

THE ASSOCIATION OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, SOCIO-ECONOMIC
STATUS, GENERATION AND SEGREGATION WITH
GERMAN ETHNOCENTRISM

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ABSTRACT

THE ASSOCIATION OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, GENERATION AND SEGREGATION WITH GERMAN ETHNOCENTRISM

In this study an attempt was made to investigate the association of four social factors (religious affiliation, socio-economic status, generation and segregation) with ethnocentric behavior and attitudes exhibited by German university students. German ethnocentrism was measured by ingroup choice and German language proficiency.

A sample of one hundred and sixty German university students was randomly selected at the University of Manitoba, Fort Garry Campus in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Questionnaires were constructed and administered by the Ethnic Identity Research Team at the University of Manitoba. Theta and gamma measures of association were used to determine the level of association between the dependent and independent variables.

The findings partially supported the hypotheses, although the levels of association, with few exceptions, were negligible or low. German university student behavior and attitudes, excluding Mennonite students, indicated low loyalty (identity) toward the German ethnic group. Mennonite students expressed high German language proficiency supported by positive attitudes, and they depended heavily on intra-ethnic group friends in spite of negative attitudes regarding intra-ethnic group friendships. The relationship between socio-economic status and German ethnocentrism was insignificant. Generation showed

a moderately negative association with German language proficiency and attitudes toward the German language but no association with ingroup choice. A comparison of ethnocentric behavior and attitudes indicated high correspondence within generation categories related to the dependent variables and within the socio-economic status categories related to ingroup choice.

This study suggests that religious affiliation is a crucial variable in the analysis of German ethnocentrism. The traditional image of Mennonites as a distinct group among the Germans was strongly supported by the data.

Ethnocentrism is an essential part of group formation and maintenance. More research is needed to analyze the dynamics of ethnocentrism in our society, particularly within ethno-religious groups.

JACOB PETERS

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CHAPTER I

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The Problem

The purpose of this study was to: a) measure the degree of positive ethnocentrism of German university students manifested by ingroup choice and German language proficiency, b) determine the association of religious affiliation, socio-economic status, generation, and segregation with German ethnocentrism, and c) compare the consistency between German ethnocentric behavior and attitudes.

Many sociologists have asserted that ethnocentrism contributes to group loyalty, and that the homogeneity of the group, arising out of ethnocentric attitudes and actions toward the outgroups, fosters group cohesiveness (Catton, 1960; Murdock, 1931; Noel, 1964; Rosenblatt, 1964; Sumner, 1906; Walter, 1952; Williams, 1964). Conversely, Rosenblatt (1964) postulates that a decrease in ethnocentrism will tend to reduce group cohesiveness.

A survey of the literature suggested various sociological and psychological factors associated with ethnocentrism (Adorno et al., 1950; Banton, 1967; Goodnow and Tagiuri, 1952; Lundberg and Dickson, 1952a; Noel, 1964, Sanford and Levinson, 1948; Shinert and Ford, 1958; Spilka and Struening, 1956; Stycos, 1948). Religious affiliation, socio-economic status, generation and segregation were selected as independent variables potentially related to the ethnocentrism of German university students.

The relationship between overt behavior and attitudes has been examined by sociologists and psychologists (DeFleur and Westie, 1958; Fendrich, 1967; Frideres, 1971; Green, 1954; LaPiere, 1934; Merton, 1949; Warner and DeFleur, 1969). Behavioral and attitudinal dimensions of the indicators of ethnocentrism were measured to describe the degree of consistency between overt behavior and attitudes among German university students.

Review of the Literature

Ethnocentrism: Sumner, who coined the word, described ethnocentrism as:

. . . the view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled with reference to it. . . Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excite scorn. (1906:13).

The term had a parochial meaning indicating cultural narrowness; a tendency for the individual to be "ingroup centered" and rigid in his acceptance of the culturally "alike" and rejection of the "unlike".

Adorno's study of ethnocentrism elaborated on this rigid ingroup-outgroup relationship.

Ethnocentrism is based on a persuasive and rigid ingroup-outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups, stereotyped positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding ingroups, and hierarchial, authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate. (1950:150).

This study provided the springboard for many further studies on ethnocentrism, particularly in the field of psychology.

More recent studies by Rothman (1960, 1962), Swartz (1961), Noel (1964) and Williams (1964), reject the earlier rigid ingroup-outgroup differentiation on the basis of numerous well-documented instances where some appreciation of the outgroup's values and practices, and a positive ingroup loyalty was held simultaneously. In addition, Rothman (1960, 1962) made a more radical break by suggesting that there was no relationship between ingroup identification and either outgroup attitudes or outgroup associations.

Williams (1964) and Swartz (1961) have suggested further that both positive and negative attitudes toward the ingroup are present in selective loyalties. Williams indicates that "this admission need not result in a general devaluation of one's own groups; it is negative ethnocentrism only in its admission of specific points of inferiority. One still retains one's ingroup standards and a basic adherence to its value." (1964:22).

In addition to selective loyalties toward the ingroup and outgroup, there is some evidence to suggest that ethnocentrism varies with different groups. Prothro (1952) found that the southern whites had learned a set of ethnocentric reactions toward Negroes which were not necessarily transferred to other groups. With the exception of their reaction to Negroes, southern whites did not appear to be more ethnocentric than other Americans.

The basic position taken by Williams (1964) and Swartz (1961) is that the individual has a selective relationship both toward the ingroup and the outgroup. Thus they reject the traditional belief that ingroup loyalty is the inevitable concomitant of outgroup rejection.

This writer is in agreement with their conception of ethnocentrism.

Today there is a consensus among sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists that the ethnocentric orientation is universal and deserves more rigorous investigation than it has been given (Allport, 1954; Campbell and LeVine, 1965; Catton, 1960; Summer, 1906; Walter, 1952; Williams, 1964). Williams (1964) stated that:

All individuals need group belongings and group anchorage. Without stable relationships to other persons, without some group ties, the individual becomes insecure, anxious and uncertain of his identity. (1964:19-20).

Theoretically ethnocentrism is usually examined from a functionalist perspective. Several studies using this perspective (Allport, 1954; Catton, 1960; Rosenblatt, 1964; Walter, 1952) affirmed the traditional sociological assertion that ethnocentrism promotes ingroup solidarity, and hence perpetuates the group and its culture.

Allport (1954) points out the naturalness of ethnocentrism in enabling people to function within society.

Everywhere on earth we find a condition of separateness among groups. People mate with their own kind. They eat, play, reside in homogeneous clusters. They visit with their own kind, and prefer to worship together. Much of this automatic cohesion is due to nothing more than convenience. There is no need to turn to outgroups for companionship. With plenty of people at hand to choose from, why create for ourselves the trouble of adjusting to new languages, new foods, new cultures, or to a people of a different educational level? . . .

It is not that we have class prejudice, but only that we find comfort and ease in our class, or race, or religion to play, live, and eat with, and to marry.

It is not always the dominant majority that forces minority groups to remain separate. They often prefer to keep their identity, so that they need not strain to speak a foreign language or to watch their manners.

The initial fact, therefore, is that human groups tend to stay apart. We need not ascribe this tendency to a gregarious instinct, to a 'consciousness of kind' or to prejudice. The

fact is adequately explained by the principles of ease, least effort, congeniality, and pride in one's own culture. (18).

Though ethnocentrism may be functional for society, it may also be dysfunctional. Ethnocentrism tends to resist changes within a group. Catton (1960) sees ethnocentrism as one of the factors creating international hostility. In another study Catton and Hong (1962) discovered that as the ethnocentrism of a minority increased, the antipathy of the majority group tended to intensify. Rosenblatt (1964) notes that if ethnocentrism limits contacts with outgroups, it serves to increase misperception of the outgroups. In general the functional perspective contributes to the understanding of ethnocentrism as it promotes stability and security for the group and society.

When interpreting society from a conflict perspective (Coser, 1956; Marx, 1964; Simmel, 1955) the dysfunctions of ethnocentrism noted above became functional for group cohesiveness. Both Coser (1956) and Simmel (1955) considered hostility and conflict as a means of increasing ingroup solidarity. International hostility may be necessary to resolve power struggles and determine political positions. Similarly, conflicts between ethnic groups may ultimately perpetuate both groups.

This writer maintains that society may be more adequately understood by utilizing a multi-theory perspective. Hence, in examining German ethnocentrism, a functionalist — conflict perspective will be applied. Van den Berghe (1963) has suggested that these two perspectives "present one-sided, but complementary and reconcilable, views of society." (695).

In this study ethnocentrism will be viewed, neither as a general

ideology permeating all decisions, nor as a rigid ingroup versus outgroup pattern of social relationships, but as a culturally and socially shaped loyalty that is predisposed toward the familiar, toward one's own ingroup. By overt behavior and attitude one may express both positive and negative ethnocentrism toward one's own group as well as outgroups. The indicators of ethnocentrism used in this study will be discussed later.

Having reviewed the literature on ethnocentrism, the writer will turn to a review of research on selected variables associated with ethnocentrism.

Religion and Ethnocentrism: A search of the literature revealed an involved and complex association between religion and ethnocentrism. Shinert and Ford (1958) have summarized the research in this area by Adorno et al. (1950), Allport (1954), Bettelheim and Janowitz (1950), and Levinson (1949) in the following statements:

1. Those who reject religion are less ethnocentric than those who profess a particular creed and inversely those with religious affiliation generally are more ethnocentric than those without such attachments.
2. There is a negligible distinction among the various religious groups as to the ethnocentric attitudes expressed, but that the more 'liberal' sects are usually the least ethnocentric.
3. Ethnocentrism is usually influenced by the quality of the religious attachments; that is, whether or not the attachment is maintained for internal or institutional reasons. (157).

In the research of Adorno et al. (1950), Lenski (1961), and Prothro and Jensen (1950), the difference in the degree of ethnocentrism exhibited by Protestants and Catholics was minimal. In comparing four major socio-religious groups, Lenski (1961) found

that high ethnocentrism was exhibited by Jews and Negro Protestants. White Protestants and white Catholics expressed lower ethnocentrism.

Socio-economic Status and Ethnocentrism: Adorno and associates (1950) made reference to the association between socio-economic status and ethnocentrism (measured by the California E.Scale). Other observations have been made by Frenkel-Brunswick (1952) and Lundberg and Dickson (1952a).

From these studies it became evident that the relationship between socio-economic status and ethnocentrism was not clearly defined. There was a slight tendency for the lowest and the highest income groups to score higher on ethnocentrism than the middle class income groups (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1952). If an expected income index was used, the increase in expected income was highly correlated with an increase in the mean scores of ethnocentrism. Though the fathers' income shows no consistent variation with ethnocentrism scores, the group whose father earned ten thousand dollars per year or more was significantly less ethnocentric than those below this income level.

Individual ethnocentrism was not highly correlated with occupational groupings. No occupational group was consistently high or consistently low for every sample. Several trends may be suggested: 1) a higher percentage of non-ethnocentric families will be found among smaller merchants and a higher percentage of ethnocentric families among the workers, and 2) professionals are less prejudiced (Frenkel-Brunswick, 1952).

Banton (1967) reports that negative correlations have been obtained between ethnocentrism and social status.

Generation and Ethnocentrism: If one considers ethnocentrism in terms of group loyalty and ingroup involvement, generation appears to be a key variable. Hansen (1952) has stimulated some interest with his "third-generation" theory based on the notion that what the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember. Herberg (1955) applied this principle and said it was in operation for the members of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religions. However, in examining language maintenance Herberg did not find support for the Hansen principle.

Lenski, (1961) testing the Hansen-Herberg tri-generation model, concluded that increased religious activity was linked with increasing Americanization.

Gans (1956a) and Lazerwitz and Rowitz (1964) see a weakening of religious ties, rather than a revival of religion, as the long-term trend. At best the return in the third generation was not to the same culture as that of the first generation. Lazerwitz and Rowitz (1964) questioned the use of generation as "a good index of the complex interaction arising from the growth of the middle class, migration, urbanization, industrialization, lessened ethnic identification, and the impact of science upon religion." (538).

Nahirney and Fishman (1965) and Kloss (1966) challenge the Hansen theory noting that ethnic heritage, including ethnic mother tongue, usually ceases to play any viable role in the life of the third generation.

Frenkel-Brunswick (1952) found that the majority of subjects expressing ethnocentrism were of foreign-born parentage suggesting that they were probably engaged in the assimilation process, i.e., they were marginal people.

Segregation and Ethnocentrism: Community territory appears to affect the social behavior of individuals. Gist and Fava (1964:118) note that "it is fairly common to find ecological segregation, i. e., the clustering together in the same residential area of people with similar characteristics." Suttles (1968) in his study of the slum on the west side of Chicago was impressed with the role that territory played in determining intra- and inter-group relationships. Beyond the boundary of his territory, the individual becomes a "nobody."

Liebertson (1963) sees residential segregation as a significant variable negatively associated with intermarriage, ability to speak English, citizenship and occupational distribution.

This writer contends that a high concentration of one ethnic group within a given area will have a tendency to influence positive ethnocentrism. Williams (1964) supports this contention in the statement "the greater the functional proximity of individuals in physical space the greater the likelihood of social interaction." (162).

