affiliation is an important correlate of the differential placement of ethnic groups in the class structure. The work of Kennedy (1944: 331-339) suggested that while the importance of religion remained in dividing the population, ethnic differences were diminishing in importance.

It has also been suggested that religious affiliation is correlated with chances of upward mobility. According to Glenn and Hyland:

"The relationship of religion to economic and occupational success is the most viable topic of debate in the sociology of religion in the United States."
(Glenn and Hyland: 1967: 73)

The present controversy is centred on the relative rates of upward mobility of Protestants and Catholics.

The works of Weller (1960), Lenski (1961) and Mayer and Sharp (1962: 218-227) all point to a correlation between Protestantism and high mobility and Catholicism and low mobility. Rosen (1959: 47-60) also suggested, but only tentatively, that there was a similar relationship between religious affiliation and achievement motivation. Glenn and Hyland (1967: 73-85) indicated that when differences in social origins between groups are controlled, differences in upward mobility are very slight and that indeed it is the other control variables which are much more related to chances of upward mobility:

".....the effects of any Protestant-Catholic differences in influence on worldly status are small in relation to the effects of other influences that on balance favour Catholics." (Glenn and Hyland, 1967:85)

Research by Mack, et al (1956: 295-300) suggested that in terms of both actual upward mobility and mobility aspirations, there is very little difference between those of the Protestant and the Catholic faiths. Veroff, et al (1962: 205-217) in their study of achievement motivations, also showed that there was little difference between Catholics and Protestants. Bendix and Lipset (1966) indicated that by the third generation, there is very little difference between

Catholics and Protestants in their occupational achievement. Bogue (1959) had come to a similar conclusion. Greeley (1964: 20-33) indicated that there was little or no difference between the religious groups in upward mobility. However he did state that:

"Predominantly traditionalistic, devout Catholic groups like the French Canadian almost certainly have a lower achievement level than the general average among the White Protestant population." (Greeley, 1964: 22).

Adherence to the Catholic faith is of course highly correlated with membership in the ethnic groups which Bendix and Lipset term "low status". Rosen (1959: 47-60) was only tentative in suggesting the relationship between religion and achievement motivation for similar reasons. Most other writers on the subject note a similar relationship (Mayer and Sharp, 1962: 218-227). Weller (1960) was able however to control for the ethnic factor and he suggested that the difference between Catholics and Protestants remained even with this control. However Bendix and Lipset (1966) suggested that ethnicity was the major factor.

In summary therefore it would seem that the evidence is very contradictory as to the relative importance of ethnicity and religion and some writers would question whether either factor is of much importance (Glenn and Hyland, 1967: 73-85). Many other factors have been shown to be of great importance

in affecting the chances of an individual being upwardly mobile.

Logically the major factor which determines a man's chances of upward mobility is the level at which he starts (Duncan and Blau, 1967), for the lower the level from which he starts, the greater is the probability that he will be upwardly mobile, simply because there are many more occupational destinations which entail upward mobility for men with low origins, than for those of high origins. However the picture of upward mobility in modern, urban industrial society only occasionally substantiates the Horatio Alger myth. Class of origin determines access to the various avenues of upward mobility of which the main one is education (Bendix and Lipset, 1966). Thus in spite of the lower class group theoretically enjoying greater chances for upward mobility, the degree of movement they undergo is limited by their limited access to the educational system and other avenues of upward mobility.

Bendix and Lipset (1966) indicated that class of origin affects an individual's first occupation. For those of working class origin poverty, lack of education, absence of personal contacts, lack of planning and failure to explore fully the available opportunities are characteristic. The culmination of disadvantages for the working class work to the ad-

vantage of the child from the well-to-do family. If, as Anderson and Davidson (1940), Bendix and Lipset (1966) and Duncan and Blau (1967) all suggest, jobs are good predictors of the subsequent careers of individuals then it is clear that class of origin plays a major role in determining chances of upward mobility.

Education is one of the major avenues for upward mobility in modern societies (Bendix and Lipset, 1966; Wilensky, 1966: 98-140). Duncan and Blau, (1967) suggest that chances of upward mobility are directly related to education, for they found that with increasing education the numbers of those who experienced some upward mobility also increased.

Class of origin is of course also highly related to educational achievement, particularly to chances of receiving a college education (Bendix and Lipset, 1966; Kelsall, 1957; Porter, 1965). Thus on the basis of the distribution of the ethnic groups in the class structure, a relationship between ethnicity and upward mobility would be expected. Duncan and Duncan (1968: 356-364) suggested that when class of origin was controlled, the importance of ethnicity with regard to mobility was diminished, and when levels of education were controlled, the differences in occupational achievement became very small. Breton and Roseborough (1968: 724-740) however

found that even when controls for educational achievement were exercised, those of French Canadian origins were still not doing as well in the company as those of other origins.

Another factor which has been suggested as influencing the chances of upward mobility is the size of community in which one is raised. Bendix and Lipset (1966) suggested that:

"....the larger a man's community of orientation,.... the higher the status of the job he holds is likely to be." (Bendix and Lipset, 1966: 204).

Mayer and Sharp (1962: 218-227) indicated that one of the major ascriptive factors, apart from ethnicity, which influenced chances of upward mobility was rural/urban origin. Greeley (1964: 20-33) also suggested that community of origin was a major factor.

On the basis of age difference, upward mobility would be expected to be greater for the older man, for he would have been in the labour force longer than the younger man and therefore had more time for upward mobility. Duncan and Blau (1967) suggested that with increasing age, the effect of social origins on mobility diminished and the effect of personal attainment increased. Veroff, et al (1962: 205-217) indicated that older people were more likely to have high achievement motivations than younger people. Mack (1954) also pointed to the importance of considering the effect of age on mobility.

All of these studies indicate that many other factors af-

fect the distribution of groups in the class structure and chances of upward mobility. It is therefore necessary in considering whether the two propositions above hold in the study area, to take all of these factors into account.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY AREA: SAINT BONIFACE

HISTORY

The first European settlement at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was founded in 1736 by Pierre Gaultier de Varennes who set up a fort at the Forks to trade with the Indians after crossing Canada from Quebec by land route. However in 1760 with the battle for New France, the French voyageurs left their trading posts to defend their homeland, (Morton, 1957).

The first serious attempt to found a European settlement as distinct from a trading post, at the Forks in the Red River was a result of the work of Lord Selkirk who in 1811 was granted "Assiniboia" by the Hudsons Bay Company, and soon thereafter began to recruit settlers in Scotland, (Morton 1957).

In the early years of the Red River Settlement, the displaced crofters whom Selkirk had encouraged to migrate from Scotland were outnumbered by the retired fur trappers and voyageurs and their Indian wives and Metis offspring. The voyageurs clustered around the plot of land on the East bank of the Red River opposite Point Douglas, ceded by Lord Selkirk to the Catholic Church when Fathers Provencher and Dumoulin came from Quebec at the settlers request in 1818 (Morton, 1957).

It was here that the Fathers built their Church and their school. Other French Canadian settlers came from Lower Canada and settled around the Church. Stragglers from the German Swiss de Meurons regiments who had been recruited in 1816 by Lord Selkirk to fight the Nor'Westers who had attacked the settlement in 1815, also settled around the Church and it was for their patron saint ~~that~~ Saint Boniface was named.

Thus in the settlement at the Forks, the small European population (see Table I) was divided along ethnic lines: in the North around the Kildonans and on the West of the Red River, were the Selkirk settlers and to the east of the river, south from opposite Point Douglas, were the French and Metis.

TABLE I

THE EUROPEAN POPULATION
AT THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT IN 1821^a.

ETHNIC ORIGIN	NUMBER
Scottish	221
de Meurons	65
Canadians (mainly French)	133
Total	419

^a : Morton (1957)

When Riel prevented the Government surveyors from charting the land around the Red River in 1869, the French settlers at first did not side with the Metis. However by January,

1870 the French were united in their support of Riel (Morton 1957). When Manitoba finally became a part of Canada in July 1870, the French language was given equality with English in both the legislature and the school system. However after 1870 increasing numbers of Protestants from Ontario came and settled in Manitoba and by the late Nineteenth Century, the French Canadians were vastly outnumbered by English-speaking Protestants, (see Table II).

TABLE II

THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE MANITOBA POPULATION, 1881-1961^a

Ethnic Origin	1881 %	1911 %	1931 %	1951 %	1961 %
British	59.7	59.9	52.6	46.7	43.0
French	15.6	6.8	6.7	8.5	9.1
Scandinavian	1.5	3.8	4.5	4.2	4.1
Ukranian	-	6.7	10.5	12.7	11.4
Other European	15.8	20.2	23.2	25.8	28.7
All Others	7.4	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.7
Total number of population	62,260	461,394	700,139	776,541	921,686

^a: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961.

By 1931, although still a major element in the population of the city of Saint Boniface, the French Canadians had declined in their numerical importance in Manitoba and they had also lost their language rights in the school system (Morton, 1957).

Saint Boniface however remained and in recent years has become increasingly a relatively French city (see Table III) in comparison with the general ethnic composition of the rest of the province.

TABLE III
THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF
ST. BONIFACE, 1931-1961^a

Ethnic Origin	1931 %	1941 %	1951 %	1961 %
British	41.5	38.6	36.7	35.0
French	36.5	38.1	38.7	38.3
Jewish	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.1
Scandinavian	1.4	1.7	2.0	3.1
Ukranian	2.3	3.6	4.5	4.6
Other European	17.5	16.7	16.1	17.4
Asiatic	-	0.1	0.1	0.3
All Other	-	0.5	1.1	0.8
Total number of population	16,305	18,157	26,342	37,600

^a : Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961.

