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ABSTRACT

TOWARD A THEORY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT:
A STUDY OF FRENCH-ENGLISH RELATIONS IN AN ONTARIO COMMUNITY

By John D. Jackson

The principal objective of this thesis was to amplify certain hypotheses concerning social conflict through an empirical study of inter-ethnic relations in a particular community. Of secondary interest was the relationship between social conflict and ethnic assimilation. The community selected for this study, located in southwestern Ontario, Canada, was composed of both French- and English-speaking residents. As such, the study provides an instance of French-English relations in the Province of Ontario as distinct from the more studied situation in the Province of Québec.

Social conflict was defined as consisting of any relationship between two or more sets of individuals exhibiting some degree of organization and incorporating one or more of the following conditions: incompatible values, position scarcity, and resource scarcity. The position assumed was that a state of conflict is a structural arrangement. Observed phenomena which is often referred to in the literature as representing overt or covert conflict, manifest or latent conflict, or potential or actual conflict were taken as relating to variations in the intensity and militancy of a conflict situation.

A conflict exhibiting a low level of intensity and militancy would correspond to a covert, latent, or potential conflict in more common terminology. Intensity was defined as the magnitude of party involvement, militancy as the use of coercive and violent strategies in the pursuit of party interests. Institutionalization and community identity were posited as independent variables influencing the degree of militancy. Whether decision-making power relevant to the issues in dispute is located in the vertical system (i.e., beyond the local community) or in the horizontal system (i.e., within the local community) and the extent to which ethnic, religious, and class groupings are superimposed were taken as independent variables influencing the degree of intensity.

The research upon which this thesis was based proceeded in three phases. During the first phase, frequent trips were made to the selected community to delineate the major components of its social structure. Unstructured interviewing of community leaders was the primary method of data collection used during this phase. An eight month period of intensive interviewing and observation followed. An analysis of these data led to the development of the hypotheses referred to above. These hypotheses were tested during the final phase using structured interviewing, documentary analysis, and a questionnaire administered to a residential sample.

The hypotheses relating institutionalization and community identity to militancy and the strength of the community horizontal pattern and superimposition to intensity were found, with some exceptions, to correspond to the observed direction of the indicators. The thesis concludes

with a series of multivariate hypotheses to account for these exceptions. The data also pointed to a relationship between the intensity of conflict and structural assimilation, questionning the sequential and inevitable move toward assimilation in the race relations cycle model.

TOWARD A THEORY OF SOCIAL CONFLICT:

A STUDY OF FRENCH-ENGLISH RELATIONS IN AN ONTARIO COMMUNITY

By

John D. Jackson

A THESIS

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As with any piece of work of this nature, assistance in a variety of forms has come from several sources. The research problem itself had, no doubt, its origins in my own past, in my early life in a French-speaking community in the Province of Québec. But these experiences must be translated into ideas and the ideas again related to experience. I am indebted to Professors Walter E. Freeman and James B. McKee for their encouragement, permissiveness, and intellectual stimulation which enabled me, freely and openly, to grapple with the issues to which this thesis is addressed. As the research took shape, others entered the picture--Professors William A. Faunce, Duane L. Gibson, and Seymour Parker--each with a contribution, but each permitting me to make the decisions which, for better or for worse, are represented in the following dissertation.

A project of this type requires material support. Such support was provided by the Institute for Community Development, Michigan State University, and a Canada Council Award. Without this support, it would have been impossible to carry out a project requiring such a lengthy period of field work.

Considerable assistance in the form of advice, encouragement, and access to office machinery and supplies was provided by Professor Rudolf Helling, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, University of Windsor, and Father Edward Boyce, Director of the General Mission Centre of Essex County. It was through the efforts of the latter organization that volunteer interviewers were located. Professor Helling's assistance in

paving my way into the study community was most appreciated.

The people of Normanville, to whom I owe a deep debt of gratitude, must remain unnamed. Their willingness to accept a stranger, a prying stranger, in their midst with such openness and hospitality was indeed appreciated. To those who read this thesis, and some will, I hope only that it will serve to lead each to a deeper appreciation and understanding of their town and their people.

It is most difficult to acknowledge the contributions of those closest to one's self. My student colleagues--Max Flood, John Pease, Lee Sloan, Joseph Smucker, and Worth Summers--will recognize many of the ideas in this thesis as having emerged from many hours of discussion, debate, and appraisal. It is customary, at this point, to acknowledge one's wife for her patience and understanding. It is more difficult for me to express my feelings in this respect when my wife not only showed considerable patience and understanding, but also acted as critic, editor, secretary, and research assistant. I can only say, "Thank you."

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of French-English relations in an Ontario community. The primary objective was to develop a set of hypotheses concerning social conflict. Much has been written on the Canadian problem since the two groups came together two centuries ago, but according to one study of the problem, "French Canada has been, on the whole, very imperfectly studied."[1] The same may be said about race relations in the United States.[2] In addition to the expected criticisms concerning an over-emphasis on description and a paucity of analytical studies, both situations have suffered from the highly emotional polemics that are an inevitable consequence of intergroup conflict. Such dialogues have their affects on social science, ofttimes making it difficult to sort ideological admonitions from systematic treatments.

In the case of the American Negro, systematic research has exhibited strong psychological orientations based, no doubt, on the American faith in individualism and a corresponding commitment to the hypothesis that the attitudes and beliefs of individuals directly determine the kinds of social organization which emerge from human interaction. Some students

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[1]Philippe Garigue, A Bibliographic Introduction to the Study of French Canada. (Montréal: McGill University Press, 1956), p. 5.

[2]See Everett C. Hughes, "Race Relations and the Sociological Imagination," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28, December 1963, pp. 879-891; and E. F. Frazier, "Race Contacts and Social Structure," American Sociological Review, Vol. 14, 1949, pp. 1-11.

of race relations hold this emphasis responsible for the inability of American social science to predict the current Negro revolt.

If research on the American problem has suffered from a nominalistic bias, the Canadian problem has suffered from an over-abundance of ideological polemics,[3] and a geographically narrow perspective. In a recent review of the literature on French Canada, only 170 out of 2949 entries were directly concerned with French Canadians outside of the Province of Québec.[4] True enough, 76.6 per cent of those Canadians of French origin reside within the borders of Québec. However, the implications that the French minorities outside of the province have had and will have on the totallity of French-English relations in Canada far exceed their numerical strength. A recent report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism discusses the importance of the "French minorities" to the national picture.[5]

For the sake of clarification, the following résumé of English-French population ratios is presented. Utilizing the 1961 census, the total population of Canada was slightly over eighteen and a quarter million. Of these, 30.4 per cent were of French origin, 43.8 per cent of British origin, the balance representing a mélange of other ethnic groups. In terms of the English-French dichotomy, around which much of the history and the institutional life of the country has grown, the residual category

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[3]Philippe Garigue, op. cit., p. 5. [4]Ibid.

[5]Canada, The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Preliminary Report. (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1965), p. 81.

is often classified with the "English." Recently, this category has been referred to as the "third element," an element now viewed as relevant to the current debate on biculturalism.[6] Over the last six decades, the proportion of French Canadians to the total population has remained remarkably stable, indicating a continuous growth in absolute numbers. The proportion of British Canadians, however, has declined, the over-all population growth being influenced by immigration.

It was noted that 76.6 per cent of those of French origin were concentrated in the Province of Québec. Close to one-half of the remaining 23.4 per cent live in the Province of Ontario,[7] the balance being scattered throughout the country, with a sizeable number in the Maritime Provinces. Historically, Québec and Ontario, both originating from the Upper-Lower Canada partition of 1791, symbolize the dualism of the nation. And, it might be added, the French of Ontario have often been the brunt of the same kinds of discrimination and prejudice which are usually directed toward immigrant groups and racial minorities.

Little has been written, from a sociological perspective, on the Franco-Ontarians--the French Canadians of Ontario. The one bibliography at our disposal lists only fourteen studies directly pertaining to Ontario.[8] It is doubtful that this has increased significantly during the

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[6] Ibid., p. 51.

[7] Of the total population of Ontario in 1961, 10.4 per cent were of French origin, 59.5 per cent of British origin.

[8] Philippe Garigue, op. cit.

last decade. In spite of this lack of systematic studies of the problem outside of the Province of Québec, there has been a tendency to generalize from the Québec situation to "French Canada" as a whole. The dangers inherent in this type of generalization are apparent in an observation made in the Royal Commission report:

> The divergent preoccupations of French Quebec and the 'French minorities' of the other provinces were very evident . . . regional differences seemed, during this first sampling of opinion, to be almost as marked in French Canada as they were in English Canada.[9]

For this, and a number of other reasons soon to be stated, this thesis deals with French-English relations in Ontario, focusing on one community historically identified as a "French town."

Students of minority groups have frequently taken into their theoretical considerations

> two major types of contact situations; contact involving subordination of an indigenous population by a migrant group . . . and contacts involving subordination of a migrant population by an indigenous racial or ethnic group.[10]

Given the peculiarities of the American situation, empirical research was destined to focus on the latter type of contact. Thus, we have a situation in which a good deal of our understanding of cultural and racial

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[9]Canada, op. cit., p. 28.

[10]Stanley Lieberson, "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," American Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1961, p. 903. See also, Oscar I. Janowsky, Nationalities and National Minorities. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945); Everett C. Hughes and Helen M. Hughes, Where Peoples Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952); C. Wagley and M. Harris, Minorities in the New World: Six Case Studies. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958); and E. F. Frazier, Race and Culture: Contacts in the Modern World. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1957).

minorities is derived from cases where incoming groups have been subjected to indigenous groups. With the exception of the Negro, some groups of Spanish Americans, and the American Indian, most of the contact situations studied have resulted from the "voluntary" migration of subordinate peoples.

On the other hand, the French Canadian case is a classic example of the first type of contact. To use Hughes' terminology, the French Canadian is a "charter member" minority.[11] Given the perspective that contact between ethnic groups is a meeting of social organizations, then significant differences between the types of contact discussed above would be expected. The American emphasis on the "melting pot" ideology in contrast to the Canadian emphasis on a pluralistic ideology is perhaps evidence of this hypothesis. Given this state of affairs, it was felt that research into the Canadian situation was desirable in terms of the development of a sociology of intergroup relations. Moreover, the peculiarities of the Ontario situation require special attention in this context because of the decidedly numerical and social minority position held by the Franco-Ontarian in contrast to his Québec cousin.

The community selected for this study, Normanville, Ontario, had a population of approximately 4500, 56 per cent of the citizens being of French origin, 30 per cent of British origin, the remaining 14 per cent being composed of citizens of various ethnic origins.[12] In no way was

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[11] Everett C. Hughes and Helen M. Hughes, op. cit., p. 23.

[12] See Appendix II, Tables 1 to 3.

this community selected as being representative of some larger region. At best, it is representative of a small portion of southwestern Ontario. Normanville was studied as a particular case, the purpose being to test a model relating variations in community social structure to social conflict. The criteria for selecting Normanville were as follows:

1. The town is located in Essex County, one of the four regions in Ontario with a sizeable French Canadian population.

2. Of the various communities in the urban portions of the county, Normanville reported the largest proportion of persons of French origin. It was assumed that this feature would provide a higher probability of locating a viable French Canadian sub-community.

3. Normanville is an urban area. Most studies of French Canada have been conducted in rural communities, so much so that the rural community has been presented as representative of French Canadian social organization. One only need pursue the history of the French in North America to discover the fallacy of this assertion.[13]

There is the problem of the limitations imposed on research by investigating a single case. Just how serious such limitations are depends on the general objectives of the study. Lipset and others have distinguished between two types of case studies. In the first type, referred to as a "particularizing analysis," emphasis is placed on a

> . . . description and explanation of the single case, to provide information concerning its present state, and the dynamics through which it continues as it does.[14]

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[13]See Philippe Garigue, "The French Canadian Family," in M. Wade (editor), Canadian Dualism. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), pp. 181-201.

[14]Seymour M. Lipset et al., Union Democracy. (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962), p. 471.

In the second type, a "generalizing analysis," emphasis is placed on

> the development of empirical generalizations or theory through the analysis of the single case, using it not to discover anything about it as a system but as an empirical base either for generalization or theory construction.[15]

This study includes both types of analyses, but the over-all research objectives were directed toward the latter type. That is, the primary goal of this thesis was to develop a model or theory from empirical materials, a model which will then be available to test through comparative analyses. Tests of hypotheses were based primarily on variations which had occurred over time within the case or system under study.[16]

The Problem

Apart from the substantive material itself, the primary focus of this thesis is social conflict. The relationship between conflict and assimilation is of secondary interest. Conflict is taken for granted; it is assumed that "social conflict is ubiquitous."[17] The task then was one of specifying the empirical conditions necessary for a state of conflict to exist, certain variables of conflict states, and their interrelations.

These objectives were met during the research process itself, a process which proceeded in three distinct phases. During the first two phases, the conflict model tested was developed from an ongoing interaction between the literature and the data. The resulting set of

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., p. 479.

[17] Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 162.

hypotheses were then tested during the final phase. These hypotheses were taken as guides for the collection and ordering of data. The major objective was to arrive at a more adequate delineation of the variables of conflict and to refine the hypotheses.

The interest in assimilation resulted from a consideration of the race relations cycle model. This model suggests an inevitable sequence of the processes of contact, competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation.[18] The question was: Are conflict and assimilation necessarily sequential or are they interdependent? This question was approached through an attempt at "translating" variables of assimilation into the variables of conflict.

This is a community study though not in the classical sense of presenting a picture of a community as a functional whole. Rather, given the conflict system studied, the interest is in the possible effects of variations in community social structure upon an over-all conflict situation encompassing a wider region. In effect, how and why do local communities vary in their responses to national or regional conflicts?

The following four questions summarize the research problem undertaken in this thesis:

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[18]The race relations cycle is based on Robert Park's theoretical consideration of race relations: "They [race relations] involve racial competition, conflict, accommodation, and eventually assimilation." See Robert Ezra Park, Race and Culture. (Paperback edition; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1950), p. 104. See also Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 507; "Of the four great types of interaction--competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation--competition is the elementary. . . ."

1. What are the necessary empirical conditions for a state of conflict to exist? What particular configurations of sets of individuals, values, and resources result in conflict relations?

2. Given a state of conflict, what attributes of this state vary in relation to others? What variables contribute to the intensity or strength of a conflict system?

3. What are the attributes of community social structure which condition conflict situations?

4. Is the race relations cycle, implying an irreversible process inevitably concluding in assimilation, an adequate model for the analysis of ethnic relations? What insights might be forthcoming by viewing ethnic relations as a special case of social conflict?

Contributions

The contributions of this thesis lie in two directions. First, there is the substantive area under study--the problem of French-English relations in Canada. This thesis recognizes the crucial role played by the French minorities outside of the Province of Québec. It is evident that there is a lack of studies in this area. Moreover, a sociology of ethnic relations can only benefit from materials based on situations which differ in many important aspects from the situation in the United States.

Secondly, empirical work focusing on social conflict is relatively rare. Several attempts at developing theories of social conflict have been made. Though most remain at a highly abstract level, they have provided the sources for the proposed model. The hypotheses proposed by

such students of the problem as Lewis A. Coser,[19] Ralf Dahrendorf,[20] and Raymond W. Mack[21] have yet to be put to the test. This requires a process of testing, refining, and retesting:

> What we need are statements of the direction and degree of association between sets of those variables [e.g., the intensity of conflict, the nature of issues, etc.]; then we would be on the way to refining some of these hypotheses into propositions.[22]

It is toward this end that this thesis is directed.

Organization of the Thesis

In the next chapter, the relevant literature is reviewed; the theoretical framework is set, and a series of hypotheses are advanced. Following this, in Chapter III, the research design is presented. Here, consideration is given to the development of empirical indicators and a set of testable hypotheses, and the methods of data collection are described. Chapter IV presents an analysis of the historical situation from which the conflict situation under study emerged. Chapters V and VI describe the study community--its people and its institutions. The empirical conditions for conflict are identified in Chapter VII. In Chapters VIII and IX, the hypotheses are tested. A revision of the model in view of the findings is presented in the final chapter, Chapter X.

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[19]Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1956).

[20]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit.

[21]Raymond W. Mack, "The Components of Social Conflict," Social Problems, Vol. 12, Spring 1965, p. 396.

[22]Ibid.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF HYPOTHESES

The theoretical framework for this thesis is presented here in the form of a set of theoretical hypotheses. The terminology used by Zetterberg is followed. "Theoretical hypotheses" are posited as propositions of high informative value requiring empirical support. "Ordinary (or testable) hypotheses" are propositions of low informative value also requiring empirical support.[1] These latter hypotheses will be presented in Chapter III. It should be noted that the stated hypotheses were developed from two sources--the literature, as reviewed here, and data collected during the first phases of the research. The lack of empirical materials in the literature necessitated a continuous interaction between theory and data throughout the research process. This was especially necessary in the formulation of the key variables and their indices.

The thesis problem directed attention to three areas of sociological theory: social conflict, community social structure, and intergroup relations with special reference to assimilation. In the first section of this chapter, the variables of conflict and their interrelations are developed. Following this, a second set of hypotheses are constructed

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[1] Hans L. Zetterberg, On Theory and Verification in Sociology. (Third enlarged edition; Totowa, New Jersey: The Bedminster Press, 1965), pp. 79-86. The notion of informative value refers to the level of generality of a proposition, "the higher the informative value . . . the greater is the variety of events for which it can account."

relating aspects of community social structure to the conflict variables. Finally, assimilation is viewed in relation to changes in conflict systems.

I. SOCIAL CONFLICT

Two major areas of controversy are readily apparent in any examination of the literature on social conflict. One opposes conflict to consensus and, depending on the views of a given polemist, attempts are made to demonstrate that either one or the other state is more basic to social integration. Another involves those who would explain conflict from an individual or psychological perspective as opposed to those who work from a collective or sociological perspective. A solution to or a synthesis of these positions is not an objective of this thesis. However, the controversies cannot be avoided. In fact, they present a useful way in which to divide the literature into two broad categories.

The Psychological Versus the Sociological Perspective

In 1957, UNESCO published a comprehensive review of the literature dealing with conflict.[2] In this review, Professor Bernard refers to the social psychological approach as being ". . . through the individual, his attitudes, opinions, and behavior patterns."[3] This approach is

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[2]The International Sociological Association, The Nature of Conflict. (Paris, France: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1957).

[3]Jessie Bernard, "The Sociological Study of Conflict," in Ibid., p. 56.

readily illustrated by the following statements made by Professors Krech and Crutchfield in their Theory and Problems of Social Psychology:

> The problem of international tensions is ultimately a problem of the psychology of the individual. War is declared by and fought by individuals; peace and international unity are the products of the actions of individuals . . . the manner in which . . . economic, political, and other such influences work in international tensions is psychological; i.e., they become effective through . . . the needs, perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes of the individual.[4]

A similar view is cited in T. H. Pear's review of the psychological literature pertaining to conflict. Referring to the work of H. J. Eysenck, Pear states that,

> he holds that ultimately all causative [italics mine] influences must find themselves reflected in the individual attitudes toward war and personal aggressiveness, built up by social pressure, by teaching and propaganda, by personal concept, by childhood experience, by parental emotional conditioning and the thousand-and-one agencies which determine our outlook.[5]

The key concepts in the psychological analysis of conflict appear to be "tension" and the "frustration-aggression" hypothesis. Thus, as Bernard notes,

> The [conflict] phenomena studied are sometimes viewed as tensions within the individual which from time to time, eventuate into 'open' conflict. That is resentments and frustrations, from whatever source, pile up within the individual until, in effect, they explode in overt aggression of some kind--in quarrelling, in fighting, in rioting, or what-have-you, as a means of reducing tension.[6]

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[4]David Krech and Richard Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948), p. 586.

[5]T. H. Pear, "The Psychological Study of Tensions and Conflict," in The International Sociological Association, op. cit., p. 144.

[6]Jessie Bernard, op. cit., p. 36.

The clash between the sociological and psychological perspectives arise when the tension concept is used to explain intergroup conflict. This position is attributed to Kurt Lewin whose work has had considerable influence on the analysis of social conflict. Whether or not Lewin did generalize his notion of "tensions" to the intergroup level is not too clear in his own work. His empirical referents remained at the level of intra-individual and intra-group conflict, although one may easily extract statements like the following from his work:

> . . . one of the most important factors in the frequency of conflict and in the building up of an emotional outbreak is the general level of tension at which the person or group lives.[7]
>
> Whether or not a particular event will lead to a conflict depends largely on the tension level or on the social atmosphere in the groups.[8]
>
> Any conflict creates tension, which leads to restlessness, unbalanced behavior, and over-emphasis in one or the other direction.[9]

The first two statements quoted above appeared in a treatment of the problem of conflict within marriage; the third referred to <u>individual</u> "restlessness" and "unbalanced behavior" resulting from minority group membership. With respect to intergroup conflict, Lewin stated in a 1943 article dealing with Germany that

> . . . a fairly strong tendency was discernible to consider psychological factors such as frustration or 'destructive traits' the basic causes for war. Accordingly, the avoidance of frustration was considered the main road to peace. Since then a more realistic view of the importance of political and economic aspects seems to prevail.[10]

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[7]Kurt Lewin, <u>Resolving Social Conflicts</u>. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 89.

[8]<u>Ibid</u>. [9]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 156. [10]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 43.

Nevertheless, a good deal of the research and amelioration programs influenced by Lewin proceeded to generalize the individual tension concept to a concept of group tensions.[11] Programs directed at improving intergroup relations attempted to break down collective tensions through changing attitudes and values. Williams noted some of the assumptions implicit in these programs:

1. One of the most obvious of these premises guiding strategy is, in its least sophisticated formulation, 'Give the people the facts and prejudice will disappear.'

2. Action should be directed toward a direct change in values or attitudes.

3. Contact brings friendliness.

4. . . . experience changes behavior and there is a transfer of the changed behavior to other, more usual, types of situations.[12]

A similar generalization of the tension and frustration-aggression concepts appears in some of the literature dealing with community and ethnic conflict. B. E. Mercer, for example, explains community conflict

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[11]Jessie Bernard, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

[12]Robin M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions. (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 57, 1947), pp. 13-16. For an example of a program based on these assumptions, see Hedley G. Dimock, "Intercultural Relations Training: An Experiment in Citizenship Education." (Montréal: Centre for Human Relations and Community Studies, Sir George Williams University, 1964). (Mimeographed.) Although the author duly noted that "conflict and hostility between groups is an intergroup phenomena and cannot be explained in terms of hostile or prejudiced individuals. . . . ," he went on to state that

> "citizenship or character is a set of attitudes and values . . . [and that] the goals of the project . . . [were directed toward] developing a better understanding among Indians and non-Indians, and increasing the citizenship and leadership capacity and responsibilities of all."

in terms of "aggressiveness on the part of individuals." Accordingly, conflict may be controlled or reduced "through a reduction in hostility, the rechanneling of hostility to other subjects, or through the repression of overt conflict."[13] Corresponding to this treatment of conflict, Shibutani and Kwan in a consideration of ethnic stratification state that "conflict . . . is an incidental part of the process of social change." Conflict is viewed as developing from "collective tensions [emerging] as frustrated men communicate with each other, reinforcing one another's apprehensions and anger."[14]

In a critique of this position, Bernard is of the opinion that "little definitive evidence has . . . been adduced to show that 'group tensions,' as either simple or as weighted additive functions of individual tensions, can explain inter-group relations."[15] The problem, then, lies more in the generalization of propositions from the individual level to the level of intergroup conflict than in any intrinsic fallacies in the concept of individual tensions. Certainly, psychologists and social psychologists whose work touches on both individual and social conflict are aware of this difficulty. Sherif, in his treatment of Intergroup Relations and Leadership draws attention to the issue when he points out that

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[13]B. E. Mercer, The American Community. (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 178-179.

[14]T. Shibutani and K. M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1965), p. 401.

[15]Jessie Bernard, op. cit., p. 116.

> we cannot extrapolate from the properties of individuals to the characteristics of group situations. It is equally erroneous to extrapolate from the properties of relations within a group to explain relations between groups. . . . Intergroup relations are patently determined by the process of interaction between the groups.[16]

Likewise, T. H. Pear notes that "'psychological' and 'sociological' signify two different levels of approach, necessitating their appropriate units of treatment and consequently appropriate conceptual tools."[17]

What then is the sociological view of conflict? According to Bernard, "the sociological conceptualization of conflict is in terms of the relationship between or among systems."[18] A relationship between or among groups defined as conflictive emerges from incompatible positions,[19] mutually exclusive values,[20] resource scarcity in terms of status, power, and other means to achieving desired ends,[21] and boundary maintenance activity.[22]

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[16]Muzafer Sherif (ed.), Intergroup Relations and Leadership. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 8-9.

[17]T. H. Pear, op. cit., p. 164.

[18]Jessie Bernard, op. cit., p. 37.

[19]Jessie Bernard, "Parties and Issues in Conflict," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1957, pp. 111-112. See also Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 135; Kenneth E. Boulding, Conflict and Defense. (New York: Harper Torchbooks Edition, Harper and Row, 1963), p. 5.

[20]Jessie Bernard, "The Sociological Study of Conflict," op. cit., p. 38; Jessie Bernard, op. cit., p. 112; Robin M. Williams, Jr., op. cit., p. 43; and Lewis A. Coser, op. cit., p. 8.

[21]Lewis A. Coser, Ibid.

[22]Raymond W. Mack, op. cit., p. 394.

Implicit in this conceptualization is the notion of cost:[23] parties to a conflict situation "cannot have all they want of anything."[24] Whatever move one or another party makes implies gains or loses for each. Assuming rational behavior, an analogy between conflict so defined and games of strategy is drawn. In this manner, the theory of games of strategy is used as a model for the analysis of social conflict,[25] the emphasis being placed on the processes of bargaining and accommodation.[26]

Accordingly, social conflict is perceived as a consequence of structural processes rather than as a result of frustration produced tension and aggressive behavior, repressed hostilities, and misunderstandings resulting from poor communication. An illustration used by Lewis Coser is relevant here:

> A worker engaged in strike activity in order to increase his wages, his status or the power of his union, and one who releases aggression against the boss because he perceives him as an oedipal figure, are dissimilar social types. Displaced father hatred may attach itself to any suitable object--boss, policeman or staff sergeant. The economic fight of workers against the boss, on the other hand, is based on their particular positions and roles in the economic and political system. [italics mine.][27]

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[23]Jessie Bernard, "The Sociological Study of Conflict," op. cit., p. 38.

[24]Raymond W. Mack and Richard C. Snyder, "The Analysis of Social Conflict--Toward an Overview and Synthesis," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. I, No. 2, June 1957, p. 218.

[25]Jessie Bernard, "The Sociological Study of Conflict," op. cit., p. 100.

[26]Thomas C. Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 4-5.

[27]Lewis A. Coser, op. cit., p. 50.

Notwithstanding the polemics, the psychological and sociological views are not necessarily contradictory nor should one be opposed to the other. Intra-individual, inter-individual, intra-group, and intergroup conflict are different types of conflict. Whether a general theory of conflict encompassing these and other types is possible or not is another issue. The psychological conceptualization is more appropriate for the first two, the sociological for the last type. The subject material of this thesis is intergroup or social conflict, and as such adopts a sociological in contrast to a psychological conceptual framework.

Although the emphasis in this thesis is on structural variables, a complete view would require that the effects of personalities on a conflict system be taken into consideration. It would be necessary, for example, "to make a distinction between what is due to individuals filling the various roles in society and what is due to these roles themselves."[28] This distinction will be made through the concept of conflict agents. In any case, one should be cognizant of the fact that it is only analytically that a separation of the psychological and sociological components of social conflict can be made.

Conflict Versus Consensus

It is difficult to enter into the sociological literature on conflict without finding oneself immersed in opposing ideological positions

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[28]Raymond Aron, "Conflict and War from the Viewpoint of Historical Sociology," The International Sociological Association, op. cit., p. 178.

presented as answers to the question: "What holds society together?" In contemporary sociology these contrasting positions are treated under several labels--consensus versus conflict,[29] Hegelian-Marxian dialectic versus functionalism,[30] order versus conflict theories,[31] integration versus coercion theories,[32] etc. The assumptions implicit in each position are summarized by Dahrendorf.[33]

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[29]Irving L. Horowitz, "Consensus, Conflict and Cooperation: A Sociological Inventory," Social Forces, Vol. 41, 1963, pp. 177-188.

[30]Pierre L. van den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28, October 1963, pp. 695-705.

[31]John Horton, "Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems as Competing Ideologies," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 71, May 1966, pp. 701-713.

[32]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., pp. 157-165.

[33]Ibid., pp. 161-162.

"[Integration theory] is founded on a number of assumptions of the following type:

1. Every society is a relatively persistent, stable structure of elements.
2. Every society is a well-integrated structure of elements.
3. Every element in society has a function, i.e., renders a contribution to its maintenance as a system.
4. Every functioning social structure is based on a consensus of values among its members.

. . . the coercion theory of society [assumes that],

1. Every society is at every point subject to processes of change; social change is ubiquitous.
2. Every society displays at every point dissensus and conflict; social conflict is ubiquitous.
3. Every element in a society renders a contribution to its disintegration and change.
4. Every society is based on the coercion of some of its members by others."

A danger inherent in opposing the two perspectives is a tendency to adopt one or the other as an exclusive model for the analysis of social situations. In so doing, one moves closer toward formulating an ideological position and further from sociological theory.[34] Dahrendorf points out that

> neither of these models can be conceived as exclusively valid or applicable. They constitute complementary, rather than alternative, aspects of the structure of total societies as well as every element of this structure.[35]

Indeed, as noted by the same author, it is next to impossible to deal with one perspective without taking the other into consideration. Conflict implies contact between parties--parties ". . . 'integrated into' a common frame of reference."[36]

In this research a conflict perspective was adopted, but not in opposition to an integration or consensus perspective. Theoretically, the question, ". . . under what conditions [do] various kinds and degrees of conflict emerge?" was addressed to the data.[37] It requires no stretch of the imagination to see that this question may be equally well phrased

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[34]See Raymond W. Mack, op. cit., p. 390.

> "To phrase a theoretical issue in sociology as functionalism versus Marxism on the grounds that the functionalists assume social integration whereas Marxists assume social conflict, is to ignore the fact that both are invalid as scientific theories. . . . There is nothing inhibiting to the study of conflict in functional analysis if by functional analysis we mean the attempt to describe and understand social structures and their consequences."

[35]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 163.

[36]Ibid., p. 164.

[37]Amitai Etzioni, Studies in Social Change. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966), p. 112.

as ". . . under what conditions [do] various kinds and degrees of conflict-limitation occur?"[38] This latter phrasing implies integration. The second question is the obverse of the first. Substantively, an inter-ethnic situation is viewed in conflict terms rather than in terms of the more commonly employed "race relations cycle" model. Why? Simply because it is the conflict aspects of the situation under study which have heretofore been neglected. The primary purpose of this research is to develop an alternative model for the analysis of intergroup relations, a model stressing separation as opposed to assimilation.

In 1950, Jessie Bernard could ask, with some trepidation, "Where is the modern sociology of conflict?"[39] Since that date several major works[40] and a journal[41] devoted to social conflict have appeared. This material is rich in perspectives, models, and hypotheses, but lacking in empirical work especially in relation to social structure and social organization. This thesis is an attempt to partially remedy this situation. Before proceeding with the task of defining concepts and developing hypotheses, it would be well to state the basic assumptions upon which

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Jessie Bernard, "Where is the Modern Sociology of Conflict?" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56, July 1950, pp. 11-16.

[40] Lewis A. Coser, op. cit.; The International Sociological Association, op. cit.; Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit.; Kenneth E. Boulding, op. cit.; Max Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963); Pierre L. van den Berghe, South Africa: A Study in Conflict. (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1965).

[41] The Journal of Conflict Resolution. Published quarterly by The Department of Journalism, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

the proposed model is based.

First, the position which holds that social conflict is a result of individual maladjustment, misunderstandings resulting from poor communication, and frustration produced aggression is rejected. These factors may enter into a conflict system as variables, but are not to be taken as the source of social conflict. Social conflict emerges from boundary maintaining activity and the unequal distribution of resources. Second, the notion that conflict is necessarily dysfunctional or "pathological" is rejected. Social conflict may be either functional or dysfunctional. Third, the notion that conflict necessarily entails an absence of integration, consensus, or cooperation is rejected. Conflict implies integration and vice-versa.

To these assumptions may be added five additional ones posited as "empirical propositions" by Robin M. Williams, Jr., in answer to Horton's treatment of order and conflict theories as competing ideologies:

1. All interacting human populations exhibit . . . social conflicts.
2. All interacting human populations that remain in interaction over time develop normative regularities.
3. All interacting human populations manifest some continuity of social patterns.
4. All interacting human populations manifest change in social patterns, over time.
5. All interacting human populations show both coerced and voluntary conformity.[42]

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[42]Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Some Further Comments on Chronic Controversies," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 71, No. 6, May 1966, p. 718.

Social Conflict Defined[43]

Social conflict is defined as consisting of any relationship between two or more sets of individuals exhibiting some level of organization and incorporating one or more of the following conditions: incompatible values, position scarcity, or resource scarcity. This definition is similar in content to those proposed by Coser,[44] Bernard,[45] Dahrendorf,[46] and Boulding.[47] It suggests three empirical conditions which must be met if a relationship between two or more sets of individuals is to be designated as conflictive. There must be parties, that is, sets of individuals exhibiting some level of organization. There must be some level of interaction between these parties; without contact there can be no conflict. Finally, a condition of incompatible values, and/or position and resource scarcity must be present.[48]

Conflict parties. As obvious as these conditions may be, they are basic to a description of a conflict system. First, with reference

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[43]Portions of the next three sections of this chapter are taken from the following paper by this student: John D. Jackson, "A Study of French-English Relations in an Ontario Community," The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 3, No. 3, August 1966, pp. 117-132.

[44]Lewis A. Coser, op. cit., p. 8.

[45]Jessie Bernard, "Parties and Issues in Conflict," op. cit., p.112.

[46]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 135.

[47]Kenneth E. Boulding, op. cit., p. 5.

[48]Though not as elaborate, these conditions follow closely those listed by Mack and Snyder in a recent synthesis of materials on social conflict. Raymond W. Mack and Richard C. Snyder, op. cit., pp. 212-248.

to parties: a statistical category cannot be a party to a conflict situation--a minimum level of organization is required. The category of quasi-group, as advanced by Ginsberg and used by Dahrendorf,[49] would appear to meet the minimum requirement. Ginsberg defines quasi-groups as:

> . . . aggregates or portions of the community which have no recognizable structure, but whose members have certain interests or modes of behavior in common, which may at any time lead them to form themselves into definite groups. To this category of quasi-groups belong such entities as social classes [and, I would add ethnic groups] which, without being groups, are recruiting fields for groups.[50]

The degree of organization beyond this minimum requirement is an empirical problem.