Breton (1964) found that after the immigrant had been in the host country for over six years there was a considerable drop in association within the ethnic group and a decided increase in association with native members. Another substantial decrease in ingroup association occurred beyond twelve years.

In the final section of this review of the literature the writer will turn briefly to the third part of the problem, the consistency between ethnocentric behavior and attitudes.

Ethnocentric Behavior and Attitudes: According to Frideres (1971) three distinct views have emerged from the past studies on the

relationship between attitudes and behavior. First, the "postulate of consistency" (Green, 1954) which assumes that the correspondence between peoples' attitudes and behavior will be relatively high. Second, the "postulate of independent variation" (LaPiere, 1934; Merton, 1949) which suggests little or no correspondence can be expected between attitudes and behavior. Third, the "postulate of contingent consistency" (DeFleur and Westie, 1958) which suggests the need to control for social constraints and opportunities for action in predicting consistency. Recent research has focused on the third perspective. This third perspective is essentially a modification of the first in that it tries to account, empirically, for the lack of, or low correspondence between attitudes and behavior.

In this present study the lack of correspondence between attitudes and behavior was not empirically analyzed but some suggestions, based on historical materials, were advanced.

In summary the literature supports the contention that ethnocentrism, forming an integral part of group formation and maintenance, is thereby relevant to the study of ethnic groups. On the basis of the literature review and suitability for the German ethnic group in Winnipeg four social variables were selected to examine German ethnocentrism. These are: religious affiliation, socio-economic status, generation and segregation. It was expected that the overall intensity of German ethnocentrism expressed would be low. However, distinctions among German religio-ethnic groups were expected to be significant.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF SOCIAL HISTORY OF GERMAN SETTLEMENT

Though the major German migrations to Manitoba and Winnipeg only began in the latter part of the nineteenth century, there is evidence of earlier German settlers. Morton (1957) and McLaurin (1939) report that Lord Selkirk brought a number of soldiers, de Meurons, to the Red River settlement in 1811. Most of these soldiers were Germans (Swiss Germans), who had been fighting in the Napoleonic Wars. They settled on the east side of the river and were responsible for naming the area St. Boniface, after the Patron Saint of Germany (McLaurin, 1939).

Francis (1955) reports that the first distinguishable group of Germans to arrive on the prairies were 7,500 Mennonites from southern Russia in 1874-76. They established numerous farming communities south of Winnipeg, in the present Steinbach-Kleefeld and Altona-Winkler areas.

German-speaking immigrants arrived in Canada in three waves: 1) pre World War I, 2) between the two Wars, and 3) post World War II. The majority of Germans in Winnipeg today arrived during the latter period (see Table I). While the first two waves were comprised mainly of agriculturalists, the third wave was comprised of tradesmen, skilled industrialists and businessmen from urban centers in Europe. Most of this group settled in the urban centers of Canada, including Winnipeg (The Canadian Family Tree, 1967).

Table I shows the German population in Manitoba and Metropolitan Winnipeg as it was increased by the waves of German-speaking immigrants.

TABLE I
GERMAN POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG AND MANITOBA
1901-1961¹

Year	Manitoba	Metropolitan Winnipeg
1901	27,265	2,578
1911	34,530	11,647
1921	19,444	5,206
1931	38,078	15,061
1941	41,479	15,242
1951	54,251	24,499
1961	91,846	50,206

¹Censuses of Canada

During the census period, between 1911 and 1921, there was a sharp decrease in the population which may be attributed to World War I. Jackson (1970) reported that there was a chauvinistic reaction against anything German during this time, even Goethe disappeared from library shelves. In response to this repression, many Germans temporarily denied their German origin. Only a minor increase in population occurred between 1931 and 1941. This may be attributed to the depression of the 1930's when the government cut off the flow of immigrants into Canada (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 4, 1969).

The distribution of the German population in the 1951 census tracts indicates two areas of segregation, the North End (census tracts 6 and 7) and North Kildonan (census tract 70), with fewer numbers

distributed in West Kildonan (census tract 73), Elmwood (census tracts 15 and 16), Central Winnipeg (census tracts 19, 21 and 22) and West End (census tracts 24, 25, 27 and 32). See Figure I. The 1961 Census of Canada indicates that the German population in Winnipeg doubled over the past ten years. Though the Germans diffused throughout the metropolitan area, several new segregation areas developed. North Kildonan (census tract 70) and the West End (census tracts 25, 27 and 32) attracted large numbers of Germans during the 1950's, while the North End (census tracts 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) remained essentially stable. See Figure II.

Religion

The Germans of Metropolitan Winnipeg appear to be affiliated with five main religious denominations; Lutheran, Mennonite, Roman Catholic, United Church and Baptist. See Table II. The unexpected high percentage of Germans affiliated with the United Church may be attributed to assimilation into Anglo-Saxon groups with use of the English language and more liberal theology. The United Church also provided a refuge for mixed marriages and dissenters.

Early Urban Settlement, Before World War I: Historically, the Baptists and Lutherans established religious institutions in Winnipeg around 1890 (McLaurin, 1939; Eylands, 1945). The first church was constructed by the Baptists in 1890 at the corner of Alexander and Fountain in Central Winnipeg. In 1907 it was relocated in the West End. Today this church is considered to be the mother church by four different German Baptist congregations. McLaurin (1939) states that literally

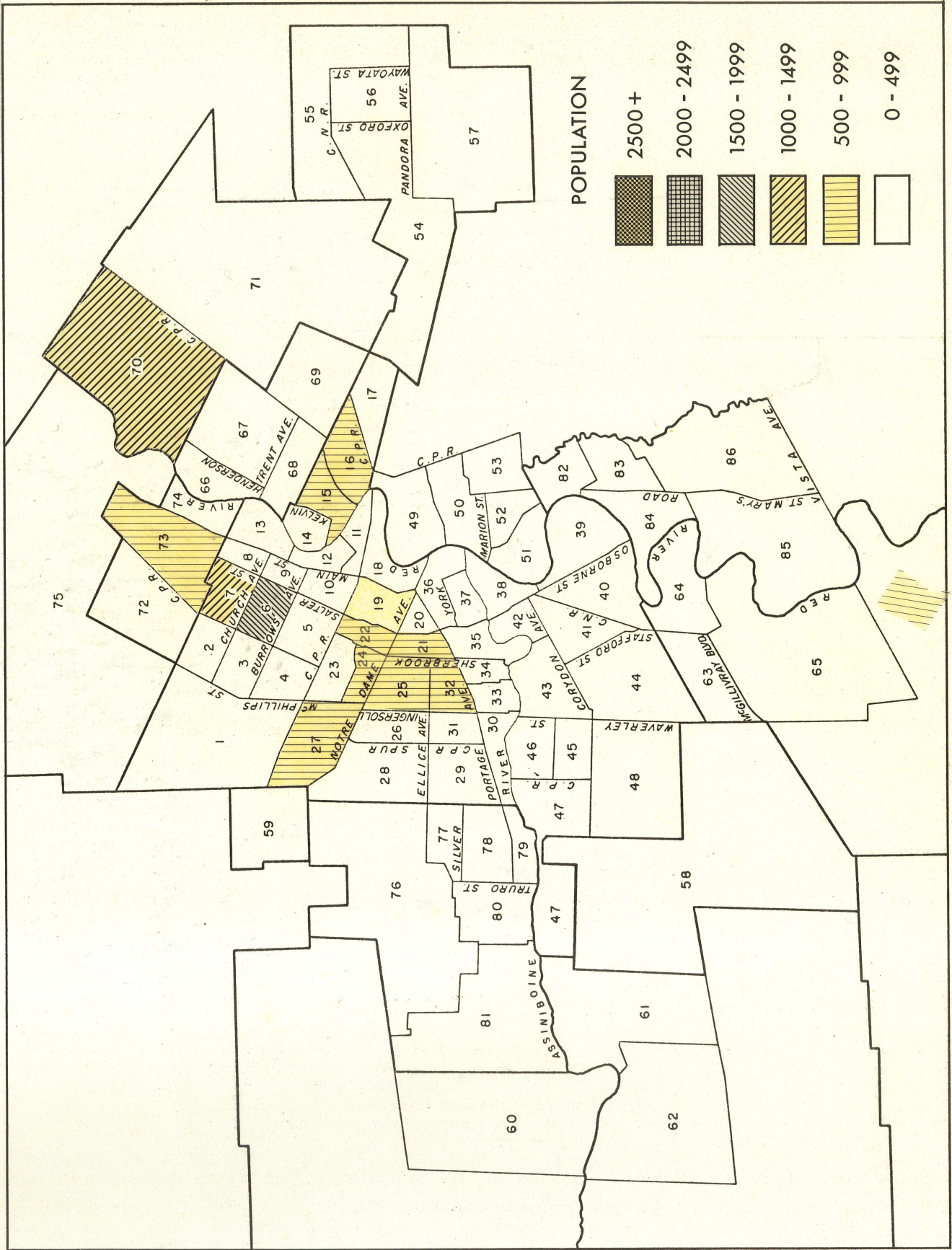


FIGURE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF GERMANS IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG BY CENSUS TRACTS, 1951 (POPULATION 24,499).

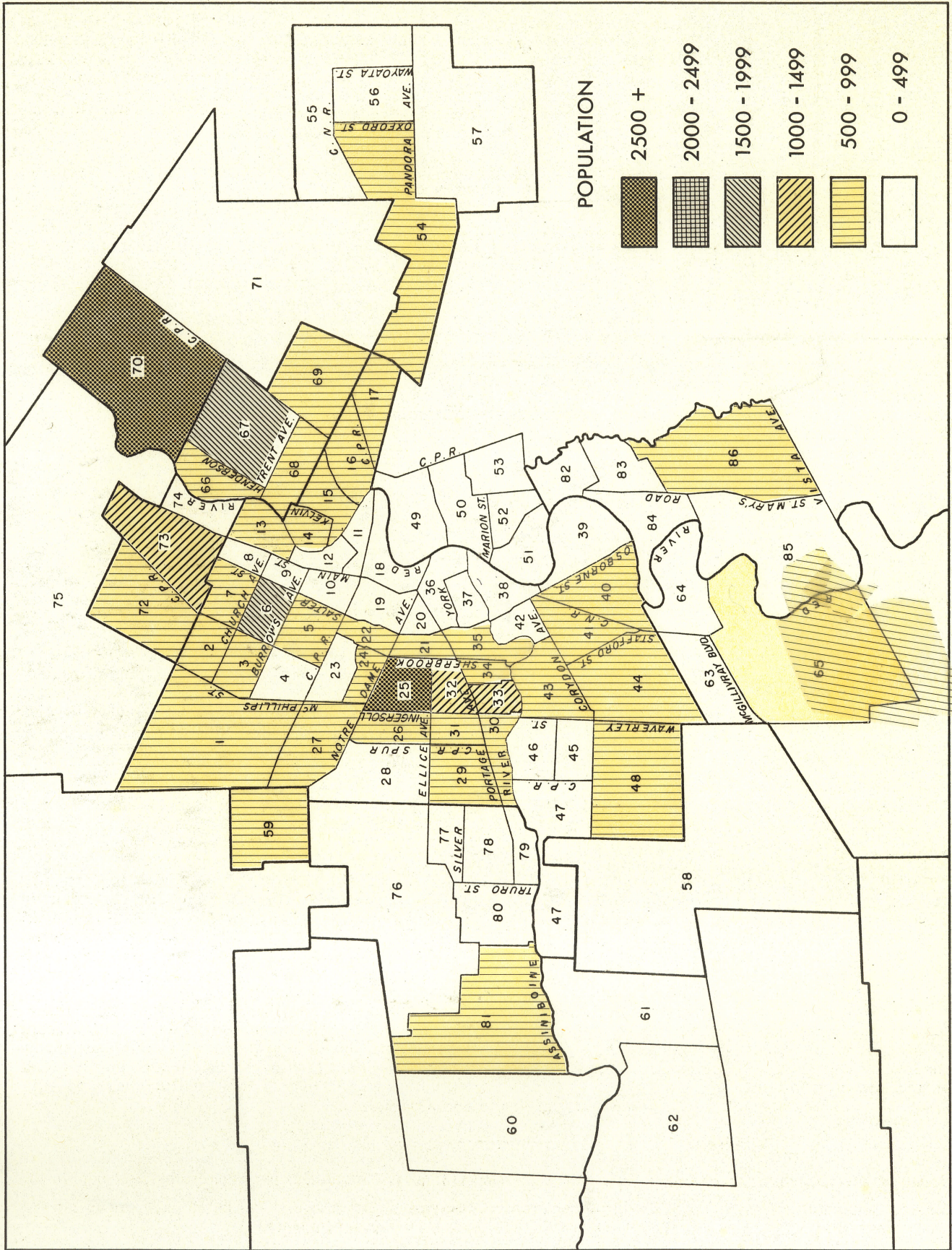


FIGURE II. DISTRIBUTION OF GERMANS IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG BY CENSUS TRACTS, 1961 (POPULATION 50,206).