In summary therefore, the history of the French-origin group in Manitoba is one of early numerical importance but of relative decline in numbers in the years after Manitoba attained provincial status. However, the French-origin group in St. Boniface has in recent decades increased in size so that today those of French-origin are the largest single ethnic group in

Saint Boniface and over a third of the city's total population when they form just over 9% of the total population of the province.

SAINT BONIFACE TODAY

Although the city of Saint Boniface is in comparison with the rest of Manitoba, a French city, within its own city limits there is an almost equally large British-origin group, (see Table III above). The two groups are not however equally distributed throughout the city: certain areas for example the older parts of the city to the north around the ruined Basilica, are distinctly French preserves, whereas the newer suburban housing and the area bounded on the east by St. Mary's Road in Norwood are more British (see Table IV).

TABLE IV

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH GROUPS BY CENSUS TRACT IN SAINT BONIFACE IN 1961^a

Tract Number	British-origin		French-origin	
	Number	%	Number	%
49	477	10.8	3,239	73.3
50	1,351	17.2	5,096	65.2
51	2,640	58.3	627	13.8
52	2,062	39.1	1,860	35.2
53	1,317	27.1	1,533	31.5
Total	13,116	35.0	14,404	38.3

^a : Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961.

For the location of the Census Tracts see Figure 1.

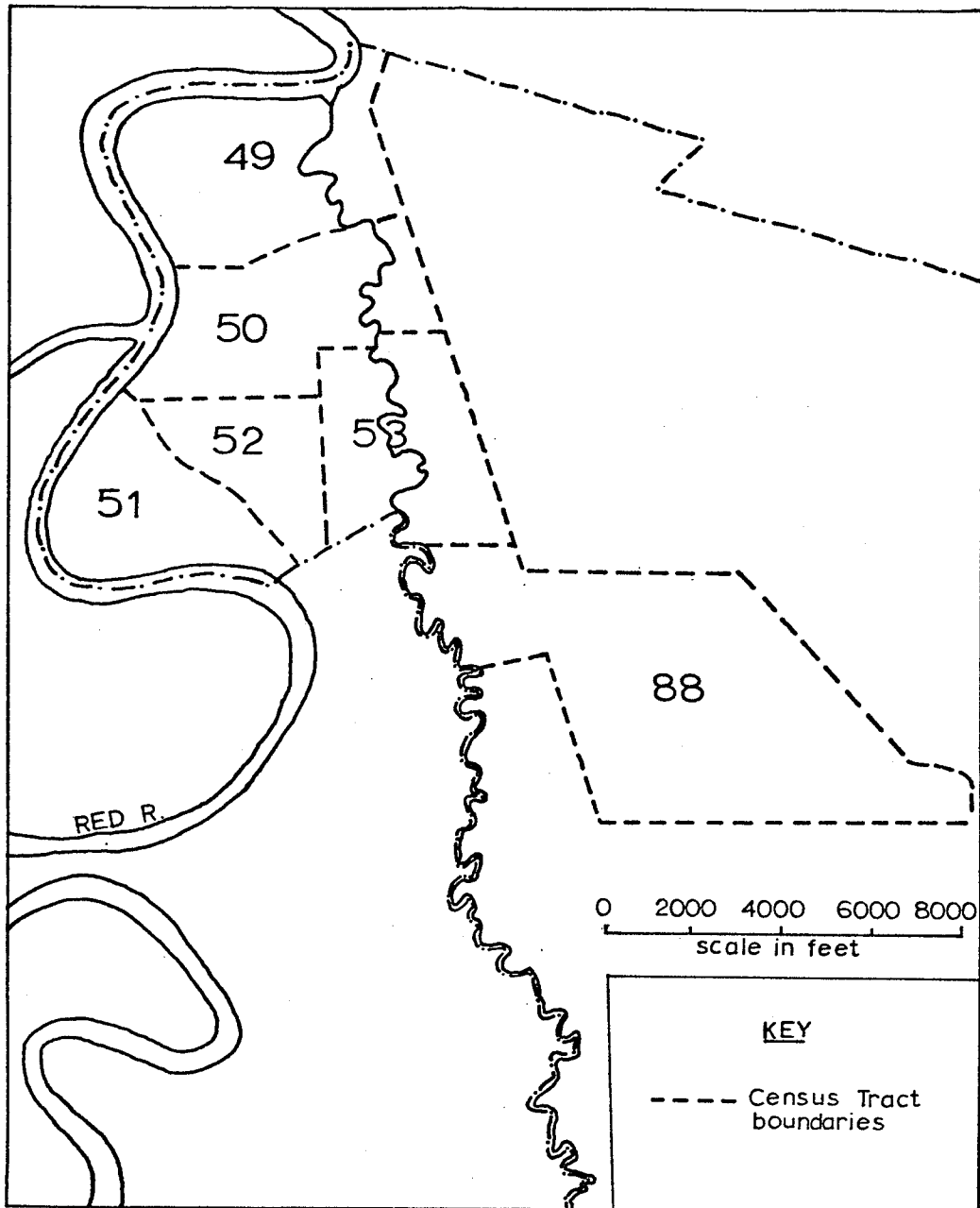


Figure 1: Location of Census Tracts in St. Boniface.

Centred within the city of Saint Boniface today are many French Canadian institutions which serve the local and the provincial French Canadian population. These institutions include two Catholic hospitals, a French speaking college, a museum, francophone public schools and churches, French radio and television stations as well as many other voluntary associations such as drama groups, caisses populaires and other cultural groups.

In summary therefore, Saint Boniface would seem not only very French in terms of its population structure and history in comparison with most of Manitoba, but also very French in terms of its present-day culture, as many of the institutions and voluntary associations situated in the city, cater specifically to those of French-origin.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

I. PROPOSITIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The aim of the first part of the present study is to test the validity of the general proposition that:

French-origin Canadians in Saint Boniface constitute a minority group* for, on the basis of their ethnic origin, they have an unequal and inferior class position. ...PROPOSITION I

Various hypotheses were derived from this proposition and the above review of the literature in order to judge whether this was indeed a valid generalisation of the situation of those of French-origin. It was suggested that:

The proportion of those of French-origin in each class decreases from the lowest to the highest class whereas the reverse is true for those of British-origin. ...Hypothesis 1

The proportion of those able to speak only French decreases from the lowest to the highest class. ...Hypothesis 2

The proportion of Catholics in each class decreases from the lowest to the highest

*For the definition of "minority group" see the earlier footnote on Page 9.

class whereas the reverse is true for
Protestants.

...Hypothesis 3

There is a larger relationship between
class and ethnicity than between class
and religion.

...Hypothesis 4

Thus it was possible to indicate the expected relationships
between the independent and dependent variables (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 2

THE EXPECTED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE DEPENDENT AND
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR PROPOSITION I

Independent Variables			Dependent Variable		
Ethnicity	Religion	Language	Social Class		
			High	Medium	Low
French	Roman Catholic	Speak only French			*
		Speak French		*	
British	Roman Catholic			*	
	Protestant		*		

* indicates the expected relationship

In the second part of the study, the aim was to test the
validity of the general proposition that:

French-origin Canadians in Saint Boniface show
lower upward mobility in the class structure

than those of British-origin.

...PROPOSITION II

Various hypotheses were derived from this proposition and the above review of the literature in order to test whether this was indeed a valid generalisation of the situation in Saint Boniface. It was suggested that:

Upward mobility is greater for those of
British-origin than for those of French-
origin.

....Hypothesis 5

Upward mobility is greater for those of
Protestant-origin than for those of
Catholic-origin

....Hypothesis 6

The relationship between ethnic origin
and upward mobility is greater than the
relationship between religious origin
and upward mobility.

....Hypothesis 7

Thus it was possible to indicate the expected relationships between the dependent and independent variables (see Figure III).

II THE STUDY POPULATIONS

Two study "populations" were used. In the first part of the study, all males living in Saint Boniface at the time of the 1961 Census were used to derive the indices. Analysis was centred on those of British and of French-origin (as de-

finned by the 1961 Census, D.B.S. 1961). Use was made of enumeration area data (see Appendix II) which came from the Census.

FIGURE 3

THE EXPECTED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR PROPOSITION II

Independent Variables		Dependent Variable		
Ethnic origin	religious origin	Upward Mobility		
		High	Moderate	Low
French	Roman Catholic			*
British	Roman Catholic		*	
	Protestant	*		

*indicates the expected relationship.

The "population" with which the second part of the study was concerned consisted of all upper class males of British and of French-origin living in Saint Boniface who were listed in Henderson's Directory (1970). Upper class membership was determined by occupation. Only those with occupations listed in the two upper classes of Blishen's scale (1958) were included. French or British-origin was determined by the individual's surname. If the surname was listed in either Dauzat (1951) or Reaney (1958) as being of either French or British-origin, then the individual was included in the study population.

III THE SAMPLE

A simple random sample of 400 individual's was drawn from

the above upper class population with the use of a random numbers table (Blalock 1960). In considering the size of the sample, various factors had to be taken into account including the resources at the researcher's disposal and the amount of information required (Madge 1953). Instituting all of the control variables at any one time would have given a minimum of 324 cells for analysis. A sample large enough to fill these cells adequately would have been very large, possibly including all of the study population (approximately 1300 individuals). Such a sample would not only be too large for one person to analyse in the time allocated for the study but also an expensive one from which to collect data. If however, only one control was used at any one time during the analysis then a much smaller sample would be adequate.