Party contact and interaction. To Robert Park, conflict was "one of the four great types of interaction."[51] Social conflict exists only insofar as the parties come into contact with each other in the pursuit of positions, resources, or value states. Given contact, interaction may occur at several levels of organization. In the case of inter-ethnic conflict, interaction may take place: (1) at the interpersonal level where individuals react to one another in terms of their ethnic membership; (2) at the level of conflict agents where persons designated as representatives of quasi-group interests meet to articulate the interests of their respective groups; and (3) at the associational level where conflict agencies, associations or organizations specifically act to articulate

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[49]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 180.

[50]Morris Ginsberg, Sociology. (London, England: 1953), p. 40.

[51]Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, loc. cit.

the interests of their respective groups. It is the latter two levels which are of primary interest in a consideration of intergroup relations.

Generally, conflict relations are carried on by conflict agents and agencies. Drake, for example, specifies the necessity of "an organized structure . . . for carrying on conflict."[52] Williams refers to such agents and agencies as the necessary mediating links between parties involved in a conflict situation.[53] Conflict agencies and agents are not, however, a requirement for a state of conflict to exist. It is through an identification of agencies and agents that the type of contact and forms of interaction between the parties may be specified.

A conflict agency may be defined as an interest group; a group whose actions or policies indicate the presence of a conscious desire to move public policy--the allocation of values, or the allocation of resources in a particular direction.[54] Within the limits of this thesis, any voluntary association which is ethnically enclosed is a potential conflict agency. Such associations may exhibit one or more of the following functions:

1. A supportive function consisting of actions or policies limited to increasing internal solidarity.

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[52]St. Clair Drake, "Some Observations on Interethnic Conflict as One Type of Intergroup Conflict," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 1, July 1957, p. 162.

[53]Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Racial and Cultural Relations," J. B. Gittler (ed.), Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957), p. 451.

[54]Joseph La Palombara, Interest Groups in Italian Politics. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 16.

2. An interest-articulating function consisting of actions which place party interests before the opponent or the general public.[55]

3. An interest aggregating function wherein the interests of several other associations are drawn together to be articulated at a higher level.[56]

Not all ethnic associations exhibit all three functions. The supportive function can exist alone, but the interest aggregation and/or articulation functions must be present if an association is to be designated as a conflict agency. A labor union is an example of a conflict agency representing worker interests. In a similar manner, SNCC, CORE, and the NAACP are conflict agencies within the context of American race relations.

Conflict agents serve a similar function, but refer to status-role complexes within institutional structures which function, either latently or manifestly, to articulate party interests.[57] As will be seen, these phenomena are clearly illustrated in the community under study where an English-speaking and a French-speaking inspector are appointed by the Provincial Department of Education to "represent" the interests of each group in the local school district. The incumbents of these positions are not representatives of particular conflict agencies, but function to represent quasi-group interests in general.

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[55] Ibid., pp. 78-84.

[56] Ibid., pp. 84-85.

[57] Merton's conceptualization of status-role is used here. Status is viewed as "a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals." Role refers to the behavioral enacting of the patterned expectations attributed to that position. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure. (Revised edition; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 284-286.

Incompatible values, position and resource scarcity. These conditions represent the foci of a conflict situation: the answer to the question, "What is the conflict about?" A condition of position scarcity arises when, for example, desirable positions in the social structure are distributed according to party membership. It is very difficult in Canada for a person to be both a French Canadian and a corporation executive. The under-representation of French in relation to English-speaking Canadians in higher status occupations is well documented in John Porter's The Vertical Mosaic.[58]

Resource scarcity is a question of supply and demand; both parties cannot have all they want of desirable objects or "states of affairs."[59] In the case under study, the school issue is relevant here. Roman Catholics and Protestants operate their own school systems, each drawing upon public resources--a limited pool of monies, materials and personnel. These resources have been unequally distributed between the Protestant or "public" schools and the Catholic or "separate" schools, the former receiving the greater share. This situation would be designated as a condition of resource scarcity.

Empirically, it is difficult to conceive of a "pure" value conflict. Incompatible values are usually compounded with position and resource scarcity.[60] The separation is, of course, analytically useful. It enables

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[58]John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 91-98.

[59]Raymond W. Mack and Richard C. Snyder, op. cit., p. 218.

[60]Ibid.

one to examine the manner in which contradictory value positions are related to position and resource scarcity. Kenneth Underwood, for example, approaches a religious conflict in a New England community from the perspective of fundamental theological differences between the parties involved, but proceeds to relate these to an unequal distribution of positions and resources.[61] Gusfield analyzed the value positions of the "wets" and "drys" in the prohibition movement in terms of status groups.[62]

In the situation under study, the two main parties--French and English Canadians--assume contradictory positions with regard to assimilation. Complete assimilation and complete separation are incompatible; one is the contradiction of the other. Each party tends to move toward these extremes, English Canadians toward the former, French Canadians toward the latter. The actual state is one of pluralism--just how much separation is to be allowed (from an English-speaking view) or how much is to be demanded (from a French-speaking view) is the issue.

Thus, the empirical conditions or prerequisites for a conflict situation are these: if two or more quasi-groups (i.e., parties) are in contact and interacting under conditions of position and resource scarcity or value incompatibility, then a state of conflict exists among them. Social conflict, therefore, is defined as a structural state rather than

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[61]Kenneth Underwood, Protestant and Catholic. (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1961).

[62]J. R. Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and The American Temperance Movement. (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 1963).

as a variable. This point of departure demands that the variables of conflict be defined and their interrelations specified. Inventories of variables appear in Coser,[63] Dahrendorf,[64] Mack and Snyder,[65] and Williams.[66] The selection of variables for this research was based partly on their importance in the literature and partly on their applicability to the situation under study.

The Variables of Conflict

The four selected variables are members of what may well develop into three classes of variables as empirical studies concerning social conflict increase. The first class has to do with the strength of the conflict and involves the variables of intensity and militancy. The second class, involving institutionalization, is concerned with variations in the regulation and formalization of the conflict relationship. The third class refers to the broader social context within which a particular conflict is located. The superimposition of several potential conflict fronts (e.g., class, ethnicity, religion, urban-rural, etc.) is a member of this class.

Intensity and militancy. The strength of a conflict appears to

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[63] Lewis A. Coser, op. cit.

[64] Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit.

[65] Raymond W. Mack and Richard C. Snyder, op. cit.

[66] Robin M. Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964).

vary along at least two dimensions which, though closely related, exhibit some degree of independence. In the community under study, several hours were spent attending meetings and conferences of associations devoted to the articulation of local French Canadian interests. The numbers of people involved and the frequency of such meetings indicated a level of involvement at least beyond that which might be termed "low." At the same time, the sessions were extremely calm; there was an absence of threatening or intimidating statements directed toward opponents; few press releases were made, and there had been no efforts to circulate petitions or organize demonstrations. In other words, the extent to which members of one of the parties were involved in conflict agencies appeared to be fairly extensive. However, in terms of tactics utilized, the actions of these agencies were extremely tranquil. These two aspects or dimensions of conflict behavior suggest the variables of intensity and militancy.[67]

Intensity refers to the magnitude of party involvement.[68] If all members of a quasi-group in a state of conflict with some other such group

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[67]This distinction is based on Dahrendorf's conceptualization of intensity and violence which appeared unsatisfactory to the data in question, op. cit., pp. 212-213. His notion of violence, for example, included all "manifestations" of conflict from peaceful discussion to the actual use of physical force. In other words, non-violent demonstrations would be included under the category of violence!

[68]The meaning of the French word intensité is a closer approximation to the meaning intended here than the general meaning of "intensity" in English. The Larousse Dictionary defines intensité as "Expression de la valeur numerique d'une grandeur." This suggests the concept of size or magnitude. Intensité is readily translated into the English word volume.

were participants through conflict agencies, the level of intensity would be at a maximum. This maximum is seldom reached, but the degree of intensity does seem to vary according to certain conditions. These conditions will be specified later.

In contrast, militancy refers to the nature of specific acts directed against the opponent rather than the extent to which quasi-group members are involved in these acts. Militancy is the use of coercive measures in pursuing party interests. A threat, the presentation of petitions, the calling of a strike or demonstration are coercive measures. These measures or acts would be designated as indicators of a low to moderate militancy. The use of violence, or physical force with intent to harm or injure, would constitute a high level of militancy.

Certainly the two variables are closely related. A certain degree of intensity would appear to be a prerequisite for militant behavior. However, intensity does not necessarily imply militancy. A high level of intensity is possible without militant acts as a consequence. Referring to Table I, cells one, two, and four are empirical possibilities. The state suggested in cell three is assumed to be empirically rare. The

TABLE I

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MILITANCY AND INTENSITY

	Militancy	
Intensity	High	Low
High	1	2
Low	3	4

conditions represented in cells one, two, and four arise according to the influence of other variables, both external and internal to a conflict system.[69]

The institutionalization of conflict. The regularization of conflict situations is a continuous theme in the literature. According to Horowitz, some "conflicts [are] programmed for continuation."[70] Robert Dubin in a consideration of industrial conflict suggests that institutionalization is an inevitable outcome of continuous conflict situations.[71] To Dahrendorf, "conflict regulation" is "in many ways [a] most crucial factor affecting the empirical patterns of class conflict. . . ."[72]

The institutionalization of conflict entails the regularization of the relationship between the participating parties. An institutionalized conflict is one in which a set of regulations (i.e., rules or norms) and a set of positions and roles emerge to define and stabilize the relationship between the parties, permitting each to operate in relation to its opponent with some predictability.[73] Accepting Parson's statement that

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[69]Cells one and four, respectively, correspond to a commonly made distinction between overt and covert conflict. In some cases, conflict per se is defined in terms of cell one, cell four being referred to as potential conflict or latent conflict.

[70]Irving L. Horowitz, op. cit., p. 183.

[71]Robert Dubin, "Industrial Conflict and Social Welfare," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 1, June 1957, p. 187.

[72]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 223.

[73]The reference to both rules and positions is consistent with the more general treatment of institutionalization in the literature. See

"institutionalization . . . is clearly a matter of degree,"[74] it follows that some conflict situations may be more institutionalized than others and, over a period of time, any one conflict may exhibit variations in institutionalization. In this sense institutionalization is viewed as a conflict variable.

Labor-management relations provide a ready example of institutionalized conflict. Both parties are recognized and sanctioned; their interests are recognized and formal channels of communication are available for the articulation of these interests. Once institutionalized, a conflict is more likely to continue as the parties develop a mutual interest in each other's survival.[75] Thus, institutionalization does not resolve, in the sense of eliminating, social conflict. On the contrary, institutionalization implies a continuation of conflictive relations, regulated but not resolved. Indeed, according to the definition of conflict advanced in this thesis, only the elimination of one of the parties, through its withdrawal or destruction, resolves the conflict. If the parties remain intact, resolution may be thought of in relation to issues, but not in relation to the dissolution of the conflict system itself.[76]

Talcott Parsons, The Social System. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), pp. 36-39; Harry M. Johnson, Sociology: A Systematic Introduction. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1960), pp. 19-21.

[74]Talcott Parsons, op. cit., p. 39.

[75]O. Kahn-Freund, "Intergroup Conflict and Their Settlement," The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 5, 1954, p. 201.

[76]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., pp. 223-224.

The theoretical significance of institutionalization as a conflict variable is that it provides a connecting link between conflict and integration models. Through the institutionalization of social conflicts, conflict is contained within an integrated framework, or from the alternate perspective, social conflict insofar as it becomes institutionalized contributes to integration. Integration does not necessarily imply the absence of conflict nor does conflict imply the absence of integration. However, not all social conflicts become institutionalized nor, once institutionalized, will they necessarily remain so. The immediate interest in this thesis is not so much in conditions contributing to institutionalization, but in the effects of variations in institutionalization upon a conflict system. Institutionalization is taken as an independent variable.

The superimposition of conflict categories. Several theoretical studies of social conflict[77] have noted the coincidence of significant social categories as a highly influential variable. That is, to what extent are such potential conflict fronts as class, religion, ethnicity, and political affiliation superimposed, creating a single, dominant cleavage? To use a concrete example, if all and only French Canadians were Catholic, lower class, and voted socialist, and were confronted with an

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[77]James C. Coleman, Community Conflict. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), p. 22; Lewis A. Coser, op. cit., p. 76; Robin M. Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door. op. cit., p. 369; Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 213; Max Gluckman, op. cit., pp. 1-4.

English Canadian population, all the members of which were Protestant, upper class, and voted conservative, there would be a high level of superimposition. A complete superimposition of potential conflict fronts is perhaps empirically rare in industrial societies, but it is not difficult to accept the proposition that the degree of superimposition will influence the intensity of a conflict situation. Certainly, the energies involved or expended by conflict groups with overlapping memberships would reduce the potential for a highly intense and militant confrontation between any two. Coser suggests that

> such segmental participation . . . can result in a kind of balancing mechanism, preventing deep cleavages along one axis . . . the multiplicity of non-cumulative conflicts provide one . . . check against basic consensual breakdown in an open society.[78]

The empirical focus is, of course, individuals and their memberships in various relevant categories. For example, an English Catholic in the community under study is subjected to at least one set of cross-pressures. As an English-speaker, he is open to the interests and presures of English Canadians vis-à-vis French Canadians. As a Catholic, he is open to the interests and pressures of Catholics, most of whom are French, vis-à-vis Protestants, most of whom are English. The presence of English Catholics suggests a lower level of superimposition between religion and ethnicity than if all English-speakers were Protestant. The fact, however, that few French-speakers are Protestant maintains a certain level of superimposition.

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[78]Lewis A. Coser, op. cit., p. 79.

The notion of cross-pressures and their effects on an individual's tendency toward reduced participation in relevant issues is a common explanatory device in voting studies. These studies have demonstrated that as "cross pressures increase, the individual tends to delay his voting decision and to become less interested in the election."[79] Lipset suggests that such cross-pressures are basic for the maintenance of stable political systems.[80] The concept of "status consistency" is also relevant.[81] If the degree of superimposition of major conflict categories in a given situation is high, it would follow that the proportion of individuals in the population exhibiting status consistency would also be high.

Theoretical Hypotheses

Having delineated four variables of social conflict, a set of hypotheses will now be constructed to deal with their interrelations. Institutionalization and superimposition are taken as determinants; intensity and militancy are taken as resultants. The procedure adopted is to state in this chapter a set of theoretical hypotheses relating the basic concepts. In the next chapter, a sub-set of testable hypotheses will be

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[79]Seymour M. Lipset et al, "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior," Gardner Lindzey (ed.) Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. II. (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), p. 1133.

[80]Seymour M. Lipset, Political Man. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.,) p. 31.

[81]Leonard Broom, "Social Differentiation and Stratification," Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Sociology Today. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), p. 431. ". . . a person's

stated utilizing empirical indicators of the basic concepts.

Institutionalization and militancy. A conflict which is institutionalized to one degree or another implies that the parties and their claims are recognized as legitimate and that the means are provided for the articulation of their claims or interests. Since militant behavior is generally undertaken as a means of demonstrating power and demanding recognition, it would seem to follow that conflicts, once institutionalized, will exhibit less militancy. Militant tactics have been used by American Negro organizations at the local community level as a means of attaining recognition. Once negotiations between representatives of these organizations and "the white power structure" are achieved, the militant behavior is usually reduced. This is not to say that militant tactics completely disappear from the scene, but there is a reduction, especially of violent forms.[82] Lieberson and Silverman in a recent article on racial riots note that "a more responsive government [i.e., city government] makes riots less likely because it provides regular institutional channels for expressing grievances." [italics mine.][83] Thus, the following hypothesis:

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statuses are considered inconsistent if he is 'high' on ethnicity and education but 'low' on occupation and income."

[82]See Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 228; and L. Killian and C. Grigg, Racial Crisis in America. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 136.

[83]Stanley Lieberson and A. R. Silverman, "The Precipitants and Underlying Conditions of Race Riots," American Sociological Review, Vol. 30, December 1965, p. 896.

Theoretical Hypothesis I

The institutionalization of the relations between conflicting parties reduces the level of militancy exhibited by both parties.

Superimposition and intensity. The problem of a possible relationship between institutionalization and intensity is left open. The extent to which potential conflict categories are superimposed in any given conflict situation would seem to have more effect on intensity than the degree of institutionalization. Involvement may be just as high in an institutionalized as in a non-institutionalized conflict. However, following Dahrendorf, the level of superimposition is taken as having the "utmost importance for variations in the intensity [italics mine] of a . . . conflict."[84]

Propositions and findings from recent studies on voting behavior, the consequences of status inconsistency, and social conflict suggest that those subjected to cross-pressures resulting from membership in groups with conflicting interests tend to withdraw from participation or exhibit less than a complete commitment to any one group.[85] Robin Williams, Jr., expresses the relationship suggested here in the following manner:

> . . . a major factor in reducing conflict between groupings is the maximizing of cross pressures within individuals through multiple overlapping memberships.[86]

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[84]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 215.

[85]Supra, p. 37.

[86]Robin M. Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door . . . , op. cit., p. 370.

Max Gluckman refers to the same phenomena in an analysis of the effects of cross-pressures resulting from an overlap of community and kinship loyalties upon conflict intensity among the Nuer.[87] In line with these treatments of the problem, the following hypothesis is advanced:

Theoretical Hypothesis II

The greater the extent to which potential conflict categories are superimposed, the higher the degree of intensity exhibited by any single conflict front.

Summary. Social conflict has been defined as a structural state--as a type of relationship between identifiable quasi-groups or social systems. Two hypotheses were proposed to deal with variations in conflict states. Though the model is sufficiently general to suggest applicability to any intergroup conflict situation, its use here is limited to inter-ethnic conflict. An additional problem with which this thesis is concerned is the extent to which certain local or community conditions influence the course of ethnic conflict. For example, the hypothesized connections between institutionalization and militancy may vary according to structural features exhibited by various local communities.

II. THE COMMUNITY AND CONFLICT

One need only cite Hillery's work of a decade ago to illustrate the range of materials which have been subsumed under the notion of

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[87]Max Gluckman, op. cit., pp. 1-26.

community. After reviewing ninety-four definitions, Hillery reaches the conclusion that "beyond the concept that people are involved in community, there is no agreement as to the nature of the community."[88] Apart from the elusiveness of the concept itself, many social scientists today hold that the community, however it may be conceived, is no longer relevant in "the mass society." The development of the megalopolis, regional decision-making agencies, and the increasing centralization in state and federal governments are pointed to as evidence of a decreasing relevance of local institutions. That is, all the important decisions affecting the lives of people are no longer made at the community level.

That the autonomy, independence, and solidarity of local communities are declining, there can be no doubt. This trend was demonstrated in community studies done as long ago as Warner's Yankee City series.[89] More recently, the trend was taken as the very basis of Vidich and Bensman's analysis in Small Town in Mass Society.[90] Stein[91] and Warren[92] attempt

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[88]G. A. Hillery, "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," Rural Sociology, Vol. 20, June 1955, p. 119.

[89]W. Lloyd Warner et al., Yankee City. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, one volume abridged edition, 1963). The field work upon which the series was based was started in 1930. The initial volumes were published between 1941 and 1947.

[90]A. J. Vidich and J. Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society. (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1958).

[91]Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960).

[92]Roland L. Warren, The Community in America. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963).

to deal with the problem at a more abstract level. Yet in spite of this trend, populations do cluster. Population clusters are observable phenomena, ranging from small isolated towns to large metropolitan centers. This is the geographic base of community, the spatial anchoring point. Combined with this are patterns of relationships into which people enter by virtue of their clustering together in some location.

This is not to suggest a geographic or ecological determinism. It is simply noted that population clusters are observable and that they have social and cultural relevancy. People do send their children to school, attend churches, pursue occupations, join associations, visit friends and relatives, strike, riot, live and die within some observable locality. Thus, following Warren:

> Peoples' lives and their behavior are significantly influenced by their propinquity. . . . The intertwining of their lives on a locality basis, even in these days of specialized interests, urban anonymity, and depersonalization, provides an important social reality and an important focus of study.[93]

This is the basis of the conception of community as used in this research. The relevance of community and the delineation of a community "is revealed in the functioning of the institutions which people have created: family, school, church, associations, etc."[94]

Community Variables

Demographic factors and superimposition. Population composition in

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[93] Ibid., p. 9.

[94] Ibid., p. 126, citing John Seeley et al., Crestwood Heights. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), pp. 3-4.

terms of ethnicity, class, and religious affiliations vary from community to community and within any single community over time. Events--such as the introduction of new industries, farm to city, and central city to suburbia population movements which may have no direct bearing on a conflict situation--definitely effect the composition of the parties involved. There are at least two significant ways in which population changes of this type influence ethnic conflicts.

First, there is the simple fact that a change in the ethnic composition of a given community may bring a regional or national conflict into local focus. If a French-speaking community does not possess an English-speaking population, then one would hardly expect French-English conflict to have internal significance. External conflict is a possibility. Such a community may be involved in an attempt to preserve local institutions in the face of a dominant English-speaking population at the provincial or federal level.

Second, and of more direct importance, population changes influence the level of superimposition of conflict fronts at the local level. The degree of superimposition in an ethnic conflict of regional or national scope may differ considerably from one community to another and any given community may exhibit quite a different pattern from the national one. Given the hypothesized effect of the degree of superimposition on the intensity of a conflict, population changes may well introduce new levels of intensity to established conflict situations, reducing or increasing intensity according to the composition of new arrivals.

Using only two categories, ethnicity and religion, data from the

community under study can be used as an illustration. During the four decades between 1920 and 1960, the community was transformed from an almost exclusively French Roman Catholic village to a town composed of French Catholics, English Catholics, and English Protestants.[95] A complete superimposition of ethnicity and religion was prevented by the presence of an English-speaking Catholic group. It is in this manner that population shifts are important modifiers or catalysts of local conflict situations. Superimposition is, of course, the key variable. Population shifts are only noted here as a class of phenomena which must be taken into consideration in a description of local conditions.

Vertical and horizontal patterns. Ethnic conflicts focus on concrete issues at the local level. There is the question, therefore, of where and by whom are decisions effecting such issues made. With the growing participation of regional, provincial, and federal decision-making machinery in local matters, the likelihood of issues relating to education, employment, housing, etc., remaining strictly local is extremely low. Warren introduces the concepts of vertical and horizontal patterns of organization as a means of handling the relationships between community and extra-community systems. A community's vertical pattern is defined as "the structural and functional relations of its various social units and sub-systems to extra-community systems."[96] Horizontal patterns

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[95]See Appendix II.

[96]Roland L. Warren, op. cit., p. 161.

are defined as "the structural and functional relations of [the community's] various social units and sub-systems to each other."[97] It is suggested that the strength of the horizontal system with respect to local issues may condition any relations posited between the variables of conflict.

If local decision-making machinery is not involved in crucial issues, whatever they may be, the interest-articulating activity of conflict agencies and agents will take place beyond the local community. Thus, the vertical system involving persons and associations on a regional basis will contain the actual confrontation, the horizontal system remaining relatively free of direct and extensive involvement. In this way, conflict agents and agencies may never confront each other locally. Agents and agencies located in provincial and federal capitals carry on the conflict, with little requirement for involvement on the part of the citizens of local communities.

Following Warren, rather than dealing with this phenomena in terms of a dichotomy (i.e., horizontal versus vertical systems), the strength of a community's horizontal pattern is posited as the variable.[98] Thus, the stronger the horizontal pattern with respect to decision-making regarding the issues in dispute, the greater is the possibility of an intense conflict at the local level. The following hypothesis expresses this possibility:

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[97] Ibid., p. 162.

[98] Roland L. Warren, op. cit., p. 13.

Theoretical Hypothesis III

The weaker the horizontal pattern with respect to decision-making regarding the issues pertaining to a local conflict situation, the more likely will the intensity of a conflict be depressed at the local level.

Community identification. The final community variable posited as having significance for this research was suggested by Coleman in his monograph on Community Conflict. Pointing out that conflict depends on contact and interaction, he suggests:

> . . . when community members are highly involved with the community per se, identifying their own future with that of the community, that identification carries its own consequences as disagreement proceeds. Particularly, it appears to modify and constrain the disagreement.[99]

The presence of one or more ethnic groups in a community, though providing a major prerequisite for conflict, also tends to establish a set of communal issues exclusive of ethnic interests. Roads must be built, sewers provided, recreational facilities made available, taxes levied, and so on. If members of a given community are strongly identified with these kinds of communal interests, there will be a tendency to avoid issues which might damage this level of cooperation. Hughes, in his study of French-English relations in a Québec community, deals with this problem in a chapter on "communal institutions."[100] Killian deals with the

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[99]James C. Coleman, op. cit., p. 21.

[100]Everett C. Hughes, French Canada in Transition. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), p. 84.

same notion from an opposite point of view, where a Negro sub-community is prevented from identifying with over-all communal interests.[101]

A high degree of identification on the part of the parties concerned with such communal interests would appear to have a more direct effect on the militancy of a conflict than on the intensity. A high level of involvement may remain, but the presence of a strong identity with the community per se would tend to reduce the probability of conflict agencies and agents using coercive action at the local level. The following hypothesis expresses the proposed relationship between communal identification and militancy:

Theoretical Hypothesis IV

The more that members of locally based conflict parties identify with communal interests, the less will be the degree of militancy exhibited by these parties.

The purpose of this discussion on community was to illustrate how structural variations in particular communities may influence a local conflict situation. If advances can be made in this area of inquiry, the results should begin to provide explanations as to why conflicts with national implications vary considerably in their intensity and militancy from community to community.

III. ASSIMILATION AND CONFLICT

The model developed in this chapter is submitted as an alternative

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[101] L. Killian, "Community Structure and the Role of the Negro Leader Agent." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Montréal, August 1964.

to the "race relations cycle" for the analysis of ethnic relations. In this section, the relationship between the variables of conflict and the concept of assimilation will be considered. Park and Burgess include conflict and assimilation with competition and accommodation as basic processes of social interaction.[102] It is from this conceptualization that the notion of the race relations cycle was developed. The statement by Park that this cycle "of contacts, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible"[103] has formed the basic orientation of several studies on race and ethnic relations.[104]

The parallel development of studies based on the notion of "eventual assimilation" and the existence of a prevailing ideological orientation toward the desirability and necessity of assimilation in the United States was perhaps no mere coincidence. Park himself alluded to the desirability of assimilation in his search for "a satisfactory scheme of dealing with the problem of Americanization by education."[105] [italics mine.] A conception of the inevitability of assimilation was

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[102]Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, op. cit., p. 507.

[103]Robert E. Park, Race and Culture. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Paperback edition, 1964), p. 150.

[104]For example, W. Lloyd Warner et al, op. cit.; and Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70, September 1964, pp. 193-205.

[105]Robert E. Park, Race and Culture, op. cit., p. 283.

also in accord with the functionalist's emphasis on consensus as a prerequisite for a viable social system. A low level of assimilation implies the absence of consensus between people or groups in contact and thus the impossibility of creating a functioning system containing both groups (e.g., a nation). Needless to say, this scheme fits in with those who propound the "one nation--one flag, one culture, one language" ideology.

In studies of inter-ethnic relations cast in this framework, questions asked are generally of the type, "How much assimilation has occurred?"; "Why are some individuals more assimilated than others?"; "What detrimental effects does a lack of assimilation have on the society receiving immigrants?"; and "How can the assimilation of immigrants be facilitated?". The perspective all but excludes the possibility of asking such questions as "What prevents assimilation from occurring?"; "With a minimum of assimilation, what kinds of structures enable opposing collectivities to coexist?"; and "In an integrated economic system can minority groups achieve equal participation in that economic structure without losing their identity?".

It is questions of the latter type that direct attention not to consensus, but to conflict; not to assimilation but to separation. The perspective is changed. Assimilation is no longer accepted as inevitable, nor indeed as necessarily desirable. It is perhaps true that in the long run "the story of mankind consists of a succession of contacts of ethnic groups, their conflicts, their accommodations to one another, and their eventual fusion into new ethnic groups."[106] But the "long run"

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[106] T. Shibutani and K. M. Kwan, op. cit., p. 116.

consists of several generations, perhaps centuries, of conflict and accommodation. Cyclical models do not apply in a short run analysis; the outcomes are multiple and the conditions complex.

In all fairness to Park, it should be stated that he was doubtful of the inevitability of assimilation and was certainly well aware of alternate schemes and alternate modes of response to ethnic contact. In an article on "The Race Relations Cycle in Hawaii," Park made this statement:

> . . . it is not possible to predict with any certainty the final outcome . . . race relations will assume one of three configurations. They will take the form of a caste system, as in India; they will terminate in complete assimilation as in China; or the unassimilated race will constitute a permanent racial minority within the limits of a national state, as is the case of the Jews in Europe.[107]

In spite of his many references to the cycle as inevitable, the scope of his work allowed for an interdependence of conflict and assimilation and for the possibility that each process could be influenced by conditions operating outside of the cycle.

Recent evidence on the American ethnic situation supports Park's doubts regarding the race relations cycle. Etzioni,[108] Gans,[109] Glazer and Moynihan,[110] and Gordon,[111] seriously question the race relations

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[107]Robert E. Park, Race and Culture, op. cit., p. 194.

[108]Amitai Etzioni, "The Ghetto--A Re-Evaluation," Social Forces, Vol. 37, March 1959, pp. 225-226.

[109]Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

[110]N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M. I. T. Press, 1963).

[111]Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

cycle as an adequate theoretical orientation. Eisenstadt's[112] analysis of immigrant absorption in Israel could be added to this list. This renewed interest and changing perspective on ethnic relations has itself been conditioned by pressing changes in the society around us. The rapid and seemingly unpredictable developments in American race relations[113] have directed some social scientists to a conflict as opposed to a consensus perspective.[114] The recent proliferation of urban studies, backed by the programmatic concerns of "wars" on poverty, inadequate municipal government, and transportation systems, and so on, have revealed to the surprise of many the presence of functioning national minority groups; the same groups that were doomed to assimilation by the "Chicago School" two generations ago.

Assimilation: Ideology or Social Process

The term "assimilation" has been employed to describe two quite different phenomena. Louis Wirth, for example, in a 1945 article analyses pluralism, assimilation, secession, and militancy as goals or ideological orientations of ethnic minorities.[115] Gordon examines assimilation,

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[112]S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants. (London, England: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954).

[113]See Everett C. Hughes, "Race Relations and The Sociological Imagination," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28, December 1963, pp. 879-891.

[114]L. Killian and C. Grigg, op. cit.

[115]Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups," Talcott Parsons et al., Theories of Society, Vol. I. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 309-315.

anglo-conformity, the melting pot theory, and cultural pluralism as possible ideological orientations of either subordinate or superordinate ethnic groups.[116] Others, of course, have used the same concept to refer to a process of cultural and structural fusion which takes place when ethnic groups come into contact.

Assimilation, then, may be employed to refer to ideological positions or to changes in cultural and social structures. The distinction is mentioned because in this thesis, assimilation is employed in both senses, referring to the goals of the parties under study and to the process of fusion going on between them.

Assimilation: Unidimensional or Multidimensional

There has been a tendency to treat the process of assimilation in terms of single indices. Assimilation is frequently measured or operationally defined in terms of language, religious practices, identification, participation in "host" institutions, etc. These indices, singly or in combination, are generalized to the "degree of assimilation" exhibited by a given ethnic or racial group and yet these indices, in various combinations, suggest possible variables operating with some degree of independence, rather than the total process itself.

For example, it would appear as though the degree to which members of ethnic minorities participate in the institutional structure of the "host" society varies independently from the degree to which they assume

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[116]Milton M. Gordon, op. cit.

the value system of the "host" society. This distinction is made by Gordon,[117] Eisenstadt,[118] and others.[119] Gordon distinguishes between "cultural or behavioral assimilation" and "structural assimilation." The former refers to the extent to which members of one ethnic group take on the beliefs, values, and general cultural patterns of another; the latter refers to the extent to which the members of one group participate in the "cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society."[120] Eisenstadt makes a similar distinction between "acculturation" which refers to "the extent to which the immigrant learns the various roles, norms, and customs of the absorbing society" and "institutional dispersion" referring to "the migrant group as such, and its place in the social structure of the absorbing society."[121]

These distinctions parallel the traditional distinction between the anthropologist's concept of acculturation and the sociologist's concept of assimilation, although in empirical studies the two frequently

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[117] Ibid.

[118] S. N. Eisenstadt, op. cit.

[119] Peter A. Munch, "Social Adjustment Among Wisconsin Norwegians," American Sociological Review, Vol. 14, 1949, pp. 780-787; Erich Rosenthal, "Acculturation without Assimilation," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 66, November 1960, pp. 275-288; Michel Brunet, La présence anglaise et les Canadiens. (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1964). Frank G. Vallee et al, "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 23, 1957, pp. 540-549.

[120] Milton M. Gordon, op. cit., p. 71.

[121] S. N. Eisenstadt, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

overlap. Many more distinctions may be made. Gordon adds no less than five variables to the two mentioned above.[122] The discussion suggests three general categories under which the many variables of assimilation may be grouped. First, there is the cultural dimension or acculturation. Second, there is the social dimension which would include Eisenstadt's "institutional dispersion" and Gordon's "structural assimilation." Third, there is a psychological dimension involving the process of identification.

The Variables of Assimilation

There is little value in making these distinctions unless it can be demonstrated that each varies independently of the others according to certain specified conditions. The literature suggests this possibility. McKee suggests that "power may be more significant than assimilation in changing the distribution of life chances in the industrial community."[123] The implication here is that though acculturation may have occurred, the exercise of power in the pursuit of position and resources (these being defined in terms of wages and status in a case where ethnicity and class coincide) mitigates structural assimilation, but has little influence on acculturation.

A similar conclusion is suggested in van den Berghe's work on South Africa. He points to "the gradual westernization of all non-European

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[122]Milton M. Gordon, op. cit.

[123]James B. McKee, "Status and Power in the Industrial Community: A Comment on Drucker's Thesis," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57, January 1953, p. 369.

groups [in an] extremely complex process of culture contact [involving] . . . a number of cultures originating on three different continents."[124] Without doubt, the degree of acculturation in South Africa is much less than that exhibited by American ethnic groups. However, the point of van den Berghe's study is that in spite of a general cultural convergence, deep structural gulfs exist between the four main racial groups. Moreover, this structural separation is due to the exercise of power on the part of the dominant Europeans.