TABLE II

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF GERMAN POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG,
1961¹

Denominations	1961	Percent
Anglican	1,653	3.2
Baptist	2,867	5.7
Greek Orthodox	95	0.2
Jewish	57	0.1
Lutheran	18,898	37.7
Mennonite	8,898	17.7
Pentecostal	801	1.5
Presbyterian	522	1.0
Roman Catholic	7,359	14.6
Ukrainian Catholic	226	0.5
United Church	6,762	13.4
Other	2,026	4.0
Total	50,206	99.6

¹ Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559

thousands of German immigrants passed through this church during the opening of the west.

Prior to 1900 two German Lutheran churches were organized, Trinity Lutheran in Central Winnipeg and Immanuel Lutheran in the North End. Immediately after the turn of the century five more

churches were organized, two in the North End, two in East Kildonan (Elmwood) and one in the West End (Eylands, 1945).

In 1906 the German Catholic Church under the leadership of Father Joseph Cordes established a German parish in the North End. Attempts were made to settle German families in the vicinity of the church (St. Joseph's Parish, 1966).

German Mennonites did not establish any organized church in Winnipeg during this period, but set up a mission station in the North End (Huebert, 1959).

Rural to Urban Migration, Between the Wars: A major change in the settlement pattern of Germans in Winnipeg came with the establishment of a Mennonite "village" in the municipality of North Kildonan. The first group of settlers was largely comprised of German Mennonites from Russia. Church records indicated that the settlement grew rapidly, in spite of pioneering hardships (DeFehr et al., 1953).

During this period Mennonite church organization flourished. Churches were organized in three areas of Winnipeg, the North End, Central Winnipeg and North Kildonan. The Mennonite Brethern established one church in each area, while the General Conference Mennonites were active in North Kildonan and Central Winnipeg (DeFehr et al., 1953; Klassen, 1969; Redekop, 1956).

The Lutheran church expanded its building program in Central Winnipeg with the organization of St. Peter's Lutheran Church, and in the North End with the organization of Zion Lutheran (Eylands, 1945). By the close of this period all four German-speaking denominations had established a strong church program in Winnipeg to facilitate the

transition from rural to urban life.

Recent Urban Immigrants, After World War II: With the Depression and World War II the German immigrants stopped coming and church growth remained static. However, after World War II the German population in Winnipeg again received a substantial boost which resulted in the organization of several new churches. The West End and East Kildonan were targets for new church growth. Baptists, Lutherans and Mennonites dispersed their churches over a broader territory following the movement of their members (Klassen, 1969; Redekop, 1956; Suppes, 1956).

The history of church growth and expansion may appear somewhat unrelated to the study. However, it was felt that because of the role of the church in the early development of the German community in Winnipeg it should be considered in discussing German ethnocentrism. It would seem that the church, more than any other institution, facilitated the maintenance of group cohesiveness (positive ethnocentrism). Stycos (1951) found a similar situation among the Greeks in Bridgetown.

The significance of the church to the structural unity of the community cannot be overemphasized. It holds its members together psychologically because it embodies the ethics and ideals they believe in, and brings them together structurally by its group ritual and social functions. (303).

It was the aim of the different religious denominations to provide social, as well as spiritual guidance for their members.

Language Maintenance

Germans in Winnipeg were keenly aware of the role that language played in maintaining group identity and cohesiveness. From the beginning of German settlement special German language schools were conducted by the church and various cultural organizations (Eylands,

1945; Klassen, 1969; McLaurin, 1939; St. Joseph's Parish, 1966). They also received support in the form of financial aid and text books from the local German Consulate. In a recent survey (Driedger, 1969) it was found that sixteen German language schools involving approximately 1400 students and 90 teachers were still operating in Winnipeg. Almost half of the schools were associated with the Mennonite church. In spite of persistent efforts this program reaches only a minority of the German youth today. To illustrate the decline of this program Klassen (1969) writes that in 1927 almost all of the children of the First Mennonite Church came to German Saturday School but today, of the 814 children in the church, only 139 attend.

During the early urban settlement period numerous parochial schools were organized to supplement the public education in order to facilitate the maintenance of the German language and culture. Today only the Mennonite and the German Catholics are involved in this type of education program, primarily to add a religious dimension to education.

In addition to the schools, the church actively maintained the German language by conducting its program exclusively in the German language. Driedger (1969) found that the German Baptist Churches were rigid in maintaining their exclusive German programs while most of the Mennonite, Lutheran and German Catholic Churches provided a combination German-English program. Several Lutheran Churches reported that they were eliminating the German services completely.

The 1961 Census of Canada indicated that just over half, 58.2%, of the Manitoba urban population of German origin considered German as their mother tongue. This suggests that Germans in Winnipeg are gradually

losing one of the clearest symbols that traditionally differentiated them from other Canadians.

Mass Media Communication

The mass media communications during the early days of the German immigrants were certainly limited. Radio and television were nonexistent. The Canadian Pacific Railway was just beginning to construct telegraph systems. The German Catholic community recognized the problem of maintaining a sense of unity under these circumstances. This is made clear in the following statement by St. Joseph's Parish (1966) about its early history:

These Catholic people of many nations didn't come to Canada to lose their faith. They wanted guidance, encouragement and statements of policy from their church and they could best get these through the Catholic Press. . . . The language papers, therefore, were not only a powerful factor in preserving the Catholic Faith -- but they also introduced the immigrant to the political life of the country and prepared him for good citizenship. (15).

To facilitate this process the German Catholic weekly, the West Canada, appeared in circulation on September 4, 1907. Several other religious and non-religious German newspapers are circulating in the German community today; e.g., Courier, Mennonitische Rundschau, Die Post, Der Bote, Die Zeit. Lack of financial support has recently forced some German newspapers to amalgamate and others to cease publication.

Endogamy

Endogamy was traditionally an important mechanism employed by the German ethnic group, as well as that of others, to maintain the boundaries of the group. The degree of endogamy indicates the extent to which the group is still bound by its cultural heritage and social

networks. The data reported by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 4, (1969) indicates that the rate of male and female endogamy for Manitoba Germans in 1961 was 63.4 and 61.7 percent, respectively. These figures would vary slightly if limited to Germans in Metropolitan Winnipeg. However, this indicates that extensive social networks still exist within the German ethnic group.

A plausible explanation for this moderate rate of endogamy may lie in the high degree of "institutional completeness" (Breton, 1964) that the German ethnic group, particularly the Mennonites, developed in Winnipeg.

In spite of pioneer hardships and discrimination during World War I and II, the Germans in Winnipeg never ceased in their struggle to create a people; "the grouping within which all individuals form their first relationships, their deepest dependencies, and the most important basis of emotional ambivalence." (Williams, 1964:19). Today indications are that the Germans in Winnipeg are prone to assimilate into Canadian Society, although several religious groups are actively resisting this process. How successful they are in their maintenance of ethnic identity will be examined. Some Germans are likely more successful than others in retaining their identity.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Population

The population consisted of all full or part-time German undergraduate students attending day classes at the University of Manitoba, with the following qualifications: 1) must attend classes at either University of Manitoba, University College, St. John's College, or St. Paul's College; 2) must be in year I, II, or III of the academic program; and 3) must be enrolled in a program that requires normal entrance prerequisites, e.g., Agriculture Diploma students do not qualify. It was estimated, on the basis of the sample distribution, that approximately 1100 German undergraduate students were enrolled at the University of Manitoba (Driedger, 1971). According to registration statistics approximately 14,500 students attended the University of Manitoba and its affiliated Colleges during the 1970-71 academic year.

Sample

The sample of German students was taken from the University of Manitoba Ethnic Survey sample (N = 1560) collected by the Ethnic Identity Research Team during the 1970-71 academic session (Driedger, 1971). The sample consisted of all undergraduate students attending classes in slots eleven and twelve. These slots were randomly selected.

The slot system refers to a distribution of lecture periods, based on a five day week. Each slot, fifteen in all, contains three fifty minute lecture periods scheduled at different times throughout the

week; e.g., a slot eleven class meets in the afternoon period Monday at 2:40, Tuesday at 4:40 and Thursday at 3:40. The slots are grouped into three periods; morning, slots 1-5 from 8:30 to 11:30; noon, slots 6-10 from 11:30 to 2:30; and afternoon, slots 11-15 from 2:30 to 5:30. Slots eleven and twelve are both in the afternoon period.

A total of 167 questionnaires were returned by students who identified themselves as being of German origin. Seven of these were rejected because of inadequate completion, leaving a sample size of 160.

Of the useable questionnaires, 127 were completed in the classroom and 33 at home. The rate of return was 92% and 30% respectively. There is some indication that the nature and length of the questionnaire influenced the rate of returns.

Assuming that German students responded as favourably as other students, it was estimated that approximately 11% of the University of Manitoba undergraduate student population was of German origin. The 11% figure was based on the number of German students who completed the questionnaire in the random sample (Driedger, 1971). Registration statistics indicated that approximately 10,200 undergraduate students were enrolled at the University of Manitoba during the 1970-71 academic year. On the basis of these population statistics the sample size was estimated to be 15% of the total German undergraduate population. Separate ethnic group statistics were not recorded by the Registrar, making it impossible to get exact ethnic group distribution statistics.

Instrument

The instrument was a seven part, forty minute structured question-

-naire (see Appendix I). The questionnaire was designed by the Ethnic Identity Research Team to obtain information on the respondent's attitudes and feelings toward his own and other ethnic and religious groups (Driedger, 1971).

The questionnaire was administered to undergraduate students attending classes at the University of Manitoba during the 1970-71 academic year. In most cases classes were not notified in advance about the administration of the questionnaire. The students were, however, assured that participation was voluntary and that all information would be confidential.

The questionnaire was administered in either of two ways.

- 1) Classroom -- a member of the Ethnic Identity Research Team administered the questionnaire during a regular class period (lecture cancelled), giving the necessary instructions to the respondents at the beginning of the class period and collecting the completed questionnaire at the end.
- 2) Take home -- a member of the research team, or the professor of the class, distributed the questionnaire with an attached cover letter of instructions to the students attending the class and collected the completed questionnaires returned during the next class period. To prevent duplication, respondents were asked not to complete a second questionnaire.

The contents of the questionnaire may be summarized in terms of scales and questions used:

- 1) a Personal Inventory Scale (Part I);
- 2) a modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Part II) including twenty ethnic and eleven religious groups;
- 3) thirty Likert-type questions (Part III) focusing on variables of ethnic identification -- parochial education, ethnic language, religious orthodoxy, ethnic media, endogamy, friends, and associations;

- 4) sixteen behavioral questions (Part IV) based on the above identification variables;
- 5) a twenty-item Worschel Scale (Part V) measuring general attitudes and aspirations on ethnicity;
- 6) a twenty-five scale-item Semantic Differential (Part VI) using the concepts "culture" and "faith";
- 7) a questionnaire evaluation sheet (Part VII).

The data used in this study was drawn from Part I, III and IV of the questionnaire completed by undergraduate students identifying themselves as belonging to the German ethnic group.

Hypotheses

On the basis of the review of the literature and the social history of German settlement the writer developed the following sixteen hypotheses. The first eight hypotheses deal with the association between the dependent variable, German ethnocentric behavior, as measured by ingroup choice and German language proficiency, and the independent variables, religious affiliation, socio-economic status, generation and segregation. The last eight hypotheses deal with the relationship between the dependent variable, German ethnocentric attitudes, operationalized by attitudes toward ingroup choice and toward the German language, and the same independent variables. A separate discussion of the variables will follow later.

Hypothesis 1 Mennonite, Baptist and Roman Catholic religious affiliation will tend to be associated with high ingroup choice while Lutheran and United Church affiliation will tend to be associated with low ingroup choice.

- Hypothesis 2 Mennonite, Baptist and Roman Catholic religious affiliation will tend to be associated with high German language proficiency while Lutheran and United Church religious affiliation will tend to be associated with low German language proficiency.
- Hypothesis 3 There will be a high negative relationship between socio-economic status and ingroup choice.
- Hypothesis 4 There will be a high negative relationship between socio-economic status and German language proficiency.
- Hypothesis 5 There will be a high negative relationship between generation and ingroup choice.
- Hypothesis 6 There will be a high negative relationship between generation and German language proficiency.
- Hypothesis 7 There will be a high positive relationship between segregation and ingroup choice.
- Hypothesis 8 There will be a high positive relationship between segregation and German language proficiency.
- Hypothesis 9 Mennonite, Baptist and Roman Catholic religious affiliation will tend to be associated with positive attitudes toward ingroup choice while Lutheran and United Church religious affiliation will tend to be associated with negative attitudes toward ingroup choice.
- Hypothesis 10 Mennonite, Baptist and Roman Catholic religious affiliation will tend to be associated with positive attitudes toward the German language while Lutheran and United Church religious affiliation will tend to be associated with negative attitudes toward ingroup choice.
- Hypothesis 11 There will be a high negative relationship between socio-economic status and attitudes toward ingroup choice.
- Hypothesis 12 There will be a high negative relationship between socio-economic status and attitudes toward the German language.
- Hypothesis 13 There will be a high negative relationship between generation and attitudes toward ingroup choice.
- Hypothesis 14 There will be a high negative relationship between generation and attitudes toward the German language.
- Hypothesis 15 There will be a high positive relationship between segregation and attitudes toward ingroup choice.
- Hypothesis 16 There will be a high positive relationship between segregation and attitudes toward the German language.