Of the 400 individuals in the sample, it was estimated that on the basis of surnames, 158 individuals were of French origin and 242 were of British origin. Among those who responded it was found that there had been some errors in the classification by surnames, possibly because some names are nationally diverse in their usage but also because some individuals or their ancestors had changed their name at some time (see Table V).

In the second part of the study, French and English language postal questionnaires were constructed (see Appendix I)

and sent to each member of the sample. Two mailings were sent to increase the response. The questionnaire included questions on ethnic origin and occupational history as well as items on the control variables of class of origin, educational attainment, age and community of origin.

TABLE V

STATED ETHNIC ORIGIN OF RESPONDANTS WHO COMPLETED RETURNS BY
TIME OF ARRIVAL OF THE RETURN

Stated Ethnic Origin	Time of Arrival of Return		
	1st mailing	2nd Mailing	Total
British	98	42	140
French	66	19	85
Other	22	8	30
Not Stated	5	2	7
Total	191	71	262

In order to ensure a good response rate, care was taken to post the questionnaire mid-week for both mailings, so that it would arrive in the mail just before the weekend when, according to Parten (1950) it might be expected that most people would have time to complete it. In spite of these precautions, 23.25% of the sample ignored both mailings of the questionnaire and a further 10.75% could not be contacted (as they had moved or were deceased).

Some responses from both groups indicated that the title

of the questionnaire might have lessened the response rate, for various comments were added to the questionnaire indicating that some members of the British and French groups did not consider that they belonged to an ethnic group. The problem of geographical mobility of the population is shown by the numbers who could not be contacted as they had moved (almost all of the above 10.75%). In spite of this however, 65.75%, 263, of the sample did complete and return the questionnaire.

IV VARIABLES

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

1. Social Class

In the first part of the study, social class position is the dependent variable. Social class was measured by three indices: education, occupation and income. Kahl and Davis (1955: 317-325) in a study of socio-economic status, suggested that the best single index of class is occupation, although educational attainment is a useful second index and at the extremes of society, income is a valuable tool.

2. Upward Social Mobility

In the second part of the study, upward social mobility is the dependent variable. All mobility is of course relative, for one can only be mobile in comparison with someone or something. Miller (1955: 65-73) indicated that most

studies concentrate on either intergenerational mobility or career mobility. The former compares the position of the individual with one of his ancestors and the latter relates the position of the individual at one point in his career with that at a later point. In this study the focus was on career mobility. Movement was measured by relating the present status of the individual to his first occupational status.

Although many "ladders" are available for mobility in modern society (Wilensky 1966: 98-140), as Miller (1955: 65-73) indicated, most sociologists study mobility by considering changes in levels of occupational prestige. Such a definition does have certain advantages for, not only is occupational data usually readily available, but it is also closely related to, though it can only be used to measure indirectly and approximately, income, education, prestige and authority.

The present study measured changes in levels of occupational prestige as an index of mobility. The occupational data was collected by means of the responses to questions 13 and 15 on the questionnaire (see Appendix I). The occupations that the respondent listed were given the score of the same occupation on Blishen's refined index (1968: 741-753) and the difference between the values of the first

occupation and the present (or last occupation if the respondent had retired) occupation was calculated. The value was considered to be positive if the movement had been upward and negative if it had been downward. Only those with positive or static scores were included in the analysis as Duncan and Blau (1967) indicated that downward mobility had a very complex system of correlations with the control variables which might blur the upward mobility pattern.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

1. Ethnicity

Sociologists have variously argued over the meaning of "ethnicity". To Warner and Srole (1945), ethnicity was defined by membership of and participation in, the activities of a group with a "foreign culture" with which one identified or was identified by others. Gordon (1964) considered this a somewhat restricted usage of the term. Instead he favoured a definition based on personal identification which need not be accompanied by participation in the group's activities nor by recognition by the group itself. However in the first part of the study, use was made of Census data which, in order to define ethnic origin, relied on the answer to the question:

"To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?" (D.B.S. 1961)

The Census definition is clearly adequate to distinguish between those of French-origin and those of British-origin (including the English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish). Use of the census definition permitted comparisons with other studies of the two groups in Canada. A similar definition was employed in the second part of the study, where ethnic origin was measured by national origin through the male ancestor by the answers to questions 4 and 5 on the questionnaire (see Appendix I).

2. Religious Origin

Sociologists have in the past used many different categories for the analysis of religion (Glock and Stark 1969; Lenski 1961). In the present study, although data on religious denomination was available in both the Census and the questionnaire, use was made only of the distinction between Protestant and Catholic. In the Census, religion was defined by the answer to the question:

"What is your religion?" (D.B.S. 1961).

The data on religion in the questionnaire was obtained by the response to question 9 (see Appendix I). Age was specified in order that the religion stated should be the one in which the respondent was brought up and which therefore might have been expected to affect for example achievement motivation. Data on religious change was also collected by

the reply to question 10 (see Appendix I).

CONTROL VARIABLES

In the second part of the study the relationship between the dependent and independent variables was further tested while holding social class, size of community of origin, age and educational attainment constant.

1. Social Class Origin

Social class origin was controlled by grouping the respondents into 4 categories: upper class, middle class, low class and farm as determined by the response to Question 11 (see Appendix I). Class of origin was therefore determined by the father's occupation at the time the respondent was born.

2. Size of Community of Origin

The size of community of origin was controlled by grouping the respondents into 4 categories: cities over 50,000 population, Saint Boniface, other cities under 50,000 population and rural as determined by the response to Question 2 (see Appendix I). Community of origin at age 14 years was taken as the determining community for at this age the respondents were entering High School where the type of community might influence the decision to remain at school or enter the labour force depending e.g. on the quality of education available in the area.

3. Age

Age was controlled by grouping the respondents into 3 categories: under 35 years, 35 to 54 years and 55 years or over as determined by the response to question 1 (see Appendix I).

4. Educational Attainment

Educational attainment was controlled by grouping the respondents into 3 categories: those with Grade 11 or below, those who had completed High School graduation and those who had some university as determined by question 3 (see Appendix I).

V. STATISTICS AND SCALING

Proposition I

The data on the variables in the first section of the study, was obtained from computer tapes in "printed out" form grouped by the enumeration areas of the city of Saint Boniface*. To standardise for the variation in population size of the enumeration areas, the actual totals were converted into ratios which could be compared. Thus the independent variables used in the analysis were the percentage of the population of each enumeration area who were of French-origin, the percentage of the population of each enumeration area who were Roman Catholic, and the percen-

*Winnipeg tape produced by Prof. Leo Driedger from the University of Manitoba Settlement Studies Institute D.B.S. tapes.

tage of the population in each enumeration area who could speak only French. The dependent variables used were median income of each enumeration area, percentage of the population who had attended university for each enumeration area, and the percentage of the labour force with white collar occupations in each enumeration area.

All of the indices of the independent variables could clearly be interpreted at the interval level of measurement. Although the educational and occupational indices of the dependent variable were also at the interval level, a certain amount of doubt existed in the writer's mind about the meaning of such an interpretation for the income index. This doubt combined with the problems of ecological correlation, favoured a more conservative statistic than Pearsonian 'r'.

The statistical measure which was therefore used initially to determine the relationship between the interval level independent and ordinal and interval level dependent variables, was Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient (for formula see Yeomans 1968: 302). The rank correlation coefficient (r_s), like the product moment correlation coefficient (r), can take a value between +1 and -1 (Yeoman's 1968; Moroney 1951), the sign of the coefficient indicating the direction of the relationship.

In order to compare the relative importance of the in-

fluence of the independent variables on the different indices of the dependent variable, an extension of Kendall's rank correlation coefficient was used (Siegel 1956: 213-223). Although this statistic also indicates the level of association between two variables, the value lies on a different scale to that of Spearman's coefficient and thus the two are not comparable, however it is possible to compare the value of Kendall's coefficient with that of Kendall's partial correlation coefficient which gives the level of association between two variables when a third variable is statistically controlled (Siegel 1956: 223-229). Thus by using this technique, it was possible to analyse the relative influence of the two independent variables ethnicity and religion, on the indices of the dependent variable social class and therefore to test hypothesis (4).

In analysing the data to test these hypotheses related to Proposition I, various problems were encountered because of the nature of the Census data. For each variable, data grouped on the basis of the enumeration area was available but cross classifications between the variables were not available at this level, thus one was faced with the problem of ecological correlation (Robinson 1950: 351-357). Again because of the nature of the data, it was not

possible to minimise the error of these correlations by using the estimating technique suggested by Duncan and Davis (1953: 665-666). It is therefore possible that in the present study the correlations are in some cases exaggerated and particularly in the correlations between the independent variables are minimised.

As the analysis concerned a study population no tests of significance were used (Selvin 1957: 519-527; Morrison and Henkel 1969: 131-140).

Proposition II

The statistical measure which was used at this stage in the present study to determine the level of association between the nominal independent variables and the ordinal dependent variable was Theta (for formula see Freeman 1965: 108-119). As Theta gives only an absolute value, in the present study to determine the direction of the relationship, when analysing 2 X 4 contingency tables it was given a Somers dyx directional interpretation. For tables on the association between the control variables and the dependent variable in which both variables were ordinal Somers dyx was used instead of Theta. For those where there was a nominal control variable and ordinal dependent variable but more than two columns, Theta alone without the Somers dyx directional interpretation was used.