Williams also accepts the proposition that social assimilation varies independently of acculturation.[125] Shibutani and Kwan distinguish between acculturation and social or structural assimilation, although they give more attention to the former. Their basic proposition is that, "any condition that makes possible the establishment of communication channels across the color line facilitates acculturation."[126]

The above mentioned studies deal with the differentiation of acculturation and structural assimilation and their relative independence. There still remains the psychological dimension of the process. This aspect includes at least the problem of individual adjustment to the ethnic contact situation,[127] and the problem of identification with one

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[124]Pierre L. van den Berghe, South Africa, op. cit., p. 52.

[125]Robin M. Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door, op. cit., p. 365.

[126]T. Shibutani and K. M. Kwan, op. cit., p. 476.

[127]S. N. Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 12.

or another of the groups in contact.[128] Problems of individual adjustment have little place in the framework adopted for the proposed research. The effects of ethnic conflict, discrimination, and prejudice on the individual psyche are well documented.[129]

Identification is perhaps more dependent on variations in acculturation and structural assimilation than on variations outside the total process. At one extreme, a complete lack of acculturation and structural assimilation implies a high level of individual identification with the minority group on the part of its members. At the other extreme, identification with a minority would be an impossibility if such a minority were completely absorbed along the remaining two dimensions. Gordon, in his treatment of the interrelations among the various dimensions of assimilation, implies that identification is tied to structural assimilation rather than to acculturation.[130]

Some level of identification with the in-group can remain only as long as an identifiable group remains intact. Kardiner and Ovesey are quite adamant in distinguishing between acculturation and structural assimilation with respect to the American Negro and locating problems of identification in the social matrix.[131] Using Gordon's terminology,

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[128]Milton M. Gordon, op. cit., p. 71.

[129]See, for example, A. Kardiner and L. Ovesey, The Mark of Oppression. (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1951); and G. Seward, Clinical Studies in Culture Conflict, and Psychotherapy and Culture Conflict. (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958).

[130]Milton M. Gordon, op. cit., p. 80.

[131]A. Kardiner and L. Ovesey, op. cit., p. 317.

"identificational assimilation" is dependent on the level of structural assimilation, the latter being conditioned by variations outside the total process of assimilation.

To summarize, cultural assimilation or acculturation may occur without any significant changes in structural assimilation. That is, in spite of a certain level of cultural assimilation, an ethnic or racial collectivity may remain intact vis-à-vis another such collectivity. On the other hand, complete structural assimilation implies complete cultural assimilation. Cultural assimilation is conditioned by contact and communication between the collectivities in question. Structural assimilation is more dependent on the distribution of position and power among the collectivities in question. Thus, "structural assimilation, . . . rather than acculturation, is . . . the keystone of the arch of assimilation."[132] In this thesis, the variables of conflict direct attention toward the structural dimension of assimilation.

Ethnic group defined. Before proceeding with a discussion of structural assimilation and conflict, a clarification of the key concepts will be helpful. An ethnic group is taken to be a type of quasi-group, (this more inclusive category having been previously defined), objectively distinguishable on the basis of common national origins. Ethnic groups may or may not be "minorities." The term "minority" implies the presence of a power differential; numerical differences in membership are

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[132]Milton M. Gordon, op. cit., p. 81. See also S. N. Eisenstadt, op. cit., p. 15.

irrelevant. A minority is a subordinate group in relation to some majority or superordinate group. It is in this sense that ethnic groups are conflict groups.[133] Thus, if two or more ethnic groups (i.e., parties) are interacting (i.e., interaction between parties) in a subordinate-superordinate relationship (i.e., position and resource scarcity), then according to empirical conditions previously specified, a state of conflict exists among them.

Assimilation defined. Assimilation is an interactional process involving two or more ethnic groups in which the social, cultural, and psychological dimensions of each group are in the process of being fused, such that if the process is completed, the groups are no longer identifiable as ethnic groups in relation to each other. Structural assimilation, the social dimension of the total process, refers to the fusing of primary and secondary social relationships and institutional structures, such that if the process is completed, separate identities cease to exist within the social structure of the groups involved. Cultural assimilation refers to a fusing of values, perspectives, life styles, etc., such that if the process is completed, such elements cease to be differentiated along ethnic lines. Identificational assimilation, an aspect of the psychological dimension of the total process, refers to the development of a single identity, such that if the process is completed, the original ethnic identification no longer has a saliency in the self-

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[133]R. A. Schermerhorn, These Our People. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1949), p. 9.

concepts of the individuals involved.

Assimilation and Conflict

The process of boundary maintenance is a primary source of social conflict. Structural assimilation is the reverse of boundary maintenance. If one ethnic group exhibits a high level of boundary maintenance with respect to another, it follows that it also exhibits a low level of structural assimilation with respect to the other group. This is not a propositional statement; it is merely the substitution of one term for another, both of which have identical empirical referents. Structural boundaries are structural boundaries whether one is referring to an ethnic group under the rubric of assimilation or to another type of group under the more general concept of boundary maintenance.

What are the empirical referents of structural assimilation? The works of Eisenstadt,[134] Gordon,[135] and Breton,[136] suggest three major areas of empirical phenomena into which one should inquire. The degree of structural assimilation (or from the opposite point of view, structural separation) may be determined first by observing the extent of ethnic closure in major institutions. In the community under study, the fact that the three groups--French Catholic, English Catholic, and English Protestant--operate three distinct school systems would be an instance of

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[134]S. N. Eisenstadt, op. cit.

[135]Milton M. Gordon, op. cit.

[136]Raymond Breton, op. cit.

ethnic closure in major institutions.

The two remaining areas of inquiry are the extent to which the associational life of a community divides along ethnic lines and the extent to which primary relationships in cliques and friendship groups are ethnically enclosed. These are the same empirical phenomena that would be investigated should one have wished to determine the level of boundary maintenance exhibited by particular ethnic groups. Indeed, if the empirical conditions for conflict are met in a case involving ethnic groups, a certain level of structural separation will be present. If parties are identifiable, there would be, by definition, some degree of separation. Complete structural assimilation cannot be realized in a situation where a state of conflict exists between ethnic groups. The question posed here is: To what extent do the variables of conflict retard, reverse, or accelerate assimilation?

The intensity of a conflict situation would seem to be related to structural assimilation. As the intensity of an ethnic conflict increases, there will be, by definition, a tendency for the groups involved to move toward a greater structural separation as the number of conflict agencies, involvement in these agencies, and interest-articulating activity increases. This does not imply that all points of contact where structural assimilation has previously occurred will immediately disintegrate. It refers merely to an increasing involvement on the part of ethnic group members in ethnic conflict agencies. However, if this tendency continues for any length of time, the effect will be an ever-increasing structural separation. Raymond Breton demonstrated that,

> the presence of formal organizations [i.e., conflict agencies] in the ethnic community sets out forces that have the effect of keeping the social relations of the immigrants within its boundaries . . . a formal structure . . . has the effect of reinforcing the cohesiveness of already existing networks and expanding these networks.[137]

It is in this sense that intensity in an ethnic conflict situation retards or reverses the process of structural assimilation.

Similarly, it can be shown that the greater the extent to which ethnicity is superimposed on other potential conflict categories, the lower the level of structural assimilation. For example, if the membership in ethnic conflict agencies coincides with membership in a labor union, in a particular political party, and in a particular religious denomination, the parties would exhibit a very low level of structural assimilation.

The relationships between intensity, superimposition, and structural assimilation are true by definition insofar as the indicators of each of the conflict variables overlap with the indicators of structural assimilation. In order to determine the level of intensity in a conflict situation, one notes the extent to which persons are involved in ethnically enclosed conflict agencies. In order to determine the level of superimposition in an ethnic conflict, one would investigate the extent to which ethnicity coincides with class, religious and political affiliations. In both cases, these same indicators would be employed in an attempt to determine the level of structural assimilation.

The process of institutionalization has a paradoxical effect on

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[137] Ibid., p. 202.

the assimilation of ethnic groups. Institutionalization, by regulating and providing for a continuation of a conflict relationship, maintains at least a minimum level of structural separation and would, thus, seem to prevent completion of the assimilation process. On the other hand, institutionalization by creating and maintaining channels of communication between the parties facilitates cultural assimilation. Thus, while retarding one dimension of the total assimilation process, institutionalization accelerates another. It is doubtful, however, that an increase in the institutionalization of ethnic conflict would result in further separation of the parties. It does not follow that increasing recognition of the parties and their interests, once the initial framework has been created, results in an expansion of conflict agents; nor does a decrease in institutionalization necessarily result in an increase in structural assimilation. A complete lack of institutionalization may imply a violent and militant conflict with little routinized procedures. Such a breakdown would lead to further separation rather than assimilation.

It is in this manner that the variables of conflict are viewed as influencing the course of assimilation and, consequently, it becomes difficult to accept Park's notion of an irreversible, cyclical process involving conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. The level of assimilation may be retarded or reversed according to variations in the conflict variables. No hypotheses are advanced here. Ethnic relations and the process of assimilation are assumed to be special cases of social conflict. Confirmation of the conflict hypotheses will lend support to

this position.

IV. SUMMARY

In this chapter, a model was advanced for the purpose of analyzing inter-ethnic relations as a type of social conflict. Social conflict was defined as a structural state. A set of hypotheses were constructed relating the variables of a conflict situation. It is the interaction of these variables that provides the dynamic of conflict states. The model is based on the related assumptions that (1) social conflict is a result of the interplay of power and position, and of boundary maintenance activities; and (2) that all interacting human populations exhibit social conflict. Two additional sets of hypotheses were constructed relating aspects of community social structure to the conflict variables.

As a convenient means of summarizing the model, the four hypotheses are listed below.

Theoretical Hypothesis I

The institutionalization of the relations between conflicting parties reduces the level of militancy exhibited by both parties.

Theoretical Hypothesis II

The greater the extent to which potential conflict categories are superimposed, the higher the degree of intensity exhibited by any single conflict front.

Theoretical Hypothesis III

The weaker the horizontal pattern with respect to decision-making

regarding the issues pertaining to a local conflict situation, the more likely will the intensity of a conflict be depressed at the local level.

Theoretical Hypothesis IV

The more that members of locally based conflict parties identify with communal interests, the less will be the degree of militancy exhibited by these parties.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A design is the total process whereby observed phenomena are related to the research problem. It involves three distinct procedures. There is that part which deals with the development of a series of testable hypotheses, and a set of indicators related to the terms used in these hypotheses. The results of this operation determine the universe of phenomena to be observed. There are the various methods of data collection employed. Finally, there is the manner in which the resulting materials are analysed. The development of the testable hypotheses and indicators will be treated in the first section. Data collection methods will be described in the second section. Methods of analysis are discussed where appropriate in each section.

I. THE TESTABLE HYPOTHESES

As stated in the previous chapter, the proposed hypotheses were not developed from the literature alone, but resulted from an interplay between conclusions drawn from field observations and the literature. The research did not begin with a set of fully developed hypotheses. The total process which was comprised of three phases was designed first to arrive at a set of hypotheses and then to submit these to a test. The emphasis in this section of the chapter is on the latter process.

The method adopted was to proceed from the general to a set of testable hypotheses by breaking down the terms of the former into their

component parts at a lower level of abstraction. For example, regarding the term militancy in Hypothesis I, the question was: "At a more concrete level just what observable activities comprise the notion of militancy?" The testable hypotheses were stated in terms of these more concrete components.[1] Given these components, the next step was to delineate as precisely as possible related empirical phenomena. This required the development of a set of indicators for each term.[2] Thus, the entire procedure consisted of two steps of substitution, each at a lower level of abstraction.

Hypothesis I: Institutionalization and Militancy

> The institutionalization of the relations between conflicting parties reduces the level of militancy exhibited by both parties.

A highly institutionalized conflict system implies (1) that the parties to the conflict recognize each other qua parties; (2) the presence of established and sanctioned channels of communication through which the claims of each party are articulated; and (3) a mutual recognition of each other's claims as negotiable. The relationship between these three components corresponds to the basic communications model.

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[1] See H. L. Zetterberg, op. cit., pp. 79-86.

[2] See Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labour in Society. Translated by George Simpson. (Free Press Paperback Edition; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 64. Also Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems in Methodology," Sociology Today. R. K. Merton et al., (editors.) (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 47-48.

Either party may assume, at a given time, the role of initiator or recipient.[3] Party "A" as an initiator directs a claim or demand, a message, to Party "B" the recipient. The channel through which this message is directed is the vehicle or means of communication. Party "B's" reaction may be viewed as the effect.

It is assumed that if the parties recognize each other, it follows that there will be established and sanctioned communication channels. Conversely, non-recognition would imply the absence of communication channels. The presence of conflict agents who are readily identifiable implies both mutual recognition and the presence of communication channels and is, therefore, used as an indicator of the latter. The recipient of a claim or message may either accept or reject the claim as negotiable. To reject such a claim does not imply non-recognition of the initiator, but it does suggest a temporary reduction in the level of institutionalization. The presence of implicit or explicit agreements will be used as an indicator of claims recognized. Given a point in time, observed cancellation of such agreements by one party or refusal to negotiate a claim will be used as an indicator of non-recognition of claims.

Militancy, the dependent variable, refers to the type of acts directed toward an opponent. It is the type of strategy employed in the pursuit of party interests. At a lower level of abstraction, coercive or intimidating and violent acts imply a militant strategy. An observed use of force to injure or harm an opponent will be taken as an indicator of

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[3] In a subordinate-superordinate relationship, the minority party usually acts as the initiator.

violence. The use of petitions, demonstrations, and non-compliance are taken as indicators of coercive acts.

The meaning of petition is taken in a narrow sense as a written request for a specific action directed toward the opponent and endorsed by a number of party members. Demonstrations refer to displays of support and strength through organized or spontaneous public marches or processions. Non-compliance refers to the refusal on the part of one party to adhere to regulations perceived as being imposed by the other. This does not include regulations brought about by negotiations.

Based on this design, the following are proposed as testable hypotheses.

Hypothesis I.1: The recognition, on the part of each party, of the legitimacy of each other's demands tends to reduce the use of coercive or intimidating measures by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests.

Hypothesis I.2: The presence of established and sanctioned communication channels through which participating parties may articulate their interests tends to reduce the use of coercive or intimidating measures by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests.

Hypothesis I.3: The recognition, on the part of each party, of the legitimacy of each other's demands tends to reduce the use of violence by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests.

Hypothesis I.4: The presence of established and sanctioned communication channels through which participating parties may articulate their interests tends to reduce the use of violence by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests.

Hypothesis II: Superimposition and Intensity

The greater the extent to which potential conflict categories are superimposed, the higher the degree of intensity exhibited by any single conflict front.

Superimposition was defined as the coincidence of social categories significant to a particular conflict system. Religion, ethnicity, and social class have been delineated as categories having a relevance to the conflict system under study. This requires a method for establishing membership in the three categories and assessing the extent of membership overlap.

Three ethnic-religious groupings, French Catholics, English Catholics, and English Protestants are identified as the parties to the conflict system under study. Membership in these parties at the local level was established in two ways. Sample units ("households") were first classified as either Catholic or Protestant according to the voter's list from which the sample was drawn. A panel of judges consisting of the mayor, the town clerk, and the parish priest then assigned members of the Catholic group to either the French-speaking or English-speaking subcommunity. This process is discussed in detail below.

Annual family income and occupational status were used as the indicators of social class. Using the data from question 46 in the questionnaire, respondents were divided into three income groups.[4] The contingency coefficient (C) was used as an indicator of the extent of overlap or superimposition with respect to the three categories.[5]

The same operation was performed using three occupational status groupings, ethnicity, and religious affiliation. The occupations of the respondents to the questionnaire[6] were classified according to a scale developed in Canada in 1951 by Bernard Blishen and revised in 1961 by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.[7] The scores, based on an index which combines educational and income levels, are grouped into seven occupational status classes. Classes six and seven include professional and managerial occupations; classes three to five include "white collar" and skilled occupations; and classes one and two include semi- and unskilled occupations. For analytical purposes, classes six and seven were taken as representing "high" occupational status, classes three to five "medium" occupational status, and classes one and two "low" occupational status.

A second but related type of superimposition was introduced later

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[4] Infra, pp. 97-99 for description of questionnaire and see Appendix III, question 46, p. 456.

[5] See Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for The Behavioral Sciences. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1956), pp. 196-202.

[6] See Appendix III, question 16, p. 443.

[7] Bernard R. Blishen, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale." K. D. Naegele et al., (editors) Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 477-485.

in the research. Given the three identifiable parties, each exhibiting a certain amount of closure around primary and secondary relations, it was observed that a certain proportion of the members of any one party belong to associations identified with the other party. This was especially so regarding French participation in English associations. Coleman in his consideration of community conflict refers to this phenomena as the "cross-pressures" placed upon individuals as a result of the multitude of ties pulling a person in one or the other direction in a conflict situation.[8] The data collected on association memberships from question 34 and 35 in the questionnaire will be used as an indicator of this type of superimposition which, in turn, will be used to assess the extent of over-all superimposition.[9]

The dependent variable in this hypothesis is intensity--the magnitude of party involvement. The emergence of conflict agencies, the extent to which agencies pursue the interests of their respective parties, and the viability of the agencies themselves are the components of intensity. The observed appearance of new agencies, and the quantity of agency activity with respect to interest aggregation and articulation are the indicators of the first two components. The size of agency memberships and the level of participation (i.e., attendance) are the indicators of viability.

The following testable hypotheses are advanced within this framework:

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[8]James C. Coleman, op. cit., pp. 18 and 22.

[9]See Appendix III, questions 34 and 35, p. 449.

Hypothesis II.1: Given an ethnic conflict, the greater the coincidence of ethnic, religious, and class affiliations, the higher the level of activity directed toward the pursuit of party interests on the part of ethnic conflict agencies.

Hypothesis II.2: Given an ethnic conflict, the greater the coincidence of ethnic, religious, and class affiliations, the more viable will be the participating ethnic conflict agencies.

Hypothesis III: Vertical-Horizontal Patterns of Organization and Intensity

The weaker the horizontal pattern with respect to decision-making regarding the issues pertaining to a local conflict situation, the more likely will the intensity of a conflict be depressed at the local level.

Vertical and horizontal patterns of organization refer to the structural and functional relations of local social units and systems to extra-local units and systems, and to each other. One of the components of this concept is the strength of one or the other pattern with respect to decision-making on particular issues. Decisions regarding some local issues must be deferred to extra-local systems; others may be brought to a conclusion without involving extra-local systems. For example, during the course of this research, the power to make decisions regarding the distribution of certain welfare funds was removed from the local town council, a unit of the horizontal system, to the county council, a unit

of the vertical system.[10]

Here, the interest is in the strength of the horizontal pattern. Given a particular conflict system, the decision-making structure with respect to the relevant issues may be located either in the horizontal pattern (i.e., locally) or in the vertical pattern (i.e., extra-locally). In the former case, the horizontal pattern would dominate, in the latter the vertical pattern. However, these are extreme positions. It is assumed that, in a given conflict situation, the strength of the horizontal pattern varies from community to community with more decision-making power deferred to extra-local systems in one than in another.

Empirically, there is the problem of measuring the strength of the horizontal pattern. An estimate will be arrived at by delineating the relevant issues at the local level and observing the location of decision-making power with respect to these issues. Based on this method, the following testable hypotheses are advanced using the previously discussed indicators for intensity.

Hypothesis III.1: If issues identified as relevant to the local conflict system require decisions beyond the local level, the level of activity directed toward the pursuit of party interests on the part of local conflict agencies will tend to be lower than if such such issues require decisions at the local level.

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[10]Observations 009 and 010, December 13, 1965 and January 17, 1966.

Hypothesis III.2: If issues identified as relevant to the local conflict system require decisions beyond the local level, local conflict agencies will tend to be less viable than if such issues require decisions at the local level.

Hypothesis IV: Community Identification and Militancy

The more that members of locally based conflict parties identify with communal interests, the less will be the degree of militancy exhibited by these parties.

According to Warren, community identity involves "the extent of psychological identification with a common locality."[11] That is: "To what extent is a locality viewed by its residents as a significant reference group?" Given a community consisting of ethnic-religious factions, it would appear that the extent to which the residents identify with communal as opposed to factional interests is a component of the broader concept of community identification. It is this component that will be dealt with in the proposed testable hypotheses.

Two indicators are used. One involves an examination of the voting patterns according to ethnicity on a particular communal issue. In 1959, the citizens of Normanville were required to vote on the question of annexation to Metro Center. The extent to which voting followed ethnic lines will be taken as an indicator of a lack of identity with communal

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[11]Roland L. Warren, op. cit., p. 13.

issues. The second indicator makes use of question 45 in the questionnaire.[12] Respondents were asked to rank a set of three communal issues and three ethnic-religious issues in order of importance to them. These issues were identified as significant from observation notes.

A ratio of the sum of the ranks assigned to the three ethnic-religious issues to the total number of respondents was compared with a ratio of the ranks assigned to the three communal issues to the total number of respondents. The set of issues receiving the lower quotient was taken as more important and as therefore implying a stronger identity than the ratio with the higher quotient.

Using the indicators of militancy as discussed above, the following testable hypotheses are advanced.

Hypothesis IV.1: If the members of parties involved in a local ethnic conflict identify more with communal than with ethnic interests, there will be less of a tendency to use coercive and intimidating measures by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests.

Hypothesis IV.2: If the members of parties involved in a local ethnic conflict identify more with communal than with ethnic interests, there will be less of a tendency to use violence by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests.

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[12] See Appendix III, question 45, p. 455.

The Empirical Conditions for Conflict

Prior to submitting the above hypotheses to a test, it was necessary to determine if a state of conflict existed in the study community. In the previous chapter, the empirical conditions for such a state were defined.[13] Here, the methods used to identify the three parties will be described. The methods used in identifying the other conditions are the subject matter of Chapter VII.

The three parties, French Catholics, English Catholics, and English Protestants, were quite apparent in the history of French-English relations in the Province of Ontario.[14] Observations pointed to their possible existence at the local level. The first step was to select a sample from the community and classify the units according to membership in one of the three categories. The second step, using a number of indicators, was to determine if these categories meet the criteria required for parties.

In order to arrive at the initial classification, the sample units were first classified as Catholic or non-Catholic (Protestant) using information provided on the municipal assessment roll. The problem was to separate French and English Catholics. Objective criteria alone proved unsatisfactory. Whether one speaks French or English, one's ethnic origin, or one's surname, do not adequately classify people according to membership in the assumed French or English sub-communities. Another method

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[13] Supra, pp. 24-30.

[14] Infra, especially pp. 141-163.

had to be found to combine with the above criteria.

The method employed was to select a panel of three judges, members of the Catholic sub-community who were active in community affairs and who would be most likely to recognize persons as belonging to one or the other group. The mayor, who had lived in Normanville for some forty years, the town clerk who had been active in town administration since the thirties, and the curé were selected as judges. These three were requested to divide the Catholic portion of the sample into four groups: an English-speaking sub-community, a French-speaking sub-community, a grouping where husband and wife were split between the two, and a grouping of those whom they did not know well enough to classify. The exact instructions and the criteria for classification appear in Appendix IV.

The sample consisted of 250 units (households), 188 Roman Catholics and 62 non-Catholics.[15] The judging operation resulted in seventy-nine French Catholics, three "split households" where the husband was classified as French Catholic, fifty English Catholics, fifteen "split households" where the husband was classified as English Catholic, and forty-one unclassifiable. The classification was based on a majority decision if there was a lack of complete agreement among the three judges. The unclassified group consisted of unknown persons, most of these being new arrivals in the town, and some where there was complete disagreement among the judges.

Of the unclassified group, twenty-one were reclassified using the

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[15]The sample is explained below in detail.

curé's judgement as carrying more weight because of his contacts with newer parishioners, contacts which the other two would not have to as great an extent. The final classification, prior to administering the questionnaire, was as follows: eighty-three French Catholics, six French Catholic "split households," fifty-seven English Catholics, twenty-two English Catholic "split households," sixty-two English Protestants, and twenty unclassifiable.

The classification used in the analysis required some adjustments. Of the 250 units, twenty were used in a pre-test and six were eliminated because they had been interviewed on several occasions by this student. This left a total of 224 units. Of these, allowing for refusals, rejects, and persons who had died, moved out of town, or were unavailable, 167 units were used in the analysis. The final party classification consisted of seventy-nine French Catholics, fifty-two English Catholics, and thirty-six English Protestants.

The adjustments made to arrive at this final classification were as follows:

1. The "unclassified" group were classified according to their responses to questions 26 and 27 dealing with language spoken and "mother tongue" respectively.[16]

2. Twenty-eight units exhibiting considerable discrepancy between the judging results and the responses to questions 26 and 27 were also reclassified.

3. The French and English Catholic "split households" were grouped with their respective parties according to the original classification of the head of the household.

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[16]See Appendix III, questions 26 and 27, pp. 445-46.

In order to determine if these categories met the requirements set out for parties, the extent of institutional separation, of interpersonal interaction among the members of the categories, and of the subjective awareness of membership were examined. This process is explained in detail in Chapter VII.[17] The method used in analysing the remaining conditions for conflict are also dealt with in Chapter VII.[18]

II. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The methods used for this research may be divided into four general categories: observation, interviewing, analysis of documents, and a structured questionnaire administered to a random sample. Each of these will be described separately. However, an overview of the total process will provide a useful perspective. As mentioned above, the research proceeded in three stages. Observation and unstructured interviewing were the principal methods employed in stages one and two; more structured interviewing and the questionnaire were used in stage three.

During the spring and fall of 1964, several trips were made to the research site in order to (1) assess the community's suitability as a research site; (2) explore the structure of the community, locating ethnic sub-systems; and (3) "sample" different aspects of the structure of the ethnic sub-systems to gain an initial insight into the totality. Unstructured interviewing of respondents judged as knowledgeable in the

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[17] Infra, pp. 238-253.

[18] Infra, pp. 253-297.

phenomena under study was the method used during this stage. Fifteen persons were interviewed with twenty-five interviews being completed.

The second stage began in May 1965 with the investigator taking up residence in the selected community. The period of residence was concluded in July 1966. Stage two, lasting until January 1966, was the period during which extensive observation and unstructured interviewing took place. This work resulted in the hypotheses set out above. The third stage involved a series of structured interviews and the administration of the questionnaire.

Observation

The advantages and disadvantages of observation are well documented.[19] The principal danger would appear to lie in the difficulty in maintaining sufficient controls and checks on the data to insure reliability and validity, and in the problems involved in describing the actual procedures employed. The latter difficulty can result from neglecting to record procedures as the field work is in process. Indeed, the cognizance of procedures adopted by the observer is one check on the reliability of the data.

Throughout the total process, there are four questions which an observer must keep in mind. What role or roles are assumed in the field?

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[19]Arron V. Cicourel, Method and Measurement in Sociology. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 39-73; Claire Selltiz et al., Research Methods in Social Relations. (Revised. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1959), pp. 199-235; Bernard S. Phillips, Social Research: Strategy and Tactics. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966), pp. 135-143.

What should be observed? What procedures should be used to accurately record the observations? What procedures are used to maintain checks on the data?[20] These four questions are used here as a convenient means of describing the total process.

The role of the observer. At the risk of violating a norm of dissertation writing, I will use the first person singular in this section in lieu of the recommended third person. The problem of entry was not too great in this case, although it might have been were it not for the peculiar role combination carried into the field. In an investigation of intergroup relations, one's own membership in the particular categories involved can influence respondents' reactions.

In all first contacts, I introduced myself as a graduate student from Michigan State University studying French-English relations in the local school system. This had certain advantages in that it appeared to elicit a desire-to-help-a-student attitude, an advantage that a non-student investigator would not possess. Also, the student role is frequently perceived as divorced from vested interests and, therefore, as carrying an aura of objectivity. I never volunteered my own ethnic or religious affiliations. It was, nevertheless, obvious to French-speakers that I was a native English-speaker. In an area where ethnicity is important in day-to-day contacts, I was often asked such questions as: "Are you an American?" "Are you English?" "Are you Catholic or

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[20]Claire Selltiz et al., op. cit., p. 205.

Protestant?" etc.[21] The fact that I was a Canadian student, English but nevertheless originating from Montréal, had just returned from a period of residence in the United States and was associated with an American university, and had an ability to speak French,[22] seemed to prevent a definite classification by respondents. This gave me a fair degree of acceptance in all three ethnic-religious groupings.

There were entry problems associated with the English Protestant sub-community. I was, from time to time, reminded that "there are no problems here," the comment being accompanied with an attitude of disapproval. Two members of the English Catholic community maintained a certain suspicion about my motives throughout the field work period. On one occasion, at a public meeting, one of these persons showed considerable anxiety over my noting of a statement he had made. After the meeting, he asked me not to "publish" his statement. Occasionally, initial contacts with members of the French Catholic sub-community would begin with a test of my willingness (more than my ability) to speak French.[23]

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[21]See for example, Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959), p. 1.

[22]An English-speaker speaking French in Canada implies more than simply that the person possesses a skill in another language. It is perceived by French-speakers as implying a whole set of attitudes toward French Canada.

[23]An excerpt from my field notes illustrates this type of meeting quite well. Observation 027, September 14, 1965.

> ". . . introduced me in English, he mentioned Michigan State University . . . 's first comment, in a very antagonistic tone, was to ask: 'Are you American?'

The use of French was important from two points of view. It provided a significant means of acceptance, and of equal if not more importance, it provided entry into conversations not generally open to English-speakers. I would not classify myself as bilingual, but my knowledge of the language was sufficient to enable me to participate in casual conversation and to conduct interviews.

Apart from the problem of entry, there were various roles assigned and assumed during the course of the research. Raymond Gold identifies four types of field work roles: the complete participant, the participant-as-observer, the observer-as-participant, and the complete observer.[24] I found myself taking all four roles to one extent or another, not simultaneously, but at different times and in different situations.

The complete participant role implies a high level of interaction with respondents in some day to day situation (e.g., the work setting,

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I replied, with equal antagonism, 'No, I am a Montrealer.'

He thought he had me then. 'Eh bien, si vous êtes un Montréalais, vous parlerez français, n'est-ce-pas?'

'C'est vrai, je parle français.'

He turned to his brother, giving a knowing chuckle; the coolness disappeared. I had passed the first test. He then proceeded to talk about the A. P. I. in French. After a few sentences, he asked me (in English) if I would prefer that he speak in English. Test number two. I answered, 'Non, parlez en français, je vous comprends.'

Again he smiled, glanced at his brother, and away we went."

[24]Raymond L. Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observations," Social Forces, Vol. 36, March 1958, pp. 219-221, cited by Arron V. Cicourel, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

a play setting, an organizational setting, etc.) where neither the identity nor the purpose of the observer is known to the observed. This role was never totally adopted. There were many settings, however, in restaurants, taverns, and occasionally at public meetings and events, where I did interact with those present without informing them of my identity or purpose.[25] In this sense was the complete participant role assumed, but the level of interaction was low and the situations were terminal. Data gathered in these sessions were used to provide a feeling for the total community. A good deal of my initial impressions on cross-ethnic interaction and linguistic behavior resulted from this type of observation.

The participant-as-observer role was frequently adopted. Here, the stress is on participation, but the respondents are aware of the observer and his purpose. I found myself playing this role with increasing frequency as the field work progressed and I was becoming more widely known. At house parties, dances, and at various informal gatherings with respondents, I was most certainly a participant though my role as student-observer was known and accepted. The use of this role provided more systematically recorded information on cross-ethnic interaction, linguistic behavior, and attitudes and values with respect to French-English relations.

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[25]In these settings, if I was asked to identify myself and my purpose, I did so. Although I was more likely to state that I was a teacher spending some time on getting to know about life in Ontario towns, than give the usual and more accurate self-description. This was taken by respondents without any additional comments. I had found that the student explanation in these settings turned the focus on me with a barrage of questions regarding age, source of money, etc.

A similar role, but with the emphasis reversed--the observer-as-participant role--"calls for a relatively more formal observation than either informal observation or participation of any kind."[26] This role was assumed in many of the associational meetings attended where I was recognized and accepted as an observer, but participation was neither expected nor desired. Also included here would be the many unstructured and structured interviews arranged by appointment. In both these settings, my orientation was fixed and formal; I was looking for specific information.

The complete observer role was utilized only once, but the data gained was of the utmost importance. In this role, respondents are observed, but they are unaware of the observer; he need not be present. The only point at which this role entered the scheme was in the administration of the questionnaire to the sample.

Two observations of some significance should be made in conclusion. First, no one role or attitude toward the respondents was adopted throughout the field work period. Different types were assumed for different purposes. Indeed, it would appear to be both impossible and hazardous to attempt to assume a single role in a complete and lengthy field experience. The danger, should such be attempted, lies in the loss of a crucial checking device. In this case, each role served as a reliability check on data gathered through each of the other roles.

Secondly, apart from these more technical role types, a lengthy

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[26]Raymond L. Gold, op. cit., p. 221.

exposure in the field involves the observer as a person with, for better or for worse, all his idiosyncracies. In analysing my experience, I found William Whyte's comments in this regard to be quite accurate.[27] People tend to accept or reject the observer on the basis of the personal relationship established regardless of his purpose or his explanation. My exact purpose was unimportant to many people with whom I came into contact. Some provided their own explanation: "I hear you're writing a book about us." "Maybe we'll get on TV along with Peyton Place." "You're doing a history of the town, eh? Well, one of my relatives. . . ." My over-all role then was, simply, myself and this was especially the case with four respondents who became fairly good friends and, in field work terminology, primary informants.

Observational categories and recording. The question regarding what should be observed and the method of recording are so closely related that they are best treated together. This is not to suggest that the method of recording determines categories of observation. On the contrary, categories, either substantive or analytical, determine what is observed and are a necessity for systematic recording. Obviously, an investigator observes the phenomena related to his research problem. Minus a problem statement, the researcher's observations are of no more value than the day to day random observations of the layman. At the same time, it is usually expected that the interaction between observations of

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[27]Cf. William Whyte, Street Corner Society. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 300.

empirical events and the conceptualization of the research problem will result in changes in and the development of the latter.

To fully appreciate this process, it will be necessary to introduce the various stages of conceptualization as they occurred throughout the field work period. The stages correspond to the three major research phases outlined above. The initial problem was extremely general and substantive; there were no hypotheses. The interest was in ethnically heterogeneous communities and the problem of clarifying the concept of assimilation.[28] The questions directing observations during the spring and fall of 1964 were designed to explore the extent to which ethnic groupings in such communities form sub-systems or sub-communities and the implications of these sub-systems for the institutional life of the over-all community.