Table III indicates a visual summary of the expected relationship between the dependent and independent variables used in this study. The expected relationships were postulated on the basis of the literature review and the social history. A discussion of the dependent and independent variables follows.

TABLE III

THE EXPECTED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE DEPENDENT AND THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES FOR GERMAN ETHNOCENTRIC BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDES

Dependent Variables Independent Variables		German Ethnocentric Behavior and Attitudes			
		Ingroup Choice		German Language	
		Low/Neg	High/Pos	Low/Neg	High/Pos
Religious Affiliation	Mennonite		x		x
	Baptist		x		x
	Roman Catholic		x		x
	Lutheran	x		x	
	United Church	x		x	
Socio-Economic Status	High	x		x	
	Low		x		x
Generation	Third	x		x	
	Second		x		x
	First		x		x
Segregation	High		x		x
	Low	x		x	

x Indicates expected relationships.

Dependent Variables

German ethnocentrism: Theoretically German ethnocentrism was defined as loyalty toward the German ethnic group expressed by social participation in activities supporting the culture of the group and by holding positive attitudes toward the value of these activities. In this study German ethnocentrism was measured separately by two indicators -- ingroup choice and German language. Each indicator was operationally expressed in terms of overt behavior and attitudes. Hence the two dependent variables used in this study were German ethnocentric behavior, measured by ingroup choice and German language proficiency, and German ethnocentric attitudes, measured by attitudes toward ingroup choice and toward the German language.

Since ethnocentrism in this study was not operationalized in terms of the California "E" Scale, it precluded any generalizations regarding the ethnocentric nature of the individual or groups. Consequently the ethnocentrism exhibited by groups in our sample referred specifically to their loyalty toward the German group in terms of either ingroup choice or German language. A composite ethnocentrism score was not computed.

Ingroup choice was defined as the involvement of members with each other (Borhek, 1970). More specifically, it was defined as the choice of friends.

In the literature several studies have defined and measured ethnocentrism in terms of ingroup choice (Goodnow and Tagiuri, 1952; Lundberg and Dickson, 1952a; Prothro, 1952; Taft, 1956). Williams (1964) sees ingroup choice or, "preference for associations with members

of one's own group," (22) as one of several indicators of positive ethnocentrism.

Operationally, ingroup choice was defined in terms of the percent of the five closest friends identified as belonging to the German ethnic group (see question 7, Part IV, Appendix I). Thus, high ingroup choice was defined by 50% or more of the closest friends belonging to the German ethnic group. Low ingroup choice was defined by having fewer than 50% of your closest friends within the German group.

Attitudes toward ingroup choice were operationally defined (positive or negative) in terms of the total score achieved on the Likert-type questions (see numbers 21, 22, 23 and 24, Part III, Appendix I). The scores were weighted so that a high score (12-20) would indicate a positive attitude toward ingroup choice and a low score (4-11) would indicate a negative attitude toward ingroup choice.

German Language Proficiency was defined as the ability to use the German language to conduct everyday affairs.

Allport (1954) noted that people preferred to use their own language rather than bothering to adjust to new languages. If this were the case, then the ability to use, and the actual use of, the German language would indicate loyalty to the group. Fishman and Nahirney (1966) support the notion that language facility is an indicator of loyalty in the statement, ". . . the more involved children are in ethnic life the better they know and the more frequently they use their mother tongue, and the more likely they are to be interested in and to appreciate their own ancestral heritage." (185).

Hertzler (1953) feels that language is a major ingroup connective

link; an index of many of the characteristics of the community.

When considering the German ethnic group specifically, it should be noted that the intimate association of language and religion has additional ethnocentric implications. "Language saves faith" was an oft-repeated watchword among German Americans (Kloss, 1966:227). Kloss further illustrates the significance of the German language when he says, "To the pious, the German language became a symbol of quiet, honest religiosity. . . . To the German liberal it became the symbol of intellectual and cultural alertness." (227).

Operationally, German language proficiency was defined as the respondent's "perceived mastery" of the German language, in terms of understanding, reading, writing and speaking. Each category was measured on a scale of language facility with 0 points for no ability, 1 point for limited ability, and 2 points for high ability. On the basis of the total score, the respondent was placed into a low (0-4) or high (5-8) German language proficiency category. The German language proficiency data was collected by means of responses to question 5 (see Part IV, Appendix I).

The respondent's attitudes toward the German language was determined by responses to four Likert-type questions (see numbers 5, 6, 7, and 8, Part III, Appendix I). The responses were so weighted that a high score (12-20) was indicative of a positive attitude and a low score (4-11) of a negative attitude toward the German language.

Independent Variables

Religious Affiliation: Religious affiliation was defined as being a member of, or being associated with, a religious denomination. In this

study religious affiliation was operationally determined by the response to the question, "Your religion?" (see question 8, Part I, Appendix I).

Religion has traditionally provided a major source of ideology for the German ethnic group. The German ethnic group is not a homogeneous religious group. According to the 1961 Census of Canada the following five denominations had the largest number of Germans affiliated with them which were examined in this study: Lutheran, Mennonite, Roman Catholic, United Church, Baptist. It is the contention of this writer that affiliation with different religious denominations may influence the intensity of German ethnocentrism (Laumann, 1969).

Socio-Economic Status: Operationally, the socio-economic status background of the respondent was determined by the father's occupation, measured by Blishen's Socio-Economic Index (Blishen, 1967). This index ranks the occupations in terms of education and occupation. Warner et al. (1949) and Kahl and Davis (1955) have suggested that occupation is the best single index of social class.

The data for socio-economic status was collected by means of responses to the question "Father's Occupation?" (see question 12, Part I, Appendix I). On the basis of the response, the occupation was ranked according to Blishen's suggested ranks. Subsequently the Blishen categories were dichotomized into high (50 plus) and low (under 50). Since Blishen did not include farmers, they were evaluated in terms of his scale and placed in the low category.

Generation: Operationally, the generation of the respondent was determined by his own birth place and the birthplace of his parents and grandparents. The data was collected by means of responses to questions 6, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, and 22 (see Part I, Appendix I).

To determine whether the respondent was a first, second or third generation German-Canadian, the following criteria were applied: first generation German-Canadian as one who was foreign born: second generation, one who was native born of foreign or mixed parentage; and third generation, one who was native born of native parents (Fishman and Nahirney, 1966).

Segregation: Segregation was defined as the clustering together in residential areas of people with similar characteristics (Gist and Fava, 1964). The interest was directed toward the association between clusters of German people in Metropolitan Winnipeg and the intensity of German ethnocentrism.

In studying the ecological and spatial structure of the socio-economic characteristics of the Winnipeg population, Nicholson and Yeats (1969) found ethnic segregation to be an important variable.

On the basis of census research by the Ethnic Identity Research Team (Driedger, 1971), there was evidence that Germans in Metropolitan Winnipeg are concentrated in three nuclei -- North Kildonan, (census tract 70), the North End (census tracts 2-7), and the West End (census tracts 25-26). See figure I.

Respondents who resided in any one of these three areas in Metropolitan Winnipeg were considered to be in high German segregation areas, while those residing outside of these three areas were considered residents of low German segregation areas. This was a very crude index but, nevertheless, sufficient to provide an indication of the influence of the immediate social environment. More sophisticated measures of segregation such as "social area analysis" developed by Shevky and Bell (1955) were beyond the scope of this study.

The census tract location of a student's residence was determined by his present address and measured by the response to question 10 (see Part I, Appendix I).

Intervening Variables

Church Attendance: Church attendance was defined by the frequency of attendance of church services, measured by the responses to question 13 (see Part IV, Appendix I). Respondents were categorized as regular attenders if they attended church about twice a month or more, and as infrequent attenders if they attended church less than twice a month or never.

Religious Group Activity: The respondent was designated active or inactive in religious group activities on the basis of his response to question 14 (see Part IV, Appendix I). The uncertain responses were not included in the classification.

Community Background: The community background of the respondent was defined by the number of years he had lived in an urban area and was obtained by the answer to question 11 (see Part I, Appendix I). Urban community background was defined as having lived in an urban area for seven or more years. Rural community background was defined as having lived in urban areas for less than seven years. The question did not permit the differentiation between rural-farm and rural-nonfarm backgrounds.

These intervening variables were controlled only for the independent variable, religious affiliation.

Statistical Tests

The statistical measure used to determine the level of association between the nominal independent variable, religious affiliation, and the

ordinal dependent variables, was theta (see Freeman, 1965). Theta gives only an absolute value that may vary between 0 and 1 and its direction may be determined by observation of the data in the table. It is possible to give theta a "Proportional Reduction in Error" (PRE) interpretation, i.e., the degree to which error may be reduced through introduction of the independent variable in relation to the dependent variable, as compared to the knowledge of the dependent variable alone (Costner, 1965).

Because of the large variation in the marginal distribution in the nominal independent variables, percentages were computed to permit comparisons of the frequency distributions.

The statistical measures used to determine the level of association between the ordinal independent variables, socio-economic status, generation Canadian and segregation, and the ordinal dependent variables were gamma and Somers dyx (Anderson and Zelditch, 1968; Somers, 1962). Both measures may also be given a PRE interpretation.

Gamma values range from -1 to +1 and may be applied to a cross classification of any size. Although marginal distributions do not affect the magnitude of gamma, they do affect the proportion of pairs involving ties. Since gamma is based on the predictability of order for untied pairs only, the concentration of marginal distributions in a few categories reduces the number of untied pairs.

Somers dyx is a much more conservative measure than gamma because it is asymmetrical taking into account ties on Y, the dependent variable. The rationale for including the ties is "that Y is visualized as dependent upon X. Therefore, if X changes but Y does not, there is evidence of a lack of association, and hence ties should be in the denominator where

they decrease the value of the measure." (Anderson and Zelditch 1968: 152). The values of Somers d_{yx} range from -1 to +1.

In order to determine the relative influence of the intervening variables on the relation between religious affiliation and the dependent variables, multivariate analysis was introduced. The partial and marginal tables were analyzed according to the procedure suggested by Anderson and Zelditch (1968).

The significance of the associations was evaluated on the basis of the coefficient scale suggested by J. P. Guilford (1956)¹ instead of the traditional tests of significance found in sociological research. Recent discussion indicates that tests of significance have limited utility and may even be a hindrance to the furtherance of scientific knowledge (Morrison and Henkel, 1969).

While this chapter has looked at the research design for the study, the next chapter will discuss the research results.

¹Guilford (1956:145) suggests the following general verbal description of coefficients:

Less than .20 Slight; almost negligible relationship;
 .20 - .40 Low correlation; definite but small relationship;
 .40 - .70 Moderate correlation; substantial relationship;
 .70 - .90 High correlation; marked relationship;
 .90 - 1.00 Very high correlation; very dependable relationship.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The following chapter is divided into three sections. The first section of this chapter discusses the association between German ethnocentric behavior and four independent (religious affiliation, socioeconomic status, generation, and segregation) variables. The second section discusses the relationship between German ethnocentric attitudes and the above-mentioned independent variables. The third and final section analyzes the consistency between German ethnocentric behavior and attitudes.

Independent Variables and German Ethnocentric Behavior

Independent Variable, Religious Affiliation: It was stated in hypotheses 1 and 2 that German university students affiliated with the Baptist, Mennonite and Roman Catholic denominations would tend to be associated with high ingroup choice and high German language proficiency, and those affiliated with the Lutheran and United Church denominations would tend to be associated with low ingroup choice and low German language proficiency. Data in Table IV showed the expected relationship between ingroup choice and religious affiliation for students affiliated with the Mennonite, Lutheran and United Church denominations. Roman Catholic students indicated low ingroup choice, the opposite of what was expected, while Baptist students showed no significant trend. The findings in this study related to the Baptist, Roman Catholic and United Church denominations should be considered

TABLE IV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INGROUP CHOICE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF
GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Religious Affiliation	Low	Ingroup Choice High	Total
Mennonite	7 (13%)	46 (87%)	53
Baptist	4 (57%)	3 (43%)	7
Roman Catholic	9 (90%)	1 (10%)	10
Lutheran	33 (89%)	4 (11%)	37
United Church	10 (100%)	0 (0%)	10
Total*	63	54	117

*Excludes 10 "no response" and 33 no or other religious affiliation.

Theta = 0.58

tentative because they are based on a small number of German students affiliated with these denominations.

The German Catholic situation may be partly attributed to the nature of the sample. The numerical strength (4,507) of the German Catholics in Winnipeg is small making ingroup choice more difficult. In an interview Father Riffel, the local parish priest, pointed out the decline of interest in church activities, particularly among the German Catholic youth and young adults (Driedger, 1969). In light of these factors this finding may be relatively accurate.

Hypothesis 1 was largely supported, with the Catholic exception. The students affiliated with the Mennonite church relied heavily on

friends within the German ethnic group, reflecting a historical "gemeinschaft" community. Students affiliated with the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and United Church denominations depended little on their German ethnic group for friendships.