It is possible to give Theta a "Proportional Reduction in Error" interpretation (Costner 1965: 341-353), that is it may be interpreted as:

"the amount of error which can be reduced through introduction of the independent variable, as compared to knowledge of the dependent variable alone."

To draw inferences to the study population from the sample, use was made of the Mann-Whitney U-Test (Freeman 1965: 187-198) which was the appropriate test of significance for the levels of measurement on the independent and dependent variables. Specifically the test determined the probability that any observed differences in subclass rankings were due to sampling variation from a population where no differences were present (for formulae see Freeman 1965: 190 and 194). The test was employed only when an association of 0.1 or larger was found. To minimise Type II Error when the introduction of control variables made sample size relatively small, alpha was taken as 0.05 and as the hypotheses specified the direction of difference, a one-tailed test was appropriate.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS ON THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES

I. THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND SOCIAL CLASS POSITION

Independent Variable I: Ethnic Origin

It was suggested in Hypothesis (1) that there would be a negative association between the percentage of the population of each enumeration area which was of French-origin and the three social class indices being employed. As can be seen in Table VI when the data was analysed the correlation was in the expected direction for all three indices. The correlation on the "best Single index" (Kahl

TABLE VI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FRENCH ORIGIN AND THE THREE SOCIAL CLASS INDICES

Social Class Indices	% Population of French-origin	
% White Collar	-0.87	(-0.552)
Median Income	-0.75	(-0.588)
% Some University	-0.43	(-0.320)

Figures in parentheses are correlations on the Kendall coefficient.

and Davis 1955: 317-325) i.e. occupation was the highest correlation of all. The educational index gave a much smaller coefficient possibly because of the character of Saint Boniface

with its constellation of relatively French institutions (see Chapter II) which demand a highly educated personnel to administer them. It is clear therefore, that on the basis of the 1961 Census data, Hypothesis (1) is supported.

Independent Variable II: Ability to speak only French

Hypothesis (2) suggested that there would be a negative association between the percentage of the population in each enumeration area who spoke only French and the three class indices. On analysing the data a high negative association between the dependent and independent variables was found (see Table VII). Again the level of the coefficient was considerably lower on the educational index than on the two other indices. Therefore the data again supported the hypothesis.

TABLE VII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ABILITY TO SPEAK ONLY FRENCH AND
THE THREE SOCIAL CLASS INDICES

Social Class Indices	% Population Speak Only French	
% White Collar	-0.66	(-0.501)
Median Income	-0.69	(-0.494)
% Some University	-0.42	(-0.253)

Figures in parentheses are correlations on the Kendall coefficient.

Independent Variable III: Religious Affiliation

In Hypothesis (3) it was again suggested that there would be a negative correlation between the percentage of the population of each enumeration area who were Roman Catholic and the class indices. For the Saint Boniface Census data, high negative coefficients were again found between the independent and the dependent variables, (see Table VIII). Once again the education index had a lower correlation. The data therefore supported the third hypothesis.

TABLE VIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION AND THE
THREE SOCIAL CLASS INDICES

Social Class Indices	% Population who are Roman Catholic	
% White Collar	-0.69	(-0.571)
Median Income	-0.82	(-0.529)
% Some University	-0.49	(-0.346)

Figures in parentheses are correlations on the Kendall
coefficient.

Relative Importance of the Independent Variables

In Hypothesis (4) it was suggested that ethnic origin was more highly correlated with class position than was religious origin. In order to analyse this hypothesis, it was necessary to compare the relative importance of both of these independent variables to the dependent variable,

use was therefore made of Kendall's partial rank correlation coefficient, (Siegel 1956). Use of this coefficient allowed the association between the dependent and independent variables to be calculated when a third variable was being controlled. As Page (1958) suggested, the ethnicity index and the religious index used above were highly positively correlated (see Table IX) and therefore it might be suggested that much of the relationship shown in Tables VI-VIII was a result of the intervention of one of the other independent variables. When the influence of this third variable was controlled statistically, a reduction in the size of the relationship between the dependent and independent variables was expected and such was indeed found to be the case (see Table X).

TABLE IX

INTER-RELATIONS OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	% Speak only French	% Roman Catholic
% French origin	+0.656	+0.87
% Speak only French	-	+0.583
% Roman Catholic	-	-

By analysing the data on the best single index of class position (occupation), when religion is statistically controlled, a much reduced negative relationship between the

percentage of French-origin and the percentage of White Collar workers was found (see Table X). It would seem therefore that much of the relationship between these two variables is a result of the high positive correlation between ethnicity and religion. However, although the association between the ethnic and occupational indices is much reduced when religion is controlled, the negative relationship between the religious and occupational indices when ethnicity is controlled remains high (see Table X). It

TABLE X
THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT AND DEPENDENT
VARIABLES WHEN CONTROLS ON THE THIRD VARIABLE
ARE INTRODUCED

Independent Variables	Dependent Variable		
	% White Collar	Median Income	% Some University
% French origin when religion is controlled	-0.139	-0.395	-0.041
% Roman Catholic when French-origin is controlled	-0.322	-0.044	-0.144

would seem therefore, that the religious index is more highly correlated than the ethnic index to the occupational index.

On analysing the data on the relationships of the independent variables to median income, it was clear that the relationship between religion and income was mainly a re-

sult of the interaction of ethnicity (see Table X). For the relationships on the educational index, the negative association between religion and the class factor when ethnicity is controlled, was larger than that between ethnicity and class when religion was controlled, (see Table X).

When the ethnic index was controlled, the proportion of Roman Catholics was more highly correlated in a negative direction with two of the three class indices used in the present study. The evidence would therefore seem insufficient to support Hypothesis 4. It is therefore necessary to reject the first proposition for, although in terms of income it may be correct to consider that the French-origin group are in a minority or subordinate situation, it would seem that their minority status is more influenced by their religious affiliation than by their membership in the second Charter group.

In summary therefore, it would seem that although French-origin is related to low social class position, only in terms of income is ethnicity a more important factor than religion. Thus on the basis of the literature reviewed above, Proposition I may well be a true reflection of the class situation of those in Quebec but the present study does not support such a proposition for Saint Boniface.

II. THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND UPWARD MOBILITY

Independent Variable I: Ethnic Origin

It was suggested in Hypothesis (5) that there would be a positive relationship between British-origin and upward career mobility. In analysing the data, a low positive association was found between these variables (see Table XI). However because of the low level of statistical significance, it was impossible to refute the null hypothesis of no association.

TABLE XI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	39	(28.8%)	26	(33.8%)	65
Low	23	(17.0%)	8	(10.4%)	31
Moderate	51	(37.4%)	35	(45.4%)	86
High	22	(16.8%)	8	(10.4%)	30
Total	135	(100 %)	77	(100 %)	212
Theta	= 0.144				
Somers Dyx	= +0.144				
z	= 0.5451 ; P> 0.05				

This hypothesis was then examined in relation to the four control variables: class of origin, highest educational level attained, size of community of orientation and age. It was expected that the positive association between British-origin and upward mobility would persist even when

the control variables were introduced.

Control Variable I: Class of Origin

In analysing the data, a very weak positive association remained between upward mobility and ethnic origin for those of upper class origin was analysed separately (see Appendix III, Table IA). No test of significance was used with such low levels of association.

For those of middle class origin, the association between the dependent and independent variables changed from a positive association to a very weak negative association, (see Appendix III, Table IIA). A possible interpretation of this reversal in direction might be that in such a French city as Saint Boniface situated in an otherwise highly English milieu, there would be a demand for French professionals and businesses which might open up specific avenues of mobility for those of French-origin. However it is clear that even so, the association is only slight and any such advantages of French over English culture are only of minimal importance.

In analysing the data for those of lower class origin, a low positive association was found between ethnic origin and upward mobility (see Appendix III, Table IIIA). Although the control on lower class origin slightly diminished the association between the dependent and independent

variables, the level of association which persisted indicated that in this subsample those of British-origin had undergone more career mobility than those of French-origin. For the social class with which French-origin was highly correlated in the first part of the study, those of French-origin were at a disadvantage compared to those of British-origin, in gaining upward mobility. Although this would seem to be of significance socially, it was not possible to refute the null hypothesis statistically.

For those in the sample whose fathers were farmers, there was a much diminished relationship between the dependent and independent variables (see Appendix III, Table IVA).

In summary therefore in the present "upper class" sample when controls for class of origin were introduced, the relationship between ethnic origin and upward mobility was generally greatly diminished. However for those of lower class origins, ethnic origin was relatively highly associated with upward mobility.

Control Variable II: Education

In analysing the data on the associations between ethnic origin and upward mobility when highest educational level attained by the individual was controlled, a positive association between British-origin and upward mobility was again expected.

For those in the subsample with a maximum of Grade II at school, a low negative association between the dependent and independent variables was found (see Appendix III, Table VA). In analysing the data for those who graduated from High School a larger negative association was found between British-origin and upward mobility (see Table XII), However it was again not significant. The reversal of direction of both of these associations would indicate that in these two subsamples some factor is working in favour of those of French-origin in gaining upward mobility. Again it is suggested that a plausible explanation might lie in the territorial factor i.e. that the nature of the Saint Boniface community might open up business opportunities to someone of French-origin and British-origin might be disadvantageous.