At this point, notes were made during interviews and retyped in duplicate afterwards. The amount of recall necessary was at a minimum. Observations regarding the town and its people, few during this first stage, were written up immediately following a trip. Office space was provided by an organization in Metro Center where appointments were made and notes were put in order before leaving the research site. Using this

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[28]At this point, the problem was influenced by the work of Milton M. Gordon, op. cit., and his notions of the several dimensions or variables of assimilation. A study of Eisenstadt's, op. cit., which had arrived at a similar conceptualization of assimilation was also extremely influential. The initial interest was derived from W. L. Warner's description of ethnic sub-systems in Yankee City. See W. Lloyd Warner, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), pp. 220-253.

material, a set of substantive categories were developed.[29] It was from these categories plus additional library work that the focus of the problem shifted from assimilation to social conflict. A theoretical problem began to take shape. Are the processes of assimilation and conflict interdependent? Is assimilation a reversible process?[30] These questions dominated my thinking at the point of moving into the community to commence field work in earnest.

The volume of material accumulating each day presented a recording problem. For the remainder of the field work period, a daily journal was kept in which were recorded, at the end of each day or at the beginning of the next day, the results of interviews and general observations from all other sources. A small notebook or three by five index cards were carried around and used constantly. The taking of notes did not appear to bother respondents during interviews or organizational meetings. Notes were not taken on the spot when playing the complete observer or the participant-as-observer roles. In these cases, recall had to be

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[29]The major categories were as follows: (1) subjective definitions of ethnic groups; (2) voluntary associations; (3) general description of school systems; (4) ideologies, values, and goals re French-English relations; (5) social class; (6) power structures; (7) government; (8) religion and church; (9) economics; (10) history; and (11) local changes affecting assimilation.

[30]The first set of observations directed me to the literature on conflict, particularly Lewis Coser, op. cit., Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., and Pierre L. van den Berghe, op. cit. The possible connections between Gordon's variables of assimilation and Dahrendorf's variables of conflict, as outlined in Chapter II, began to appear at this point.

depended upon.[31]

In October 1965, following four months of intensive observation, the new material was classified using the original set of categories. As a result of this mid-term assessment, a new set of categories were developed integrating the original assimilation focus with the more recently formulated notions on conflict. The new categories were more analytical, but included no hypotheses.[32] For the next four months, until January 1966, both general observations and interviews were explicitly directed by this new set of categories. Included in this period was a good deal of interviewing aimed at verifying past observations.

By January 1966, the final concepts and hypotheses began to emerge. For the succeeding two months, observations were reduced to a minimum. All material collected to date was reclassified according to this second set of categories. By this time, the emphasis had switched completely to social conflict. Although assimilation took a secondary place, the interest in the relationship between the two was never discarded. The final statement of the research problem and the variables and hypotheses which appear in this report were formulated during this period. The final,

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[31]Thirty-seven nondirective interviews were completed and forty-five organizational meetings were attended during the total field work period. This does not include the innumerable sessions of more formal observation in the complete observer and participant-as-observer roles.

[32]The major categories in this second set were: (1) issues; (2) vertical and horizontal systems; (3) institutionalization; (4) influence of national dialogue on local system; (5) quasi-groups--religious, ethnic, and class; (6) linguistic behavior; (7) ideologies and values re assimilation, pluralism, and separation; (8) observations on persons.

or third major phase of this research, consisted of additional observation, documentary analysis, structured interviews, and the questionnaire all directed by the revised theoretical framework.

In summary, it was noted that three stages of conceptualization occurred during the research process, each succeeding the other, each more analytical and less substantive than the former. For illustrative purposes, two examples of the flow or relationship between these sets are presented. One of the descriptive categories emerging from the first phase was "ideologies, values and goals re French-English relations." This permitted merely a listing of observed values. The second set of categories provided a means by which these values could be classified. The new category was "ideologies and values re assimilation, pluralism, and separation." This category provided the base from which the final category, "incompatible values as an empirical condition of conflict," was developed.

The process leading to the variable "institutionalization" provides another example. Initially, there was a category under which were listed observations regarding the school system and its ethnic-religious divisions. These observations provided an almost perfect prototype of institutionalized conflict. It might be added that it was this set of observations which were primarily responsible for changing the focus from assimilation to conflict. Institutionalization remained as a category in the final analysis, although more recent observations added the subcategory of conflict agents as a vehicle of institutionalization.

Checks on reliability and validity. Reliability and validity are loosely related. Generally, a highly valid measuring instrument, one which provides a valid indication of the concepts under study, would also be reliable. However, a reliable instrument, one which yields the same results on repeated measurements of the same phenomena, is not necessarily a valid instrument. The results may not be a true indicator of the phenomena under study. Thus, in dealing with validity one is faced with the extent to which selected indicators reflect the concepts as defined. It calls the whole complex of concepts and propositions into question. Reliability refers only to the adequacy of a given measuring instrument.

For this reason, a section on validity per se will appear at the conclusion of this chapter where it will be more convenient to discuss the indicators proposed above in relation to the concepts and the various methods of data collection utilized. Certainly, the checks maintained upon observations throughout the field work period will contribute to an over-all estimation of validity, but the emphasis here will be on reliability.

The question is: What checks were maintained to insure a consistency in recording procedures, and to prevent errors introduced by observer and respondent bias? Several checks were used. The formulation of a research problem from the very beginning, the continuous revision of these problems, and the development of corresponding observational categories maintained a check on what was observed and on the consistency of these observations.

Also, the various field work roles performed placed the observer

in differing sets of relationships to his respondents. Each of the four roles may be viewed as a "measuring instrument." In many cases, similar phenomena were observed in different role settings. Thus, data collected in one setting could be checked with data collected in another setting. Observations on cross-ethnic interaction picked up in a setting where the complete observer role was being used were checked out in another setting where the participant-as-observer role came into play. This process provided checks on both consistency and bias.

Finally, the use of several different methods of data collection maintained a check on both observer and respondent bias. A constant checking was in process between data derived from general observation and data from unstructured interviews. This material in turn was checked through the use of more structured interviewing which followed the period of intensive observation. Had "pure" observation been the only method used, the problem of reliability would have been much greater. As it stands, given the variety of checks used, reliability is assumed with some confidence.

Interviewing

Two types of interviewing were made use of in this study. The first, an unstructured type, was utilized throughout all three phases. The second, a more structured type, was used during the final phase. The first type is referred to as "unstructured" insofar as identical sets of predetermined questions were not administered to each respondent. Some of the interviews were <u>focused</u> in that an appointment was made with a respondent to discuss specific issues which had arisen during the course of

observations made in the community. These interviews were used primarily for checking out observed data and seeking new leads in building up a universe for observation. Others were nondirective in that there was no particular focus, and the initiative in the interview was left largely to the respondent. The participant-as-observer and the observer-as-participant roles were related to the focused and nondirective interviews respectively. A total of sixty-two unstructured interviews were conducted over the three research phases.

In contrast, the structured interviews made use of a standard set of questions administered to each respondent. Here, six different interview schedules were used to obtain data concerning issues, associational structure, conflict agencies, conflict agents, evidence of intensity and militancy, and impressions of the respondents regarding particular issues and assimilation as a value orientation.[33]

Interview schedules 1A and 1B, and 2A and 2B[34] were designed to secure information on regional bodies to which local associations were affiliated, and local associations themselves. The following were interviewed with schedules 1A and 1B:

1. President, Regional Board, L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario.
2. President, Ontario English Catholic Educational Association.
3. President, Western Ontario Division, La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste.
4. Public Relations Director, L'Association de la Radio-Télévision française du sud de l'Ontario, (Metro Center Region).
5. Research Director, L'Association de la Radio-Télévision française du sud de l'Ontario, (Metro Center Region).

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[33] See Appendix IV.

[34] See Appendix IV, pp. 459-467.

Not all local association officers were interviewed. Data obtained during phases one and two were used to determine those associations which might be acting as conflict agencies. Certain associations were eliminated following these interviews. The minutes and other records of the remaining set were used to arrive at a final decision regarding their definition as conflict agencies. The presidents of the following associations were interviewed using schedules 2A and 2B:

1. Ste. Cécile's Catholic Parent Teachers Association.
2. The Normanville Catholic Parent Teachers Association.
3. The St. Jean's Catholic Women's League.
4. The Knights of Columbus.
5. The Canadian Legion, Normanville.
6. Normanville United Church Women's Group.
7. Les dames de Ste. Anne, St. Jean's Parish.
8. Ushers' Club, St. Jean's Parish.
9. La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Normanville.
10. L'Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs, Normanville.

Interview schedules 3, 4, and 5 were designed to locate conflict agents and to delineate their relationships and activities in the public school board, the separate school board, and the town council.[35] Schedule 3 was administered to three of the six public school board members, schedule 4 to all five members of the town council, and schedule 5 to all six members of the separate school board, and one member of the parish high school board.

Interview schedule 6 was designed to locate conflict agents and delineate their activities in the school system. The following were interviewed using this schedule:[36]

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[35] See Appendix IV, pp. 468-472.

[36] See Appendix IV, pp. 473-474.

1. Regional English Inspector.
2. Regional Bilingual Inspector.
3. Principal, St. Jacques' School.
4. Director of French Classes, St. Jacques' School.
5. Teacher responsible to English Inspector, St. Jacques' School.
6. Principal, Ste. Cécile's School.
7. Principal, St. Jean's High School.
8. Principal, St. Jean's Intermediate School.
9. Director of French Classes, St. Jean's Intermediate School.
10. Teacher responsible to English Inspector, St. Jean's Intermediate School.
11. Teacher responsible to Bilingual Inspector, St. Jean's Intermediate School.

A total of forty-one interviews of this type were conducted, bringing the total number interviewed over the three phases to 103. The persons selected for these interviews should not be construed as members of a probability sample. They were not selected from a universe of individuals. In the case of the structured interviewing, respondents were selected because of their positions; the information sought was primarily organizational data. The unstructured interviewing went hand-in-hand with observations. Persons were selected (or they selected the investigator) to provide a check on observations and impressions of the community as a whole.

Documents

Newspapers and associational records were used for both descriptive and analytical purposes. In order to arrive at an outline of past events relative to the proposed hypotheses, the content of the following newspapers was analysed:

1. Le Castor, Normanville, Volumes I to V, 1931-1935.
2. The Evening Record, Metro Center, 1912-1914.
3. The Evening Star, Metro Center, 1932-1934.
4. The Centurion, Normanville, Volumes I to VII, 1959-1965.

The focus was on reported events and on editorials as reflections of opinion. Thus, the question of validity enters in relation to the possible distortion entering the reporting of events through bias and falsification. The only check maintained on such possibilities was the use of other materials dealing with the same periods. Thus, for the period between 1912 and 1927, two additional sources were used.[37] The period of the thirties involved, in addition to two newspapers, the minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, and a published history on that period.[38] Material from the Normanville Centurion, used prior to the field work period, was cross-checked with associational minutes, observations, and interviews. Apart from the press and certain records of local associations, secondary sources were used for all historical data.

The minutes and correspondence of the following associations were analysed:

1. The Normanville Catholic Parent Teachers Association.
2. The Ste. Cécile's Catholic Parent Teachers Association.
3. The Normanville Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs.
4. The Normanville Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste.

These were used in conjunction with the data obtained from the structured interviews of associational officers. In addition, the minutes of the

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[37] F. A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Canada, Limited, 1964); Lucien Brault, Bref exposé de l'enseignement bilingue au XX^e siècle dans l'Ontario et les autres provinces. (Kingston, Ontario: Collège Militaire Royal, 1966), and C. B. Sissons, Bi-lingual Schools in Canada. (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1917) were the main sources used in this connection.

[38] F. A. Walker, op. cit.

Normanville Separate School Board were used for the periods between 1900 and 1911, 1926 and 1936, and 1951 and 1961. School registration records and municipal public records were also made available.

The categories employed in analysing all documentary material were identical to those discussed above in relation to observational data. An "open file" using these categories was also maintained on three newspapers during the field work period: Normanville's The Centurion, Metro Center's The Star, and Le Droit of Ottawa. Many additional reports, briefs, and news bulletins from several local, regional, and provincial associations were also used.

Notations

A brief mention of the types of notations used in this thesis to distinguish between observational and interview references will be of assistance. Interviews completed during the first phases are referred to with a two digit number preceded by an "X" (i.e., Interview X01). Observations made during phases two and three are referred to with a two digit figure preceded by a "0" (i.e., Observation 001). Unstructured interviews completed during phases two and three are referred to with a two digit number preceded by a "0" (i.e., Interview 001). The structured interviews carried out during the final phase are referred to with a two digit figure preceded by an "A" (i.e., Interview A01).

The Questionnaire

A standardized "fixed alternative" questionnaire was administered

to a sample of Normanville residents.[39] The questionnaire was designed for both descriptive and analytical purposes. Data obtained from the following questions were used mainly in Chapters V and VI, describing the community and its people:

Question Number	Item
1	Marital status of respondent.
2 to 8	Length of residence and migration.
9	Ownership of residence.
10 and 11	Ethnic origin.
12 and 13, 14 and 33	Religious affiliation and attendance at French or English services.
23	School system supported.
24 and 25	Number of children and school attendance.
26	Language spoken.
27	Maternal language.
28 to 32	Language behavior, French-speakers.
47	Age of respondent.

Data obtained from the remaining questions were related to the proposed hypotheses, as listed below, and used mainly in Chapters VII, VIII, and IX:

Question Number	Item	Relevant Variable
15 to 22	Occupation	Social Class--Superimposition.
34 and 35	Association membership	Superimposition.
36 to 40	Cross-linguistic contact	Conditions of conflict--Parties.
41 to 44	Cross-religious contact	Conditions of conflict--Parties.
45	Issue ranking	Community identity.
46	Income	Social Class--Superimposition.

The questionnaire was pre-coded; responses were punched on holerith cards, and marginals and cross-tabulations were run on a Control Data 3600 computer.

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[39]See Appendix III. A description of the sample appears below.

Administration of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered by both volunteer and paid interviewers. Members of branches of the Catholic Women's League from various Metro Center parishes, seventeen in total, volunteered to act as interviewers under the sponsorship of the General Mission Centre of Essex County. Also secured were seven paid graduate and undergraduate students resident in the area. A training session was held for all interviewers prior to the administration of the questionnaire. A copy of a set of instructions given to each interviewer appears in Appendix III, along with a standardized letter of introduction and opening comments used by the interviewers. Announcements regarding the interviewing and the project appeared in local church bulletins in advance.

The questionnaire was constructed in both French and English. As far as was possible, French-speaking respondents were assigned to bilingual interviewers. Interviewers were instructed to use French if the respondent indicated a desire to do so. Local norms regarding the use of French made it extremely difficult for interviewers to judge which language to use. Most French-speakers in Normanville respond to strangers in English, and their fluency in English is equal to that of an English-speaker. An interviewer would have to judge at the point of meeting or soon after which would be the most appropriate language to use. Non-French-speaking interviewers were instructed to turn over respondents who could not be interviewed in English to a bilingual interviewer. The majority of interviews, 83.8 per cent were conducted in English, the balance in French.

Reliability and validity. The problem of validity will be approached in relation to the over-all design below. However, if it can be demonstrated that the questionnaire possessed an acceptable level of internal consistency, this will contribute to its over-all validity, and may be taken as a measure of internal reliability. That portion of the questionnaire dealing with those items listed above as being used for descriptive purposes is assumed to have "face validity."

As a rough estimate of reliability, the data appearing in Table II is used. Question 28 asked French-speaking respondents: "What proportion of the time do you speak French?"[40] The "use of French" frequency scores are a summary of responses by the same subjects to questions 32a to 32e.[41] These questions present four situations asking the respondents whether or not they use French in each. A "0" was assigned to those not using French in any of these situations; a "1" to those using the language in one situation only; a "2" to those using French in two situations, and so on to "4".

It is assumed that question 28 and the set of questions 32a to 32e measure the same characteristic--the extent to which French is used by French-speakers. To be sure, each question measures different intensities of that characteristic. Question 28 merely asks for an estimate from the respondent on the extent to which he uses French. Questions 32a to 32e ask only for a negative or affirmative reply regarding the use

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[40] See Appendix III, p. 446.

[41] Ibid., pp. 447-448.

of French in four situations which certainly do not exhaust the situations in which one might use the language. Nevertheless, assuming that both measure the same characteristics and given the differences in intensity, if the questionnaire is reliable, the two sets of responses should be reasonably highly correlated.

TABLE II

PROPORTION OF TIME FRENCH SPOKEN BY FREQUENCY OF USE OF FRENCH SCORES

	Frequency Scores					
Proportion of Time French Spoken	Per Cent Scoring "4"	Per Cent Scoring "3"	Per Cent Scoring "2"	Per Cent Scoring "1"	Per Cent Scoring "0"	Number of Cases
Most of the time.	21.6	46.0	16.2	16.2	0.0	37
About half the time.	6.7	40.0	33.3	20.0	0.0	15
Occasionally	0.0	23.7	18.4	36.8	21.1	38
Total	10.0	35.6	20.0	25.6	8.8	90

That is, one would not expect those who claim they speak French most of the time to receive a "0" frequency score, nor would those who speak French occasionally be expected to receive a frequency score of "4". Table II demonstrates this to be the case. Moreover, the majority of those answering "most of the time," 67.6 per cent, received scores of either "3" or "4," and the majority answering "occasionally" received scores of "0" or "1." The majority between these two extremes received scores of "2" or "3."

If the frequency scores are collapsed into three columns (0-1, 2,

and 3-4) to permit a chi-square test,[42] the resulting statistic is 22.94, significant at the .05 level with four degrees of freedom. The contingency coefficient (C) is .450. Given the upper limit of (C), .816, in a 3 x 3 table, .450 is a reasonably high correlation. These results are therefore taken as demonstrating that the questionnaire possesses an acceptable level of internal consistency.

The Sample

The questionnaire was administered to a simple random sample selected from a list constructed from the 1965 municipal voter's list. To specify the population from which the sample was drawn, it will be necessary to note the types of persons excluded from the voter's list by the Election Act, and those excluded in designing the population from this list.

Only "British subjects" twenty-one years of age and over are included on the voter's list. A British subject would include those born in Canada or in a commonwealth nation, and those born elsewhere who possess Canadian citizenship. There is a second qualification. In order for a person to appear on the voter's list, the property which he occupies must have a minimum assessment of three hundred dollars. If the owner of a property is not qualified elsewhere (i.e., at his own place of residence or business), he takes precedence over a tenant. Therefore, if a property

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[42] It is not advisable to use a chi-square test if there are 20 per cent or more of the cells with an expected frequency of less than five. For this reason, the categories in Table II were collapsed. See Sidney Siegel, op. cit., p. 178.

owner has an assessment of nine hundred dollars, both he and his wife will appear on the voter's list. If he has tenants on this property, only one of these tenants will qualify at the three hundred dollars per voter requirement. Also excluded from the list are roomers, boarders, and others not occupying separate housekeeping quarters.

In constructing the population from this list, the following steps were taken:

1. All those not residing in Normanville were eliminated.
2. This left a total of 2,079 individuals qualified to vote in municipal elections.
3. The sampling unit was a "household" rather than an individual. A household was defined as a husband and wife plus their children, or a single person (unmarried, widowed, separated, or divorced) with or without children.
4. On this basis, the 2,079 individuals were reduced to 1,177 households. The sample was drawn from this universe.

Before proceeding with the method of selecting the sample, it would be useful to evaluate the universe in relation to the town's population with what evidence is available. A bias could enter the universe through the elimination of non-British subjects from the voter's list, tenants disqualified because of lack of assessment, and roomers without separate housekeeping facilities. There is no control over the bias introduced through the elimination of those under twenty-one years of age. Single or married persons under twenty-one were not included with the exception of those spouses under twenty-one whose partners were twenty-one or over.

The British subject qualification would not have eliminated too many residents. Using 1961 census data, only 11.2 per cent of the population were not born in Canada.[43] A certain proportion of these would

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[43]Canada, 1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 1.2-7. (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963), Table 55, p. 3.

be of British origin, and another would have Canadian citizenship regardless of place of birth and therefore qualify. Very few would have been eliminated on the assessment qualification since, according to the 1961 census, only 16.7 per cent of the dwellings were listed as tenant occupied, leaving a balance of assessment sufficiently large enough to qualify most tenants. On this basis, it is assumed that the population from which the sample was drawn approximates the total adult population of the town, although technically generalizations can only be made from the population as defined.

The following steps were taken in drawing the sample:

1. Four digit numbers from 0001 to 1177 were assigned to each household unit, beginning with Polling Division I. Names were listed alphabetically by polling division.
2. Using a table of random numbers[44] 250 units were drawn.
3. From these 250, six were eliminated because they had been interviewed on several previous occasions, and twenty were randomly selected for a pre-test, leaving 224 in the sample.

The final sample used in the analysis consisted of 167 units representing three-quarters of the original 224 units, and 14.2 per cent of the population. The difference between 167 and 224 resulted from twenty-three incompleted interviews due to persons who had moved, were deceased, or were unavailable after three calls; twenty-five respondents who refused to be interviewed, and nine questionnaires rejected due to interviewer error.

These incompleted interviews, amounting to 25.4 per cent of the

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[44] H. M. Blalock, Social Statistics. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960), pp. 430-437.

original sample, could well destroy its random quality unless it may be assumed that the incompletes are themselves randomly distributed. This can be partially demonstrated by noting the extent to which a known characteristic was distributed among the fifty-seven incompletes. Party membership was defined prior to administering the questionnaire. Of the fifty-seven incompletes, 35.1 per cent were French Catholics; 26.3 per cent were English Catholics; 28.1 per cent were English Protestants, and the balance of 10.5 per cent were Catholic, ethnicity unknown. This amounts to 71.9 per cent Catholic and 28.1 per cent Protestant which is very close to the distribution of the same characteristic in the original sample which was 74.8 per cent and 25.2 per cent respectively.

Another method of evaluating the final sample is to compare the distribution of known characteristics in the sample with the population from which it was drawn. Table III indicates an approximately equal distribution of tenants and owners in the sample as compared to the population.

TABLE III

A COMPARISON OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF FOUR CHARACTERISTICS IN THE SAMPLE WITH THE POPULATION

	Sample		Population	
Characteristics	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Owners	129	77.2	927	78.7
Tenants	36	21.6	242	20.6
Unknown	2	1.2	8	.7
Total	167	100.0	1177	100.0
Separate school supporters	124	74.3	831	70.6
Public school supporters	43	25.7	346	29.4
Total	167	100.0	1177	100.0

A similarly close distribution of public and separate school supporters is also presented. Given this evidence, conclusions from the sample can be approached with confidence.

Validity and Reliability: A Discussion of Limitations

Reliability is a necessary, but not a sufficient prerequisite for validity. As stated above, a valid instrument is also reliable, but a reliable instrument is not necessarily valid. Thus, the estimation of the validity of a design lies partly in demonstrating its reliability. Given the purposes of this research, an acceptable level of reliability has been demonstrated for the instruments used. This contributes to a certain degree of confidence in the validity of the design, but not sufficiently enough to ignore the problem of validity altogether.

Two aspects of validity require attention. Internal validity questions the relationship between theoretical definitions and empirical indicators, and as such, brings into play the whole series of propositions involved in moving from definitions to indicators. External validity questions the ability of the instruments used in determining the values of the various indicators. The question: "Does the instrument measure what it is supposed to measure?" is appropriate here. Also involved is the "truth" of the responses given by interviewees. It is at this point where reliability enters into the picture.[45]

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[45]See a discussion of internal and external validity in Hans L. Zetterberg, op. cit., pp. 114-123.

Table IV presents the theoretical concepts, their related components as they appeared in the testable hypotheses, and the indicators of these components. If the design possessed perfect validity, the scope of the content included in the theoretical definitions would be the same as that included in the components of each definition, and the content of the components would be included in their indicators. No claim to perfect validity is made. Indeed, one of the objectives of this research was to arrive at a means for achieving a higher level of internal validity than could be achieved at this stage.

Regarding the relationship between the theoretical definitions and their lower order components, the primary problem in each case would appear to be that, although the definitions imply the components, they also imply other phenomena.[46] The list of components for each concept is not exhaustive. The danger in this state of affairs is that the unknown components of one concept might well relate to those of another in other than the hypothesized direction. Such a finding would be sufficient to reject a whole set of hypotheses. This problem is partially met by listing more than one component for each concept. On this basis, conclusions regarding concepts (1), (5), and (6) will possess more internal validity than those regarding concepts (2), (3), and (4).

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[46] Zetterberg notes three types of internal validity problems: (1) those "where the definition implies the indicator and, in addition, something other than the indicator; (2) the indicator implies the definition and, in addition, something other than the definition, and (3) the indicator implies the definition and vice versa." Hans L. Zetterberg, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

TABLE IV

SUMMARY OF VARIABLES AND INDICATORS

	Theoretical Concepts		Related Terms Used in Testable Hypotheses		Indicators
(1)	Institutionalization	(1.1)	A mutual recognition of each other's claims as negotiable.	(1.1.1)	The presence of implicit or explicit agreements between the parties.
		(1.2)	Presence of established and sanctioned communication channels.	(1.2.1)	The presence of conflict agents.
(2)	Superimposition	(2.1)	Extent of overlapping memberships among three categories--ethnicity, religion, and social class.	(2.1.1)	Value of contingency coefficient (C) calculated from cross-tabulation of party membership with income levels.
				(2.1.2)	Value of contingency coefficient (C) calculated from cross-tabulation of party membership with occupational status.
				(2.1.3)	Extent of overlapping membership in ethnic and religious associations as observed.
(3)	Strength of horizontal pattern.	(3.1)	Extent to which decision-making power re relevant issues lies at local level.	(3.1.1)	Observed location of decision-making power re relevant issues.

TABLE IV (continued)

Theoretical Concepts		Related Terms Used in Testable Hypotheses		Indicators
(4) Community Identity.	(4.1)	Extent to which party members identify with communal as opposed to party interests.	(4.1.1)	Party voting patterns on annexation.
			(4.1.2)	A comparison of ratio of the sum of assigned ranks to total respondents on three ethnic-religious issues with three communal issues.
(5) Militancy	(5.1)	The use of coercive or intimidating measures by a party in the pursuit of its interests.	(5.1.1)	Observed use of petitions, demonstrations, and non-compliance in pursuit of party interests.
	(5.2)	The use of violence by party in pursuit of its interests.	(5.2.1)	Observed use of force to harm or injure opponent in pursuit of party interests.
(6) Intensity	(6.1)	Extent to which agencies pursue party interests.	(6.1.1)	Observed appearance of new agencies and quantity of agency activity.
	(6.2)	The level of viability of conflict agencies.	(6.2.1)	Observed size of agency memberships and level of participation.

Another problem which involves the initial definitions of certain theoretical concepts, is the possible overlap of content between intensity and militancy. It has been noted that militancy implies intensity, though the latter does not imply the former. Nevertheless, the two are not sufficiently separated for complete validity. This contamination would, of course, carry over into the components and the indicators.

The problem of validity regarding the relationship between the components and their indicators are identical to those discussed above. There is an additional difficulty peculiar to one variable--community identity. The use of party voting patterns on the annexation issue is valid enough, but the second indicator may be such that although it implies the component, it implies something else as well. For example, an English Protestant confronted with the six issues may perceive these as statements calling for agreement or disagreement. Therefore, he ranks the ethnic-religious issues lower than the communal issues because he disagrees with the former. According to the indicator, he is classified as identifying more with communal than with party interests when he is actually performing according to party interests. The presenting of community and party interests may not get at the reference group with which the respondent identifies more strongly.

Table V is relevant to the question of external validity. Reliability has been demonstrated through the use of internal checks for the methods of observation used, the interviewing, the press and documentary analysis, the secondary historical sources, and the questionnaire. This contributes to the validity of the over-all design. It is assumed that

TABLE V

SUMMARY OF INDICATORS AND RELATED INSTRUMENTS

Indicators		Instruments Used	
(1.1.1)	The presence of implicit or explicit agreements between parties.	(1.1.1)	Secondary historical sources, newspapers--content analysis, documents.
(1.2.1)	The presence of conflict agents.	(1.2.1)	As above plus observations, structured and unstructured interviewing.
(2.1.1)	Value of contingency coefficient (C) calculated from cross-tabulation of party membership with income levels.	(2.1.1)	Selected judges used to determine party membership. Questionnaire, question 46 to determine income levels.
(2.1.2)	Value of contingency coefficient (C) calculated from cross-tabulation of party membership with occupational status levels.	(2.1.2)	Party membership determined as above. Questionnaire, question 16 to determine occupations. Blishen status scale to determine occupational status levels.
(2.1.3)	Extent of overlapping membership in ethnic and religious associations as observed.	(2.1.3)	Questionnaire, questions 34 and 35 used to determine association membership.
(3.1.1)	Observed location of decision-making power re relevant issues.	(3.1.1)	Secondary historical sources, newspapers--content analysis, documents, unstructured and structured interviews.
(4.1.1)	Party voting patterns on annexation.	(4.1.1)	Party voting patterns determined according to cross-tabulation of polling division ethnicity with vote as recorded by polling division.

TABLE V (continued)

Indicators		Instruments Used	
(4.1.2)	A comparison of ratios of the sum of assigned ranks to total respondents on three ethnic-religious issues with three communal issues.	(4.1.2)	Relevant issues determined by observations and unstructured and structured interviewing. Ranking of issues by party membership determined with questionnaire, question 45.
(5.1.1)	Observed use of petitions, demonstrations, and non-compliance in pursuit of party interests.	(5.1.1 and 5.2.1)	Secondary historical sources, newspapers--content analysis, documents, observations, and unstructured and structured interviews.
(5.2.1)	Observed use of force to harm or injure opponent in pursuit of party interests.		
(6.1.1)	Observed appearance of new agencies and quantity of agency activity.	(6.1.1 and 6.2.1)	Secondary historical sources, newspapers--content analysis, documents, observations, and unstructured and structured interviews.
(6.2.1)	Observed size of agency membership and level of participation.		

these instruments, with the exception of the interviewing and the questionnaire, possess "face validity." Apart from this, the validity of the total design, and thus the interviewing and the questionnaire, is increased and maintained because of the several different instruments used, each providing a check on the other.

In conclusion, a relatively high level of external validity may be assumed with perhaps a lower, but acceptable level of internal validity. This discussion is presented as a statement of the limitations of this research. All research is limited, to one degree or another, to the extent to which the theoretical and operational designs do not possess perfect internal and external validity.

III. SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with the research design presenting the process through which the testable hypotheses were arrived at, specifying the indicators selected, and describing the methods of data collection. The methods involved various types of observation, unstructured and structured interviewing, the use of a panel of judges to determine party membership, and a questionnaire administered to a sample selected from the voter's list. Given the purposes of the research, an acceptable level of reliability and validity was demonstrated. Tables IV and V, above, summarize the theoretical concepts, their components as used in the testable hypotheses, and the selected indicators of these components.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONFLICT PARTIES

> Those organizations always invite us to take part in their programs, but as another ethnic group [italics mine]--as immigrants--as a curiosity! This is ridiculous! We are not New Canadians, immigrants or foreigners. We were asked to have a float in the Freedom Festival. We refused. Then, of course, people accuse us of keeping to ourselves. But, what can you do? The English take part in these things only to help the poor immigrants assimilate, but we are not of that type.[1]

This is the response of a prominent officer of Metro Center's regional board of the Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, to a query concerning their participation in the activities of the local citizenship council. The response is indicative of conflicting perspectives regarding the status of Franco-Ontarians in relation to immigrant groups and "native" English Canadians. In common parlance, the use of the adjective "ethnic" connotes status or rank when employed by either French or English-speaking Canadians. Members of "ethnic groups" are viewed as recent arrivals, as foreigners in contrast to native, indigenous groups.

In this context, Franco-Ontarians resent being classified by their English-speaking compatriots as an ethnic group on a par with immigrants. To the Anglo-Ontarian, the French are simply one among many foreign elements to be assisted in adjusting through citizenship councils and human relations commissions. The French-speaker is ready to point out that one

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[1]Interview 001, October 19, 1965.

seldom, if ever, hears of an Anglo-Ontarian group being asked to demonstrate its culture in a parade or variety show. An understanding of these views and the resulting status of the Franco-Ontarian requires an appreciation of the historical base from which the parties have developed.

The purpose of this chapter is to place the local conflict system in a historical perspective. The relations between the three parties in Normanville (French Catholics, English Catholics, and English Protestants), have evolved from several centuries of conflict and accommodation. The point of contact was 1760. Prior to 1760, if ethnicity had any relevance at all, it was on an international level. The consequences of the British conquest of New France in 1760 and the resulting internal problems were clearly related to the lengthy conflict between France and England over the control of North America. It was after the conquest that external, international problems became internal, ethnic problems. This chapter concentrates on the development of these latter problems.

I. NEW FRANCE: 1760

By the time of the conquest, New France had had two and a quarter centuries to develop into a well-established and self-conscious society. This seemingly trivial point is a fact of some importance. The indigenous subordinate group possessed a fully developed society with its institutions and a way of life peculiar to those institutions and the surrounding environment. The incoming superordinate group was thus required to deal with an established power structure, the first act being one of negotiating a peace. This situation stands in contrast to the

case where immigrant groups arrive in a subordinate position with little social structure and prepared to adapt to a superordinate indigenous group.[2] The fact that the Canadian situation fits the former case has had considerable influence on the degree to which the conflict relations between the parties have been institutionalized. That is, as long as the minority party held sufficient power to back up its demands, the majority or superordinate power had little choice but to recognize that power and seek accommodation. The sources of the power held by New France after the conquest and the consequences of this power will be explored in this chapter.

A Commercial Society

By 1760 New France had developed into an active commercial-trading society. Agriculture had gained some importance; the fur trade dominated the economy. Added to these were shipbuilding, tanning, mining, textiles, and many other small industries promoted by state and merchant alike. Between 1730 and 1743, colonial commerce had increased by sixty to seventy per cent. In the years 1731, 1739, and 1741, colonial exports exceeded imports.[3]

The fur trade was the life blood of the colony. One author notes that in 1754, "4,000 men out of a total of 55,000 men, women and children were considered to be primarily engaged in fur trading."[4] As would

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[2]See Stanley Lieberson, op. cit., pp. 902-910.

[3]Michel Brunet, op. cit., p. 52.

[4]Philippe Garigue, "St. Justin: A Case Study in Rural French

be expected in an economy of this type, the life of the colony was heavily concentrated in the towns. By the middle of the eighteenth century, one quarter of the population lived in the three growing cities: Québec, Trois Rivières, and Montréal.[5] By the time of the conquest, Montréal, the commercial center, and Québec, the administrative center, "were already quite distinctly cities . . . possessing the self-consciousness of cities and . . . that concentration of social development which marks the urban areas."[6]

An Agricultural Society

The agricultural life of the colony perhaps grew more in opposition to, than in harmony with, commercial interests. While the English colonists to the south had turned their backs on the "mother country," and had set about the task of creating a permanent society, the French pursued the goals of exploration and exploitation to the glory of their kings. Colonization was explicitly discouraged by the "great commercial monoplies who operated the [fur] trade."[7]

The notion of establishing a permanent colony did not begin to

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Canadian Social Organization," Canadian Society: Sociological Perspectives. B. R. Blishen et al, (ed.) (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 524.