In analyzing the data in Table V, the expected association between German language proficiency and religious affiliation was

TABLE V

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Religious Affiliation	German Language Proficiency		Total
	Low	High	
Mennonite	12 (21%)	45 (79%)	57
Baptist	4 (57%)	3 (43%)	7
Roman Catholic	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	10
Lutheran	26 (67%)	13 (33%)	39
United Church	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	10
Total*	56	67	123

*Excludes 1 "no response" and 36 no or other religious affiliation.

Theta = 0.37

partially supported. Only the students affiliated with the Mennonite, Lutheran and United Church denominations showed relatively strong German language proficiency in the expected direction. Baptists and Catholics were less proficient than expected.

While there was low ingroup choice in Table IV, there was a tendency toward higher German language proficiency in Table V, especially for the three low groups. German cultural (language) influence seemed higher than the influence of social peers, especially for the Catholic, Lutheran and United Church students.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 were examined for relationships with intervening variables; church attendance, religious group activity and community background. It was expected that the association between dependent and independent variables would persist even when the intervening variables were controlled.

Control Variable, Church Attendance: In analyzing the data for those regularly attending church (see Appendix II, Table XVI), a slightly higher association was found between ingroup choice and religious affiliation.

For those who seldom attended church, the association between the dependent and independent variables was considerably weakened. German socialization still appears to be partly a function of the church. Consequently, those who seldom attend church would tend to seek their friends outside of the German ethnic group. There are, however, other voluntary associations apart from the church where socialization takes place within the German ethnic group, e.g., German clubs and societies.

When the data was analyzed for association between German language proficiency and religious affiliation the control on regular church attendance produced only minor changes. (see

Appendix II, Table XVII).

Those who attended church were only slightly more proficient in the German language, with the exception of the Mennonites, indicating that the influence of religious affiliation was negligible for the other four religious groups.

Control Variable, Religious Group Activity: Further analysis of the data (see Appendix II, Table XVIII) by the introduction of the control on active participation in religious groups revealed strengthened associations between ingroup choice and religious affiliation.

Conversely, for those who were inactive in religious group activities the association between the dependent and independent variables was weakened considerably. This weakened ethno-religious activity may leave time and opportunity to establish relationships with other groups.

Religious activity showed considerable influence on the ingroup choice of the Baptists and the Mennonites; active Baptist and Mennonite students had high ingroup choice, whereas inactive students showed either low ingroup choice or a substantial decline in ingroup choice. This was not the case for the other three groups. If anything, the reverse was true. Mennonites comprised over half (29 out of 47) of the religiously active respondents and also supported very high ingroup choice.

As seen in the analysis of the data for those active in religious groups, the association between German language proficiency

and religious affiliation was substantially strengthened (see Appendix II, Table XIX).

For those students inactive in religious group activities there was a decrease in association between the dependent and independent variables. This would appear to indicate that activity in religious groups substantially influenced the relationships between German language proficiency and religious affiliation.

In summary, it is clear that religious group activity was an important intervening variable, particularly in relation to Mennonites and Baptists. Knowledge of being active in religious groups helped to further reduce the error in predicting the order of the dependent variable.

Control Variable, Community Background: The influence of community background on the relationship between religious affiliation and ingroup choice was negligible (see Appendix II, Table XX). Therefore it was concluded that in relation to religious affiliation there was essentially no interaction between ingroup choice and community background.

The relationship between German language proficiency and ingroup choice was slightly influenced by the control on community background (see Appendix II, Table XXI). This relationship was higher for those with rural background and slightly lower for those with urban backgrounds. It was expected that the rural respondents would have a higher proficiency in the German language, but this was found only for the Roman Catholics and Lutherans.

In summary it may be noted that the intervening variable, community background, was unimportant in influencing the relationship between ingroup choice and religious affiliation. There was weak association between German language proficiency and community background but essentially no relationship between ingroup choice and community background.

Independent Variable, Socio-Economic Status: Hypotheses 3 and 4 stated that students coming from a high socio-economic status background would tend to exhibit low ingroup choice and have low German language proficiency. As seen in Table VI the relationship between ingroup choice and socio-economic status was negligible.

TABLE VI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INGROUP CHOICE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Socio-economic Status	Ingroup Choice		Total
	Low	High	
High	17 (61%)	11 (39%)	28
Low*	60 (58%)	44 (42%)	104
Total**	77	55	132

*Includes farmers

**Excludes 13 "no response" and 15 unclassifiable occupations.

Gamma = -0.06

Somers dyx = -0.03

The analysis of the data in Table VII also indicated a negligible negative association between socio-economic status and German language

proficiency. Thus on the basis of this data hypotheses 3 and 4 were not supported. Consequently, socio-economic status was considered unimportant in the analysis of German ethnocentric behavior for this sample.

TABLE VII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Socio-economic Status	German Language Proficiency		Total
	Low	High	
High	16 (55%)	13 (45%)	29
Low*	51 (46%)	60 (54%)	111
Total**	67	73	140

*Including farmers

**Excluding 4 "no response" and 16 unclassifiable occupations.

Gamma = -0.18

Somers d_{yx} = -0.09

These findings support other studies on ethnocentrism. Although Banton (1967) reported negative correlations, Frenkel-Brunswick (1952) and Lundberg and Dickson (1952a) found no consistent relationship between ethnocentrism and socio-economic status.

Independent Variable, Generation Canadian: It was stated in hypotheses 5 and 6 that first and second generation German-Canadians would tend to exhibit high ingroup choice and have a high German language proficiency. The analysis of the data in Table VIII shows a negligible positive association between ingroup choice and generation

TABLE VIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INGROUP CHOICE AND GENERATION CANADIAN OF
GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Generation Canadian	Low	Ingroup Choice High	Total
Third	44 (59%)	31 (41%)	75
Second	31 (57%)	23 (43%)	54
First	13 (65%)	7 (35%)	20
Total*	88	61	149

*Excludes 11 "no response".

Gamma = 0.04

Somers dyx = 0.02

Canadian. Two-thirds of the first generation German-Canadian students in this sample were in the low ingroup choice category. This was an unexpected result; and in part may be a reflection of immigration patterns. The early waves of immigrants were largely comprised of rural people, whereas the last wave of immigrants was mainly urban. These more recent immigrants have shown less need for ingroup support in establishing themselves in Canadian urban centers. This independence was also reflected in their children -- the first generation Canadians in this sample. Thus on the basis of the data in Table VIII hypothesis 5 was rejected. Generation Canadian did not appear to influence ingroup behavior significantly.

This lack of negative association may also be attributed to the size of the first generation sample. It may well have reflected

an atypical pattern of inter-group association among recent immigrants, suggesting that perhaps rejection of hypothesis 5 was unwarranted.

Table IX shows a substantial negative association between German

TABLE IX

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND GENERATION
CANADIAN OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Generation Canadian	German Language Proficiency		Total
	Low	High	
Third	53 (65%)	28 (35%)	81
Second	20 (35%)	37 (65%)	57
First	2 (10%)	18 (90%)	20
Total*	75	83	158

*Excludes 2 "no response."

Gamma = -0.65

Somers dyx = -0.35

language proficiency and generation Canadian. This data clearly supports hypothesis 6.

These results did not support Hansen's (1952) concept of renewed "third-generation interest" in ethnic culture, but did support the research by Nahirney and Fishman (1965) and Kloss (1966), i.e., mother tongue tends to decrease in significance in the life of the third generation. It should be noted, however, that in this sample thirty-five percent of the third generation German students still had a high German language proficiency.

On the basis of this data it was concluded that generation Canadian was unimportant for ingroup choice, but was substantially associated with language proficiency.

Independent Variable, Segregation: It was hypothesized (hypotheses 7 and 8) that residents living in areas of high German segregation would have high ingroup choice and high German language proficiency. Unfortunately the distribution of German students by Metropolitan Winnipeg census tracts did not produce a sufficient number of students living in the specified high German segregation areas to permit testing of the hypotheses (see Figure III, census tracts, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 25, 26, 70).

The main concentration of German students appeared in the Fort Richmond area of Fort Garry (which includes campus residence) and in Crescentwood in south central Winnipeg. Since 41 percent of the sample was comprised of rural students the above concentrations were explained in terms of low-priced housing available to the rural students. There appeared to be a noticeable lack of students from the suburban areas.

In summary it was concluded that, apart from the two concentrations of German students explained by the presence of rural students, there appeared to be a fairly general distribution of German university students in Metropolitan Winnipeg, a pattern unlike the distribution of the German population in Winnipeg according to 1961 census data.

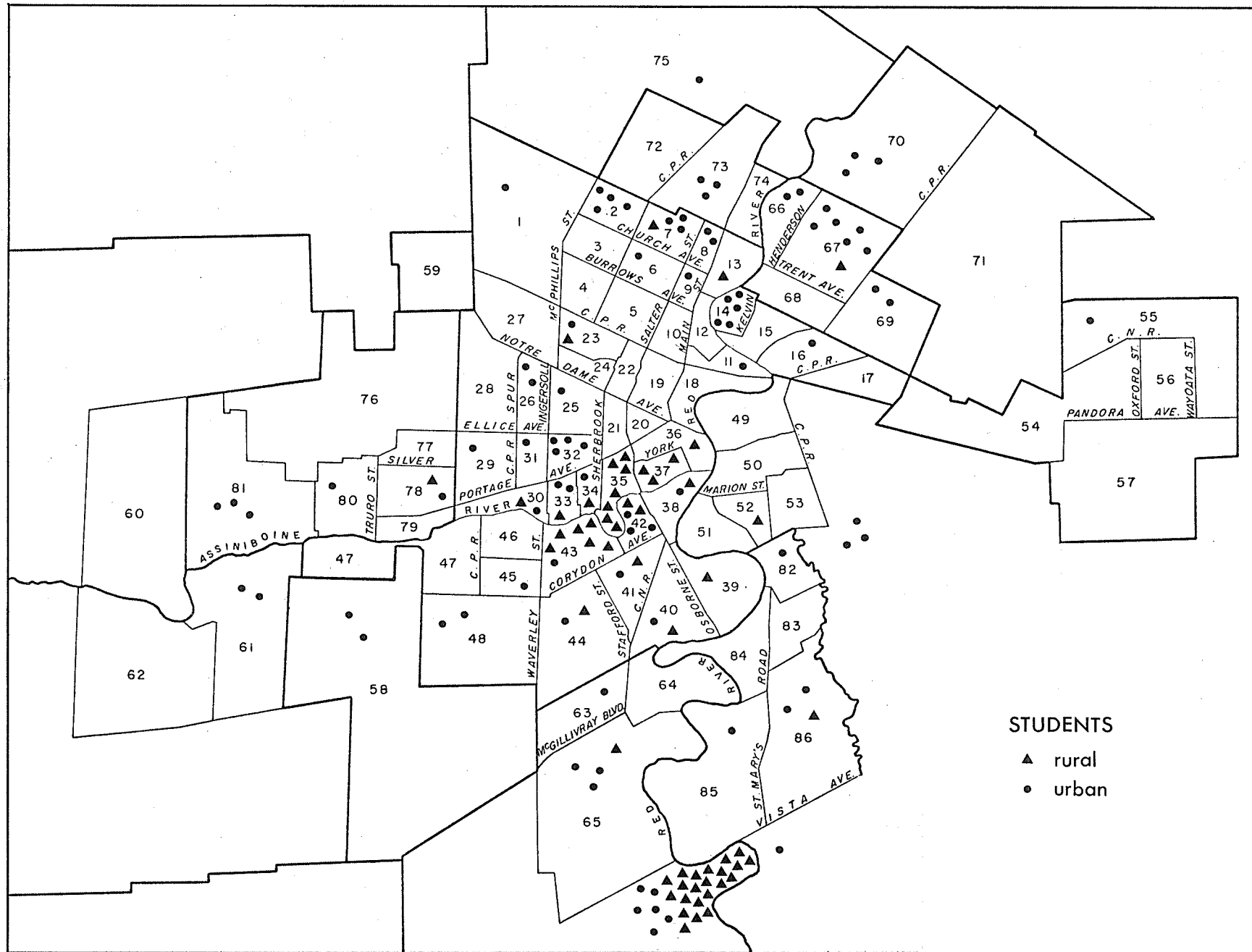


FIGURE III. DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG BY CENSUS TRACTS AND COMMUNITY BACKGROUND (N = 146).

Independent Variables and German Ethnocentric Attitudes

Independent Variable, Religious Affiliation: Hypotheses 9 and 10 suggested that students affiliated with the Mennonite, Baptist, and Roman Catholic denominations would tend to hold positive attitudes toward both ingroup choice and German language, while those affiliated with the Lutheran and United Church denominations would tend to hold negative attitudes. As seen in Table X, the expected relationship was only partially supported. As expected, students affiliated with the Lutheran and United Church denominations indicated strong negative attitudes regarding ingroup choice. Students affiliated with the

TABLE X

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD
INGROUP CHOICE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Religious Affiliation	Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice		
	Negative	Positive	Total
Mennonite	41 (72%)	16 (28%)	57
Baptist	5 (71%)	2 (29%)	7
Roman Catholic	9 (90%)	1 (10%)	10
Lutheran	37 (95%)	2 (5%)	39
United Church	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	10
Total*	100	23	123

*Excludes 1 "no response" and 36 no or other religious affiliation.