TABLE XII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE WHO GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL IN THE ST. BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	6	(15.6%)	0		6
Low	9	(23.5%)	3	(18.8%)	12
Moderate	18	(47.1%)	11	(68.7%)	29
High	5	(13.8%)	2	(12.5%)	7
Total	38	(100 %)	16	(100 %)	54
Theta	= 0.228				
Somers Dyx	= -0.228				
z	= 1.301 ; P> 0.05				

For the subsample who had attended University, the relationship between British-origin and upward mobility was considerably diminished (see Appendix III, Table VIA).

In summary it would seem therefore, that there are contradictory contingent associations when the control variable of education is introduced. There is almost no association between British-origin and upward mobility for the University sample whereas for the other subsamples, the relationship is enlarged and becomes negative. As might be expected it would seem that after attending University, irrespective of ethnic group, people enter relatively settled careers however it is difficult to account for the reversal of association for lower educational levels especially in the light of the positive association between the variables for those of lower class origin. As class of origin influences educational attainment (Duncan and Duncan 1968: 346-364; Bendix and Lipset 1966) one would expect that the relationships would be positive. However it has been suggested that a parochial school background among Roman Catholics enhances chances of upward mobility as the drop-out rate in these schools is ^{low} compared to the drop-out rate for Catholics in the public school system (Lenski 1961). Because the French Canadians are 99% Roman Catholic (Page 1958), one would expect that a large proportion of them

would have attended Church schools and would therefore have benefitted by this factor.

Control Variable III: Size of Community of Orientation

When controls were introduced for size of community in which the respondent was living at age 14, it was anticipated that the positive association between ethnic origin and upward mobility would persist.

For those who were living in Saint Boniface at age 14, the positive relationship between the dependent and independent variables was considerably diminished (see Appendix III, Table VIIA). In analysing the data for those who were living in large cities at this time, a negative association between British-origin and upward mobility was found (see Table XIII). In these cities therefore, it would seem that French-origin was advantageous in gaining upward mobility.

When small town residence (other than Saint Boniface) was analysed separately the positive association between British-origin and upward mobility was strengthened (see Appendix III, Table VIIIA). Again it was impossible to refute the null hypothesis. In spite of the insufficient evidence, it would seem however, that small town residence enhances the chances of those of British-origin for gaining upward mobility.

In analysing the data for those who were living in a rural environment at age 14, it was found that although the level of association between ethnic origin and upward mobility was not only diminished, but the relationship changed from a positive to a negative one (see Appendix III, Table IXA). However the advantage of those of French-origin in gaining mobility was only slight.

TABLE XIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE LIVING IN A CITY WITH OVER 50,000 POPULATION AT AGE 14 IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin			
	British-origin		French-origin	
				Total
Static	14	(24.6%)	0	14
Low	9	(15.9%)	1	(11.1%) 10
Moderate	24	(42.1%)	6	(66.6%) 30
High	10	(17.4%)	2	(22.3%) 12
Total	57	(100 %)	9	(100 %) 66
<hr/>				
Theta	= 0.294			
Somers Dyx	= -0.294			
z	= 1.511 ; P > 0.05			

In summary therefore, when controls on the size of community of orientation were introduced, the positive association between British-origin and upward mobility was considerably diminished for the Saint Boniface and rural subsamples. The positive association for the small town subsample was strengthened but for the large city group al-

though it was considerably enlarged it also became negative. Glenn and Hyland (1967: 73-85) suggested that Catholics enjoyed certain advantages in the labour market because of their concentration in the USA in large towns. However, while the finding that the small town French group was considerably hampered by their ethnicity in gaining mobility would seem to fit in with this view, it is difficult to account for the high negative association for the subsample of large city origin.

Control Variable IV: Age

When controls for age were introduced, it was expected that the positive association between British-origin and upward mobility would persist.

In analysing the data on the relationship between the dependent and independent variables for the young subsample, the positive association was greatly diminished (see Appendix III, Table XA). This would seem to indicate that among the younger subsample, ethnicity is unimportant in determining chances of upward mobility. For those in the sample aged 35 to 54 years, the positive association between British-origin and upward mobility again almost completely disappeared when age was taken into account (see Appendix III, Table XIA). However when analysing the data for those aged 55 or over, a strengthened positive association between

British-origin and upward mobility was found (see Table XIV). Although the association was inadequate to refute the null hypothesis, it would seem that in the past, ethnic origin was a more important determining influence on chances of upward mobility than it is at present.

TABLE XIV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THE SUBSAMPLE AGED 55 OR OVER IN
THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	6	(17.6%)	6	(30%)	12
Low	4	(11.8%)	1	(5%)	5
Moderate	15	(44.4%)	11	(55%)	26
High	9	(26.2%)	2	(10%)	11
Total	34	(100 %)	20	(100%)	54
Theta	= 0.183				
Somers dyx	= +0.183				
z	= 1.203 ; P>0.05				

Summary

Although a certain amount of evidence would seem to support Hypothesis (5), it is insufficient to refute the null hypothesis. It would seem that in the past the association was more important than it is today except for those of lower class origin. Unless one takes account of educational attainment and community of orientation, the association outlined above would be to some extent a distortion of reality, for in certain cases French-origin not British-

origin, is advantageous in gaining upward mobility.

Independent Variable II: Religious Origin

It was suggested in Hypothesis (6) that there would be a positive association between Protestant origin and upward mobility. In analysing the data, it was found that there was only a very slight relationship between these variables (see Table XV).

TABLE XV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY IN SAINT BONIFACE FOR THOSE OF BRITISH AND OF FRENCH ORIGIN

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	37	(29.6%)	28	(32.9%)	65
Low	22	(17.6%)	8	(9.4%)	30
Moderate	45	(36 %)	39	(45.9%)	84
High	21	(16.8%)	10	(11.8%)	31
Total	125	(100 %)	85	(100 %)	210
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.025				
Somers Dyx	= +0.025				

This hypothesis was then examined in relation to the four control variables used above. It had been suggested that the positive association between Protestant origin and upward mobility would persist but in the light of the low association discovered, it was suggested that the relationship would remain at this level when the controls were employed.

Control Variable I: Class of Origin

In analysing the data for those of upper class origin, a strengthened but negative association was found between Protestant origin and upward mobility (see Table XVI). The relationship was statistically significant, but the number of Catholics was small.

TABLE XVI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE OF UPPER CLASS ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	8	(44.6%)	2	(40%)	10
Low	4	(22.2%)	0		4
Moderate	3	(16.6%)	2	(40%)	5
High	3	(16.6%)	1	(20%)	4
Total	18	(100 %)	5	(100 %)	23
<hr/>					
Tneta	= 0.144				
Somers dyx	= -0.144				
U	= 38.5 ; P < 0.05				

For those of middle class origin, a similar but weaker negative association was found between the dependent and independent variables (see Appendix III, Table XIIA) but in this case the null hypothesis could not be refuted. In analysing the data for those of lower class origin, an enlarged positive association was found between Protestant origin and upward mobility (see Table XVII). Thus for

those who come from the class with which Catholic origin is highly correlated, those of Protestant origin are at an advantage in gaining mobility.

TABLE XVII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE OF LOWER CLASS ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	5	(13.2%)	7	(21.8%)	12
Low	6	(15.8%)	6	(18.7%)	12
Moderate	19	(50 %)	14	(43.8%)	33
High	8	(21 %)	5	(15.7%)	13
Total	38	(100 %)	32	(100 %)	70
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.140				
Somers dyx	= +0.140				
z	= 1.076 ; p>0.05				

For those whose fathers were farmers, a reduced but negative association between Protestant origin and upward mobility was found (see Appendix III, Table XIIIA).

In summary therefore, unless class of origin were controlled it would be assumed that there was almost no relationship between religious origin and upward mobility whereas in reality, for those of middle and upper class origin there is a negative relationship between Protestant origin and upward mobility, and for those of lower class origin the relationship is positive. Glenn and Hyland (1967: 73-85) suggested that although worldly status worked against

an association between Catholicism and upward mobility, many other factors in the USA favoured Catholic upward mobility. It would seem in the present study that except where hampered by a low origin status, Catholics do enjoy certain advantages in gaining upward mobility over those who are Protestant. In comparing these associations with the earlier ethnic associations, (see Appendix III, Tables IA to IVA) it would seem possible that much of the shift in the direction of the associations might be due to the change in the position of British Catholics. For those of lower class however, even such a shift does not seem to influence the direction of the association.

Control Variable II: Education

In analysing the data for those who have Grade 11 or below at school, a very weak but slightly enlarged negative association between Protestant origin and upward mobility was found (see Appendix III, Table XIVA). For those who graduated from High School a similar negative but slightly stronger association was found (see Appendix III, Table XVA). In analysing the data for those who attended University a very weak positive association was found between the dependent and independent variables (see Appendix III, Table XVIA).

In summary therefore, the relationship between religious

origin and upward mobility would seem to be only slightly affected by the introduction of the education control.

The direction of the associations in relation to the class control for if, as has been suggested by Duncan and Duncan (1968: 346-364) and by Kelsall (1957) and Porter (1965), High education is related to upper class origin then one would expect that the direction of association between religious origin and upward mobility would be the same for the upper class origin subsample and the University subsample, whereas they in fact differ in direction.