[5]Ibid., p. 523.

[6]A. R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making. (Toronto: Longhams, Green and Company, 1958), p. 46.

[7]Mason Wade, The French Canadians: 1760-1945. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955), p. 5.

receive much support until the missionary enterprise entered the picture in the early seventeenth century. One student of French Canada notes that

> . . . under the French regime, Canadians . . . were divided between two vocations, a commercial and an agricultural vocation, and neither one nor the other received an exclusive concentration in the customs and the institutions of the colony.[8]

The same author goes on to note,

> It is necessary to recognize that, in spite of the lyrical interpretation frequently proposed, the economic base of New France, from its establishment to the conquest, was not agriculture [italics mine] but commerce.[9]

Internal Conflicts

These two spheres of the colony's economy, far from being integrated, represented two opposing views concerning the future state of New France.[10] Indeed, the most conspicuous feature of the social development of the settlement was the conflict between the two sets of frontier values. One orientation, that of agriculture, sustained primarily by the Church, promoted stability; the other, that of commerce, primarily sustained by the State, promoted expansion. According to Tremblay, the colony's

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[8]Maurice Tremblay, "Orientations de la pensée sociale," J-C. Falardeau, (ed.) Essais sur le Québec contemporain. (Québec: Les presses universitaires Laval, 1953), p. 193.

[9]Ibid., p. 194.

[10]Hubert Guindon, "The Social Evolution of Quebec Reconsidered," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 26, 1960, p. 535. See also, S. D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 20.

> survival was incessantly compromised by the needs of defence and commercial expansion. A commercial empire and an agricultural colony: two realities and two ideals which are antithetical, sustained by two political rivals, the administration and the Church.[11]

Three parties were apparent in this clash of life styles. The merchants and others associated with commerce found a ready ally in the policies of the state and colonial administrators, both parties being interested in expansion rather than colonization. Allies though they may have been in opposing the more sedentary aims of the Church and the seigneurial system, the merchants found the highly centralized bureaucracy of the colonial administration detrimental to commercial interests.

The Church and the seigneurs, committed as they were to a feudal system and a consequential desire for a more settled community than that provided by a frontier trading economy, found themselves opposed to both merchant and administrator. One also might expect that "the people," the farmers subjected to a set of obligations enforced by both curé and seigneur, and the growing number of urban dwellers, would tend to side with the goals of the merchant class. Certainly, the State was not opposed to the colonization aims of the Church to the same degree as the merchants. However, Church and State did find themselves opposed on another overlapping set of ideologies. The ultramontanism of the Church faced the gallicanism of the State. Fundamentally, this conflict was a clash of the incompatible and mutually exclusive claims of the infallible

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[11] Maurice Tremblay, op. cit., p. 194.

authority of the Pope and the absolute authority of the King.[12]

Thus, Church and seigneur, administrator and merchant represented opposing power structures. It was these structures that the British were to deal with following 1760. The resulting power play and its consequences were to have far-reaching effects on the future structure of French-English relations in Canada.

II. BRITISH NORTH AMERICA: ASSIMILATION VERSUS SURVIVAL

The British had won a military victory and acquired control of French possessions in North America. Notwithstanding this fact, British colonial administrators still had to deal with a viable and hostile frontier community in Québec, and a somewhat belligerent English-speaking community to the south. From these contingencies emerged the Canadian French-English conflict system.

The New Power Structure

The immediate effect of the conquest was economic chaos accompanied by certain fundamental changes in the social structure of New France. During the three years following the capitulation of Québec and Montréal, the French administrators, the merchants, and some of the leading seigneurs left for France.[13] Left behind were the lower classes of both farm and

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[12]W. H. Lewis, The Splendid Century: Life in the France of Louis XIV. (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), pp. 95-96. See also, A. R. M. Lower, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

[13]Michel Brunet, quoting two other sources, notes a considerable

city, the majority of the seigneurs, and the clergy. British military personnel replaced the French administration. Merchants from England and the colonies to the south rushed in to take advantage of the lucrative French commercial empire.

To return to the internal conflicts of the French regime, one party was conveniently eliminated. The secular side of French authority was effectively destroyed. It remained for the Church and seigneurs to work out an accommodation with the new rulers. One state authority had simply replaced the other. Moreover, and this is a difference of some significance for future events, the new colonial administrators were far more sympathetic to the goals of the French clergy and seigneurs. "The English ruling class, in which were composed practically all military officers and governmental officials, was Tory and feudal."[14]

The early governors and officials of the British regime were not intent on developing a commercial empire as were the French servants of

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exodus of the elite following the cessation of hostilities. This conclusion is supported by references to recent research which has established that some two thousand left the colony after 1760. Brunet made this statement,

> "Even if it was not massive, emigration considerably diminished the number of leading families. . . . All those who emigrated, business men, administrators, seigneurs, military personnel, had understood that there would no longer be a future for them in a country occupied by the conqueror." Michel Brunet, op. cit., p. 57.

As far as can be determined by the evidence available, there was an exodus of most of the leading commercial and governing families. Many of the seigneurs remained; most of the clergy remained, and very few habitants departed. See also Hubert Guindon, op. cit., p. 536.

[14]A. R. M. Lower, op. cit., p. 96.

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Louis XIV. The status of these officials in their own society and their attachments to the Established Church of England enabled them to better understand and sympathize with the goals of French Catholicism. With this background, they found themselves in open conflict with their own commercial class, the English merchants, whom the first governor of British Québec referred to as "a set of licentious fanatics."[15]

Thus emerged the new parties to what increasingly was to become a self-conscious ethnic conflict. There were now, to be sure, French and English parties, but the structure of the conflict was not simply a case of two diametrically opposed ethnic collectivities. The initial distribution of power found the French clergy and British administration opposed to the British merchant class. The interests of the first two parties coincided. The British administrators were not opposed to the kind of society desired by Church and seigneur. Of more importance, the former party required the cooperation of the latter in its design to hold power in North America in the face of a growing restlessness among their own people, a restlessness that culminated in the American Revolution. The Church had finally attained a position where it could develop the kind of pastoral society it had failed to do during the French regime.

In many respects, the interests of the habitants were closer to those of the British merchants and their English-speaking neighbors to the south than to the new French power group. The citizens of New France who might well have expected to be released from their feudal obligations

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[15] Ibid., pp. 98-99.

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found themselves in a renewed order far more feudal than any experienced during the French regime.[16] Being prevented from complete participation in the new society, they were left with few alternatives but to turn to the land under a Church sponsored ideology of ethnic survival. The British merchants, for their part, were equally encumbered by the rigid, non-representative Tory form of government which had taken hold.

Assimilation Versus Survival: 1763-1840.

Two sources of conflict bound the parties together. On one hand, ethnicity and religion separated the population into two camps. On the other hand, a conflict of frontier values, demanding a freedom of movement and local autonomy, with the authoritarian values of European colonial administrations redivided the population into yet other camps. Thus colonist and merchant, be they French or English, were opposed to priest, seigneur, and administrator, be they French or English. It is obvious that on a strictly ethnic basis the French were subordinate to the English. Less obvious was the alliance resulting from the clash of frontier with overseas interests. This division intersected an ethnic-

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[16] S. D. Clark, Movements of Political Protest in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 44. Another author points to the changes in architecture following the conquest.

> "Whatever small evidence of the Baroque world there had been--city squares with Royal statues, regular town plans . . . all vanished; the Quebec countryside began increasingly to resemble the backgrounds of fourteenth and fifteenth century illuminations . . ."

Alan Gowans, "Architecture in New France," R. Weaver (ed.) The First Five Years: A Selection from the Tamarack Review. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 187.

religious cleavage preventing a complete superimposition of major conflict fronts and binding a people together who, in some respects, were enemies and in others were allies.

It is this complexity of overlapping conflicts that prevents the application of a simple assimilation model to the Canadian situation. From 1760 to this day, one group has never completely held all power in its hands. Though the French have commanded less power, sufficiently less to remain a minority, the dominant English-speaking group found itself constantly tied in with French power structures on other than ethnic issues. This latter feature enabled the French to survive as a viable sub-community. Evidence of this power play is quite apparent in the years preceding confederation.

In 1763 a Royal Proclamation was issued outlining the policy for the new possessions of the British Crown. It was definitely assimilationist in intent. It sharply reduced the boundaries of the old French colony in the hope that the unsettled lands to the south and west would fill up with English settlers. It set up English law and courts. Lands were set aside for support of Protestant clergy and schoolmasters,

> to the end that the Church of England may be established in principle and in practice, and that the said inhabitants may by degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant religion, and their children brought up in the principles of it.[17]

In spite of the intent of this policy, colonial administrators in Canada were faced with a growing rebellion in their colonies to the south

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[17] M. Wade, op. cit., p. 54.

and perhaps a fear that the "inhabitants of Canada were united 'in common principle and wish' with the inhabitants of the other colonies."[18] This led to an acceptance of the ironic proposition that "to keep America British, it was necessary to keep Canada French."[19] The administration thus pursued an active policy of securing the loyalty and support of the French clergy and seigneurs. This policy received its complete expression in the Québec Act of 1774.

The Québec Act restored French law to the inhabitants of the new British colony. The right to tithe was granted to the Church, seigneurial land tenure was completely restored along with feudal obligations of service. The Legislative Council was reorganized with "only members of the noblesse from among the Canadians . . . [being] appointed to it by the governor."[20] The Church and the seigneurs had finally attained a degree of power and freedom of action that would not have been possible under the French regime.

The new position of the Church and the now obvious alliance between clergy, seigneur, and colonial administrator were not, to say the least, enthusiastically received by either the British merchants or the French habitant.[21] To the merchants, it was a denial of traditional British rights; to the habitant, it was an imposition of a stronger control than he had hitherto experienced.

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[18] S. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 44. [19] Ibid. [20] Ibid.

[21] D. C. Masters, A Short History of Canada. (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1958), p. 21. See also, M. Wade, op. cit., p. 64; S. D. Clark, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

> however Tory in sentiment the loyalists may have been, they could hardly be expected to accept a form of government which denied to the people the right to elective assembly and a form of civil law and land tenure based largely on feudal principles.[24]

Similarly, the French population, though holding frontier values in common with the new colonists, could easily be convinced of the threat this essentially Protestant community held toward their way of life. The habitant may well have been prepared to trade his feudally dominated political and economic order for a North America free of European imperial power, but he was not prepared to hand over a total way of life involving both language and religion.

The solution to this approaching conflict was to divide the colony into two provinces--English Upper Canada (now Ontario) and French Lower Canada (now Québec). The Constitutional Act of 1791 gave a legislative assembly to each province, but made few other fundamental changes in Lower Canada. The English-speakers of Upper Canada were temporarily satisfied. Discontent remained in Lower Canada. Although seigneur and clergy saw the Legislative Assembly as a threat to their authority, the habitant remained under the old regime, and the English population remaining in Lower Canada found itself dominated by a French Assembly.

This arrangement remained intact for half a century. During this period two new parties were added to the picture. Since 1760, a petite bourgeoisie had slowly developed among the French-speakers of Lower Canada.[25]

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[24] Ibid., p. 169.

[25] Jacques Dofny and Marcel Rioux, "Les classes sociales au Canada français," La Revue française de Sociologie, Vol. 3, 1962, p. 290.

In the fall of 1775, the opening of hostilities between the thirteen colonies and Great Britain suggested a failure of the assumptions implicit in the Québec Act. Several members of the merchant class aided the advancing American army, preparing the way for the occupation of Montréal. Parish after parish welcomed the revolutionary force as it moved northward through the Lake Champlain district and up the Richelieu River. The habitants were reluctant to meet their feudal obligations to provide military service, though many did join the revolutionary forces.[22]

Several factors contributed to the final defeat of the revolutionary forces in Canada: superior military strength on the part of the British who controlled the St. Lawrence, the power of the clergy and the seigneurs over their people--a power most certainly backed by an ethnic appeal--and the maltreatment of the people by their supposed American liberators during the long winter of 1775.[23] The loyalty of the priest and seigneur and the final, though reluctant, submission of the habitant to the British cause sealed the existence of a separate French Canada.

A new dimension was added to the conflict following the Revolution. Americans, loyal to the Crown, migrated to the townships east of Montréal and the westerly portions of the colony. The isolation of French Canada was over; ethnicity took on a new significance. French-speaking citizens of the colony were faced with, for the first time, a sizeable number of English-speaking settlers. And,

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[22]Ibid., pp. 95-97.

[23]Ibid., pp. 113-117.

Its political expression was found in the "Canadian Party" which held considerable influence in the Legislative Assembly. The Governor of Lower Canada, in a letter to the Secretary of State's office, had these comments to make,

> You can have no idea of the Set; except three or four Englishmen, and a lesser Number of Canadians of decent manners, they are people with whom it is impossible I can have any connection not even in the common Intercourse of a dinner . . . the gross Ignorance of the Majority is to the full . . . of the 47 members of which the house now consists, there are sixteen Lawyers and Notaries--many of them the Sons of Shopkeepers &c. of the lowest description . . . we have likewise among our legislators the same number of Habitants . . . who are immersed in Ignorance and Superstition.[26]

These were the men who carried forward the frontier values of the American Revolution and who had caught the spirit of the French Revolution. This party, representing the bulk of the French Canadian population, found itself antagonistic to the British ruling class and the French clergy and seigneurs. English merchants and settlers were sympathetic with their political and economic goals, but were smarting under "French domination" in the Legislative Assembly.

Another party to enter the setting was composed of a large number of Irish Catholics. Between 1839 and 1849, more than 428,000 Irish immigrants had arrived in Canada.[27] The significance of this new element in the population was that it destroyed the coincidence of ethnicity and

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[26]Letter from Governor Craig to Lt. Col. Bunbury in the Secretary of State's Office, Québec, February 21, 1810. Cited in S. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 208.

[27]Philippe Garigue, "Organisation sociale et valeurs culturelles Canadiennes-françaises," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 28, 1962, p. 194.

religion--no longer were all Catholics French-speakers nor all English-speakers Protestant.

The Canadian Party provided some of the direction in the insurrections of 1812-1814, with the hope perhaps, that an alliance with the Americans, similar to that of 1775, would release the population from British domination and feudal authority. This effort failed, as did the rebellions of 1836-1837. Several reasons were responsible for these many failures to gain freedom and independence from European domination. For one, the French were never unanimous in their goals. For another, the increasingly large English population[28] could never completely submit itself to the destruction of British power. Thus, ethnicity from the point of view of frontier values had only a negative effect. It prevented a complete coalition of English and French liberal forces, but enabled a coalition of English and French conservative forces insofar as the French conservative element was in a position to use an ethnic appeal to maintain a control over the people.

Certainly there were other reasons. The superior military strength of the British in the Canadas prevented the marshalling of a significant military force among the liberal elements. Finally, though the aims of British merchant and French liberal may have coincided during an earlier period,

> with the change in the character of the fur trade and in the general structure of business after the American Revolutionary War. . . .

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[28]"Between 1815 and 1830 for example, more than 204,800 English immigrants arrived in Canada." Ibid., p. 193.

> Big business emerged as a new powerful economic, political, and social force, taking its place beside the church and the noblesse as an important partner in support of the established order.[29]

Several students of French Canada note the beginnings of an ethnic consciousness and French Canadian nationalism during the fifty years between the Constitutional Act and the Act of Union.[30] The sense of being a minority, of losing control of one's destiny, begins to show itself during the events leading to the rebellions of 1836-1838.[31]

The rebellion movement was not exclusively French in character. Initially, it had the support of the British merchants, the steady but decreasing support of Irish Catholics, and the continuous support of the weaker, corresponding movement in Upper Canada. However, the growing militancy of the movement and its final, but not initial desire, to break with British control contributed to a decrease in English support and concomitantly to an increase in its ethnic character. Here too, two types of French Canadian nationalism were apparent, both of which would continue to have adherents to the present day. On one hand, there was the

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[29] S. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 202.

[30] Ibid., pp. 276-330; Philippe Garigue, "Organisation sociale. . ." op. cit., p. 194; Jacques Dofny and Marcel Rioux, op. cit., p. 292.

[31] In 1834, the following appeared in a petition form from the inhabitants and proprietors of L'Assomption.

> "That the Executive of this Province has constantly encouraged this malevolence . . . against the Canadians and granted its favors, and places of profit and honor generally to all others than to them [the residents of the county] . . . provided their mother tongue was English."

The Vindicator, March 28, 1834; cited in S. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 276.

"clérico-nationaliste" ideology of the clergy and the more conservative elements of the boureoisie directed toward the survival of French Canada through maintaining status quo relations with English Canada.[32] On the other hand, there was the separatism of the reformers, equally directed toward survival, but through separation from English Canada.

The defeat of the forces of rebellion dissipated the leaders of the reform movement, leaving the habitants with little alternative but to return to the leadership of priest, seigneur, and conservative professional. Survival now seemed to depend on a retreat into ethnic isolation; the frontier forces of rebellion and independence had failed.

In 1840 the British Colonial administration unified Upper and Lower Canada, meeting the recommendations of the Durham Report.[33] The report and subsequent legislation were based on a hope that the assimilation of French Canada would solve a great deal of the colony's political problems. Neither Upper nor Lower Canada were too enthusiastic about union. To Lower Canada, the Act was a second conquest,[34] the device of equal representation for both Canadas in a single Assembly appeared to end what control French Canadians had over their political destiny. Moreover the use of French was prohibited in the new Assembly. To Upper Canada, the necessity of dealing with an equal number of French representatives appeared equally disasterous. The new scheme was to be accompanied

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[32]Jacques Dofny and Marcel Rioux, op. cit., p. 292.

[33]Maurice Ollivier, British North America Acts and Selected Statutes. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 20.

[34]A. R. M. Lower, op. cit., p. 252.

by a vigorous policy of English immigration as a means of overwhelming the still significant number of French-speakers in the colony. In spite of objections, the Union of 1840 was maintained for twenty-seven years.

III. ASSIMILATION FAILS: 1840-1867

Political Realities and Institutionalized Conflict

The Union Act, establishing a single Province of Canada, incorporated a Legislative Council named for life and an elected Assembly composed of forty-two members from Lower and Upper Canada each.[35] English was to be the only official language of government. Representation by population was omitted from the new constitution. Significantly, at this time the population of Lower Canada exceeded that of Upper Canada by some two hundred thousand persons. Representation by population would have given French Lower Canada an edge in the Assembly. However, if assimilation was indeed the policy of the legislators of the Empire, the consequences of the Union Act, perhaps unforeseen consequences, would be to the contrary.

Initially from a French Canadian point of view, the Act of 1840 was

> an act of injustice and despotism in that it is imposed upon us without our consent, in that it deprives Lower Canada of the legitimate number of its representatives, in that it deprives us of the use of our language in the proceedings of the legislature . . .[36]

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[35] M. Wade, op. cit., p. 222.

[36] Ibid., p. 230. From a speech delivered by Lafontaine, the leader of the Lower Canada Reform Party.

One alternative open to Lower Canada was further resistance through armed rebellion. Since, only two years prior to 1840, all resistance had been dealt a severe blow by colonial forces, such a solution was not too feasible. The Union Act did, at least, recognize the presence and power of Lower Canada by providing equal representation in the new Assembly, and by so doing, it implicitly recognized the equality of the two Canadas, of both French and English parties. It was through this recognition, this further institutionalization of the relations between the two parties that French Canada found the solution to its survival.

In the first session of the new Assembly, Lafontaine and his Reform Party formed an alliance with Baldwin and the Reformers of Upper Canada. The two reform groups had finally attained a union of purpose which they had been unable to accomplish during the rebellion movement. The new alliance was opposed to the Tories of Upper Canada and the Governor's Executive Council. It enabled French Canada to exert a degree of pressure on the government through legitimate means as well as providing the Upper Canadian Reformers with a sufficient majority to put their policies into effect.

The first government of the Union excluded French Canadians from the Executive branch. Within two years, however, the same factors that had in the past forced a recognition of French power led to the inclusion of French-speaking members in the Council, reversing the policy which had been followed since the rebellions of 1836-1838. Six years later the Governor was to write,

> The sentiment of French Canadian nationality which Papineau endeavours to pervert to purposes of faction, may yet perhaps if properly improved furnish the best remaining security against annexation to the States.[37]

Thus were the majority of the members of the Lower Canadian Reform Party to commit themselves to the Union. The radical reformers of the 1836-38 movement became the conservative Liberals of the new Province of Canada.

These new party alliances and positions were not without reactions, both internally and externally. By mid-century, a group of French reformers under their old leader, Papineau, formed the Parti démocratique known popularly as Les Rouges. This faction was committed to republican principles, representation by population, elective offices for all branches of government, and an inclination toward United States annexation.[38] The two species of French Canadian nationalism found expression in these new alignments. Les Rouges continued the separatist tendencies; the now conservative Liberals contained the status quo "survival-but-remain-in-Canada" tendency. Both retained a definite French Canadian nationalism.

On the English side, a more radical group, the "Clear Grits," emerged from the Upper Canadian Reform Party which also had moved toward a conservative position. With these responses to the French-English reform alliance, new alliances were a certainty. The Reformers of Lower Canada held the majority of seats from that section of the Province. Thus,

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[37]Letter from Governor Elgin to Colonial Secretary Grey, June 29, 1848. Cited by M. Wade, Ibid., p. 260.

[38]Ibid., p. 262.

for an Upper Canadian party to gain some control over the government, an alliance with Lafontaine's group was a necessity. An unsuccessful attempt was made by the Tories of Upper Canada to ally themselves with Lower Canadian Reformers in 1845.[39] In 1852 the "Clear Grits" received the support of Les Rouges, the binding issue being their mutual insistence on representation by population.[40] Later, as more members of the Upper Canadian Reformers moved toward the Grit position, the conservative Liberals of Lower Canada allied with the Tories to form a government in 1855.

English Separatism

Prior to the French Canadian Reformer-English Canadian Tory government of 1855, the Tories, these "ultra-loyalist English Canadians of 1837 and 1838 . . . leagued themselves with [the] discontented French-Canadian radicals [Les Rouges] in an open annexationist movement."[41] The common sentiment was separatism; both saw freedom from British control as a solution to their quite different problems. At the risk of oversimplifying, the Tory looked to the United States as the solution to Canadian economic problems and as a means of ridding himself of what he considered French domination in the Union Assembly. Les Rouges desired freedom from Great Britain as the answer to his republican political attitudes and, paradoxically, as a means of ridding himself of English domination in the same Assembly.

On the ethnic issue, neither party had changed its position since

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[39] Ibid., p. 247. [40] Ibid., p. 317. [41] Ibid., p. 272.

the rebellions, nor had Les Rouges modified their republican stand. The economic problems were, however, a new contingency. Britain was attempting to cut its commitments to Canada, suggesting that the Province assume the cost of its own defence and immigration. The new British free trade policy destroyed the preferential trade position held by Canada and, finally, the construction in New York of the Erie Canal diverted the lucrative western trade from Montréal and Québec to New York. The combined effect of these factors placed the merchants of the colony in a precarious position. Economic reciprocity with or annexation to the United States seemed to be the only solution.

During the winter session of the Union Assembly in 1849, two events occurred which provided the necessary issues for a revolt of the English separatists or "annexationists." The use of French as an official language was returned to the Assembly, further indicating the power of the Upper-Lower Canada Reform alliance and its advantage to French Canada. But of greater import at that moment--the Assembly passed a Lower Canada Rebellion Losses Act. Though a similar act had been adopted with reference to Upper Canada some years earlier, the Tories reacted vigorously. A prominent Tory declared in the Assembly:

> I warn it that the course it takes is likely to throw the people of Upper Canada into despair, and to make them feel that if they are to be governed by foreigners [italics mine], it would be more advantageous to be governed by a neighboring people of the same race than those with whom it has nothing in common, neither blood, nor language, nor interests.[42]

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[42] Ibid., p. 269.

The English merchants of Montréal acted in a similar vein, forming the British American League, and "professing the hope that 'no power may ever be abused to the point of provoking reflecting men to the contemplation of an alliance with a foreign power.'"[43] The Montréal Courier editorialized:

> Let the parliament pass the bill, let the Governor sanction it if he pleases, but while there is an axe and rifle on the frontier, and saxon hands to wield them, these losses will not be paid.[44]

In the spring of 1849, a mob of some fifteen hundred Englishmen sacked and burned the Parliament Buildings in Montréal and "proclaimed the dissolution of the 'French Parliament.'"[45]

Confederation: An Alternate Solution

The powerful French-English Reform government maintained the upper hand; the Union remained intact, but only for another eighteen years. An alternate solution to the economic and ethnic ills of the Province was offered. A confederation of the British American provinces appeared as a possible remedy. The economic advantages seemed obvious. Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland could, in combination, break down a economic provincialism and control the western trade. Moreover, federalism might offer a solution to the constitutional difficulties of the Union.[46] From the English-French point of

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[43] Ibid., p. 271.

[44] The Montréal Courier, March 30, 1849; cited by Ibid., p. 270.

[45] Ibid., p. 271.

[46] The "double-majority" notion, wherein the government was formed

view a federation was seen as a possible compromise to the aspirations of each group. In 1867, the British North America Act was passed establishing the Dominion of Canada.

The events leading to the B. N. A. Act were not without the now expected conflict of interests between the major political and ethnic parties. The addition of the Maritime Provinces only added to the proliferation of interests involved and to the possibility of new alliances. The ensuing debates centered around the degree of centralization to be attributed to the federal government and whether authority should flow from the whole to the parts or in the opposite direction. Combined with this issue was the representation by population question over which Upper and Lower Canada were still in conflict. French Canada now saw "rep. by pop." as a threat to its continued existence. The 1861 census showed Upper Canada's population exceeding that of Lower Canada by three hundred thousand. The possible addition of the predominantly English-speaking provinces to the East only increased the danger to French Canada in this respect.

Upper Canada favored a legislative union void of regional divisions. Lower Canada, and to some extent the Maritime Provinces, favored a federation generally based on the American design, although the Civil War then in progress certainly drew many from all parties away from the

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through an alliance or coalition between the parties holding the majority of seats from each of the sections--Upper and Lower Canada--had hit several stalemates during the final years of the Union; "four ministries had fallen in three years, two general elections had been held, and the parties . . . remained deadlocked with none able to maintain itself in office." Ibid., p. 319.

federalist concept. Nor can one ignore the effects of the threat from the United States in view of British and Canadian support of the Confederacy and the Fenian Raids of the late 1860's. Once again, the neighbor to the south was pushing Canadians of all persuasions into a union.

Generally, all French Canadian factions were wary of a federation, Les Rouges far more than the conservative Liberals. The final agreement was a curious compromise or accommodation among the several conflicting interests. Curious because apart from the letter of the law, it permitted French and English adherents to the plan to derive quite different interpretations. First, the Act may be interpreted "simply [as] a statute of the British Parliament, distributing powers afresh among Canadian governments through the exercise of an ancient imperial sovereignty."[47] This was seldom, if ever, accepted by French Canada nor did it gain much support from the other provinces. The significant split was between what F. R. Scott has called the "dual state" theory and the "compact" theory.[48] In this context, the Act is a treaty between several powers. But, is it fundamentally a compact between several equal provinces, Québec being one among equals, or a compact between two states or nations, French and English Canada? Without complete unanimity, English Canada has generally accepted the former view, French Canada the latter.

Though adopted and approved by the provincial parliaments, the

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[47]F. R. Scott, "Areas of Conflict in the Field of Public Law and Policy," Mason Wade (ed.) Canadian Dualism/La Dualité canadienne. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 84.

[48]Ibid., p. 87.

new federation appeared more threatening to French Canada than the Union of 1840 had proved to be. There was provincial autonomy, but no longer was Lower Canada, now Québec, to send representatives equal to the number of English-speaking representatives to the national parliament. Furthermore, the addition of new provinces reduced the proportion of French to English to one-third, a proportion which has remained remarkably stable to this day.[49] The specter of assimilation once again haunted Les Rouges and conservative alike. Inherent then in both the letter and the "spirit" of the new constitution were two possibilities for French Canada. Either it could again retreat into isolation as it had done in 1763 or it could hope that its "dual nation" interpretation would be acceptable and push for a bilingual, bicultural Canada where the cultural integrity of both French and English citizens would be recognized. Neither was inconsistent with French Canadian nationalism. Separatism was contained in the isolationist position, and Canadianism in the bicultural position.[50] Events following 1867 denied an existence to the type of bicultural nation visualized by the "pan-canadien" nationalists.[51] Rather than deal with the several events and crises which have occurred during the last century, one of the central issues to this thesis will

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[49] In 1871 French Canadians formed 31.1 per cent of the population; M. Wade, op. cit., p. 389; and in 1961, 30.4 per cent; See Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Part 2, 92-545, p. 34-1.

[50] See Philippe Garigue, "Le carrefour actuel du sens national." (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 1965), pp. 4-6. (Mimeographed.)

[51] Ibid., p. 5.

receive major attention in the following section.

IV. FRENCH MINORITIES AND THE SCHOOL QUESTION

The notion of ethnic sovereignty with respect to French-English relations was implicit in the Union Act of 1840. Was not the allocation of equal representation in the Provincial Assembly indicative of this principle? One might argue that equal representation was merely indicative of the assumption of regional equality, but regional lines coincided with ethnic and, to a considerable extent, religious cleavages. Of greater importance was the fact that the experience of the Union during its short twenty-seven years of existence was such that ethnic sovereignty was very much present. By 1849, the principle was well established. Moreover, the parties to the Union had operated independently, though both dependent on British power, from 1791 to 1840. From a French Canadian point of view, the experience of Confederation denied this principle.

According to one student of the constitution, there are in the B. N. A. Act "few special provisions for Quebec."[52] With few exceptions, the document does not treat Québec any differently than the other provinces. The fears of Québec during and following adoption of the Act appear to be well-grounded. A deep feeling of a minority position was perhaps more prevalent following Confederation than it had been at any other time. The French Canadian state was not one among several partners in a federation. French Canadians outside of Québec were now members of

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[52] F. R. Scott, op. cit., pp. 82-83.

a minority group rather than the French citizens of a Union built upon ethnic sovereignty.

French and English Minority Rights

The exceptions regarding Québec's special status vis-à-vis the other provinces dealt with the internal structure of the province's legislature,[53] "property and civil rights,"[54] the Québec courts,[55] the French language,[56] and what was to become known as "minority rights."[57] The last two provisions have a special relevance to this thesis.

Section 133 of the Act provides that either French or English may be used in the proceedings of the Parliament of Canada and the Legislature of Québec, that both languages are to be used in the records and acts of both Assemblies, and that either may be used in all the courts of Québec and in any courts established elsewhere by federal authority. This section protected the French language in the federal sphere and in Québec. The emphasis in relation to Québec, given that the province was and is predominantly French, was more on the protection of English than French. Thus, the English minority gained language rights in Québec, but French minorities in the other provinces were left without similar rights.

Section 93 places education in the hands of the provinces, but makes provision for Roman Catholic schools in Ontario and Protestant

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[53]Maurice Ollivier, op. cit., pp. 80-81, sections 71-80.

[54]Ibid., p. 89, section 94.

[55]Ibid., p. 90, section 98.

[56]Ibid., p. 96, section 133.

[57]Ibid., pp. 87-88, section 93.

schools in Québec:

> Nothing in any such Law [re provincial rights over education] shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union.[58]

Section 93 continues specifically referring to the separate schools of Ontario and the "dissentient" schools of Québec.[59] It further invests in the federal authority the right to deal with appeals regarding infringements of the aforementioned rights.[60]

It is upon these two sections that French and Roman Catholic (both English and French) minorities outside of Québec base their respective claims regarding language and religion in the public schools. Two points regarding Section 93 will have particular relevance in the school conflicts, yet unsettled, which took place following 1867. First, there is no mention of language. There is nothing in this Section which stipulates that French may be used as a medium of instruction outside of Québec or that English may be used within Québec. Presumably, the language question in education is left exclusively to the provinces. Second, the Section emphasizes rights or privileges held by persons by law at the time of the Union. It leaves open the question of schools established through custom and precedent, as was the case in New Brunswick,[61] and the

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[58] Ibid., p. 87, section 93, (1). [59] Ibid., p. 87, section 93, (2).

[60] Ibid., p. 88, section 93, (3) and (4).

[61] A brief discussion concerning the debates leading to Section 93, and the peculiar position of New Brunswick appear in Donald Creighton, The Road to Confederation. (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1964), pp. 399-401, 411-412.

direction changes may take after the union.

With the significant exception of Québec, each province has experienced severe conflicts over the role of religion and language in its public schools.[62] According to F. R. Scott, "some of the most acute conflicts in the field of public law have occurred over the educational provisions of the Canadian constitution."[63] Indeed, it is the school issue upon which French-English and Protestant-Catholic relations outside of Québec have focused for the last century.

Ontario: Bilingual and Catholic Schools

French Catholicism predated English Protestantism in the Ontario region by at least 150 years. As early as 1626, French Catholic missionaries had reached the interior of the Great Lakes' region.[64] Outposts and small settlements slowly developed along the inland water-way. The district in which Normanville is located was settled in 1701, the oldest European settlement in what is now the Province of Ontario.[65] It was not until the period following the American Revolution that Ontario

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[62]Lucien Brault, Bref exposé de l'enseignement bilingue au XX^e siècle dans l'Ontario et les autres provinces. (Kingston: Collège Militaire Royal, 1966). Brault provides an excellent summary of the bilingual school conflicts in Canada.

[63]F. R. Scott, op. cit., p. 95.

[64]E. J. Lajeunesse, The Windsor Border Region. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), pp. xxix-xi.

[65]N. F. Morrison, Garden Gateway to Canada. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 4.

received a population of English-speaking Protestants. The route of these early British immigrants established the western region of Québec as a predominantly English district. Their predominance became a fact, politically, with the creation of Upper Canada in 1791. It should come as no surprise then, that the first schools, primitive though they may have been, in now English-speaking Ontario were French Catholic in origin, structure, and content.

The DeJure Basis of Catholic Schools in Ontario

Catholic schools in Ontario are public not parochial schools. Their status as publicly supported schools is a result of the politics of ethnic relations, particularly during the 1840-1867 Union. Catholic schools predated other possible systems of education. Of more importance was the existence of a Protestant minority in Lower Canada and a Catholic minority in Upper Canada. The "minority rights" of one were negotiated for the "minority rights" of the other. If the Protestants of Catholic Lower Canada were to have their schools, then the Catholics of Protestant Upper Canada were to have theirs. Had the two sections of the colony not been united, or had each not contained a religious minority, the outcome would probably have been quite different. It is for this reason that both religious minorities were hesitant about Confederation.