Theta = 0.16

Mennonite, Baptist and Roman Catholic denominations also indicated strong negative tendencies, which was not expected. This decided negative attitude toward ingroup choice indicated by all German students, regardless of denomination, might be attributed to peer group influences.

In summary, religious affiliation did not appear to influence attitudes toward ingroup choice. In each denomination examined, over seventy percent of the students expressed negative attitudes toward ingroup choice.

Data in Table XI indicate that hypothesis 10 was supported.

TABLE XI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD
THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Religious Affiliation	Attitudes Toward German Language		
	Negative	Positive	Total
Mennonite	21 (37%)	36 (63%)	57
Baptist	2 (29%)	5 (71%)	7
Roman Catholic	3 (30%)	7 (70%)	10
Lutheran	21 (54%)	18 (46%)	39
United Church	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	10
Total*	52	71	123

*Excludes 1 "no response" and 36 no or other religious affiliation

Theta = 0.15

Students affiliated with the Mennonite, Baptist and Roman Catholic denominations tended to hold positive attitudes toward German language proficiency and those affiliated with the Lutheran and United Church denominations were evenly divided between negative and positive attitudes.

In comparing Tables X and XI the association between religious affiliation and the two dependent variables was about the same, only in opposite directions. With very few exceptions, students felt relatively negative toward ingroup choice (81%) while they felt much more positive toward the German language (58%).

Hypotheses 9 and 10 were further examined by controlling for church attendance, religious group activity and community background. It was expected that the associations between the dependent and independent variables would persist.

Control Variable, Church Attendance: Analysis of the data (see Appendix II, Table XXII) for the relationship between attitudes toward ingroup choice and religious affiliation, controlled for church attendance, indicated very little change in associations. This led to the conclusion that, in relation to religious affiliation there was negligible interaction between church attendance and attitudes toward ingroup choice.

The association between attitudes toward the German language and religious affiliation also remained essentially the same when controlled for church attendance (see Appendix II, Table XXIII). An unexpected high percentage of faithful Roman Catholic students expressed positive attitudes toward the German language. Lutheran

students seemed to follow this trend, although less markedly. As in Table XXIII, the relationship between the dependent and independent variables seemed relatively independent of the control variable.

It was concluded that church attendance was not important as an intervening variable in analyzing the relationship between ethnocentric attitudes and religious affiliation.

Control Variable, Religious Group Activity: The association between attitudes toward ingroup choice and religious affiliation was substantially strengthened by the introduction of controls for active religious group activity (see Appendix II, Table XXIV), especially for the Baptists. It was concluded that there was considerable interaction between religious group activity and attitudes toward ingroup choice.

Attitudes toward the German language and religious affiliation controlled for religious group activity were generally important, especially for the Catholics and Lutherans (see Appendix II, Table XXV). Both partial tables indicated a similar but greater amount of association than the marginal table. Thus the control variable, religious group activity, was important in further reducing the error of prediction on the dependent variable.

Control Variable, Community Background: The association between attitudes toward ingroup choice and religious affiliation was slightly strengthened by controlling for community background (see Appendix II, Table XXVI). The marginal distributions of Y in the partial tables indicated that proportionally the rural students had a greater tendency

to hold positive attitudes toward ingroup choice than their urban counterparts. Although the rural students tended to be more positive, it should be pointed out that both the rural and the urban students were predominantly negative toward ingroup choice. This may be attributed to the nature of the sample and peer influence.

In analyzing the association between attitudes toward the German language and religious affiliation controlled for community background, there was a low association between attitudes toward the German language and religious affiliation for those from urban community background and no association for those from rural community background (see Appendix II, Table XXVII). It was concluded that community background was an unimportant intervening variable in analyzing ethnocentric attitudes.

Urban Mennonites contributed an eighteen percent increase in the positive attitudes toward the German language. All the other denominations remained relatively the same. This increase was attributed to strong emphasis on the German language within Mennonite communities and nurtured in urban settings by the church and private school system.

In summary, the relative importance of the three intervening variables resulted in partial clarity. In the relationship between religious affiliation and attitudes toward ingroup choice, religious group activity was important for Baptist students, and community background for Catholic and United Church students. Similarly in the relationship between religious affiliation and attitudes toward the German language, religious group activity was important for Catholic

students and community background for Mennonite students.

Independent Variable, Socio-Economic Status: It was stated in Hypothesis 11 that there would be a high negative association between attitudes toward ingroup choice and socio-economic status. Results in Table XII indicate a slight negative association between socio-

TABLE XII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD
INGROUP CHOICE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Socio-economic Status	Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice		Total
	Negative	Positive	
High	25 (86%)	4 (14%)	29
Low*	92 (83%)	19 (17%)	111
Total**	117	23	140

*Includes farmers

**Excludes 4 "no response" and 16 unclassifiable occupations

Gamma = -0.13

Somers dyx = -0.03

economic status and attitudes toward ingroup choice. Note that a high proportion of students had a low socio-economic background.

Analysis of Table XIII showed a relationship between attitudes toward the German language and socio-economic status as stated in hypothesis 12, but this was lower than expected. Also instead of the expected negative association, a positive association was found. Thus hypotheses 11 and 12 were rejected.

TABLE XIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD
THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Socio-economic Status	Attitudes Toward German Language		Total
	Negative	Positive	
High	11 (38%)	18 (62%)	29
Low*	56 (50%)	55 (50%)	111
Total**	67	73	140

*Including farmers

**Excluding 4 "no response" and 16 unclassifiable occupations.

Gamma = 0.25

Somers dyx = 0.13

A plausible explanation for the positive association might be that traditionally the German language was considered important for boundary maintenance. Today it is also viewed as a symbol of cultural prestige. It is this latter aspect that probably accounts for the tendency of students from high socio-economic status background to hold positive attitudes toward the German language.

In summary, German students from a high socio-economic status background tended to hold negative attitudes toward ingroup choice and positive attitudes toward the German language, while German students of low socio-economic background also tended to hold negative attitudes towards ingroup choice but were evenly divided on attitudes toward the German language.

Independent Variable, Generation Canadian: It was suggested in hypothesis 13 that the association between attitudes toward ingroup choice and generation Canadian would be negative. An analysis of data in Table XIV showed a negligible relationship in an unexpected positive

TABLE XIV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD
INGROUP CHOICE AND GENERATION CANADIAN

Generation Canadian	Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice		
	Negative	Positive	Total
Third	67 (83%)	14 (17%)	81
Second	48 (84%)	9 (16%)	57
First	18 (90%)	2 (10%)	20
Total*	133	25	158

*Excludes 2 "no response."

Gamma = 0.13

Somers dyx = 0.03

direction. Consequently the hypothesis was rejected.

One plausible explanation for this unexpected association may be found in the different waves of immigration. According to the census data, Germans came to Western Canada in three distinct waves: 1) pre World War I, 2) between the two wars, and 3) post World War II. Each wave would be highly correlated with generation Canadian, e.g., first generation Canadian with post World War II wave, second generation Canadian with post World War I wave. While the first two waves of

immigrants originated largely in the rural areas of Europe, the third wave came predominantly from European urban centers. Being familiar with the urban environment, these later immigrants secured non-German friends to supplement ingroup needs. In fact, they may have viewed the ingroup as a deterrent to social acceptance in Canadian society. Hence their strong tendency toward the negative category. The two earlier groups would be similar to the later group because of assimilation.

In summary, the independent variable generation-Canadian had limited value in reducing the error of prediction on attitudes toward ingroup choice. Hence it was not considered an important variable in analyzing ethnocentric attitudes.

Data in Table XV show strong support for hypothesis 14. There

TABLE XV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD
THE GERMAN LANGUAGE AND GENERATION CANADIAN

Generation Canadian	Attitudes Toward German Language		
	Negative	Positive	Total
Third	48 (59%)	33 (41%)	81
Second	24 (42%)	33 (58%)	57
First	3 (15%)	17 (85%)	20
Total*	75	83	158

*Excludes 2 "no response."

Gamma = -0.48

Somers dyx = -0.23

was a substantially negative association between generation-Canadian and attitudes toward the German language. This clearly substantiates the research discussed earlier in the chapter. On the basis of this data generation-Canadian was a significant variable in analyzing attitudes toward the German language.

Independent Variable, Segregation: The nature of the sample did not allow for testing of hypotheses 15 and 16 for the reasons given earlier in this chapter. In addition, university students are not a good sample for measuring segregation because they are a very mobile group. In order to prevent a recurrence of this situation one should obtain a stratified random sample.

Comparison of Consistency Between German Ethnocentric Behavior and Attitudes

Religious Affiliation and Ingroup Choice: The data on ingroup choice behavior and attitudes, as summarized in Tables IV and X, does not support the expected consistency between behavior and attitudes. Analysis of the data indicated that this lack of consistency could be attributed mainly to the behavior and attitudes of the students affiliated with the Mennonite denomination. The other four denominations appeared to be relatively consistent.

The Mennonites have a long history of life in small "gemeinshaft" type communities. Social institutions, particularly the family, the school and church, were set up to promote positive ethnocentrism (see Chapter II). Their total life style was based on "separateness," i.e., keeping the group apart from non-Mennonite groups. To remain separate the Mennonites were determined to be self-sufficient in all

ways, be that farming, business, education, etc. It is this historical heritage that may be reflected in the strong tendency toward high ingroup choice.

Parallel to Mennonite intra-group behavior was the ideology and theology of the Mennonite Church emphasizing "love for the neighbor," "nonresistance," "peace," and "brotherhood". This type of theology reaches beyond the boundaries of the Mennonite ingroup involving relatively friendly relations and attitudes toward the outgroup. This attitude toward the outgroup may be reflected in the tendency to express negative attitudes toward ingroup choice. Consequently, Mennonite students show a relatively high degree of dissonance between attitudes and overt behavior. This finding may show that behavior is lagging behind the attitudes. In a few years ingroup choice may well be considerably more in line with their attitudes.

Religious Affiliation and German Language Proficiency: The expected consistency between German language proficiency and attitudes toward the German language was not supported by the analysis of the data in Tables V and XI. The association between German language proficiency and religious affiliation was considerably higher than between attitudes toward German language and religious affiliation.

In a comparison of the percentage distributions of these two tables several observations were noted. First, data in Table V indicated that of the five denominations examined, only the students affiliated with the Mennonites had a strong tendency toward high German language proficiency. This reflected the emphasis placed on

the German language and its extensive usage within the ingroup. The relatively homogeneous rural Mennonite communities fostered an environment for the transmission of the German language.

Second, data in Table XI indicates that in spite of low German language proficiency, students affiliated with the Baptist, Roman Catholic and United Church denominations tended to hold positive attitudes toward the German language.

Third, that only Mennonite and Lutheran students exhibited a relative consistency between behavior and attitudes measured by German language proficiency and attitudes toward the German language.

Socio-Economic Status and Ingroup Choice: Data in Tables VI and XII compared favourably. From this it was concluded that there was a relatively high consistency between ingroup choice and attitudes toward ingroup choice within the socio-economic categories. It should, however, be pointed out that this consistency is deceptive. Since socio-economic status was a poor discriminator of ethnocentric behavior and attitudes, the consistency between behavior and attitudes reflected in these tables is that manifested by German university students in general, and not by German students from high or low socio-economic status backgrounds.

Socio-Economic Status and German Language Proficiency: The relationship between socio-economic status and German language proficiency and attitudes toward the German language was summarized in Tables VII and XIII. A comparison of the associations recorded in the respective tables disclosed relatively similar associations, but in opposite directions. Thus there was no support for consistency

between attitudes and behavior.

The data showed that students of high socio-economic status were associated with low German language proficiency and positive attitudes toward the German language. This was attributed earlier to the nature of the sample.

Generation Canadian and Ingroup Choice: That there was relative consistency between ingroup choice and attitudes toward ingroup choice with relation to generation-Canadian was the conclusion reached by a comparison of the associations in Table VIII and XIV. This was also substantiated by comparing the percentage distributions within the categories of the independent variable. It should be noted that the percentage distributions indicated stronger directional tendencies in attitudes toward ingroup choice than in ingroup choice with relation to generation Canadian.

Generation Canadian and German Language Proficiency: A comparison of the associations in Table IX and XV indicated relatively high consistency between German language proficiency and attitudes toward the German language with relation to generation-Canadian. This consistency was also substantiated by comparing the percentage distributions within the categories of the independent variables.

In summary, it was found that the data partially supported the "postulate of consistency" between the attitudes and behavior of German university students. A high correspondence was found within generation categories related to ingroup choice and German language proficiency and within socio-economic categories related to ingroup choice. Low

or no consistency was found within religious denominations related to ingroup choice and German language proficiency and within the socioeconomic status categories related to German language proficiency.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The objective of this study was to examine the degree of ethnocentric behavior and attitudes exhibited by German university students in areas of ingroup choice and German language proficiency. More specifically, we examined how religious affiliation, socio-economic status, generation and segregation were associated with ethnocentrism.