Control Variable III: Size of Community of Orientation

In analysing the data for those living in Saint Boniface at age 14, a low negative association between Protestant origin and upward mobility was found (see Appendix III, Table XVIIIA).

For those living in a city with over 50,000 population at age 14, there was a much increased negative association between Protestant origin and upward mobility (see Table XVIII). The difference might however be attributed to the small numbers of Catholics involved. However it could also indicate that the relationship found between ethnic origin and upward mobility (see Table XIII) was a result of the Catholic nature of the French population rather than any French characteristic other than this. The Catholic educ-

TABLE XVIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE LIVING IN CITIES WITH A POPULATION OVER 50,000 AT AGE 14 IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin		Total
	Protestant	Roman Catholic	
Static	14 (25 %)	0	14
Low	9 (16 %)	1 (10%)	10
Moderate	23 (41.2%)	6 (60%)	29
High	10 (17.8%)	3 (30%)	13
Total	56 (100 %)	10 (100%)	66
<hr/>			
Theta	= 0.351		
Somers dyx	= -0.351		
z	= 1.763 ; P > 0.05		

ational, Church and other hierarchies (except for the specifically Francophone ones such as Saint Boniface College) would be open to all Catholics both of French and of British-origin for upward mobility. The increased level of association (-0.351) as compared to the level on the ethnic factor (-0.294) would seem to indicate that the British-origin Catholics may be an important factor in accounting for the higher association.

In analysing the data for those living in cities under 50,000 population (other than Saint Boniface), an enlarged positive association between Protestant origin and upward mobility was found (see Table XIX). The relationship found

TABLE XIX

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE LIVING IN CITIES WITH A POPULATION UNDER 50,000 AT AGE 14 IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	7	(23.3%)	4	(28.5%)	11
Low	2	(6.6%)	3	(21.4%)	5
Moderate	16	(46.5%)	6	(42.8%)	22
High	5	(16.6%)	1	(7.3%)	6
Total	30	(100 %)	14	(100 %)	44
<hr/>					
Theta	=	0.202			
Somers dyx	=	+0.202			
z	=	1.074 ; P > 0.05			

with this control was very similar to the association found between ethnic origin and upward mobility (see Appendix

III, Table VIIIA). For those who were living in a rural milieu at age 14, a slightly enlarged but negative association between Protestant origin and upward mobility was found (see Appendix III, Table XVIIIA).

In summary therefore, it would seem that the low level of association between religious origin and upward mobility when no controls were introduced was attributable to the contradictory contingent associations. In larger cities, Saint Boniface and rural milieu, Catholics would seem to enjoy certain advantages in gaining upward mobility (although the evidence is inconclusive) however in smaller towns the relationship is reversed. The results would seem to indicate that the reason for the similar association was more likely to be a result of the almost wholly Catholic nature of the French population which in Saint Boniface today seems to favour upward mobility, rather than a result of the French character of the group.

Control Variable IV: Age

In analysing the data on the younger respondents, it seemed that the Catholics had a slight advantage over the Protestants in gaining upward mobility (see Appendix III, Table XIXA). For those in the age group 35 to 54 years, a similar low negative association was found between Protestant origin and upward mobility (see Appendix III, Table

XXA). Both these associations seem to indicate that among the younger section of the population, religion, as was ethnicity, is of little importance in explaining differences in upward mobility and if anything, Catholic origin as indicated by Glenn and Hyland (1967: 73-85) is an advantage.

However, in analysing the data for the older section of the sample, an enlarged positive association between Protestant origin and upward mobility was found (see Table XX). Thus it would seem that in the past, religious origin was more related to chances of upward mobility than it is at present, a similar finding to that in the ethnic associations. The direction of the associations for the younger

TABLE XX

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE AGED 55 OR OVER IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	5	(16.1%)	7	(30.4%)	12
Low	4	(12.9%)	1	(4.3%)	5
Moderate	14	(45.2%)	12	(52.3%)	26
High	8	(25.8%)	3	(13 %)	11
Total	31	(100 %)	23	(100 %)	54
Theta	= 0.165				
Somers Dyx	= +0.165				
z	= 1.108 ; P>0.05				

and middle aged groups are however reversed in the reli-

gious associations compared to the ethnic associations thus again it would seem that the British Catholics in the sample may well be the most upwardly mobile group.

Summary

Although there was a certain amount of evidence which seemed to support the hypothesis that Protestant origin was positively associated with upward mobility, the relationship was clearly conditional on small town origin, lower class origin or old age. In many cases the relationship was in the opposite direction to the one anticipated. It is suggested that the reversed direction may be accounted for by the placement of British Catholics in the same class as the French Catholics. In accordance with Glenn and Hyland's view it was found that when Catholics were not hampered by low origin status, they enjoyed certain advantages in gaining upward mobility.

The Relative Importance of The Independent Variables

To determine whether Hypothesis (7) was substantiated by the data, controls on both religion and ethnicity were applied.

For those of British-origin, a negative association between Protestant origin and upward mobility was found (see Table XXI). For those of Roman Catholic origin, a positive

TABLE XXI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE OF BRITISH-ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	37	(29.6%)	2	(22.2%)	39
Low	22	(17.6%)	1	(11.1%)	23
Moderate	45	(36 %)	4	(44.5%)	49
High	21	(16.8%)	2	(22.2%)	23
Total	125	(100 %)	9	(100 %)	134
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.137				
Somers dyx	= -0.137				
z	= 0.7136 ; P> 0.05				

association between British-origin and upward mobility was found (see Table XXII).

TABLE XXII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY THOSE OF ROMAN CATHOLIC ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	2	(22.2%)	26	(33.2%)	28
Low	1	(11.1%)	7	(9.2%)	8
Moderate	4	(44.5%)	35	(46.1%)	39
High	2	(22.2%)	8	(10.5%)	10
Total	9	(100 %)	76	(100 %)	85
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.111				
Somers Dyx	= +0.111				
z	= 0.8535 ; P> 0.05				

Although the evidence was insufficient to draw firm conclusions, it would seem to indicate that in the Saint Boniface sample, religious origin was slightly more highly related to upward mobility than was ethnic origin. However, surprisingly, the relationship between Protestant origin and upward career mobility was negative, thus it would seem that Catholic origin is more advantageous than Protestant origin in gaining mobility but that British Catholic origin is the most advantageous of all today except where one is hampered by lower class or small town background.

In summary therefore, although in certain circumstances French-origin Canadians are at a disadvantage in gaining upward mobility, the evidence is insufficient to support the general Proposition II.

III THE CONTROL VARIABLES AND UPWARD MOBILITY

In this section, the relationships between the control variables and upward mobility are examined. The highest association, as might have been anticipated, was between education and upward mobility (see Table XXIII), however the direction of association was negative, indicating that the higher the educational level attained the more likely was the individual to undergo only low career mobility. At first this conclusion might seem surprising however it is easily understood, for with high educational attainment, one is more likely to enter,

immediately on taking a job, a high status occupation and therefore one's chances of subsequent upward mobility are limited.

TABLE XXIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND UPWARD MOBILITY IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Educational Attainment						Total
	Grade 11 Maximum		High School Graduation		Some University		
Static	6	(9.6%)	6	(11.1%)	53	(60.2%)	65
Low	11	(17.7%)	12	(22.2%)	8	(9%)	31
Moderate	41	(66.1%)	29	(55.7%)	14	(15.9%)	84
High	4	(6.6%)	7	(13%)	13	(14.9%)	24
Total	62	(100 %)	54	(100 %)	88	(100 %)	204
Somers dyx = -0.331							

The second highest association was between age and mobility (see Table XXIV). As anticipated the relationship was

TABLE XXIV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND UPWARD MOBILITY IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Age						Total
	Under 35 yrs.		35-54 yrs		55 or over		
Static	27	(46.5%)	25	(27.7%)	12	(22.2%)	64
Low	12	(20.6%)	11	(12.2%)	5	(9.4%)	28
Moderate	15	(25.1%)	42	(46.8%)	26	(48.1%)	83
High	4	(6.8%)	12	(13.3%	11	(20.3%)	27
Total	58	(100 %)	90	(100 %)	54	(100 %)	202
Somers dyx = +0.237							

positive indicating that for this sample the longer one is in

the labour force the more likely it is that one will be upwardly mobile.

Class of origin was also associated with upward mobility (see Table XXV). The direction of association may be inferred

TABLE XXV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASS OF ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Class of Origin			Farm	Total
	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class		
Static	10 (44%)	17 (27%)	12 (17%)	26 (47%)	65
Low	4 (17%)	9 (14%)	12 (17%)	6 (11%)	31
Moderate	5 (22%)	32 (50%)	33 (47%)	16 (29%)	86
High	4 (17%)	6 (9%)	13 (19%)	7 (13%)	30
Total	23 (100%)	64 (100%)	70 (100%)	55 (100%)	212
Theta = 0.127					

from the percentage distributions. As might logically be anticipated the lower the class of origin the higher the upward mobility.

Size of community of origin had the smallest association of the control variables, with upward mobility (see Table XXVI). On the basis of the percentage distributions it would seem that upward mobility is very low for those of rural origins and that those from large cities are slightly more mobile than those from smaller towns (including Saint Boniface).