The Scott Act, passed in 1863 by the Union government, provided the legal basis upon which Ontario Catholic schools were to rest following Confederation,

> The act provided that Roman Catholic ratepayers could withdraw their support from the local public school and establish a school of their

> own, for which taxes could be assessed and which could receive government grants. Supporters of the Catholic separate school would be exempt from public school rates.[66]

Unfortunately for the Catholic population, this Act was considered "final" by the administration of Upper Canada.[67] Unfortunate, too, was the fact that it became embodied in the B. N. A. Act insofar as Section 93 granted "minority rights" to "Denominational Schools which any class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union [italics mine]."[68] Catholics were therefore placed in a position where they had to negotiate further concessions, subsequent to Confederation, without the support of a Lower Canadian minority in the Ontario legislature. The Scott Act neither allowed for the allocation of corporation taxes to the Catholic schools nor provided for the development of secondary schools. It is around these issues that the two religious parties have struggled for the last century.

The De Facto Basis of French Schools in Ontario

Though the first schools in the Ontario region were both French and Catholic, French schools per se, that is, schools in which French is the language of instruction, have no legal status.

> Under the Union government, 1840-1867, the school law of the United Provinces contained not one favourable or disfavourable clause concerning the teaching of French or English; these languages were taught according to the wishes of the parents.[69]

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[66] F. A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario, (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1964), pp. 3-4.

[67] Ibid., p. 3.

[68] Maurice Ollivier, op. cit., p. 87, section 93, (1).

[69] Lucien Brault, op. cit., p. 9.

To this day, the government of Ontario has resisted a legal recognition of French schools. The furthest the government has gone in this direction is to make reference to "schools attended by French-speaking Pupils."[70] The very use of this term of reference plus several precedents set over the years in providing a place for French schools in the educational system give these schools a de facto, if not a de jure, status.

Demographic factors alone decided that the schools of the counties of Essex (the county in which Normanville is located), Kent, Russell, and Prescott, be they Catholic or non-Catholic, would be French.[71] One of the first issues involving the French schools with which the authorities had to deal was a petition and counter-petition, both from French-speaking parents, concerning the hiring of a French-speaking teacher who apparently was not well versed in English. The petitions originated in School Section 6, Sandwich Township, county of Essex, the date--April 1851. One group of parents, demanding adequate instruction in English for their children, seemed to favor the teacher's release. The counter-petition pointed out that the majority of parents spoke nothing but French and requested permission to have the said teacher certified.[72] In answer to these petitions, the Council of Public Instruction meeting in Toronto,

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[70]Ontario Department of Education, Programme d'études, Classes de langue française, Curriculum 46, 1961, p. 2.

[71]Lucien Brault, op. cit., p. 9.

[72]C. B. Sissons, Bi-Lingual Schools in Canada, (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1917), pp. 16-21.

> ordered the following clause to be added to the programme setting forth the qualification of teachers,'In regard to the teachers of French and German, that a knowledge of French or German grammar be substituted for the knowledge of English grammar, and that the certificate of the teacher be expressly limited accordingly.'[73]

Thus was the French teacher in Section 6 of Sandwich Township to hold his position and the use of French as a language of instruction to receive official sanction.

Six years later, the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Upper Canada wrote the following to the trustees of a school in Glengary County,

> Gentlemen, I have the honor to state in reply to your letter of the 16th that as French is the recognized language of the Country as well as English, it is quite proper and lawful for the trustees to allow both languages to be taught in their schools to children whose parents may desire to learn both.[74]

In 1869, two years after Confederation, the Ontario Minister of Education authorized nine textbooks, written in French, to be used in the French schools. These schools, then, were not without a firm grounding in the educational systems of Upper Canada and Ontario.

The French or bilingual schools in Ontario did not become an issue in the greater French-English conflict of interests until the 1880's. Demographic changes in the "French" counties of Ontario were one factor.

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[73] Ibid., p. 21. German was used in a few schools were members of that language group had settled. They disappeared from the scene by 1900.

[74] Ibid., p. 27. There is certainly a difference between merely teaching French as a subject and using French as a language of instruction. Ryerson's letter would appear to be referring only to the former. Nevertheless, this letter is often cited as the official base for French schools in Ontario.

It was noted earlier that a significant Irish population entered Canada during the second half of the nineteenth century. Not infrequently, Irish Catholics found themselves combined with French Catholics in bilingual schools. The English Protestant population in the province was increasing, mainly through immigration. They, too, often found themselves combined with French Catholics in the public schools.[75] Demands for more English were inevitable in these schools. In reading the literature, one does get the impression that the general public was not aware of the existence of French schools until they started to come into direct contact with them.

Events in the rest of the country certainly contributed to the school conflict. French Canada was attempting to establish itself in the new Confederation. British imperialism was at its height. The Riel Rebellion in the West (1870-1885) carried heavy French-English overtones. In 1890, Manitoba abolished the official use of French and its dual denominational school system. In 1892, French was removed as an official language of debate in the Council of the Northwest Territories. At the turn of the century, Canada was preparing to take part in the events leading to the South African Boer War, a war of little interest to French Canadians, but of sufficient interest to English Canadians to raise the

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[75]Ontario school terminology can be confusing. Catholic schools are public schools in the sense that they receive tax support. However, the "Protestant" or secular schools are referred to as public schools, Catholic schools as separate schools. The bilingual or French schools may be either public or separate, the latter case being more common. There are exceptions to this scheme, but the general terminology stated here is adopted in this thesis.

level of patriotism to a rather high level.[76]

New concepts of education were beginning to take shape. The notion of a universal public education was receiving considerable support. Many were beginning to view education as a need for all in view of the changing occupational structure emerging from the forces of urbanization and industrialization. For the first time the general public, both French and English, were becoming concerned with the efficiency and adequacy of their schools.

These three factors combined to increase the visibility of the bilingual schools in Ontario. Ironically, the requests of French parents for additional support for their schools and for more adequate provisions for teacher training highlighted the very existence of these schools and thus opposition to them. In 1885, the Department of Education issued general instructions to its teachers

> to the effect that English should be taught in every school. The amount of time given to the study of English Reading, Spelling, Composition, and Grammar was suggested, namely two hours a day in first and second forms, and four hours a day in third and fourth forms.[77]

This instruction did not proscribe French, but introduced English into what had been almost exclusively French schools. The French schools became bilingual schools.

Thus began a series of actions and reactions, of measures and counter-measures between the government of Ontario and the Franco-Ontarians

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[76] M. Wade, op. cit., pp. 447-530.

[77] C. B. Sissons, op. cit., p. 35.

which culminated in Instructions 17.[78] Instructions 17, known as "Regulation 17," severely limited the use of French in the bilingual schools. The intensity and militancy exhibited by the parties over the bilingual schools increased considerably during the few years immediately prior to and following Regulation 17. A new accommodation was not reached until 1927, and it is under this new accommodation that the current bilingual schools operate.

Regulation 17 and the events surrounding it will be analyzed in more detail in Chapters VIII and IX. It will be sufficient to note here that during the periods between 1910 and 1927, the three ethnic-religious parties which are of paramount importance in the structure of French-English relations in Ontario today emerged with some clarity. Before language became the key issue in the schools in the province, English-speaking ("Irish") and French-speaking Catholics had cooperated in their quest for a more comprehensive Catholic school system. In 1889, the Catholic Record of London, Ontario, charged that "the reason for the attention to the Ontario French schools on the part of Ontario newspapers was anti-Catholicism, . . . 'it is hatred of Catholics . . . which is at the bottom of the anti-French howl now.'"[79]

But difficulties between the two Catholic groups had already

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[78] Ontario Department of Education, Instructions 17: English-French Public and Separate Schools, 1913. Re-printed in Sissons, op. cit., pp. 218-221.

[79] The Catholic Record. London, Ontario, September 14, 1889; cited in F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 230.

started to become apparent in Ottawa where the two shared a school system.[80] By the time Regulation 17 and its implications were realized, English-speaking Catholics found themselves in a peculiar position. To give their support to English-speaking Protestants on the language issue would remove Catholic schools per se from the center of the conflict; to support their French co-religionists would perhaps end in the destruction of the Church's hard won position. They chose the former course.[81]

The initial expectations of Québec leaders concerning Confederation seemed to have been fulfilled. In Ontario, and in the other provinces, the French Canadians appeared to be slipping into a minority position similar to that of recently arrived immigrants. They had "become foreigners in their own land." Nevertheless, the French minority in Ontario was able to maintain itself; it was not powerless.

What bargaining power the Franco-Ontarians did possess had its source in several factors. The de facto recognition of French schools prior to Confederation was one. Sections 133 and 93 of the B. N. A. Act, though not in anyway making reference to French schools outside of Québec or English schools in Québec, at least recognized the French language at

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[80] Ibid., p. 231.

[81] Ibid., p. 242.

"The educational committee of the French Canadian congress will . . . 'naturally assume to themselves the role of voicing the desires of all separate school supporters, . . . identified with French Canadianism we go down with them in the combat that will naturally be made against their aggressiveness.'"

Father Dowdall to Archbishop McEvay, February 18, 1910.

the federal level. This was some advantage. The Province of Québec had granted full educational privileges to its English-speaking Protestant minority, a useful bargaining point for the French Catholics of Ontario.[82] Finally, Franco-Ontarians were concentrated in four counties, later four regions, and were thus able to maintain direct representation in the Legislature and political parties of the province. In sum, the conflict between the ethnic-religious groups had reached a relatively high level of institutionalization. The machinery was available when issues arose.

V. ASSIMILATION, BICULTURALISM, AND SEPARATISM

Throughout the history of French-English relations in Canada, three major ideological positions have emerged as each party has responded to new situations involving both. Assimilation and separatism are, of course, diametrically opposed solutions to the relations between the two groups. Biculturalism which might better be discussed under the more familiar category of pluralism is the common ideological ground upon which the two groups can meet with some feeling of national unity. What relevancy do these positions have today, in Canada as a whole, in Québec, and especially in Ontario?

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[82]The English-speaking Protestants of Québec, though a numerical minority, can hardly be considered a minority in a sociological sense, that is in terms of power held in relation to a majority group. The English Protestants of Québec rank higher in both income and occupational status than do French Catholics.

The English Canadian Position

In English Canada, assimilation has been a significant response to the situation, first as a matter of British colonial policy, and second as a position among English Canadian political leaders. The assimilationist implications in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the Durham Report and the resulting Union Act of 1840, and the B. N. A. Act of 1867 have been discussed. Political realities, however, frequently led to results and policies other than those originally intended. The British colonial administration was all too ready to pass the Québec Act of 1774 and the Constitutional Act of 1791 to gain French support in an internal struggle.

English-speaking Canadians have tenaciously held to the view that by force of circumstances French Canada would gradually disappear from the scene. This position is, of course, a result of a firm belief in the inevitability of assimilation, in the power of the North American "melting pot" process. Assimilation is not only viewed as inevitable, but as good and proper--indeed as a prerequisite for a healthy nation-state.

Few English-speakers today will admit to an outright assimilationist position. The common position seems to be a type of cultural pluralism. It assumes the dominance of English-speaking institutions and of the English language, but admits to the existence of "other cultures" which must be encouraged to develop and contribute to a general national heritage. This is often the position implied in the activities of citizenship councils as illustrated at the beginning of this chapter. The position can be seen in the following statement made by a candidate

running in the Normanville district in the last federal election. In response to a question regarding his position with respect to French Canada, he answered,

> I don't know what you would call it, but we should be Canadian first; then, all peoples should be permitted and encouraged to maintain the cultures of their ancestors. I don't like the American assimilation or melting pot idea. We should all be Canadian first, though. It's hard to express.[83]

In a similar vein, the following comment in the Globe and Mail is cited by André Laurendeau in Le Devoir:

> The Province [Québec] is now in good hands, and the necessary basic reforms have been initiated. If we have patience, the discovery already made by its leaders, that English is the language of commerce and is as essential to Quebec as to the rest of us, will spread through the populace. We will find wider areas of agreement. French-speaking Canadians will retain their culture, as the Welsh and Scots have done. We will be able in time to find the unity we seek.[84]

Neither comment could be termed assimilationist, but each implies a cultural, while neglecting, a structural pluralism. That is, various ethnic groups "should be Canadian first" but each may retain its "culture, as the Welsh and Scots have done." Being Canadian first implies an acceptance of a dominant Anglo-society. Retaining one's culture implies a folklore level of pluralism where one appreciates the music, dance, and exotic customs of other peoples, maintained through a number of quasi-educational groups which are quite a common expression of ethnicity in North America.

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[83]Interview 002, October 7, 1965.

[84]Le Devoir, Montréal, December 22, 1962, translated and reprinted in Frank Scott and Michael Oliver, Quebec States Her Case. (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1964), p. 101.

This type of pluralism does not, however, seem to imply an acceptance of institutional or structural separation. That is, it does not allow for French language schools, for a knowledge of both languages as a requirement in public service organizations, for a "special status" being granted to the Province of Québec.

Cultural pluralism is by no means the only English Canadian position. Some assume a position which includes a structural pluralism and comes close to the Québec view of "associate statehood." Two other candidates in the above-mentioned federal election were interviewed. According to one,

> We would have Quebec and English Canada as two nations form a state, a true confederation, not a federation. . . . The important thing is that in such an agreement either party be given the right to secede. Only then is it a voluntary union; otherwise it is a case of one group imposing itself on another, and this is the current set-up.[85]

Many students of the current situation would see this position as extremely rare among English Canadians and, no doubt, it is. This student found no other similar opinions expressed. But, it is the position of a political party, a minority party though it may be.[86] And yet, in February 1966, the President of the Canadian Citizenship Council made this public statement:

It is absolutely essential that the Province of Quebec obtain a

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[85]Interview 003, November 3, 1965.

[86]The party in question received 1.3 per cent of the Normanville district vote.

special status, different from that of the other provinces if it is to develop as it so desires.[87]

The opinion of the third candidate interviewed would perhaps have more adherents among English Canadians. He did not accept the concept of "associate statehood," he did, however, grant Québec a special status as "the guardian of French culture." He also felt that French Canadians outside of Québec should have the same rights to their schools as do English Canadians in Québec.[88]

To add to the spectrum of English opinion, separatism has had its proponents. The separatism of 1849 and its accompanying violence was not unlike the French separatism of today. Separation from the Union was viewed as a soltuion to "French domination." Certainly, it was compounded with economic problems. But is not current Québec separatism also compounded with economic problems? The English separatism expressed by the Upper Canadian rebels of 1836-1838, and often attributed to British Columbia today was and is more of a political separatism; ethnic interests were not involved.

The French Canadian Position

If English Canadians tend toward an assimilationist position, French Canadians tend toward a separatist position. It would be safe to say that all French Canadians are nationalists insofar as nationalism means

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[87] Le Droit, Ottawa, February 16, 1966. This opinion stands in contrast to the opinions frequently held in local Citizenship Councils.

[88] Interview 004, November 2, 1965.

at least maintaining a sub-community beyond the folklore level. The beginnings of a conscious nationalism were noted previously in this chapter. The "pan-Canadianism" of the conservatives was contrasted with the separatism of Les Rouges.

The pan-Canadianism of the nineteenth century is related to the biculturalism-bilingualism of today. At a minimum, the bicultural position calls for a recognition of the equal status of both cultures and for the maintenance of a French Canadian identity across Canada. It implies equal participation in the economy, but a participation where the French Canadian may participate qua French Canadian. In shades of opinion, biculturalism ranges all the way from Pierre-Elliot Trudeau's

> One does not define the state by its ethnic origins, it is false to maintain that Quebec must comply with a special status because it is the province of French Canadians, . . . [89]

to René Lévesque's,

> All our action, in the immediate future, must take two fundamental facts into account. The first is that French Canada is a true nation. . . . The second is that politically we are not a sovereign people.[90]

Either position is compatible with a Canada including both French and English Canadians. They vary in the degree of political, economic, and social independence assigned to Québec in such a union. The first position, that represented by Trudeau's statement, views Québec as a

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[89] Le Droit, Ottawa, December 11, 1965. An excerpt from an address given by M. Trudeau at Loyola College, Montréal.

[90] Le Devoir, Montréal, July 5, 1963. An interview with M. Lévesque, translated and reprinted in English in Frank Scott and Michael Oliver, op. cit., p. 132.

province among many and French Canada as the sum total of French Canadians living across Canada and participating as individuals in Canadian life. Lévesque's position conceives of Québec as a state, and French Canada as a nation:

> This nation possesses its national state, Quebec. There are, to be sure, fragments of the nation outside Quebec, about a million people . . . who numerically amount to, say, a sixth of the nation. They are our French-Canadian 'minorities.' Their existence in no way lessens the fact that Quebec is our national State and identifies itself politically with our nation.[91]

Here is the concept of "associate statehood." Its adherents are willing to remain in a French-English Canada on the condition that, constitutionally, this special status of Québec vis-à-vis the other provinces is recognized. Only in this sense is it compatible with the more general French-English concept of biculturalism. Perhaps, as Professor Garigue has suggested "binationalism" would be a more appropriate category.[92]

Biculturalism, in any of its various forms, is an anathema to the proponents of separatism. One of the early leaders of the separatist movement of the 1960's had this to say,

> I just don't believe . . . that the bilingualism of French Canadians is an indication of their superiority but rather proof of their enslavement. . . . The six million French Canadians are no longer obliged to accept this minority position . . . shut up in the vicious circle of bilingualism.[93]

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[91]Le Devoir, Frank Scott and Michael Oliver, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

[92]Philippe Garigue, "Le carrefour actuel . . ." op. cit., p. 8.

[93]Marcel Chaput, "Pourquoi je suis un séparatiste," in Frank Scott and Michael Oliver, op. cit., [translated], p. 52.

The separatist position is no more of a cohesive ideology with a unified following than is biculturalism. There are separatists of the political right, currently represented by the Ralliement national, and separatists of the political left whose interests are expressed through the Rassemblement pour l'Independance nationale. The left wing separatist identifies national with class aspirations:

> [There is] an indissoluble connection between unemployment, Anglo-American capitalism, and the [English] Canadian Constitution! From a Marxist point of view it is pointless to think of the liberation of the Quebec proletariat without seeing the need for national liberation, since this proletariat belongs to a dominated language group, a dominated nation.[94]

Each of these various positions, though arising in response to new situations, (for example: (1) the treatment of the French minorities outside of Québec after 1867; (2) Canada's involvement in the Boer War of 1900, and the military conscription issues of 1914 and 1942; and (3) the industrialization and urbanization of Québec and the rest of Canada) have been built on the ideologies of the past. Pan-Canadian biculturalism developed during the 1840 Union and was the promise of 1867. Separatism, in its various forms, is perhaps the most continuous of positions in which more modern versions find their base in the provincial isolationism of the clergy and in the Parti-démocratique of the 1836-1838 rebellions. The lack of unanimity, among both French and English-speakers, is no greater today than it was in the past. And, as in the past, these ideological cleavages are functions of structural--class, ethnic, religious, and

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[94]André Major, excerpts from an article in Liberté, March-April 1963, translated and reprinted in Frank Scott and Michael Oliver, Ibid., p. 78.

political--cleavages in the society.

The Franco-Ontarian Position

The French minorities outside of Québec base their existence on the B. N. A. Act and the power of the federal government. Their feeling toward Québec is ambivalent. Living, as they do, in the other provinces, their interests as French Canadians are dependent upon a strong federal authority. In contrast, the interests of French Canadians in Québec are dependent upon a strong provincial authority. This dilemma is especially clear in the field of education. Education is a provincial responsibility, but the rights of the French minorities are protected by Section 93 of the B. N. A. Act. If Québec is to have control over its own institutions, then an infringement of provincial rights in the field of education is an infringement on the rights of Québec French Canadians. Thus, certain federal actions which may be interpreted as beneficial to the French minorities are detrimental to the French majority in Québec.

It is not surprising then, that the Franco-Ontarians tend to adhere to the pan-Canadian or bicultural position. This tendency is general among French-speakers outside of Québec. Two years ago, the French-speaking (Acadian) Premier of New Brunswick, Louis Robichaud, had this to say at a meeting in Montréal:

> 'French-speaking minorities from Acadia to British Columbia are extending a hand to you [Québec] not to look inwards--for this would be cowardly . . . [an] isolated, egotistical, pouting Quebec' would have no attraction for the minorities--including his people.[95]

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[95]Le Devoir, Frank Scott and Michael Oliver, Ibid., p. 133.

This plea was in answer to statements of the following type made in the previously quoted interview of René Lévesque's:

> We must take an interest in their lot, [the French Canadian minorities] but certainly not at the expense of the rights, the prerogatives and the needs of Quebec. If, as some wish, Quebec were to play the pan-Canadian game, forgetting to be wary of the centralizing instincts of the Ottawa government, the whole nation would court suicide.[96]

The Franco-Ontarians would tend to agree with Mr. Robichaud as indicated in the following editorial excerpts from Le Droit of Ottawa, the spokesman for Ontario's French-speaking citizens:

> The French Canadians outside of Québec would really like to know--for reasons which one may easily guess--what the government of this 'belle province' [Québec] plans for its English-speaking citizens. Should these latter be maltreated, which is improbable, or should they believe themselves to be maltreated, which is possible, the French-speakers of 'la diaspora' will suffer the consequences.[97]

Referring to a disagreement between Montréal's English-speaking McGill University and the Québec government over grants, editorial writer Willie Chevalier had this to say:

> One hopes for a settlement, to the general satisfaction of all, of the problem of grants to McGill University in order that the good image of Québec is not tarnished. As long as Québec gives evidence of its traditional generosity toward its English-speaking citizens, we, of the French language, who live outside of 'la belle province,' but in a country we call our own, might be able to lay claim to the fullness of our rights with a quiet heart and conscience.[98]

In addition to the pan-Canadian implications in these comments, one may detect the fear engendered among the French minorities whenever Québec seems to threaten the rights of its English-speaking minority or

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[96] The Star, Montréal, Québec, December 15, 1964.

[97] Le Droit, Ottawa, March 9, 1966. [98] Ibid., March 10, 1966.

shows signs of separatism. This feeling was expressed quite clearly by a teacher in Normanville, active in Franco-Ontarian organizations. He rejected the notion of associate statehood, pointing out that Québec should not have any special privileges beyond those granted to the other provinces: "What do they think they're doing? What about the rest of us?"[99]

VI. SUMMARY

Social structures "are not as such 'given,' they cannot in principle be analysed independent of their historical context."[100] Historically, the conflict system analysed in this thesis is neither a local nor a unique set of events. The purpose of this chapter was to place these events in a historical perspective. The intent was not to demonstrate that past events explain present events. Rather, because past events are compounded within present situations, the intent was to provide the broader perspective required to comprehend Normanville today.

The emergence of the three parties to the conflict system under study was analysed. Each party derived its viability from an interplay of power; a power based on the intersecting interests of religion, class, politics, and ethnicity. According to the issues, Protestant faced Catholic, Frenchman faced Englishman, French Catholic faced English Catholic. Throughout the history of French-English relations, all possible

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[99] Interview 005, November 3, 1966.

[100] Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., pp. 120-121.

combinations of these interests seemed to have come into play at one time or another.

Indeed, the nation has been held together by this overlapping of conflicting interests. Though Protestant and Catholic were in conflict over educational issues, English Catholic joined English Protestant against French Catholic over similar issues. England gained domination over New France, but French clergy and seigneurs combined with English administrators against English merchants and French habitants. This is the paradox of conflict.

Normanville is but one town in one province. Though not a replica in miniature of either the Canadian or the Ontario situation, certain relevant events discussed in this chapter bear enumeration. The French Catholics, Franco-Ontarians, of Normanville have experienced the continuous struggle of the processes of assimilation against their desire for survival. The history of this struggle is both national and local. Each carries this history with him; it is part of his identity, a defensive identity. To repeat a well-used phrase, he is a foreigner in his own land.

He is not only French; he is Catholic as well. Being French and Catholic, he lives in daily contact with English Catholics. Thus, much of his struggle takes place within the Church, both a curse and blessing to his survival. Because of his peculiar position as an outsider in relation to Québec, he frequently finds himself in opposition to the mainstream of Québec thought. If he is to survive, French Canada must extend beyond the boundaries of Québec. There are no ideological alternatives;

he must adhere to pan-Canadianism.

The British North America Act is his bill of rights. Constitutional changes, though certainly desired, contain hidden threats. His school system, though dependent on the decisions of a provincial government, is rooted in precedent and accommodation, and ultimately rests in a reluctant federal authority. To survive requires that he be a political man.

CHAPTER V

NORMANVILLE, PART I: THE TOWN AND ITS PEOPLE

To those familiar with central and southwestern Ontario, Normanville may well appear out of place.[1] Upon entering the town, the visitor is impressed first by a towering steeple of an obviously Roman Catholic church. The church and its subsidiary buildings dominate the center of the town, a rare occurrence in Protestant Ontario. Indeed, the sight may remind one of the towns and villages of rural Québec. Having arrived at such a conclusion, the visitor is only perplexed by an apparent absence of spoken French on the streets and in the restaurants and taverns. But closer observation begins to confirm the conclusion that this is a French Canadian town. Signs on public and commercial buildings are the first witnesses--"Library--Bibliothèque;" "Town Hall--Hôtel de Ville;" "Ecole St-Jacques;" "Jasmin et Frères, Marchand de Bois;" "Belanger, Imprimerie." A stay of a few hours reveals that considerable French is used in an around the town, especially when groups of friends gather.

The center of town is a little over a mile and a half south of Lake St. Joseph. A drive around the immediate area discloses the remnant of a typical rural town pattern. Apart from the church, the only conspicuous buildings are occupied by a canning plant. The plant, Normanville's

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[1] Portions of this section are taken from a previous paper by this student, John D. Jackson, "Ethnic Relations and A Community School System: A Sociological Perspective on Community Conflict." (East Lansing, Michigan: Institute for Community Development and Services, 1965), pp. 6-7, (mimeographed).

only industry of any size, employs approximately one hundred members of the town's fourteen hundred man labor force during the winter months and five hundred during summer and fall months.[2] This part of town is frequently referred to as "the village" in contrast to a more suburban type of development around the lake. The residential pattern of the town as a whole is somewhat like an "L" in shape. The bottom of the "L" borders the lake and the village is located at the top, (see Figure 2, Appendix I). Here, housing spreads out from the church dominated center on north-south and east-west avenues. More elaborate housing is mixed with cheaper clapboards; there are no obviously rich or poor districts.

As one heads north, toward the bottom of the "L" there is a narrow strip of housing, hemmed in on both sides of the main north-south artery by cultivated farm land. Near the lake, housing again spreads out. This housing is newer, more substantial, giving the impression of an urban suburb. Along Lakeshore Road, larger more stately homes appear, the back lawns of those on the north side leading down to docks and power boats. This is the new "English" section of town, an area which has grown rapidly over the last fifteen years as the suburbs of Metro Center extended eastward. Here, the visitor finds the public or "Protestant" school, Queen's School, and the Normanville United Church, (see Figures 1 and 2, Appendix I).

What kind of community is Normanville? What kind of people live there? What sort of things do they do? How is their religious, economic,

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[2]Interview 006, September 21, 1965. Employment levels vary slightly from year to year. The actual number employed during the winter season of 1964-65 was eighty-nine, during the 1965 summer season, 460.

and political life structured? What are the origins of the settlement? It is the purpose of this chapter to answer these questions, to present an overview of the community such that the reader may be able to place subsequent analytical chapters into the framework of a total, living community.

I. EARLY SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Although Normanville itself was of little if any consequence as a settlement until the mid-nineteenth century, the immediate area surrounding the town was first settled by the French in 1701. Two or three miles to the west of Normanville, the waters of Lake St. Joseph flow into the Detroit River. Only a few miles downstream, the first settlement was established where the present city of Detroit, Michigan, now stands. The site was of considerable strategic value in its command of the western and southwestern trade routes. Needless to say, it was coveted by both England and France. France remained in control of Detroit and the surrounding district until 1760.

In 1748, a Huron mission was moved from one of the islands near Lake Erie to the now-Canadian mainland at a point not far from the present Ambassador Bridge. At the same time, French settlers from the Detroit region and from Québec began to establish homesteads around the new mission.[3] For the next two years, proclamations were sent out to "every parish along the St. Lawrence River" encouraging settlement of the lands

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[3]E. J. Lajeunesse, op. cit., pp. xlvii-lii.

surrounding the mission.[4] Many present Normanville residents believe that they can trace their ancestry back to these first settlers of the Detroit region. Certainly, a glance at early census records reveals several family names common in Normanville today.[5]

Undoubtedly some of the current French-speaking peoples are direct descendents of this first group and, if not the first, most certainly of the many successive waves of families who moved into the district from Québec. The history of this region is their history. Their forefathers participated in the defeat of 1760, the partition of the colony into Upper and Lower Canada in 1791, the Union of 1840, and Confederation.

After 1760, lands were granted to discharged British military personnel. Following the American Revolution, further land grants were made to both French and English migrants from the United States. Several French families from the Detroit settlement moved to the Canadian side at this time along with a growing number of English-speaking migrants from the eastern colonies. Additional pressure for land pushed the settlement eastward through the present Normanville site and on up the lakeshore.[6] The main population centers, however, remained further to the west. By the turn of the century, the lakeshore region was only sparsely settled.

Early Development: 1800-1900

The next two or three decades saw little development; until the

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[4] Ibid., p. lii. [5] See Ibid., p. 45; pp. 54-56; pp. 312-334.

[6] Ibid., pp. lxii-lxv.

1840's the district remained a western outpost. Certainly, "the difficulty of communication with the outside world was a very real obstacle in the way of both settlement and trade."[7] The completion of the Erie and Welland Canal systems by 1829 gave the area a new lease on life. The following description of the lakeshore area east of Metro Center was given by a traveller around 1850,

> The Lake [St. Joseph] shore he found heavily forested except for a few tolerable clearings along the road. The inhabitants were principally French whose crops consisted of corn and pumpkins.[8]

Such was the Normanville district in the 1850's. It stood in contrast to the Detroit River settlements only a few miles to the west,

> In contrast to the Lake [St. Joseph] shore, the banks of the Detroit River were thickly settled, principally by French families, who had 'moderate clearings and generally tolerable houses and good orchards.'[9]

Between 1838 and 1854, two events were to occur which had a direct bearing on the future development of the town of Normanville. First, the Normanville Road was opened for travel. This road, some distance to the south of the lake, opened the interior of the country and, accompanied with concession drainage ditches, gave access to lands other than the swampy lowlands close to the lake. Second, in 1854, 110 miles of track were laid between London and Metro Center.[10] The track intersected with the Normanville Road in the town at a point just below the present location of the canning plant, (see Figure 1, Appendix I). Normanville thus

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[7]N. F. Morrison, op. cit., p. 5. [8]Ibid., p. 18. [9]Ibid., p. 18.

[10]Letter from C. N. R. Station Agent to the Normanville Postmaster, June 30, 1949.

became a "break of transportation center."[11] Farmers from the surrounding district brought their goods to the road-railway intersection for transportation to Metro Center and eastward. A passenger station was erected to handle traffic along the lakeshore.

The origin of the present name of the town appears to have been lost. It may well have been used first by the railway in designating its new passenger station. In a letter dated June 30, 1949, the then C. N. R. station agent answered an inquiry concerning the origin of the town's name,

> In regard to your request as to the information as to when the C. N. R. knew [Normanville] as a Rail Road stop . . . [in] 1856 a station was made available for passenger traffic only between . . . and [Metro Center] and [the] station [Normanville] appeared for the first time on the Auditors Report.[12]

Following the establishment of the railway, the village began to develop. By the late 1850's, it possessed numerous service industries--a stockyard, a brewery, a cheese factory, lumber mill, weighing scale, post office, and four hotels.[13]

By 1858 the town was sufficiently prosperous to request that a new parish be established.[14] Prior to this date, the community was a part

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[11]Chauncy D. Harris and E. L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss (eds.) Cities and Society. (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 239.

[12]Letter from C. N. R. Station Agent to Normanville Postmaster, op. cit.

[13]Paroisse de "St. Jean," Centennial Publication. (Normanville: Imprimerie La Casse, 1959), p. 28.

[14]Paroisse de "St. Jean," Ibid., p. 7.

of La Paroisse de l'Assomption; "the nearest church to the west was over twelve miles and to the east about thirty miles."[15] Thus, a little more than one hundred years ago St. Jean's parish was established. The foundations for the present church were laid in 1871; some seventeen years later the building was erected by the people and their pastor.[16]

Urbanization and Industrialization: 1900-1966

At the opening of this century, Normanville exhibited a lively, bustling village economy. In 1907 the town became the northeastern terminus of an electric streetcar line serving several communities in Essex County, providing district farmers with an additional means of getting fresh produce to the markets and processing centers. Many of these communities, including Normanville, possessed canning plants to handle the abundance of local fruit and vegetable products.[17]

But while Normanville was coming into its own as an agricultural center, industry was rapidly developing in the communities only eight miles to the west. In 1904 the Ford Motor Company of Canada was established in Metro Center. Though the company initially employed only seventeen workers, it heralded the beginning of an industry that was to dominate the entire region.[18] Given the location of Normanville in relation to Metro Center and a steady improvement in transportation, the town was destined to be drawn into the metropolitan orbit, to become somewhat of a "bedroom community."

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[15] Ibid., p. 13.

[16] Ibid., p. 15.

[17] N. F. Morrison, op. cit., p. 8.

[18] Ibid., pp. 178-180.

In 1921, with a population of just under one thousand persons, the village was incorporated.[19] The new town of Normanville was still decidedly French and Catholic. Of its 978 souls in 1921, 86.3 per cent were of French origin; 93.8 per cent were Catholic. In the decade between 1921 and 1931, the population doubled, those of British origin increasing in proportion to the total by 8.1 per cent. Protestants showed an increase of 4.7 per cent. The English-speaking and Protestant members of the community have increased steadily to where, in 1961, those of British origin represented almost a third of the total population, and Protestants a fifth of that total, (see Tables I and II, Appendix II).

Normanville suffered the consequences of the depression as did most other towns, villages, and cities in North America. But just prior to the depression in the spring of 1931, an American food processing corporation opened a canning plant.[20] In June of 1931, three hundred farmers were under contract to the new plant.[21] Today, this plant is Normanville's basic industry, without it the town could hardly survive as a political entity.

During 1932, the administrations of several local communities, including Metro Center, were turned over to "Boards of Supervisors" under

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[19]Ontario, An Act to Incorporate the Town of [Normanville], Bill No. 45, 2nd Session, 15th Legislature, II George V, 1921. "The inhabitants of the lands described in section 2 are hereby constituted a corporation or body politic under the name of the Corporation of the Town of [Normanville], separate and apart from the Township of . . ."

[20]Le Castor, Normanville, April 16, 1931.