A review of the literature revealed that ethnocentrism was an integral part of group formation and maintenance. It fostered ingroup loyalty and a variety of intra-group associations and communications. Within the group, individuals admitted specific points of inferiority (negative ethnocentrism) but often retained their ingroup standards and values in evaluating outgroups. The intensity of ethnocentrism exhibited by groups and subgroups varied with their historical background and present position in the larger society.

Sixteen hypotheses were developed as a result of examining the literature. Analysis of the data gathered from a sample of German university students resulted in partial support for the hypotheses, although the level of association was generally negligible or low.

As expected, the German university students were inclined to have fewer friends within the German ethnic group and very definite negative feelings about intra-group friendships. At the same

time, they unexpectedly expressed high German language proficiency, supported by positive attitudes toward German. This finding supported the theory advanced by Williams (1964) and Swartz (1961) that positive and negative attitudes were present in loyalty expressed toward the ingroup.

The unexpected high German language proficiency was attributed to the fact that the sample was drawn from a university population and that it contained a large number of Mennonites. Academically German language proficiency may be seen as a valuable research tool as well as a prestige factor. This explanation would apply particularly to non-Mennonite students. The high German language proficiency indicated by Mennonite students may be attributed to their historical background which emphasized use of the German language. In summary, German university students were inclined to identify with the German language and not with German friends.

Religious affiliation was found to be a "key" variable in analyzing German ethnocentrism. The hypotheses (1, 2, 9, 10) related to religious affiliation were largely supported by the data. However, caution must be exercised in generalizing the findings because of the small cell frequencies, especially in the findings involving the Baptist, Roman Catholic and United Church students.

The three intervening variables (church attendance, religious group activity and community background) were examined but produced no significant modification in the association between religious affiliation and either ethnocentric behavior or ethnocentric attitudes.

Mennonite students in the sample depended heavily on intra-ethnic friends in spite of definite negative attitudes regarding intra-

ethnic group friendships. Baptist, Roman Catholic, Lutheran and United Church students, to a greater or lesser degree, actively rejected intra-ethnic group friends, supported by their negative attitudes. Only Mennonite students showed a high proficiency in the German language, though Baptist and Roman Catholic students also indicated positive attitudes toward the German language. Lutheran and United Church students remained undecided.

German Mennonite students expressed a high degree of ethnic loyalty (positive ethnocentrism) not expressed by any of the students of other denominations examined. Though this supports the traditional image of Mennonites as a distinct group among the Germans, indications are that this image may be changing. Similar to the other groups, Mennonite students expressed relatively negative attitudes toward ingroup choice and positive attitudes toward the German language.

Though research on the association between religion and ethnocentrism summarized by Shinert and Ford (1958) reported only negligible distinctions among various religious groups, our findings showed some substantial distinctions. This was attributed largely to the Mennonite students in the sample, who consistently expressed more ethnocentrism than the other students. If the Mennonites were not included in the sample, the findings would be comparable to the research by Shinert and Ford (1958).

The data indicated an insignificant negative association between socio-economic status and the dependent variables, with the exception of a low positive association with attitudes toward the German language. On the basis of these findings the hypotheses (3, 4, 11, 12) related to

socio-economic status were rejected. As operationalized in this study, socio-economic status showed no significant relationship with German ethnocentrism. This was similar to the findings of Banton (1967) and Frenkel-Brunswick (1952).

A moderately negative association was found to support the hypotheses (6, 14) related to generation and the dependent variables, German language proficiency and attitudes toward the German language. The high proficiency and positive attitudes expressed by the first generation students gradually diminished during the successive two generations, contrary to Hansen's theory of third generation interest. Kloss (1966) found a similar pattern in the language maintenance efforts of the Americans. If language proficiency is a good indicator of identity, then this diminishing proficiency in the German language suggests that the Germans are losing some of their German identity.

Because the relationship between generation and ingroup choice behavior and attitudes produced a negligible positive association, hypotheses five and thirteen were rejected. The friendship patterns and attitudes of first generation German university students were similar to those of students of successive generations. This was unlike the significant association between ethnocentric children and foreign born parents reported by Frenkel-Brunswick (1952). The small size of the first generation category and the type of sample may have contributed to this unexpected finding.

Inadequate clustering of students' residences in specific census tracts precluded the testing of hypotheses (7, 8, 15, 16) related to segregation. In examining the distribution of German university students,

a fairly general distribution of urban students in Metropolitan Winnipeg was found, unlike the segregation of the German population in Winnipeg, according to the 1961 census.

The data partially supported the "postulate of consistency" (Green, 1954) which assumed that the correspondence between attitudes and behavior would be high. A high correspondence was found within generation categories related to German language proficiency and to ingroup choice. A similar correspondence was noted within the socio-economic categories related to ingroup choice. However, low or no consistency was found within religious denominations related to ingroup choice and German language proficiency and within the socio-economic status categories related to German language proficiency.

Conclusions

Williams (1964) and Swartz (1961) in their discussion of the theory of ethnocentrism, suggested that both positive and negative attitudes may be expressed toward the ingroup. This was a modification of the singular positive attitude toward the ingroup postulated by Sumner (1906) and Adorno et al. (1950). This study suggests that the operational definition of ethnocentrism should be extended to include behavior as well as attitudes. The Mennonite students in the sample indicated dependence on the ingroup for friends but expressed definite negative feelings regarding intra-group friendships. Furthermore, while a similar proportion of students in each denomination examined expressed positive ethnocentric attitudes, a dissimilar proportion of students expressed high ethnocentric behavior.

The present study suggests that past research on ethnocentrism based on a single indicator, ingroup choice (Goodnow and Tagiuri, 1952; Prothro, 1952; Taft, 1956), provided only a partial description of the ethnocentrism expressed by the groups. The discrepancy in ethnocentrism expressed by German university students, as measured by ingroup choice and German language, provides evidence that a single indicator measure of ethnocentrism is unreliable in describing the intensity of ethnocentrism expressed by a group, e.g., ingroup choice indicated that German university students expressed negative ethnocentrism while German language indicated that they showed positive ethnocentrism toward the ingroup. The selection of appropriate indicators to measure ethnocentrism remains to be resolved by future research.

On the basis of this study the writer concluded that German language usage instead of German language proficiency should be used as an indicator of ethnocentrism. An individual may demonstrate a high proficiency in the German language but fail to transmit it to his children or use it in any other form of communication. Language proficiency may also reflect the ethnocentrism of the respondent's parents instead of the respondent's ethnocentrism. This change in indicator may be particularly appropriate when samples of high school and university respondents are used. The writer postulates that German university students would express negative instead of positive ethnocentrism if language usage was used as an indicator of ethnocentrism.

Finally, the data suggests that the Mennonite-non-Mennonite dichotomy shows significant discrimination in analyzing the effect of

religious affiliation on German ethnocentrism to warrant its application in future research. In this displacement some information will be lost but additional information will be gained as the variable, religious affiliation, assumes ordinal characteristics.

Suggestions For Future Research

As a result of the present study three main suggestions for future research are advanced. First, as was mentioned earlier in the chapter, additional indicators of ethnocentrism need to be examined to obtain a more complete description of German ethnocentrism. Specifically, the support given to German organizations should be considered as an indicator of loyalty to the group. These indicators should also be examined with non-student samples.

Second, religious affiliation is an important variable, which should be studied more in future research. Controls should be placed on various indicators of religiosity suggested by Glock and Stark (1966) and Lenski (1961). This would be an extension of earlier research by Adorno and associates (1950) and Shinert and Ford (1958).

Finally, a careful community study based on census data, historical documents, personal interviews and participant observation, should be made of the Germans in Winnipeg. The writer was amazed at the lack of written materials on the Germans in Winnipeg, considering their numerical strength and the role they have played in the growth of the city. This would fill a gap in the present ethnic history of Winnipeg. Chapter II in the present study represents a beginning of this research. Hopefully this will be expanded in the near future.

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APPENDIX I

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

ETHNIC SURVEY

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE HAS BEEN DESIGNED
TO OBTAIN INFORMATION ON YOUR ATTITUDES
AND FEELINGS TOWARD YOUR OWN AND OTHER
ETHNIC GROUPS. ALL DATA OBTAINED WILL
BE TREATED CONFIDENTIALLY. YOUR CO-
OPERATION IS GRATEFULLY APPRECIATED.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

Number _____ Place _____

Date _____ Time _____

Slot _____ Section _____

Administered by _____

Coded by _____

PART I

INSTRUCTIONS: PLEASE COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS USING A CHECK MARK WHERE POSSIBLE. PRINT ALL OTHER RESPONSES CLEARLY.

1. Present year enrolled in: _____.
2. Your major: _____: 3. Your minor: _____.
4. Your academic performance _____
(average letter grade)
5. Age: _____.
6. Place of birth: _____,
(country) (city/town)
7. Sex: Male _____, Female _____.
8. Your religion: _____,
(denomination) (branch)
9. Your ethnic group, other than Canadian: (Check one)
 British _____, French _____, German _____,
 Italian _____, Jewish _____, Polish _____,
 Scandinavian _____, Ukrainian _____, Other _____
 (specify)
10. Present residence: _____ at
 (street/avenue/bay)
 _____; in postal zone number _____
 (nearest cross street/avenue/bay)
11. Length of time you lived:
 - a. At present address _____
 (years)
 - b. In Metro Winnipeg _____
 (years)
 - c. Outside Metro Winnipeg: Urban _____ Rural _____
 (years) (years)

12. Father's occupation: _____.
13. Father's place of birth: _____, _____ or _____.
(country) (city/town) (rural)
14. Father's father's country of birth: _____.
15. Father's mother's country of birth: _____.
16. Years or grades father attended school: _____.
17. Years of vocational training: (if applicable) _____.
18. Father's religion: _____, _____.
(denomination) (branch)
19. Mother's present occupation: _____.
(including housewife)
20. Mother's place of birth: _____, _____ or _____.
(country) (city/town) (rural)
21. Mother's father's country of birth: _____.
22. Mother's mother's country of birth: _____.
23. Mother's last grade or year of formal education completed: _____.
24. Years of vocational training: (if applicable) _____.
25. Mother's religion: _____, _____.
(denomination) (branch)
26. Estimate your total family income:
- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Under \$ 5,000 _____ | \$ 5,000 to 9,999 _____ |
| \$10,000 to 14,999 _____ | \$ 15,000 to 19,999 _____ |
| \$20,000 or more _____ | |

PART III

INSTRUCTIONS: TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING ATTITUDE QUESTIONS KEEP YOUR OWN ETHNIC GROUP AND RELIGION IN MIND. STUDENTS OF BRITISH ORIGIN READ SCOTTISH, IRISH, WELSH OR ENGLISH AND MARK WHEREVER IT IS RELEVANT. CIRCLE THE ANSWER WHICH BEST INDICATES YOUR ATTITUDE AS FOLLOWS:

SA - STRONGLY AGREE, A - AGREE, U - UNCERTAIN, D - DISAGREE, SD - STRONGLY DISAGREE

- | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|---|---|----|
| 1. A parochial (religious operated) education is one of the most important gifts a family can give to its children. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 2. One of the best ways to ensure that my ethnic culture is perpetuated is through parochial (religious) education. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 3. The parochial education system of my ethnic group does not measure up to public school standards. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 4. A parochial education tends to give one a narrow one-sided view of life. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 5. All those in my ethnic group should make an honest attempt to learn their ethnic language. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 6. My ethnic language is of greater importance than any other second language for Canadians. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 7. It is of tremendous importance to speak my ethnic language in the home so that it may be preserved for future generations. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 8. It is embarrassing for me to see members of my ethnic group conversing in their native language in a mixed group. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 9. For me, my religion is a real source of strength. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 10. It is important for people of my ethnic group to be regular church (synagogue) attenders. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 11. Being a member of my ethnic group and religion is something I acknowledge because of my birth, but I do not feel it important enough to actively participate in it. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 12. The idea of God has tremendous significance in my daily thinking (life). | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 13. It is unwise for a member of my ethnic group to read an ethnic newspaper on a bus or train where everyone can see it. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 14. Every member of my ethnic group should subscribe to at least one of his/her ethnic newspapers. | SA | A | U | D | SD |

15. Receiving ethnic newspapers at home is a tremendous asset because it informs one about the current activities of his/her ethnic group.	SA	A	U	D	SD
16. Ethnic newspapers present such a narrow one-sided point of view.	SA	A	U	D	SD
17. For me, it makes little difference what ethnic group the person I date belongs to.	SA	A	U	D	SD
18. Unless a person in my ethnic group has good reasons, he/she should not marry an outsider under any circumstances.	SA	A	U	D	SD
19. Persons of my ethnic group should not have an unfavourable attitude towards those who marry outside the group.	SA	A	U	D	SD
20. Parents discouraging inter-ethnic dating do a disservice to their children.	SA	A	U	D	SD
21. It is important for me to have most of my close friends within my ethnic group.	SA	A	U	D	SD
22. The presence of other members of my ethnic group close by gives me a feeling of warmth and security.	SA	A	U	D	SD
23. My school friends who are of a different ethnic background, seldom seem to become close friends.	SA	A	U	D	SD
24. My family seems to take a less favourable attitude toward my friends who are of a different ethnic background.	SA	A	U	D	SD
25. Those in my ethnic group should be considerably more involved in their own ethnic organizations than other organizations.	SA	A	U	D	SD
26. Ethnic organizations are wonderful because they allow one to take an active part in the affairs of one's ethnic group.	SA	A	U	D	SD
27. My ethnic organizations are fine for the older people, but they do not actively encourage the participation of young people.	SA	A	U	D	SD
28. The organizations of my ethnic group seem to be too concerned with narrow issues instead of the important issues of the world.	SA	A	U	D	SD
29. It gives a member of my ethnic group a good feeling to live in a community composed almost entirely of one's own group.	SA	A	U	D	SD
30. For me, being a member of my ethnic group is far more important than being merely a Canadian (or a resident of this country).	SA	A	U	D	SD