In summary therefore, at this rather crude (statistically speaking) level of comparison, educational attainment,

TABLE XXVI
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY OF ORIGIN AND UPWARD
MOBILITY IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Community of Origin				Total
	St. Boniface	City over 50,000	City under 50,000	Rural	
Static	12 (25%)	14 (21%)	11 (24%)	28 (53%)	65
Low	9 (19%)	10 (15%)	6 (13%)	7 (13%)	32
Moderate	19 (41%)	30 (46%)	23 (50%)	13 (25%)	85
High	7 (15%)	6 (18%)	6 (13%)	5 (9%)	30
Total	47	66	46	53	212
Theta = 0.125					

age and class of origin (as suggested by Duncan and Blau 1967)
are more highly related to upward mobility than either ethnic
origin or religious origin.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Findings

A review of the literature on the relations between the British- and French-origin groups in Canadian society had suggested two major propositions from which testable hypotheses were derived, however on analysing the data it was found that neither proposition was a valid generalisation of the relations in the class structure and in upward career mobility between the two groups in the Census and in the sample drawn from the upper class population in the city of Saint Boniface.

It was found that although French-origin and the ability to speak only French were both highly negatively correlated with class position, when religion was controlled that relationship was considerably diminished. However, Roman Catholic religious affiliation, while also negatively correlated with class position, continued to be quite strongly related to class on two of the three indices used when ethnicity was controlled.

In analysing the hypotheses related to Proposition II, although a certain amount of evidence was found which indicated that French-origin was associated in this upper class sample with relatively low upward mobility, the associations were insufficient to refute the null hypotheses and in some

cases were conditional upon membership in particular sub-groups e.g. being of lower class origin. However, there was a certain amount of evidence which directly contradicted the expected direction of association between religion and upward mobility, for, except for those of lower class origin, small town origin or older members of the sample, Roman Catholic origin was positively related to upward mobility whereas Protestant origin was negatively related to upward mobility.

Interpretation

Many studies into the relationship between ethnicity and social class seem to have omitted consideration of the importance of the factor of religious affiliation in accounting for the negative correlations found between French-origin and class position, (e.g. Blishen 1958) while others would seem to have an intuitive understanding of this factor's importance which is never specified (e.g. Bouvier 1964: 371-379). Bouvier in a comparison of various immigrant groups in the North Eastern USA, found that French Canadians had lower social class position than the Polish, Italian and Irish groups (all of whom are predominantly Catholic).

Although in the present study it was found that while French Canadian-origin was more highly negatively correlated with median income than was Roman Catholic religious affiliation, on the other two class indices used Roman Catholic affiliation was more highly correlated with social class. It

might be considered that the presence of other even more predominantly lower class Catholics than the French-origin group in St. Boniface might have increased the association between religion and social class, detracting from the importance of the ethnic factor. However, if such were indeed the case, one would expect all of the class indices to be so affected. It might be suggested that those of French origin have a particularly inferior position in terms of annual income as has been shown in Quebec for the French-origin group (anon. 1969), and that this is also true for Saint Boniface. Such would indeed be the case, however the median income for the French-origin group may have been distorted either because of the numbers of institutions associated with the Catholic church in the high French population areas or also because of the numbers of students attending St. Boniface College who are also concentrated in these areas. On the whole except for the income index, it would seem that from the data analysed, as religion was more highly associated with class position two possible interpretations might be suggested: either the class situation of French-origin Canadians in this part of Western Canada is completely different from that in the province of Quebec or that it is vital in Canada to consider the influence of religion on the class structure for if this is omitted a distorted view of the importance of ethnicity may be derived.

Thus the former view would hopefully lead to a re-examination of the position of French Canadians outside Quebec for it is conceivable that the statistical view of the position of these French Canadians is distorted in the class structure of Canada by the exceedingly inferior position of the Quebecois. The latter view on the need to study religion has already been suggested by Porter (1965) as an important omission of Canadian sociologists.

The associations between ethnicity and religion and upward career mobility which made up the second part of the study were particularly interesting. It would seem that in the past both British-origin and Protestant religious affiliation were more important correlates of upward mobility than they are today. This would indicate that in Canada in the last generation, there has been a considerable swing away from a more traditional society where upward mobility was very much predetermined by one's social origins to a merit oriented society where individual achievement is the main basis for gaining upward mobility. Duncan and Blau (1967) indicated that ascriptive factors such as ethnicity were also declining in importance in the determination of upward mobility in the USA for all but those handicapped by race.

In certain circumstances it was found that those of French and/or Catholic origin were more likely than those of

British and/or Protestant origin to have undergone mobility in their careers. However it was found that for those of lower class origins and those from small towns the associations were in the expected direction. For the other control variables the associations between ethnicity and upward mobility tended to be minimised.

The relationships between British-origin and upward mobility as indicated in Richmond's study (1968: 724-740), were only small and "on the borderline of significance". Duncan and Duncan (1968: 346-364) indicated that when equalised with respect to point of origin in the class structure and educational attainment, there was little difference in upward mobility for those of different ethnic origins. The present study would seem to bear out this view, except for those of lower class origins where those of British-origin had a decided advantage, however the associations were mainly either considerably diminished by the introduction of class and educational controls or the associations indicated that it was those of French-origin that had the advantage.

Overall it was found that British Catholic origin was more highly related to upward mobility in the St. Boniface sample than either British Protestant origin or French Catholic origin. Although the evidence was insufficient, it would seem that the difference between the two Catholic groups was

smaller than that between the two British groups. This would seem to support Greeley's view (1964: 20-33) that French Catholics may be more traditional than other Catholics and therefore have lower mobility rates but on the whole there is no real advantage of Protestant over Catholic in attaining mobility. Catholics as a group do seem, except where hampered by lower class origins to be as Glenn and Hyland (1967: 73-85) suggested, more upwardly mobile than Protestants. The difference between the groups is however as indicated by Mack et al (1956: 295-300), only small.

It would therefore seem again that the results of this section of the present study indicate that either there is a wide divergence between the position of those of French-origin in Quebec and those elsewhere in Canada or omitting consideration of religion gives a distorted view of the importance of ethnicity in gaining upward mobility. Evidence for the former view is suggested by Lee (1968: 636-647) in his study of a group of French-origin Canadians in Ontario where there was no significant difference in mobility between the French group and their neighbours and by Sandwell (1947: 169-175) who stated that:

"Removed from the influences of this culture (i.e. Quebec) French Canadians have as little difficulty in merging into the general North American culture as any element which was not born into it."

Suggestions for Future Research

As a result of the present study two main suggestions for future research are advanced. First of all, that in order to gain a clear and undistorted impression of the importance of ethnicity as a determining influence on both the class structure itself and the movement of individuals in the class structure, it is necessary to place increasing stress on other correlated differences between the major groups such as religion. Secondly, further research into the position of French Canadians outside Quebec in relation to other ethnic groups, as well as research into the present day relative positions of the groups inside Quebec, is vital to advance understanding of the importance of the "Vertical Mosaic" i.e. ethnic stratification in Canadian society. Unless such research is conducted it may be possible that the view of Canadian society advanced by sociologists is outdated.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Reply Code _____

ETHNIC QUESTIONNAIRE

FIRST WE WOULD LIKE TO FIND OUT A FEW THINGS ABOUT EACH
RESPONDENT.

1. What is your age? _____
2. Where were you living when you were fourteen? (CHECK ONE)

In St. Boniface: _____

A city over 100,000: _____

A city 50,000 - 100,000: _____

A town or city under 50,000: _____

In open country: _____

On a farm: _____

3. What is the highest education you completed? (CIRCLE)

School: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 grades.

University: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 years.

Degrees completed: _____

Other: (SPECIFY) _____

NOW WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK ABOUT YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND.

4. In what country or province were you born? _____
5. If born in Canada, what is the country of origin of your
ancestor in the male line who first came to Canada?
: _____
6. What is the country of origin of your wife's ancestor
in the male line who first came to Canada _____
7. What language did you first learn as a child? _____

8. If other than English, at what age did you learn English?
: _____
9. What religious group did you belong to at age five: (CHECK)
Roman Catholic: _____ Jewish: _____ Other: (SPECIFY) _____
Protestant: _____ (SPECIFY DENOMINATION) _____
10. To what religious group do you now belong? (CHECK)
Roman Catholic: _____ Jewish: _____ Other: (SPECIFY) _____
Protestant: _____ (SPECIFY DENOMINATION) _____

FINALLY, WE WOULD LIKE TO FIND OUT ABOUT YOUR OCCUPATIONAL
BACKGROUND.

11. What was your father's full-time occupation at the time of your birth? (IF RETIRED, CONSCRIPTED OR UNEMPLOYED STATE HIS LAST FULL-TIME OCCUPATION PRIOR TO YOUR BIRTH)
: _____
12. Was this occupation as: (CHECK ONE)
a) A government employee? (federal, provincial or local)
: _____
b) An employee in a private corporation, company or
business : _____
c) An employee in his own or his family's company,
business or practice? : _____
13. What was the first full-time occupation you entered on completing your formal education _____
14. Was this occupation as: (CHECK ONE)
a) A government employee? (federal, provincial or local)
: _____
b) An employee in a private corporation, company or
business : _____

c) An employee in your own or your family's company,
Business or practice? _____

15. What is your present full-time occupation? _____

16. Is this occupation as: (CHECK ONE)

a) A government employee? (federal, provincial or local)
: _____

b) An employee in a private corporation, company or
business: ? _____

c) An employee in your own or your family's company,
business or practice: : _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND EARLY REPLY

Sociology Department
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg 19, Manitoba

APPENDIX II

CENSUS TRACTS AND ENUMERATION AREAS IN SAINT BONIFACE IN 1961^a

Tract	Enumeration Area	Tract	Enumeration Area	Tract	Enumeration Area
49	125	51	103	53	(cont'd) 87
	126		104		88
	127		105		89
	128		106		90
	129		107		91
	130		108		92
	131		109		
	132		110	88	77
			111		78
50	112				79
	113	52	93		80
	114		94		142
	115		95		143
	116		96		144
	117		97		145
	118		98		146
	119		99		147
	120		100		148
	121		101		149
	122		102		
	123				
	124	53	84		
	134*		85		
	135*		86		

*not included in the analysis as these enumeration areas are institutional residences.

a : Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961.