[21]Ibid., June 4, 1931.

the supervision of the Ontario Municipal Board. The Normanville Board consisted of two appointees representing the town, two of the town's creditors, and one appointee made by the railway and the Ontario Municipal Board.[22] This scheme remained in effect until the end of 1934.[23] The separate school board had difficulty maintaining itself during the thirties and did have to close its doors briefly in January 1936.[24] Local business, too, had its problems, to the detriment of the town. The following appeared in the local newspaper in December 1934:

> The little Town of [Normanville] which had suffered in the course of a few years three terrible setbacks in its courageous advance toward steady development--namely the failure of the Home Bank of Canada, the disastrous abortion of an oil refinery on the outskirts of the town and the fatal misadventure of a once thriving brewing plant . . .[25]

Normanville slowly emerged from the depression, but never regained its place in the economy of the county. Although it still serves the surrounding rural area, the advent of more rapid transportation systems--the automobile, new highways, the diesel railroad engine, and the consequent disappearance of the electric streetcar line--no longer necessitated a transportation center only eight miles from the center of the metropolitan region.

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[22] Ibid., May 5, May 12, November 24, 1932.

[23] Ibid., December 27, 1934.

[24] Minutes of the [Normanville] Separate School Board, December 27, 1935 and January 6, 1939. (From the files of the Board's Secretary-Treasurer.)

[25] "Le Castor," Normanville, December 20, 1934.

By the late fifties, Normanville began to participate in the prosperity engendered by industrial expansion in Metro Center. The demand for additional industrial and residential land moved eastward along the lakeshore in much the same manner as in the 1850's. Several new buildings appeared during the sixties. A new municipal building was opened on June 24, 1961, and a public library opened its doors three years later. During the last six years, four new schools were built and residential subdivisions were opened in the northend of town.

> Construction permits issued in [Normanville] during the first five months of this year [1965] totaled $179,722--the highest for a first five month period in the town's history.[26]

The continuous importance of agriculture to the community was indicated in a recent announcement by the local canning plant that its directors had approved a two million dollar capital expenditures program for a frozen food plant and an expansion of its can manufacturing plant.[27] The amount of land within the town's limits under tillage is another witness to this fact. In due time, much of this land will be developed for both residential and industrial-commercial use. Presently, such development is an impossibility due to provincial regulations requiring an adequate sewage disposal system before further development is permitted.

In spite of the town's proximity and economic dependency upon Metro Center, it has been able to maintain an identity as a self-contained community. With variations according to ethnic, religious, and income

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[26]"Metro Center Star," June 14, 1965.

[27]Ibid., February 22, 1966.

factors, the citizens as a whole have a strong sense of community. Seven years ago, they were called upon to vote on annexation to Metro Center. Of the 1,139 voting, 88.7 per cent voted against annexation. The reasons for this strong community identity may become apparent in the following examination of the people and their institutions.

II. THE PEOPLE OF NORMANVILLE

The research upon which this thesis is based was not designed to provide a description of the "whole" community. Rather, certain aspects of the life of the community bearing on the hypotheses and focus of this thesis were selected. In this section, the distribution of certain selected characteristics in the population will be considered.

The Metropolitan Region: A Comparison

The previous brief review of the history of Normanville leaves little doubt that the town, although politically independent and possessing a fair degree of community identity, is part of a heavily industrialized metropolitan region. The following is a comparison of the Normanville population with the metropolitan region according to a few selected characteristics.[28]

In Table VI, the distribution of the Normanville population according to its three main religious groups is noted. These three contain

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[28]Tables VI to IX are based on an analysis of 1961 census materials found in R. Helling and E. Boyce, A Demographic Survey of Essex County and Metropolitan "Metro Center." (London, Ontario: The Diocese of London, 1965.)

94.5 per cent of the town's population. The town ranks first among forty-five metropolitan census tracts according to the proportion of Roman Catholics in its total population, but ranks very low according to the proportion of Anglicans and United Churchmen in its population.[29]

TABLE VI

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF NORMANVILLE POPULATION AND RANK IN RELATION TO FORTY-FIVE METROPOLITAN REGIONAL CENSUS TRACTS

Religious Affiliation	Per Cent of Normanville Population	Metro Region Rank	Metro Regional Average[a]
Anglican	6.5	43	15.2%
Roman Catholic	76.7	1	48.3%
United Church	11.3	35	15.4%

[a]The metropolitan average percentage is not the proportion of any one group in the total metropolitan population, but an average of percentages over the forty-five census tracts.

Table VII compares the ethnic origins of the people of Normanville with the distribution of this characteristic in the metropolitan region. Excluded from this table are the ethnic origins of those representing 8.8 per cent of the town's population. Normanville ranks first among the forty-five census tracts in the proportion of those of French origin in its population. The proportion of British origin, though forming close to one-third of the town's population, ranks thirty-ninth in relation to other tracts. The proportion of German and Italian origin is ranked very

[29]The United Church of Canada, founded in 1925, is a union of the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches.

closely to the bottom, but there is not too much discrepancy in relation to the metropolitan averages.

TABLE VII

ETHNIC ORIGINS OF THE NORMANVILLE POPULATION AND RANK IN RELATION TO FORTY-FIVE METROPOLITAN REGIONAL CENSUS TRACTS

Ethnic Origins	Per Cent of Total Normanville Population	Metro Region Rank	Metro Regional Average
British	30.3	39	46.6%
French	55.9	1	21.1%
German	3.3	41	5.1%
Italian	1.6	44	6.0%

Educational levels are compared in Table VIII. The educational

TABLE VIII

EXTENT OF EDUCATION RECEIVED BY PERSONS NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL[a] IN NORMANVILLE AND RANK IN RELATION TO FORTY-FIVE METROPOLITAN REGIONAL CENSUS TRACTS

Educational Levels	Per Cent of Those Not Attending School[b]	Metro Regional Rank	Metro Regional Average
Elementary School (1 or more years)	25.7	25	25.5%
High School (1 to 2 years)	13.4	22	13.2%
High School (3 to 5 years)	14.7	29	18.1%
University (1 or more years)	3.3	16	3.6%

[a]This includes all those over five years of age who were not attending school between September 1960 and June 1961.

[b]N = 3,350.

levels of those not attending school in 1961 in Normanville are fairly close to the metropolitan averages. In relation to the several census tracts, the town ranks close to the mid-point on the proportion who have had one or more years of elementary school and one to five years of high school. It ranks considerably higher, among the first sixteen, with respect to the proportion who have had one or more years of university education.

Table IX notes that the average wage and salary income per family in Normanville is $314 below the metropolitan average for the forty-five census tracts. The town, however, does rank slightly above the mid-point in relation to the tracts. That is, there are almost as many tracts exhibiting higher wage levels than Normanville as there are tracts exhibiting lower wage levels.

TABLE IX

NORMANVILLE WAGE AND SALARY INCOME PER FAMILY AND RANK IN RELATION TO FORTY-FIVE METROPOLITAN CENSUS TRACTS

Normanville Average	Metropolitan Rank	Metropolitan Average
$4,793	19	$5,107

On two standard social economic status indices, education and income, Normanville is about average in comparison to the forty-five metropolitan census tracts. What is strikingly different is its religious and ethnic composition where it ranks first in the proportion of Roman Catholics and in those of French origin in its population. These characteristics and others will now be examined in more detail within the limits of the town itself.

The Significance of Language

> Of all the things bequeathed to us by our forefathers, French Canada ought to have its heart set on preserving and defending one of special importance; her maternal language.. . . This heritage, which we hold from our fathers is a sacred trust, we must not only conserve and improve it, but we also have the obligation to transmit it intact to our descendants.[30]

The above call to preserve the language appeared in an editorial in the Normanville French language newspaper in 1931. It is indicative of the significance of language in French-speaking communities in Canada. Though thirty-five years have elapsed since that editorial, the call to "conserver la langue" does not appear to have decreased. Similar editorials concerning the improvement and use of the language appear from time to time in Ottawa's Le Droit.[31] The same newspaper carried a series of quizzes under the sponsorship of the Fédération des sociétés St-Jean-Baptiste de l'Ontario titled "Améliorons notre langue" (Improve our Language). This series was directed to children of school age, having them provide the French names for such items as those common in the classroom, automobile parts, etc.[32]

Language is the "color" of French-English relations in Canada. It is the one visible symbol which serves to set off one group from the other. The ability to speak French identifies one as a member of the in-group,

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[30]"Le Castor," Normanville, May 7, 1931.

[31]See the editorial page of Le Droit, Ottawa, November 22, 1965; December 7, 1965; and December 10, 1965.

[32]Ibid., October 16, 1965; November 6, 1965; November 29, 1965.

from a French Canadian point of view.[33] A formal recognition of French as a language of communication in government, education, commerce, and religion symbolizes a recognition of the status of French Canada in relation to English Canada. Thus, the role that French, as a language, is to play in the Canadian, Ontario, or Normanville scene has been the focus of conflicts between the two groups over the centuries.

French is also a symbol of assimilation. To maintain the language is to maintain one's identity as a French Canadian; to lose the language is to lose one's identity and to merge into the Anglo-Canadian culture. Herein lies the paradox and the source of ambivalence of Franco-Ontarians toward their language. It is at once a symbol of in-group identity and minority status.[34] Given that the use of French permits English-speakers to identify one as a French Canadian, the French-speaker has two alternative paths to follow. Either he can cease to use his language altogether or he can reserve his language for the intimacy of the family and friendship group. Both these paths have been adopted in Normanville.

This paradox between pride in one's group--the need for a positive definition of self--and minority status elicits two responses from Franco-Ontarian leaders and organizations. First, there are the constant admonitions within the group to preserve, improve, and defend the language,

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[33]The fact that few English-speaking Canadians speak French accentuates the symbolic value of the language as a symbol of identification. In the Normanville sample, only 2.8 per cent of the English-speaking Protestants spoke French.

[34]The same dilemma is noted in William Madsen, The Mexican Americans of South Texas. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 106. See also C. C. Hughes, People of Cove and Woodlot. (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1960), pp. 142-145.

an internal response. Second, there are the continuous efforts of French-speaking organizations or associations to increase the degree to which French is publicly recognized as an "official" language, an external response.

The pages of the Normanville French language newspaper are filled with reports of attempts to increase the recognition of French in the public sector. From June 1933 to April 1934, "Le Castor" carried on a campaign, supported by such local French-speaking associations as La Société St-Jean-Baptiste, to have a bilingual (French and English) sign installed on the then new Federal Building in Metro Center.[35] Similarly, in November 1960 the Normanville Société St-Jean-Baptiste forwarded letters to the Liquor Control Board of Ontario and the local town council requesting bilingual signs on their new buildings.[36] The former request was refused; the latter accepted. Since the thirties, local French-speaking residents have been attempting to obtain a French language radio station in the district. It is around this second response to the language symbol that the issues are generated which bring French and English-speakers into open conflict.

Knowledge and Use of French in Normanville

The question, "What languages do you speak?" was directed toward

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[35]"Le Castor," op. cit., June 15 and 29, 1933; July 6, 13 and 20, 1933; August 3 and 10, 1933; and April 26, 1934.

[36]Minutes of the regular monthly meeting, November 1960, La Société St-Jean-Baptiste (Normanville), from the files of the Société. See also "The Centurion," Normanville, November 24, 1960.

each respondent in the sample.[37] The responses to this question are tabulated in Table X according to the three major quasi-groups or conflict parties in the community. A word concerning these parties--the methods used in classifying the sample into French Catholic, English Catholic, and English Protestant groups are explained in detail in Chapter III.[38] Since a knowledge and a use of French was one of the items utilized in this classification by the judges, the fact that not one of the French Catholic group spoke English only and few in the remaining groups have a knowledge of French is, of course, a function of this classification.

TABLE X

CONFLICT PARTIES BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN

	Language Spoken			
Parties	Per Cent English Only	Per Cent French Only	Per Cent English and French	Number of Cases
French Catholic	0	2.5	97.5	79
English Catholic	78.9	0	21.1	52
English Protestant	97.2	0	2.8	36
Total	45.5	1.2	53.3	167

What is of significance in this table is that almost half the sample spoke only English; the other half, composed mainly of Franco-Ontarians, spoke both languages. It is because of this fact of language, the lack of knowledge of French among English-speakers, that the use of French becomes a symbol of in-group membership and minority status. It should

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[37] See Appendix III, question 26, p. 445.

[38] Supra, pp. 76-79.

also be noted that approximately one-fifth of the English Catholics in the sample were bilingual. These would be primarily French-speakers who had been assimilated into the English-speaking sub-community though they still used French to some extent.

To inquire into the extent to which French was used and the situations in which it was used, the ninety-one persons indicating a knowledge of both languages were asked a series of questions concerning where they used the language.[39] Given five situations, Table XI indicates that

TABLE XI

USE OF FRENCH BY THOSE WHO SPEAK FRENCH

Do you use French:	Per Cent "Yes"	Per Cent "No"	Number of Cases
around the neighborhood?	65.6	34.4	90[a]
in parish activities?	56.7	43.3	90
in the home?	56.7	43.3	90
at work?	40.0	60.0	55[b]
in non-religious organizations?	29.0	71.0	31[c]

[a]No answers = 1.

[b]Excludes thirty-six of this group not working. No answers = 1.

[c]Excludes sixty of this group who do not belong to non-religious organizations. No answers = 1.

French was used most in neighborhood situations, with close friends. The language was used least in the work situation and in non-religious associations. French was used to a slightly less degree in the family and the parish than it was around the neighborhood.

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[39]See Appendix III, questions 32a to 32e, pp. 447-448.

It might be expected that French would be used to a greater extent in the intimacy of the family and then gradually decrease from home to neighborhood, to parish, to organizations, to the work situation as the extent of contact with the out-group increased. That language use is not distributed in this manner in the sample could be due to the inclusion of the eleven persons classified as English Catholic and Protestant who are bilingual. These would hardly speak French in the home, but might well use the language in other situations when required.

On the other hand, this student observed on several occasions people who used French with considerable fluency in neighborhood settings--restaurants, taverns, social events, etc.--but did not use the language in their homes.[40] In the sample, 13.2 per cent of the Catholic marriages were linguistically mixed. Therefore, a certain proportion of adults who were French-speaking would not use the language at home, but would make use of it with their French-speaking associates. Also, in a few cases where both husband and wife were classified as French Catholics, they "felt more comfortable" in English, using that language at home with each other and their children, but on occasion using French with friends.

The use of French in the work situation is most likely limited to friendship groups. Although there was no firm evidence to substantiate this claim, most Normanville residents worked in Metro Center industry where French is seldom heard. To some degree, French is used as a working language in Normanville, particularly in the retail and service spheres.

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[40]Observation 001, October 12, 1965. Interview A02, April 22, 1966.

So few in the sample indicated that they belonged to non-religious associations that it is doubtful if the proportions shown in Table XI carry any validity except to suggest that it is in associations of this type where French-speakers find themselves almost completely out of contact with members of their own group. English is the language of the secular, voluntary associations.

"Ceux qui perdent leur langue, perdent leur foi." (Those who lose their language lose their faith) is a traditional reprimand among French Canadians. The connection between language and faith is a fact of history which requires no further elaboration. In a community like Normanville where English and French-speaking Catholics are required to relate to each other within the framework of the parish, there is little evidence to confirm the language-faith proposition. The proposition is not accepted by the curé of St-Jean's parish.[41] Nevertheless, the connection is strong, strong enough to permit an atmosphere in which 56.7 per cent of the bilinguals used French in parish activities. Certainly, the recent adoption of the vernacular mass has given recognition to French and encouraged its use in the parish. During the winter season, five masses were held on Sunday; two of these were in French, three in English. The weekly church bulletin was written in both languages.

Yet one must account for the observation that 43.3 per cent of the bilinguals did not use French in the parish setting. The simple fact that 39.7 per cent of the 131 Catholics in the sample are English-speaking

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[41] Interview X01, May 6, 1964.

and that English is the dominant language of the diocese and the province is sufficient cause. The communal life of the parish as a whole, as expressed through such organizations as the Catholic Women's League, The Ushers Club, The Young Catholic Students, The Young Catholic Workers, and the Catholic Parent Teachers Association, is English in character. The three exclusively French organizations--La Société St-Jean-Baptiste, L'Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs, and Les dames de Ste-Anne--are small in relation to the former groups and because of their very exclusiveness fail to represent the parish as a whole.

In an attempt to construct a rough measurement of the extent to which French was used by the bilinguals in the sample, a score of one was

TABLE XII

EXTENT TO WHICH FRENCH IS USED BY THOSE WHO SPEAK FRENCH

Number of Situations in which French is Used	Number of Cases	Per Cent
French not used	8	8.9
French used in one situation	23	25.6
French used in two situations	19	21.1
French used in three situations	31	34.4
French used in four situations	9	10.0
French used in five situations	0	0.0
Total	90[a]	100.0

[a]No answer = 1.

assigned for each situation in which a person indicated he spoke French. These scores were then added, giving each person a total representing the extent to which he used the language. Thus, a person with a score of one used French in one situation only, a person with a score of two--in two

situations and so on. The distribution of these scores is shown in Table XII.

This distribution will be used as the variable, "extent to which French is used," in subsequent analyses. An attempt to scale three of the five items was made. Using "family," "parish," and "neighborhood," in that order, the coefficient of reproducibility was .89. Though .89 is just below the .90 level of acceptability, the possibility of three scale types is suggested. First, there are those who use French in all three situations; second, those who use French only in parish activities and around the neighborhood; and third, those who use the language only around the neighborhood.

The future of the French language in Normanville is debatable. Table III in Appendix II suggests that on the basis of 1951-1961 census data the trend is toward a decreasing use of French. In 1951, referring to Table I in Appendix II, out of the 63.3 per cent of those of French origin in Normanville, approximately 55.1 per cent spoke both languages (one must allow for the small number of those of other than French origin who speak both languages in this 55.1 per cent), a difference of 8.2 per cent. In 1961, the difference between the proportion of French origin and the proportion speaking both languages was 18.6 per cent.[42] The

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[42]There is a discrepancy between the sample results; proportion speaking both languages is equal to 53.3 per cent, and the census figures where the proportion is 37.3 per cent. The two figures are not actually comparable since the sample is drawn from the universe of households on the voter's list equalling a total of 1,177 cases and the census refers to the total population of 4,476. However, if one wants to assume equality of the two universes, the sample estimate at the 95 per cent confidence

decreasing enrollment in the bilingual classes in the Normanville separate school system is further evidence of this trend. From June 1955 to June 1957 the proportion enrolled in these classes ranged from 50.2 per cent to 51.2 per cent. Following 1957, there has been a steady drop in this proportion to a low of 30.2 per cent in June 1965.[43]

Combined with this was the observation that the children of French Catholic parents (especially those of high school age and below) seldom, if ever, used French whether they attended bilingual classes or not. This student spent several hours in and around the schools, noting that French was rare among the children unless spoken to by an adult in French or when used in the classroom. Indeed, French-speaking organizations at times tax the limits of fluency of their own members. At a meeting of the local Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs (A. P. I.) a mother, speaking in French and addressing her question to the chairman, was quite concerned about the amount of homework the children were getting, especially on weekends. She asked if this really was necessary, and if the children really needed a special place in which to study. Her excitement over the issues increased until she changed into English with the comment, "I can't speak French too well."[44]

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level places the proportion using French somewhere between 45.7 and 60.3 per cent, the lower level being fairly close to the census proportion.

[43]From the records of the Normanville Separate School Board, (on file in the offices of the school principals).

[44]Observation 002, October 18, 1965.

But there are forces working in the other direction, as will be demonstrated in more detail later in this thesis. The three French-speaking associations in the parish are not, as is commonly believed, composed solely of "old people." Men and women in their thirties and forties--teachers, civil servants, factory workers, and a host of other occupations--are represented in these organizations especially the above-mentioned A. P. I., and to a lesser degree, the remaining two associations. This observation is supported in Table XIII which indicates a statistically significant relationship between age and the extent to which French is used.

TABLE XIII

AGE BY EXTENT OF USE OF FRENCH[a]

	Extent of Use of French		
Age in Years	Per Cent High	Per Cent Low	Number of Cases
20 to 39	57.1	42.9	14
40 to 59	35.3	64.7	34
60 and over	53.9	46.1	39
Total	41.7	52.9	87[b]

$X_o^2 = 16.08 > X_t^2 = 5.99$, $p = .05$, 2 df.

[a]Refer to Table XII; low = 0 to 2 situations; high = 3 to 4 situations.

[b]No answers = 4.

The over-all trend is toward a greater use of French as one increases in age, that is, there is a positive relationship between age and use of French. This may more readily be seen by computing the percentages on the vertical plane. Of those who exhibited a high level of use of French,

19.5 per cent were between twenty and thirty-nine years of age; 29.2 per cent were between forty and fifty-nine; and 51.3 per cent were sixty and over. However, on the horizontal axis, the younger and the older groups used French to a greater extent than the middle aged group. It is this younger group, generally ranging from thirty-five to forty, who are participating more and more in the Franco-Ontarian associations.[45]

Moreover, the response to the language dilemma is shifting emphasis. The internal response is less and less in terms of admonitions to "conserver la langue" as a sacred heritage, and more on the cultural and economic value of knowing two languages. The local bilingual school inspector, speaking at the above-mentioned A. P. I. meeting, emphasized the practical advantage of learning both languages--the possibility of more opportunities for good jobs, the fact that French is an international language, the value of learning French for those who will travel abroad, etc.--in contrast to the type of appeal quoted at the beginning of this section.[46] A few days later, during an interview with the inspector, he said,

> I'm glad you spoke French at the meeting the other night. It proved my point. Many English people whose native language is English, learn French by choice. It's cultural.[47]

The same attitude is apparent in the activities of the local metropolitan

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[45]This age distribution was noted at a seminar held just outside of Normanville by the Société St-Jean-Baptiste de sud-ouest d'Ontario. Observation 003, November 14, 1965.

[46]Observation 002, October 18, 1965.

[47]Interview 010, October 22, 1965.

branch of the Association de la Radio-Télévision française de sud de l'Ontario, (the A. R. T. F.).[48]

The future of the language will depend a great deal on the actions of such organizations as the A. P. I., and the A. R. T. F. Today's Franco-Ontarian children who are currently attending Normanville schools will see little value in retaining or re-learning their mother tongue unless it is obviously a living language, disassociated from feelings of minority status. If French is heard on radio and television, used in the administration of the bilingual schools as well as in the classrooms, and if it can really be demonstrated that French is an economic asset rather than a liability in Ontario, then the current trend may be reversed.[49]

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[48]L'Association de la Radio-Télévision française de sud de l'Ontario, Mémoire présenté à la Société Radio-Canada, mai 1966, (mimeographed).

[49]The relationship between ethnicity and status will be discussed in Chapter VI. The following comment from a Franco-Ontarian father is perhaps illustrative of the feelings regarding language and status. "My children," (said with some disgust), "they don't know any French. Oh, my older daughter understands a bit. French, you know, it's good for conversation, but it will never get you anywhere." Interview X02, May 20, 1964.

Certainly changes in Québec generated by the "quiet revolution" have had and will have some effect on the reception of French Canadians in Ontario. In spite of the ambivalent feelings regarding Québec, one respondent related the following:

"Québec is no longer looked down upon as a land of habitants, but as a rich industrial province. French Canadians outside of Québec are now able to identify with pride with French Canada . . . Québec's new position has meant that there is no longer a feeling of inferiority among French Canadians."

Interview 001, October 19, 1965.

Old and New Residents

Normanville exhibits a relatively low level of residential mobility. Referring to the 1961 census, 67.6 per cent of the population five years of age and over were defined as "non-movers." That is, two-thirds of the population were in the same dwelling in June 1961 as they had been in June 1956. In contrast, in the neighboring town of Lakeside, recently annexed to Metro Center, only 54.6 per cent of the population were defined as "non-movers."[50] As might be expected from an examination of Tables I and II in Appendix II, Catholics, especially French Catholics, are far more permanent than the recently arrived English Protestants. This is demonstrated in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NORMANVILLE BY CONFLICT PARTIES[a]

	Length of Residence in Years			
Parties	Per Cent 9 and Under	Per Cent 10 to 19	Per Cent 20 and Over	Number of Cases
French Catholic	7.7	12.8	79.5	78
English Catholic	24.5	34.7	40.8	49
English Protestant	38.8	30.6	30.6	36
Total	19.6	23.3	57.1	163[b]

$X_o^2 = 33.84 > X_t^2 = 9.49$, $p = .05$, 4 df.

[a]See Appendix III, question 3, p. 437.

[b]No answers = 4.

[50]Canada, 1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin CX-1, (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1965), p. 112.

This issue was pursued further by a series of questions concerning the parents of the respondents in the sample. In answer to the question, "Have your parents ever lived in Normanville?"[51] Table XV shows that 59.5 per cent of the parents of the French Catholic respondents had lived in the town, in comparison to 34.6 per cent of the parents of English Catholics and 13.9 per cent of the parents of the English Protestants.

TABLE XV

PARENTS' RESIDENCE IN TOWN BY CONFLICT PARTIES

	Have Your Parents Ever Lived in Town?		
Parties	Per Cent "Yes"	Per Cent "No"	Number of Cases
French Catholic	59.5	40.5	79
English Catholic	34.6	65.4	52
English Protestant	13.9	86.1	36
Total	41.9	58.1	167

$X_o^2 = 22.78 > X_t^2 = 5.99$, $p = .05$, 2 df.

III. SUMMARY

Though the town of Normanville is relatively new, the history of the district reaches back to the opening years of the eighteenth century. Normanville's existence as a population center depended to a considerable degree on new means of transportation and transportation routes. Its development began with the railway, the electric streetcar, and the opening of county roads. Ironically, perhaps, the development of the town was later retarded by transportation improvements such that a "break of

[51] See Appendix III, question 5, p. 438.

transportation" point was no longer required close to the industrial center of the region. But industry brings people and people require housing. Normanville again began to show signs of growth as land for residential purposes became a rarity in the industrial center.

Normanville is a decidedly French and Catholic town in comparison to the other districts in the metropolitan region. And yet, recent population growth has shown and will continue to show an increase in the proportion of English-speakers and Protestants. It is in the context of these changes that ethnic-religious conflict takes shape within the daily life and institutions of the townspeople. The people of Normanville rank about average for the metropolitan region in income and education. As will soon be seen, its position on these dimensions will increase as higher income English-speaking Protestants move into the community.

Language is the symbol of ethnic conflict in Normanville. As a symbol, it serves as the basis for in-group identity on the part of the Franco-Ontarian residents and as a visible mark of minority status to the English-speakers. Use of French thus carries both a negative and a positive quality, a paradox which leads to ambivalent feelings regarding the language on the part of French-speakers.

The roots of the people of Normanville run deep. The Catholic subcommunity is old and its members are relatively permanent residents. The French-speaking Catholics carry a tradition of over two and a half centuries in the district. Length of residence thus combines with ethnicity and religion to create rather firm cleavages or social boundaries within the community. These cleavages, as well as the necessary mechanisms

required to maintain a communal life, are expressed in the institutional life of the community. This will be the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

NORMANVILLE, PART II: THE TOWN AND ITS INSTITUTIONS

In multi-ethnic communities the extent of social organization within each sub-community can vary from simple networks of interpersonal relations to complex structures involving one or more spheres of institutional life (e.g., religious, political, educational, economic, etc.).[1] If Normanville were to be located on such a continuum, it would appear closer to the latter extreme. In addition to networks of interpersonal relations based on ethnicity, religion, and class, the town's religious, educational, and associational life separates according to the three main ethnic-religious sub-communities. Adopting a classification suggested by E. C. Hughes in his French Canada in Transition, one may refer to communal and non-communal institutions. Communal institutions involve the members of a community in common endeavors apart from their religious and ethnic interests. Non-communal institutions separate the members of a community according to these interests.[2]

I. COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS

The World of Work

With the exception of ethnic differences in income and status, there is but one economic system. Within this system Normanville depends

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[1] Raymond Breton, op. cit., pp. 193-205.

[2] E. C. Hughes, French Canada in Transition, op. cit., p. 84.

on three sources for its economic livelihood. Agriculture is important insofar as the town services the agricultural communities to the east and south. This requires the services of retail merchants, electricians, carpenters, plumbers, the professions, etc. With the exception of the canning plant, itself associated with agriculture, there are few manufacturing industries. Six small plants with from one to twenty-five employees each, and one plant with from twenty-five to fifty employees produce a number of miscellaneous products such as stone monuments, artificial fishing lures, plastics, and pharmaceuticals.[3] Apart from agricultural services and its few small industries, the town's economy depends on its residents, the majority of whom work in Metro Center.

Table XVI indicates that almost one hundred per cent of the English Protestant employed heads of households in the sample earned their living outside of the town. Those who worked in Normanville were predominantly Catholic, with slightly more English than French Catholics working within the town's boundaries. It is in this sense that Normanville must be considered as a suburb of the wider metropolitan area, and as will be seen, it is much more of a "bedroom" community for its Protestant than for its Catholic citizens. The importance of the automotive industry to this and other municipalities in the district cannot be underestimated. Close to one-third, 29.7 per cent, of the employed heads of households in the sample worked in one of the three main automobile manufacturing plants.[4]

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[3]Greater "Metro Center" Industrial Commission, Directory of Industries, Greater Metro Center, 1966. (Metro Center; 1966), p. 43.

[4]That is, Chrysler of Canada, Ford of Canada, and General Motors of Canada.

TABLE XVI

CONFLICT PARTIES BY PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Place of Employment		
Parties	Per Cent in Normanville	Per Cent outside of Normanville	Number of Cases
French Catholic	27.9	72.1	43
English Catholic	29.6	70.4	44
English Protestant	3.4	96.6	29
Total	22.4	77.6	116[b]

$X_o^2 = 8.03 > X_t^2 = 5.99$, $p = .05$, 2 df.

[a]See Appendix III, question 18, p. 443.

[b]Not working (retired, unemployed) = 49; No answer = 2.

The occupational status structure of Normanville, as reflected by the sample, is presented in Table XVII. The method of constructing the

TABLE XVII

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION FOR NORMANVILLE, RESIDENTIAL SAMPLE

Occupational Class	Number of Cases	Per Cent
1	15	12.8
2	14	12.0
3	39	33.3
4	10	8.5
5	16	13.7
6	19	16.3
7	4	3.4
Total	117[a]	100.0

[a]Not working = 49; No answer = 1.

seven occupational classes was discussed in Chapter III.[5] Several

[5]Supra, p. 70

occupations were grouped together in each class according to assigned status scores, an index based on occupation and income. Class one, which includes a variety of unskilled occupations, represents the lowest status level. Class seven, which involves certain high ranking professional and managerial occupations, represents the highest status level.

Class three, which is comprised of the many skilled and semi-skilled occupations related to the automotive industry (e.g., assemblers, bench mechanics, electricians, foundary workers, etc.) as well as office clerks, includes one-third of the employed heads of households in the sample. Close to two-thirds, 66.6 per cent of the respondents held jobs classified below the Class five status level. The distribution as a whole is fairly symetrical, although it is skewed slightly toward the lower status occupations.

In Table XVIII, the seven classes are regrouped into three categories representing "high," "medium," and "low" status. There is a

TABLE XVIII

CONFLICT PARTIES BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS LEVELS

	Socio-economic-status Levels			
Parties	High (Classes 6-7)	Medium (Classes 3-5)	Low (Classes 1-2)	Number of Cases
French Catholic	9.1	65.9	25.0	44
English Catholic	13.6	54.6	31.8	44
English Protestant	44.8	41.4	13.8	29
Total	19.7	55.5	24.8	117[a]

$X_o^2 = 16.86 > X_t^2 = 9.49$, $p = .05$, 4 df.

[a]No answer = 1.

statistically significant relationship between party membership and occupational status. Fewer French Catholics were employed in high status occupations than either English Catholics or Protestants. However, there were slightly more English than French Catholics in the low status occupations. The Protestant sub-community is clearly a higher status community occupationally. Within the Catholic sub-community, there is less discrepancy between French and English-speakers than between Catholic and Protestants, although English-speakers are more likely to be employed in a higher status occupation.

Table XIX presents a somewhat similar distribution. Slightly over one-fifth of the families in the sample had incomes over seven thousand

TABLE XIX

CONFLICT PARTIES BY ANNUAL INCOME OF FAMILY UNITS[a]

	Family Income					
Parties	Under $3,000	$3,000-$4,999	$5,000-$6,999	$7,000-$8,999	$9,000- & Over	Number of Cases
French Catholics	43.6	23.1	20.5	7.7	5.1	78
English Catholics	13.5	23.1	38.4	17.3	7.7	52
English Protestants	11.1	11.1	40.0	19.4	19.4	36
Total	27.1	20.5	30.1	13.3	9.0	166[b]

[a]See Appendix III, question 46, p. 456.

[b]No answer = 1.

dollars per year and close to one-half, 47.6 per cent, reported incomes of less than $4,999. One-third of the families fell into what might be considered a middle income group with incomes ranging between $5,000 and

$6,999. The income differences between the three ethnic-religious groups were much greater than the status differences. The English Protestant sub-community exhibited the highest income level, the English Catholic group the next highest, and the French Catholic sub-community the lowest.

Table XIX includes the total sample, that is both employed and unemployed heads of households. Table XVIII includes only those who are employed, leaving a residue of forty-nine cases. It is, therefore, necessary to ask if this residue is over-represented in any one of the three ethnic-religious groups, and if so, is the income distribution a function of this factor rather than of religious or ethnic affiliation? Of the forty-nine cases, three were technically unemployed, and forty-six were either retired males living on pension income or widows living on similar sources of income. Table XX suggests that these cases are over-represented in the French Catholic sub-community.

TABLE XX

CONFLICT PARTIES BY AGE IN YEARS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS[a]

	Age in Years			
Parties	20-39	40-59	60 and Over	Number of Cases
French Catholic	13.0	39.0	48.0	77
English Catholic	45.1	43.1	11.8	51
English Protestant	44.4	30.6	25.0	36
Total	29.9	38.4	31.7	164[b]

$X_o^2 = 28.14 > X_t^2 = 9.49$, $p = .05$, 4 df.

[a]See Appendix III, question 47, p. 457.

[b]No answer = 3.

However, if these forty-nine cases are removed and income is examined according to the same sub-sample as is used in Table XVIII, the relationship obtained in Table XXI is similar to that exhibited in Table XIX. The English Protestant sub-community receives the highest income, followed by English and French Catholics.

TABLE XXI

CONFLICT PARTIES BY FAMILY INCOME OF EMPLOYED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Family Income			
Parties	High[a]	Medium[b]	Low[c]	Number of Cases
French Catholics	22.7	34.1	43.2	44
English Catholics	28.9	42.2	28.9	45
English Protestants	48.3	44.8	6.9	29
Total	31.4	39.8	28.8	118

$X_o^2 = 12.38 > X_t^2 = 9.49$, $p = .05$, 4 df.