PART IV

1. Have you had any parochial (church or synagogue operated) education?

No _____ Yes _____

If yes, how many years? _____

2. Have you attended any extra language classes (outside school hours) in your ethnic language?

No _____ Yes _____

If yes: LANGUAGE MONTHS/YEARS, ETC.

a. _____

b. _____

3. Did your parents receive any parochial education?

Father: No _____ Yes _____

Mother: No _____ Yes _____

4. What language is used most often:

a. When speaking to your parents? _____

b. When speaking to your brothers/sisters? _____

c. When speaking to your grandparents? _____

d. In your church/synagogue service? _____

5. Do you personally have any ability to use any language other than English?

No _____ Yes _____

If yes, list and rate your ability to use languages. (CIRCLE)

<u>LANGUAGE</u>	<u>Understanding</u>		<u>Reading</u>		<u>Writing</u>		<u>Speaking</u>	
	<u>Well</u>	<u>Limited</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Limited</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Limited</u>	<u>Well</u>	<u>Limited</u>
(e.g. <u>Ukrainian</u>)	(1)	2	1	(2)	1	(2)	(1)	2)
a. _____	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
b. _____	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
c. _____	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2

6. List your five closest friends (first names only).

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

d. _____ e. _____

7. Looking back to question #6 of what ethnic background and religion are they?

<u>ETHNIC GROUP</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>
(e.g. <u>Irish</u>	<u>Anglican</u>)
a. _____	_____
b. _____	_____
c. _____	_____
d. _____	_____
e. _____	_____

8. How many persons from each of the following ethnic groups would you say you know well?

<u>KNOW WELL:</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>1-2</u>	<u>3-5</u>	<u>6-10</u>	<u>11 or More</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
British	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
French-Canadian	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
German	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Italian	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Jewish	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Polish	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Scandinavian	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Ukrainian	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

9. (A) Does your family subscribe to newspapers (weekly), magazines, journals published by your ethnic group?

No _____ Yes _____

- (B) If yes, specify:

<u>PAPER</u>	<u>PER CENT READ</u>	<u>LANGUAGE OF PAPER</u>
a. _____	_____	_____
b. _____	_____	_____
c. _____	_____	_____
d. _____	_____	_____

- (C) Do you find these publications worth reading?

No _____ Yes _____ Undecided _____

10. If these ethnic publications are not in English, should they be?

No _____ Yes _____

11. Are any of your brothers or sisters married to a person of a different ethnic or religious background than your family?

No _____ Yes _____

If yes, please indicate who married into which group and religion.

(e.g. Sister Ukrainian Catholic)

a. _____
b. _____
c. _____

12. Are you presently or have you in the past year dated a person outside your own ethnic group or religious background?

No _____ Yes _____

If yes, indicate groups and check-mark number of dates.

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>1-2 dates</u>	<u>3-5 dates</u>	<u>6-10 dates</u>	<u>11 or more dates</u>
a. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
b. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
c. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
d. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
e. _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

13. Do you attend church or synagogue services?

No _____ Yes _____

If yes, how often?

Every week (or nearly) _____
About twice a month _____
About once a month _____
Several times a year _____
About once a year or less _____

14. Do you actively participate in religious group activities?

Very active _____

Fairly active _____

Uncertain _____

Fairly inactive _____

Very inactive _____

15. Do you belong to any associations, clubs, organizations (including religious)?

No _____ Yes _____

16. If yes, specify group and the extent of your participation.

Name of association, club, or organization	What percent of meetings do you attend? (Approximately)	Are you a committee member?	Do you hold any office in that organization? (Pres. etc.)	What percent are same ethnic group as yourself
	%	No Yes	No Yes	%
a.		1 2	1 2	
b.		1 2	1 2	
c.		1 2	1 2	
d.		1 2	1 2	

APPENDIX II

TABLE XVI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INGROUP CHOICE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CONTROLLED FOR CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Religious Affiliation	Church Attendance					
	Regular			Seldom		
	Ingroup Choice			Ingroup Choice		
	Low	High	Total	Low	High	Total
Mennonite	3 (7%)	39 (93%)	42	4 (36%)	7 (64%)	11
Baptist	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	6	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
Roman Catholic	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	6	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	4
Lutheran	14 (82%)	3 (18%)	17	19 (95%)	1 (5%)	20
United Church	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2	8 (100%)	0 (0%)	8
Total	27	46	73	36	8	44

Theta = 0.61

Theta = 0.35

TABLE XVII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CONTROLLED FOR CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Religious Affiliation	Church Attendance									
	Regular					Seldom				
	German Language Proficiency					German Language Proficiency				
	Low		High		Total	Low		High		Total
Mennonite	8	(18%)	37	(82%)	45	4	(33%)	8	(67%)	12
Baptist	4	(67%)	2	(33%)	6	0	(0%)	1	(100%)	1
Roman Catholic	4	(67%)	2	(33%)	6	2	(50%)	2	(50%)	4
Lutheran	11	(65%)	6	(35%)	17	15	(68%)	7	(32%)	22
United Church	1	(50%)	1	(50%)	2	7	(88%)	1	(12%)	8
Total	28		48		76	28		19		47

Theta = 0.39

Theta = 0.38

TABLE XVIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INGROUP CHOICE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF
GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CONTROLLED FOR RELIGIOUS GROUP ACTIVITY

Religious Affiliation	Religious Group Activity								
	Active					Inactive			
	Ingroup Choice					Ingroup Choice			
	Low		High		Total	Low		High	Total
Mennonite	1	(3%)	28	(97%)	29	6	(32%)	13	(68%)
Baptist	1	(33%)	2	(67%)	3	3	(75%)	1	(25%)
Roman Catholic	2	(100%)	0	(0%)	2	6	(86%)	1	(14%)
Lutheran	11	(92%)	1	(8%)	12	21	(95%)	1	(5%)
United Church	1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1	7	(100%)	0	(0%)
Total	16		31		47	43		16	59

Theta = 0.74

Theta = 0.41

TABLE XIX

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CONTROLLED FOR RELIGIOUS GROUP ACTIVITY

Religious Affiliation	Religious Group Activity									
	Active					Inactive				
	German Language Proficiency					German Language Proficiency				
	Low		High		Total	Low		High		Total
Mennonite	4	(13%)	26	(87%)	30	5	(24%)	16	(76%)	21
Baptist	2	(67%)	1	(33%)	3	2	(50%)	2	(50%)	4
Roman Catholic	2	(100%)	0	(0%)	2	4	(57%)	3	(43%)	7
Lutheran	8	(67%)	4	(33%)	12	15	(63%)	9	(37%)	24
United Church	1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1	6	(86%)	1	(14%)	7
Total	17		31		48	32		31		63

Theta = 0.53

Theta = 0.31

TABLE XX

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INGROUP CHOICE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF
GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CONTROLLED FOR COMMUNITY BACKGROUND

Religious Affiliation	Community Background									
	Urban					Rural				
	Ingroup Choice			Ingroup Choice			Ingroup Choice			
	Low		High		Total	Low		High		Total
Mennonite	4	(17%)	19	(83%)	23	3	(10%)	26	(90%)	29
Baptist	4	(67%)	2	(33%)	6	0	(0%)	1	(100%)	1
Roman Catholic	7	(100%)	0	(0%)	7	2	(67%)	1	(33%)	3
Lutheran	23	(94%)	1	(6%)	24	10	(77%)	3	(23%)	13
United Church	6	(100%)	0	(0%)	6	4	(100%)	0	(0%)	4
Total	44		22		66	19		31		50

Theta = 0.53

Theta = 0.61

TABLE XXI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
OF GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CONTROLLED FOR COMMUNITY BACKGROUND

Religious Affiliation	Community Background									
	Urban					Rural				
	German Language Proficiency					German Language Proficiency				
	Low		High		Total	Low		High		Total
Mennonite	5	(19%)	21	(81%)	26	7	(23%)	23	(77%)	30
Baptist	3	(50%)	3	(50%)	6	1	(100%)	0	(0%)	1
Roman Catholic	5	(71%)	2	(29%)	7	1	(33%)	2	(67%)	3
Lutheran	17	(68%)	8	(32%)	25	9	(64%)	5	(36%)	14
United Church	4	(67%)	2	(33%)	6	4	(100%)	0	(0%)	4
Total	34		36		70	22		30		52

Theta = 0.34

Theta = 0.43

TABLE XXII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD INGROUP
CHOICE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION CONTROLLED FOR CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Religious Affiliation	Church Attendance					
	Regular			Seldom		
	Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice			Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice		
	Negative	Positive	Total	Negative	Positive	Total
Mennonite	31 (69%)	14 (31%)	45	10 (83%)	2 (17%)	12
Baptist	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	6	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1
Roman Catholic	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	6	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	4
Lutheran	16 (94%)	1 (6%)	17	21 (95%)	1 (5%)	22
United Church	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	8
Total	58	18	76	42	5	47

Theta = 0.19

Theta = 0.13

TABLE XXIII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE GERMAN
LANGUAGE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION CONTROLLED FOR CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Religious Affiliation	Church Attendance					
	Regular			Seldom		
	Attitudes Toward German Language			Attitudes Toward German Language		
	Negative	Positive	Total	Negative	Positive	Total
Mennonite	17 (38%)	28 (62%)	45	4 (33%)	8 (67%)	12
Baptist	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	6	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
Roman Catholic	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	4
Lutheran	7 (41%)	10 (59%)	17	14 (64%)	8 (36%)	22
United Church	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	8
Total	27	49	76	25	22	47

Theta = 0.13

Theta = 0.14

TABLE XXIV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD INGROUP CHOICE
AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION CONTROLLED FOR RELIGIOUS GROUP ACTIVITY

Religious Affiliation	Religious Group Activity					
	Active			Inactive		
	Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice			Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice		
	Negative	Positive	Total	Negative	Positive	Total
Mennonite	20 (67%)	10 (33%)	30	17 (81%)	4 (19%)	21
Baptist	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	4
Roman Catholic	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2	6 (86%)	1 (14%)	7
Lutheran	11 (92%)	1 (8%)	12	23 (96%)	1 (4%)	24
United Church	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1	5 (71%)	2 (29%)	7
Total	35	13	48	55	8	63

Theta = 0.29

Theta = 0.14

TABLE XXV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE GERMAN
LANGUAGE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION CONTROLLED FOR RELIGIOUS GROUP ACTIVITY

Religious Affiliation	Religious Group Activity					
	Active			Inactive		
	Attitudes Toward German Language			Attitudes Toward German Language		
	Negative	Positive	Total	Negative	Positive	Total
Mennonite	8 (27%)	22 (73%)	30	8 (38%)	13 (62%)	21
Baptist	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4
Roman Catholic	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2	1 (14%)	6 (86%)	7
Lutheran	5 (42%)	7 (58%)	12	14 (58%)	10 (42%)	24
United Church	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	7
Total	16	32	48	27	36	63

Theta = 0.18

Theta = 0.22

TABLE XXVI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD INGROUP
CHOICE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION CONTROLLED FOR COMMUNITY BACKGROUND

Religious Affiliation	Community Background					
	Urban			Rural		
	Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice			Attitudes Toward Ingroup Choice		
	Negative	Positive	Total	Negative	Positive	Total
Menmonite	19 (73%)	7 (27%)	26	21 (70%)	9 (30%)	30
Baptist	5 (83%)	1 (17%)	6	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
Roman Catholic	7 (100%)	0 (0%)	7	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	3
Lutheran	24 (96%)	1 (4%)	25	13 (93%)	1 (7%)	14
United Church	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	6	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4
Total	61	9	70	38	14	52

Theta = 0.17

Theta = 0.25

TABLE XXVII

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GERMAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE GERMAN
LANGUAGE AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION CONTROLLED FOR COMMUNITY BACKGROUND

Religious Affiliation	Community Background					
	Urban			Rural		
	Attitudes Toward German Language			Attitudes Toward German Language		
	Negative	Positive	Total	Negative	Positive	Total
Mennonite	5 (19%)	21 (81%)	26	15 (50%)	15 (50%)	30
Baptist	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	6	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1
Roman Catholic	2 (29%)	5 (71%)	7	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3
Lutheran	14 (56%)	11 (44%)	25	7 (50%)	7 (50%)	14
United Church	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	6	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4
Total	26	44	70	25	27	52

Theta = 0.25

Theta = 0.06