APPENDIX III

FINDINGS ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES AND UPWARD MOBILITY IN ST. BONIFACE

TABLE IA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR
THOSE OF UPPER CLASS ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	8	(42.1%)	2	(50%)	10
Low	4	(21.1%)	0		4
Moderate	4	(21.1%)	1	(25%)	5
High	3	(15.7%)	1	(25%)	4
Total	19	(100 %)	4	(100%)	23
Theta = 0.039					
Somers dyx = +0.039					

TABLE IIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR
THOSE OF MIDDLE CLASS ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-Origin		French-origin		
Static	13	(27.1%)	4	(25 %)	17
Low	8	(16.6%)	1	(6.2%)	9
Moderate	22	(45.8%)	10	(62.6%)	32
High	5	(10.4%)	1	(6.2%)	6
Total	48	(100 %)	16	(100 %)	64
Theta = 0.063					
Somers dyx = -0.063					

TABLE IIIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR
THOSE OF LOWER CLASS ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	6	(14.3%)	6	(21.4%)	12
Low	7	(16.7%)	5	(17.9%)	12
Moderate	20	(47.6%)	13	(46.4%)	33
High	9	(21.4%)	4	(14.3%)	13
Total	42	(100 %)	28	(100 %)	70

Theta = 0.125

Somers dyx = +0.125

z = 0.9408 ; $P > 0.05$

TABLE IVA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR
THOSE OF FARM ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	12	(46.2%)	14	(48.3%)	26
Low	4	(15.4%)	2	(6.9%)	6
Moderate	5	(19.2%)	11	(37.9%)	16
High	5	(19.2%)	2	(6.9%)	7
Total	26	(100 %)	29	(100 %)	55

Theta = 0.051

Somers dyx = +0.051

TABLE VA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE WITH A MAXIMUM OF GRADE 11 IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	3	(8.1%)	3	(12%)	6
Low	9	(24.3%)	2	(8%)	11
Moderate	23	(62.2%)	18	(72%)	41
High	2	(5.4%)	2	(8%)	4
Total	37	(100 %)	25	(100%)	62
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.112				
Somers dyx	= -0.112				
z	= 0.8904 ; P> 0.05				

TABLE VIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD VOILITY FOR THOSE WITH SOME UNIVERSITY IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	30	(57.8%)	23	(63.9%)	53
Low	5	(9.6%)	3	(8.3%)	8
Moderate	8	(15.3%)	6	(16.7%)	14
High	9	(17.3%	4	(11.1%)	13
Total	52	(100 %)	36	(100 %)	88
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.074				
Somers dyx	= +0.074				

TABLE VIIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THOSE LIVING IN ST. BONIFACE AT AGE 14
IN THE ST. BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	4	(21.1%)	8	(28.6%)	12
Low	6	(31.6%)	3	(10.7%)	9
Moderate	5	(26.3%)	14	(50%)	19
High	4	(21%)	3	(10.7%)	7
Total	19	(100 %)	28	(100 %)	47
Theta = 0.011					
Somers dyx = +0.011					

TABLE VIIIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THE SAINT BONIFACE SUBSAMPLE LIVING IN CITIES UNDER
50,000 POPULATION AT AGE 14

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	8	(24.2%)	3	(23.1%)	11
Low	2	(6.1%)	4	(30.8%)	6
Moderate	18	(54.5%)	5	(38.4%)	23
High	5	(15.2%)	1	(7.7%)	6
Total	33	(100 %)	13	(100 %)	46
Theta	=	0.191			
Somers dyx	=	+0.191			
z	=	1.082	; P> 0.05		

TABLE IXA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THE SAINT BONIFACE SUBSAMPLE LIVING IN A RURAL MILIEU AT AGE 14

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	13	(52%)	15	(53.6%)	28
Low	6	(24%)	1	(3.6%)	7
Moderate	3	(12%)	10	(35.7%)	13
High	3	(12%)	2	(7.1%)	5
Total	25	(100%)	28	(100 %)	53
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.044				
Somers dyx	= -0.044				

TABLE XA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY FOR THOSE UNDER 35 YEARS OF AGE IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	16	(44.4%)	11	(50 %)	27
Low	9	(25 %)	3	(13.6%)	12
Moderate	8	(22.2%)	7	(31.8%)	15
High	3	(8.4%)	1	(4.6%)	4
Total	36	(100 %)	22	(100 %)	58
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.022				
Somers dyx	= +0.022				

TABLE XIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THE SUBSAMPLE AGED 35 to 54 YEARS
IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Ethnic Origin				Total
	British-origin		French-origin		
Static	16	(28 %)	9	(27.3%)	25
Low	7	(12.3%)	4	(12.2%)	11
Moderate	25	(43.9%)	17	(51.6%)	42
High	9	(15.8%)	3	(9.9%)	12
Total	57	(100 %)	33	(100 %)	90
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.031				
Somers Dyx	= +0.031				

TABLE XIIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THOSE OF MIDDLE CLASS ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	12	(27.9%)	5	(26.3%)	17
Low	8	(18.6%)	1	(5.3%)	9
Moderate	19	(44.3%)	11	(57.9%)	30
High	4	(9.2%)	2	(10.5%)	6
Total	43	(100 %)	19	(100 %)	62
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.107				
Somers dyx	= -0.107				
z	= 0.7238 ; P>0.05				

TABLE XIII A

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THOSE OF FARM ORIGIN IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	11	(46.6%)	14	(46.6%)	25
Low	4	(17.8%)	2	(6.7%)	6
Moderate	4	(17.8%)	12	(40%)	16
High	4	(17.8%)	2	(6.7%)	6
Total	23	(100 %)	30	(100 %)	53
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.011				
Somers dyx	= -0.011				

TABLE XIVA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THOSE WITH A MAXIMUM OF GRADE 11 IN THE ST. BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	3	(7.7%)	3	(10.7%)	6
Low	9	(23.1%)	2	(7.1%)	11
Moderate	20	(51.3%)	20	(71.5%)	40
High	7	(17.9%)	3	(10.7%)	10
Total	39	(100 %)	28	(100 %)	67
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.036				
Somers dyx	= -0.036				

TABLE XVA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	4	(11.8%)	1	(5.5%)	5
Low	8	(23.5%)	3	(16.7%)	11
Moderate	17	(50%)	12	(66.7%)	29
High	5	(14.7%)	2	(11.1%)	7
Total	34	(100 %)	18	(100 %)	52
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.078				
Somers dyx	= -0.078				

TABLE XVIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THOSE WHO ATTENDED UNIVERSITY IN THE ST. BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	29	(58.3%)	24	(61.7%)	53
Low	5	(11.2%)	3	(7.6%)	8
Moderate	7	(14.2%)	7	(17.9%)	14
High	8	(16.3%)	5	(12.8%)	13
Total	49	(100 %)	39	(100 %)	88
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.026				
Somers dyx	= +0.026				

TABLE XVIIIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THOSE IN THE SAMPLE LIVING IN SAINT BONIFACE AT AGE 14

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	3	(21.4%)	9	(27.2%)	12
Low	5	(35.8%)	4	(12.k%)	9
Moderate	3	(21.4%)	16	(48.6%)	19
High	3	(21.4%)	4	(12.1%)	7
Total	14	(100 %)	33	(100%)	47
Theta = 0.028					
Somers dyx = -0.028					

TABLE XVIIIA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THE SUBSAMPLE LIVING IN A RURAL MILIEU AT AGE 14

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	13	(54.2%)	15	(51.7%)	28
Low	6	(25 %)	1	(3.4%)	7
Moderate	2	(8.3%)	11	(38.1%)	13
High	3	(12.5%)	2	(6.8%)	5
Total	24	(100 %)	29	(100 %)	53
Theta = 0.087					
Somers dyx = -0.087					

TABLE XIXA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THOSE UNDER 35 YEARS OF AGE IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	16	(48.4%)	11	(45.8%)	27
Low	8	(24.2%)	3	(12.5%)	11
Moderate	7	(21.3%)	8	(33.3%)	15
High	2	(6.1%)	2	(8.4%)	4
Total	33	(100 %)	24	(100 %)	57
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.090				
Somers dyx	- -0.090				

TABLE XXA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS ORIGIN AND UPWARD MOBILITY
FOR THOSE AGED 35 to 54 YEARS IN THE SAINT BONIFACE SAMPLE

Upward Mobility	Religious Origin				Total
	Protestant		Roman Catholic		
Static	15	(27.7%)	10	(26.4%)	25
Low	7	(12.9%)	4	(10.5%)	11
Moderate	23	(42.8%)	19	(50 %)	42
High	9	(16.6%)	5	(13.1%)	14
Total	54	(100 %)	38	(100 %)	92
<hr/>					
Theta	= 0.006				
Somers dyx	= -0.006				

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