[a]High = $7,000 and over.

[b]Medium = $5,000 - $6,999.

[c]Low = Under $5,000.

The economic system in which the residents of Normanville find themselves is hardly local in character. Though not local, it is communal in the sense that there are no ethnic-religious divisions in the operation of the economy. There are few interests peculiar to French or English, Protestant or Catholic workers. The interests of all workers are expressed through common unions. Nor are there any interests peculiar to French or English, Protestant or Catholic, businessmen. Nevertheless, the rewards of the economy are differentially distributed according to ethnic and

religious affiliations and this will have some influence on the conflict system yet to be analysed.

Government and Politics

The political life of Normanville takes place at the federal, provincial, and local levels. Federal and provincial politics carry the historical relationships of French and English Canada. It is at the federal level that the main dialogue between the two groups takes place and it is at the provincial level that Franco-Ontarian voluntary associations attempt to articulate local interests. But, apart from these ethnic interests, provincial and federal political parties are by no means ethnically homogeneous and thus a certain communal character accompanies political activity at these levels.

On November 5, 1965, a federal election was held in Canada, presenting an opportunity to observe the political life of the district firsthand. Three data sources will be used at this point: the printed materials distributed publicly by each party, actual statements made by party candidates and members at nomination meetings, and interviews of party candidates. The following analysis is limited to the constituency in which Normanville is located.

In the literature distributed by the four parties running candidates locally, French-English issues were generally avoided by all except the Communist Party. The following statement was made in that Party's main piece of campaign literature:

> The crisis of Confederation has arisen because our existing constitution denies French Canada equal status with English Canada . . .

> We propose . . . a new voluntary confederal agreement . . . that recognizes the bi-national [italics mine] character of our country, including the rights of self-determination of each of the two nations. [italics mine][6]

The New Democratic Party, though avoiding the issues completely in its campaign literature, made the following statements in a mimeographed copy of their national convention resolutions which was distributed to party members on request:

> We must . . . clarify and define the special status of Quebec as the guardian of the French language, tradition and culture and guarantee to French-speaking minorities throughout Canada the same constitutional rights as the English-speaking minority of Quebec enjoys.[7]

> Be it resolved that this convention recommend to the provincial sections of the New Democratic Party that they advocate a full system of schooling in the French language [italics mine] where a sufficient number of French-speaking Canadians exist to make this possible.[8]

Neither the Progressive Conservative nor the Liberal Parties made specific reference to Québec, French Canada, or the French minorities in their literature available for public distribution. Both made vague references to the problem of confederation and national unity. A Conservative pamphlet calling for a confederation conference, referred to "unity through equality," and implied disapproval of the Liberal government's handling of Québec in the statement, "There shall be no weakening of

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[6]The Communist Party of Canada, A New Direction for Canada--Defeat the Old Parties. November 1963.

[7]The New Democratic Party, "Resolutions Passed By The Third Federal Convention of The New Democratic Party," Toronto, July 1965, p. 2. (Mimeographed).

[8]Ibid., p. 3.

Confederation. The dismantling, piece-by-piece, of our country must stop."[9] In a special election issue of Liberal Action, which would have had a limited circulation among party members, more specific references were made to Québec and "the task of nation building, on the basis of a real partnership between the two major cultural groups established by Canadian History."[10]

All four parties thus adopted a pan-Canadian position with respect to French-English relations. Their positions ranged, within this general ideological orientation, from the Communist acceptance of the bi-national concept to the Conservative notion of individual (in contrast to collective) equality. However, policy statements are not as convincing to the voter as the actions of candidates and their supporters during the campaign. The Liberal campaign was bilingual in character; the campaigns of the other three were decidedly unilingual.

French, as a language, was not used at the nomination meetings of the Conservative and New Democratic Parties. Both meetings were held in the predominantly English-speaking section of the constituency, with about 150 attending the Conservative meeting and fifty attending the N. D. P. meeting. The N. D. P. candidate avoided all reference to the issues of confederation and national unity.[11] The Conservative candidate

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[9]The Progressive Conservative Party of Canada, Policies for People, Policies for Progress. November 1965.

[10]Liberal Action. Toronto, October 1965, p. 4.

[11]Observation 004, October 4, 1965.

referred to his party's policy regarding a constitutional convention and condemned his Liberal opponents for "giving in to Quebec" and perpetrating discord through their Royal Commission inquiry into bilingualism and biculturalism.[12] Both candidates concentrated on local issues having federal relevance.

In a later interview, the Conservative candidate was asked if he planned to take the French-speaking population in his riding into account. He answered,

> No, I don't think we have to. The issues are common to all--French, English, or Italian . . . there is no need to use French, everyone understands English. I'm after the young people this time. They're not interested in this French-English question.[13]

In answer to a similar question, the N. D. P. candidate stated,

> I don't speak French. There is nothing I would like better than to be bilingual. But there is no use trying to fool people. Then, there are a lot of other language groups in the riding. We've tried to get a French or bilingual candidate to run for us, but no luck yet.[14]

In contrast to the latter two parties, the Liberals held their nomination meeting in the Normanville parish hall. Busses transported people in from the furthest ends of the constituency; a total of some fifteen hundred persons attended. The meeting was conducted in both French and English. French was the predominant language used in the many informal gatherings before and after the meeting.[15] The candidate was bilingual

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[12]Observation 005, September 20, 1965.

[13]Interview 002, October 7, 1965.

[14]Interview 004, November 2, 1965.

[15]Observation 006, October 6, 1965.

and has held the seat for some thirty years. He polled 63.6 per cent of the votes in the constituency, 70.9 per cent in Normanville.[16]

In spite of each party's appeal or lack of appeal to the French-speaking population of the district, the parties are communal in nature. That is, there are no French or English, Protestant or Catholic parties; members of each ethnic-religious group are active in all the parties. Normanville residents are active in the three major parties. The president of the local Conservative group was a Normanville English-speaking resident, the French-speaking co-editor of the Normanville newspaper was active in N. D. P. circles. Several residents, both English and French-speaking, were active in the Liberal Party. Certainly, the interests of the French-speaking group are, in the main, articulated through the Liberal Party, but this does not imply that this party is a French party standing in opposition to Conservative and N. D. P. English parties.

In contrast to federal politics, municipal government is perhaps the one continuously operating activity in Normanville which is almost totally communal in nature. The interests of the municipality--taxes, streets, industrial development, recreation, health and welfare--are common to all residents regardless of their ethnic-religious affiliations. In its forty-five years of existence, the town council has involved residents from the three conflict parties at all levels. Of the twenty-seven different men who were elected to the council in 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961, and 1966, twenty were French-speaking, seven English-speaking;

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[16]Metro Center Star. November 9, 1965.

twenty-three were Catholic, four Protestant.

The town council functions to aggregate local interests as they pertain to the administration of the municipality. Many of these interests can be and are dispensed with locally, but the necessity of referring to extra-local bodies at the county and provincial levels is increasingly becoming the norm. Thus, the second function is the articulation of local interests at higher levels of government. There is not only the necessity of dealing with extra-local levels of government, but many projects of regional interest require cooperation with neighboring municipalities.

The main issues with which the council was concerned during 1965 and 1966 were the problems of sewage disposal, the increasing costs of education and its resulting burden on the taxpayer, youth and recreation stimulated by a belief in the presence of a "delinquency problem," and the usual ongoing "housekeeping activities"--roads, ditches, garbage disposal, parks, etc.[17] In the spring of 1966, the five members of the council were systematically interviewed. In answer to the question, "What issues would you consider to be the most important in the administration of town affairs today?"[18] all five mentioned sewage disposal as paramount.[19]

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[17]Between November 8, 1965 and June 30, 1966, nine meetings of the town council were attended and extensive notes taken. Observations 007 to 015.

[18]See Appendix IV, interview schedule 4, p. 469.

[19]Interviews A12, April 19; A13--April 21; A14--April 26; A15--May 1; A16--May 9.

This problem illustrates quite clearly the dilemma of the municipality in relation to higher levels of government and neighboring municipalities. The Ontario Water Resources Commission and the Ontario Municipal Board, both agencies of the provincial government, will not permit municipalities to expand until adequate systems of sewage treatment and disposal are installed. Thus, in 1965 the O. W. R. C. "withheld approval for the development of a sixty house subdivision . . . in [Normanville] because the town has not the sewers to service the project."[20] In November 1965, two representatives of a consulting engineering firm appeared before the council concerning a client's interest in building a plant in Normanville that would employ from one to two hundred workers. The representatives were particularly interested in obtaining guarantees regarding sewage disposal, realizing that without such plans the town would be incapable of inviting development.[21]

Normanville is in a position where it cannot grow until arrangements have been made for sewage treatment. According to the Mayor,

> Sewage disposal is basic--without it, no building, no industry, and a low assessment. Education is a problem because of increasing needs and the requirement for more money, thus higher taxes. So you can see how this is dependent on sewage.[22]

The construction of a sewage treatment and disposal plant would be an extremely expensive endeavor for a town of some 4,500 residents. The only

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[20]Metro Center Star. February 22, 1966.

[21]Observation 007, November 8, 1965.

[22]Interview A15, May 1, 1966.

alternative was to turn to neighboring municipalities with the hope of negotiating a cooperative project. Normanville has been involved in such negotiations with its neighbors for close to six years. By late 1965, an agreement in principle had been negotiated with the town of Lakeside. In January 1966, Lakeside was annexed by Metro Center, thus requiring a new agreement to be worked out.

In its dealings with other governments, the council is acting as an interest group articulating the interests of its taxpayers at the centers of decision-making. Its ability to act on its own is slowly being erroded in the interest of "efficient government." During the last two years, the municipality has lost its library, welfare services, and assessment powers to the county government.

In spite of this increasing loss of powers, and perhaps partly because of the resulting necessity to act as an interest group on behalf of the town's residents, municipal government provides the focus for community identity, an identity apart from ethnic-religious identities. The interest in municipal government in Normanville is high. In 1963, 60 per cent of the eligible voters turned out for municipal elections;[23] in 1965, 62.5 per cent cast votes in the mayoralty election.[24] In 1959, 88.7 per cent of those voting voted against annexation to Metro Center. In this election, there were no significant differences according to ethnic or religious affiliations; the town as a unit overwhelmingly

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[23]The Centurion. Normanville, Ontario, December 16, 1963.

[24]Based on election report on file in office of the Clerk-Treasurer.

opposed annexation.[25]

Municipal government is by no means immune to ethnic-religious interests. Occasionally, but so infrequently that considerable press coverage results, these interests come into the open in the administration of town affairs. English is the language of council affairs. Municipal employees are bilingual and use either language with facility in their dealings with the public. It is not unusual, however, for informal chit-chat in the council chambers or before or after meetings to take place in French among the French-speaking members.[26] In September 1960, an English-speaking councillor announced in a council meeting that "I object to a language being spoken that I don't understand."[27] This incident was sufficient to draw comment from both the Metro Center Star and the Normanville Centurion.

The same councillor found himself in a public dispute with the French-speaking deputy-reeve over the latter's request for a French language welcome sign on the roads entering the town.[28] From time to time, a delegation to the council will phrase its complaint in ethnic terms. A dispute between two of the town's merchants over the fact that the advertising sign of one was blocking out the advertising of the other was brought to the council for mediation. It so happened that one of the

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[25]Based on election report on file in office of the Clerk-Treasurer.

[26]Observation 008, November 22, 1965; and 010, January 17, 1966.

[27]The Centurion, op. cit., September 29, 1960.

[28]The Centurion, op. cit., September 22, October 25, and December 13, 1962.

disputants was English-speaking, the other French-speaking. The English-speaking merchant, appearing before the council, was reported to have said, "My father told me sometime ago that there isn't much use in trying to get things done here because there is a group of French Canadians who will always look after their own first."[29] This brought an immediate reaction from an English-speaking member of council who requested that these comments be removed from the record. In another similar incident, a service station proprietor, objecting to his customers receiving parking tickets, stated, "I don't know what's wrong with the cops these days. Geez, if you got a French name, they're after you for sure. You're just an old Frenchman to them."[30]

These are minor incidents, incidents generally disapproved of by French and English-speakers alike. The ethnic-religious parties enter municipal politics at the level of boards and commissions appointed by the council. Here, efforts are made to assure that each group is adequately represented. These interests also appear during municipal elections. Candidates calculate their chances in terms of "French" and "English" votes. Northend residents generally support an English-speaking candidate. These matters will be analysed in more detail in Chapter VIII.

Voluntary associations. With the exception of Normanville's baseball club and the Canadian Legion, there are few local voluntary associations of any size with a communal character. Most of the local

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[29]Observation 012, March 7, 1966. [30]Ibid.

associations clustering, as they do, around religious and educational interests closely follow ethnic-religious divisions. The Legion and the baseball club may function more as communal associations within the Catholic sub-community than as total community interests. Nevertheless, both, through their sports activities, provide a focus for total community interest and involve members of the three conflict parties. In addition to these two, there are smaller interest groups that cut across ethnic and religious divisions--a cribbage club, various bowling groups, and a not too active Business Men's Association. The majority of the voluntary associations of Normanville actively serve ethnic and religious interests and as such will be dealt with in the following section.

II. NON-COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS

Though the people of Normanville find a common identity in their economic and political life, religious and educational institutions, and voluntary associations draw the population into ethnically enclosed sub-communities. It is at this level of organization that substance is given to the three ethnic-religious conflict parties.

Church and Parish

Of those interviewed in the residential sample, 89.2 per cent belonged to one of four churches located in the Normanville region. Two of these, St. Jean's and St. Michael's, are Roman Catholic. The remaining two, St. Matthew's (Anglican) and the Normanville United Church, are Protestant. Of the remaining 10.4 per cent, half belonged to churches

located in Metro Center and half indicated no church affiliation. These data are presented in Table XXII.

TABLE XXII

NORMANVILLE CHURCH MEMBERSHIP[a]

Church	Number of Members	
	Number	Per Cent
St. Jean's (Roman Catholic)	116	69.4
Normanville United (Protestant)	19	11.4
St. Michael's (Roman Catholic)	10	6.0
St. Matthew's (Protestant)	4	2.4
Others	9	5.4
No Church Membership	9	5.4
Total	167	100.0

[a]See Appendix III, question 14, p. 442.

The districts which these churches serve do not coincide with the boundaries of Normanville. Two of the churches, St. Matthew's and St. Michael's, are located in the village of St. Joseph. St. Michael's parish includes a narrow strip in the northend of Normanville, bounded on the south by an east-west line running through the town just above the Municipal Park, (see Figure 1, Appendix I). St. Jean's includes all of Normanville south of this line and a fairly extensive farming area to the south and south-west of the town.

St. Jean's and the Normanville United Church are the only churches located within Normanville itself, and as such provide the focus for the Roman Catholic and Protestant sub-communities. The United Church is a small asphalt tile building with a seating capacity at services of worship for perhaps one hundred. The congregation was established in 1946,

coinciding with the increasing number of English-speaking persons moving into Normanville.[31] Prior to 1946, the Anglicans had held services of worship in Queen's School.[32] St. Matthew's Church in the village of St. Joseph is only thirteen years old.[33]

In contrast to the newness of the Protestant churches in the district, St. Jean's parish has over a century of history behind it. The current church, a substantial stone building supporting a bell tower visible for miles, is itself three-quarters of a century old. Within the Catholic sub-community, church life is tightly interwoven with the life of the community as a whole. Physically, the church buildings dominate the landscape. It is not unusual for the curé to be present at the opening of new business ventures in town.[34] Nor is it unusual to see the curé's assistants on hand during municipal elections and other general community events, the Protestant clergy being conspicuous by their absence.[35] Indeed, participation in community life has been encouraged by the clergy of St. Jean's parish. The following comment from an ex-member of the town council is a witness to this activity,

> That's why I went into politics, a lot of us felt from our discussions in the Catholic Family Movement that we should get involved and make a contribution as Christians. . . . the ex-school board chairman . . . now a member of the school board, . . . and . . . co-editors of the local newspaper, and a lot of others; we were all in the group

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[31]Interview X03, April 10, 1964.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Interview 007, May 13, 1966.

[34]See, for example, The Centurion, Normanville, September 24, 1964.

[35]Observation 016, December 6, 1965.

together. We've always had one priest who was a good social action man.[36]

From many points of view, then, the parish acts as a communal institution within the Catholic sub-community. English and French-speaking Catholics are drawn together through a set of common parish interests and problems. Nevertheless, one does not have to probe too deeply to discover the linguistic division within the parish, supported by linguistically exclusive associations and Masses in both languages.

A recent adoption of the vernacular Mass by Roman Catholic churches will perhaps add to the support of the French-speaking sub-community in the parish. Two of the five Masses celebrated each Sunday are in French. Prior to this, the curé, in an attempt to keep both language groups content, balanced one language with the other in church ceremonies. During the Mass, sermons were preached in both French and English, and the Epistle and Gospel were alternately read in French and English. The French and English Masses are not, however, exclusively attended by members of one or the other linguistic group. Since almost all of the French-speakers in Normanville also speak English, this group attends both. There is a tendency for those who use French considerably to attend French Masses more frequently than those who use the language less often. At the same time, 53.4 per cent of those who do not speak French attend French Masses from time to time. Nevertheless, there is a statistically significant relationship between the extent to which one uses French and

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[36]Interview 008, August 31, 1965.

frequency of attendance at French Mass, as demonstrated in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII

EXTENT TO WHICH FRENCH IS USED BY ATTENDANCE AT FRENCH MASS[a]

Extent of Use of French	Attendance at French Mass			Number of Cases
	Frequently	Sometimes	Never	
High	63.4	29.3	7.3	41
Low	26.2	59.5	14.3	42
Non-French-speaker	16.7	36.7	46.6	30
Total	37.2	42.5	20.3	113[b]

$X_o^2 = 33.27 > X_t^2 = 9.49$, $p = .05$, 4 df.

[a]See Appendix III, question 33, p. 448.

[b]Not members of St. Jean's = 51; No answer = 3.

The clergy of St. Jean's, all three native French-speakers and bilingual, play a fairly neutral role with respect to the interests of the two linguistic groups within the parish. In a sense, they act to mediate these interests. Confirmation of their neutral role lies in the criticisms directed at them from both linguistic groups, each feeling that the interests of the other are being favored. A French-speaking education official felt that the clergy were not doing enough in Normanville to encourage the development of the French-speaking sub-community.[37] During a conversation, several English-speaking Catholic women showed some concern over the curé's placing of English-speaking altar boys in

[37]Interview 010, October 22, 1965.

the French Masses.[38] English-speaking parishioners objected to French being used as the lead language on a bilingual sign installed in front of the Church during the summer of 1965.[39] An organization with a relatively lengthy history in the parish was disbanded because of the position adopted by the curé that English should be the main language of the organization.[40]

The Schools: Protectors of the Faith

The same divisive factors at work in the religious institutions of Normanville are present in the educational system. This is, of course, due to the close connection between education and religion in Ontario, the heritage of two centuries of French-English, Catholic-Protestant conflict in Canada. The main division is between the separate (Roman Catholic) and the public (Protestant) school systems. Within the separate school system, a further division takes place along linguistic lines.

The public schools of Normanville, both the separate and the public systems, served approximately 1250 students during the 1965-66 academic year. In June of 1965, 1058 pupils were enrolled in the three schools operating under the Roman Catholic Separate School Board of Normanville. In September of the same year, close to two hundred pupils were enrolled in the one school under the jurisdiction of the Normanville Public School Board. In Ontario, the elementary schools go up to and include grade eight;

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[38]Observation 016, December 6, 1965.

[39]Interview 009, August 28, 1965.

[40]Interview 018, July 19, 1966.

the secondary level begins in the ninth year and runs through to grade thirteen. The Separate School Board incorporates the first two years of the secondary level into its elementary system; the Public School Board operates only an elementary system. Both school boards are elected by the ratepayers in their respective districts. The public school district coincides with the town's boundaries. The separate school district includes, in addition to the town, an area to the south and southwest of the town limits.

Apart from the first two years of high school operated by the Separate School Board, education at the secondary level is available to the residents of the town either through a private Catholic high school, operated by St. Jean's and St. Michael's parishes, or a district high school in Metro Center from which local municipalities "purchase" education. The board of this district high school is composed of representatives appointed by the town councils of the participating municipalities.

It is important to keep in mind that the Roman Catholic separate schools are not parochial, but public schools supported by local taxes and provincial government grants. The so-called public schools, though not Roman Catholic, are not Protestant; although locally they are frequently referred to as the "Protestant schools." Given a separate and a public school system in anyone community, Roman Catholic ratepayers may choose to have their taxes and children assigned to either one or the other system. The taxes and children of non-Roman Catholic ratepayers automatically go to the public school system. There is no choice.

Superficially, both systems may appear to be equal in status, but

such is not the case. There are several factors which put the separate schools at a disadvantage relative to the public schools. Both systems derive an income from a local residential assessment. However, the separate system may receive taxes from commercial assessments only to the extent it can demonstrate that a proportion of the shareholders are Roman Catholic. Thus, if 20 per cent of the shareholders of a corporation are Catholic, the separate school system would receive 20 per cent of the assessment. In a corporation of any size, with shares constantly changing hands, it is next to impossible to demonstrate the religious affiliations of shareholders. Consequently, the bulk of commercial assessment finds its way into the public school system.

In Normanville, a district with a predominantly Catholic population, a good deal of local commercial assessment will go to the separate schools since most of the business is locally owned. But even in this special case, the public school has a commercial corporation assessment of $333,220. The separate system which is five times the size must work with a corporation assessment of $359,470.[41]

In addition to an inequality with respect to commercial taxes, the relationship between the income of Catholic and Protestant families builds in a further inequality at the level of residential taxes. Since Catholic families in Normanville generally have lower incomes, their properties tend to be lower in value and, accordingly, in assessment. This gives

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[41]The Town of Normanville, Analysis of Real Property and Business Assessment upon which the Education Taxes for the Year 1966 Will Be Levied. Schedule 2, on file in the office of the Clerk-Treasurer.

the separate school system a lower assessment per pupil to work with than the public system. To this could be added the observation that Catholic families tend to have more children as well. This factor, combined with the lower per pupil commercial assessment, results in an actual total per pupil assessment of approximately $7,200 for the public school system and $2,100 for the separate school system.[42]

There are two solutions to this dilemma within the legislative framework that the separate schools are required to operate. The local separate school board may gain additional funds by applying a higher mill rate to its available assessment than the public school system. Such is the case in Normanville. The Separate School Board levies a mill rate of 107 on its residential assessment and 118.19 on its commercial assessment, in comparison to the Public School Board's 99 and 109.30 mills respectively.[43]

A second solution is to press the provincial government into making up the difference through grants. This is done to some extent, but has yet to fulfill the hopes for equalization. In 1963, for example, the separate schools in Ontario received slightly higher provincial grants than did the public schools--$162.31 per pupil compared to $134.14 per pupil. But this did not equalize the total revenue per pupil. The separate schools received in the same year $254.76 as compared to the $354.04

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[42]Based on figures in Ibid.

[43]Metro Center Star. April 29, 1966.

received by the public schools.[44] Each year the gap narrows somewhat through additional provincial grants to the separate schools, but it is yet to be closed.

Another problem facing Catholics is that within the present legislation, separate schools can operate schools only up to and including grade ten. Thus, if a Catholic community desires to sponsor the final three years of high school, it must be done under private auspices. In Normanville, the Catholic high school operated by the two parishes draws its income from student fees and the operating budgets of the parishes. From a Catholic view, parents are assessed twice for secondary education, through their local municipal taxes and through their parish contributions. Should they choose to send their children to St. Jean's High School, they also have monthly fees to pay. Moreover, the financial burden accrued in operating the first two years of high school are rather severe. The Separate School Board is not only faced with a lower per pupil assessment, but they are required to operate two years of secondary education under elementary school grants which are considerably lower than the grants received by public high schools.

It is around these issues which French and English-speaking Catholics find themselves united. But within the separate school system in Normanville, as within the parish, a linguistic division takes place. Based upon certain accommodations reached in 1927, which will be discussed

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[44]C. J. Matthews, "Trends in Ontario Separate School Finance," presented at the annual meeting of the Catholic Parent Teachers Associations of Ontario, Toronto, 1965. (Mimeographed).

in some detail in a later chapter, the separate schools of Normanville operate "bilingual" and "English" classes from kindergarten to the tenth year. Although Department of Education officials do not like the use of the term "bilingual system,"[45] there are in fact two linguistically based sub-systems operating within the local separate school system. There are two sets of classrooms, two sets of teachers, and two sets of administrative officials up to and including the district inspectors of the Department.

The bilingual system is primarily designed for the children of French-speaking parents rather than as a device to teach a second language to native English-speakers. There is a mutual interdependence between the system and the Franco-Ontarian community both at the provincial and local levels. The bilingual schools could not exist without the continuous political support of the French-speakers of Ontario, nor could the Franco-Ontarian community exist without the schools as a recruiting ground for its adult members. It should be added that these schools are a consequence of history, not of any particular pedagogical theory or technique. They are political creations.

According to a highly placed French-speaking official in the Department of Education, the usual or "ideal" organization of a bilingual system is one where

> French is used exclusively in kindergarten and from grades one to three. In grade three, some oral English is introduced. In grades four and five, instruction continues in French, but English is

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[45]Interview 011, November 4, 1965.

> introduced as a subject, as a second language. At this level, some English is used as a medium of instruction. By grade six, other subjects, such as mathematics, are taught in English. From grades seven to ten, English is gradually increased as the medium of instruction until both languages are on a fifty-fifty footing.[46]

Local arrangements vary considerably from this "ideal." With the exception of a few areas in the province (e.g., the Ottawa Valley region and certain parts of northern Ontario) most districts fall short of this mark, usually by introducing English as a medium of instruction to a far greater degree from grade three on than suggested. Proximity to Québec and/or a continuous migration from Québec enables certain school districts to operate bilingual schools where the students have little contact with English-speakers.

Normanville does not have bilingual schools as such. Rather, in two of the three schools both French and English-speaking children share the same buildings with separate bilingual and English classrooms. In St. Jean's Intermediate School, the atmosphere is decidedly English. This is to be expected as the principal and most of the teachers are native English-speakers unable to speak French. In St. Jacques' or St. James', depending on the language of the person referring to the school, considerable effort, with some success, is made at creating a bilingual atmosphere with assemblies and notices in both languages. An observer will hear little if any French spoken in the halls of the former school, but some French is used outside of the classrooms in the latter.

Parents have a choice as to whether they want to enroll their

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[46] Ibid.

children in the bilingual or English classes. The French-speaking parent will find many factors pressing him to enroll his children in the English classes. These will be discussed shortly. A glance at Figure 1 will show that the proportion of bilingual to English enrollment has decreased steadily over the last ten years. In 1955 bilingual pupils represented 50.2 per cent of the student body. In 1965, they had dropped to 30.2 per cent.

It is difficult to determine just how much of this decrease is due to French-speaking parents enrolling their children in English classes. Certainly a good deal of the change in the proportion of bilingual to English enrollments is due to an extremely large increase in the number of English-speaking persons moving into Normanville between 1951 and 1961. Based on the figures in Table I, Appendix II, those not of French origin increased by 49.6 per cent; those of French origin increased by only 11.2 per cent. This alone would explain the increasingly large gap between the number of pupils enrolled in bilingual classes and those enrolled in English classes.

However, there is a decrease in the absolute numbers of children being enrolled in bilingual classes despite a slight increase in the number of persons of French origin in the population between 1951 and 1961. Furthermore, Table III, Appendix II, shows that between 1951 and 1961, there was a percentage decrease of 11.4 per cent in the number of persons in Normanville who spoke French in spite of an increase in the absolute number of those of French origin. These two factors in combination suggest that part of the decrease has been due to parents choosing

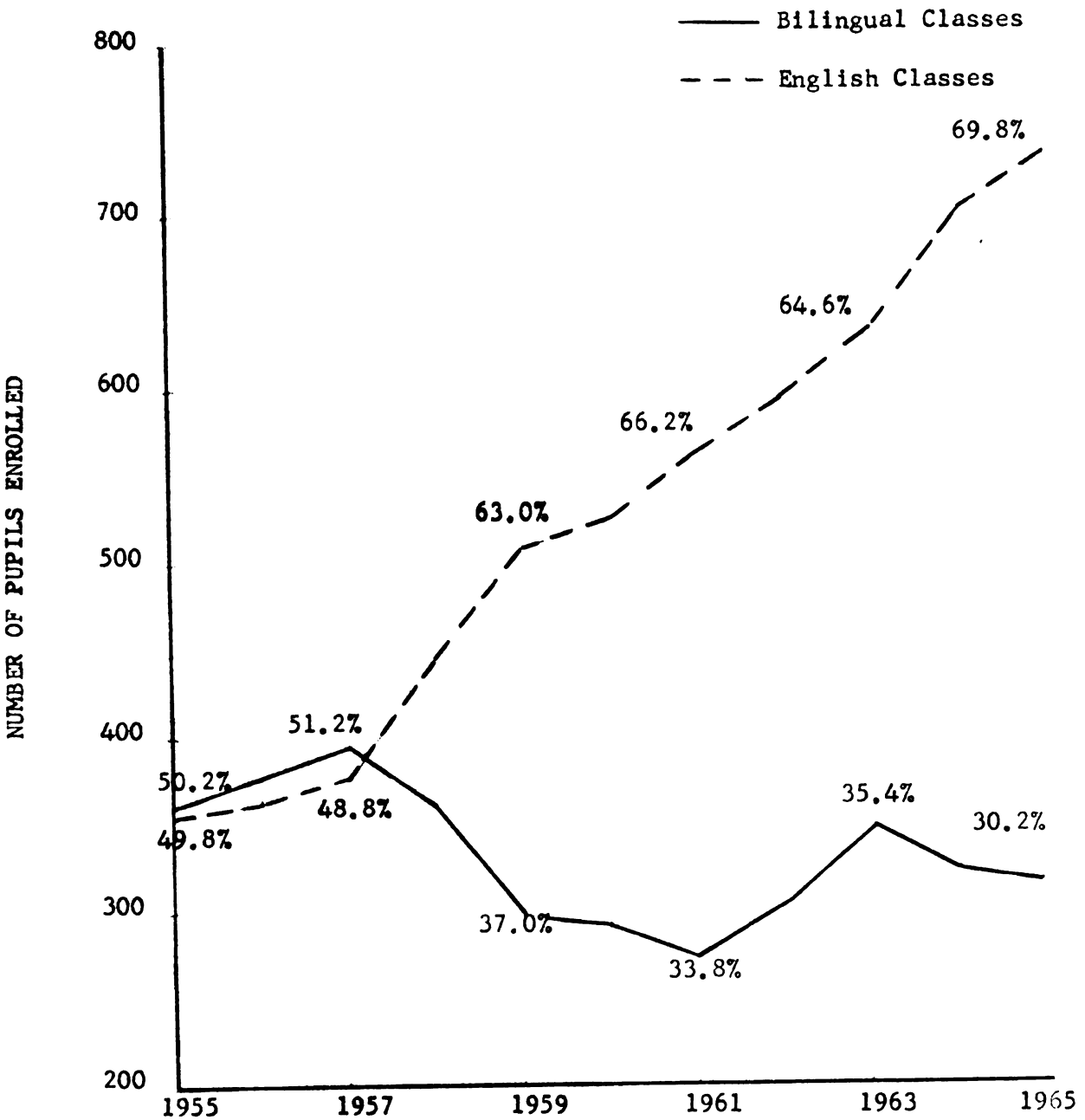


FIGURE I

NORMANVILLE SEPARATE SCHOOLS' ENROLLMENT
BILINGUAL AND ENGLISH CLASSES
1955-1965

to enroll their children in the English rather than the bilingual classes.

Table XXIV provides additional evidence for this conclusion. A little more than one-third of those who score "high" on the extent to which they use French had registered their children in the English classes during the 1965-1966 school year. Exactly three-quarters of those who scored "low" registered their children in the English classes. There is then a significant number of French-speakers who do not place their children in the bilingual classes.

TABLE XXIV

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY EXTENT OF USE OF FRENCH[a]

	Extent to which French is Used			
Type of Class in Which Child Enrolled	Per Cent High	Per Cent Low	Per Cent Non-French-Speakers	Total
Bilingual Classes	63.6	25.0	23.8	32.7
English Classes Only[b]	36.4	75.0	76.2	67.3
Total Number of Cases	11	20	21	52[c]

$X_o^2 = 6.06 > X_t^2 = 5.99$, $p = .05$, 2 df.

[a]See Appendix III, question 25, p. 445.

[b]Some parents who enrolled some of their children in bilingual classes and some in English classes are included under "bilingual classes." "English classes only" includes those who registered all their children in the English classes.

[c]No children in schools = 114; No answer = 1.

It is of some interest to note that one-fifth of the parents who are unable to speak French, members of the English Catholic group, register their children in the bilingual classes. Although the practice is

generally discouraged by school authorities,[47] English-speaking children are welcomed at the kindergarten level and encouraged to remain in the bilingual classes. The existence of an unwritten policy against taking in English-speaking children at levels higher than kindergarten is due to the fact that the bilingual classes are not designed to teach French to non-native speakers. This policy has given rise to rumors that the school authorities discourage registration in the bilingual classes among some leaders in the Franco-Ontarian community as well as annoying some English-speaking parents who would like their children to learn French.[48]

The fact remains that some French-speakers place their children in the bilingual classes, others do not. Those who do not have succumbed to a number of pressures. Some parents <u>believe</u> that the use of two languages in the early years of school actually serves to retard the child's development. One parent in discussing this matter was worried that if his child should learn French first, he would be retarded in English, and that if he learned English first, he would be retarded in French, "but if he tries both at the same time, this might really slow the kid down."[49] Whether the use of two languages in the first few years of school does in fact retard a child is an issue for empirical investigation.

Part of the belief that a bilingual education retards a child's

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[47]Interview 012, July 16, 1966.

[48]Interview 013, October 13, 1965. Interview X04, May 20, 1964. Interview 012, July 16, 1966.

[49]Interview 013, October 13, 1965.

learning progress is based on the fact that many children in the bilingual classes exhibit better grades when transferred to the English classes. This appears to be based on factors other than any inherent complexities in a bilingual education. First, many of the children come from homes where French is not used to any extent and, from the child's point of view, French is a second language albeit his "mother tongue." Since the bilingual system is not designed to teach French as a second language, such children will have a difficult time. Second, as children in bilingual classes move beyond grade two, the actual load is heavier than in the English classes. The child is required to follow many subjects in both languages, a task that many children are not capable of performing.[50]

Another factor influencing French-speaking parents against registering their children in the bilingual classes is that the provincial high school leaving exams must be written in English. Ultimately, in Ontario, the parent is faced with the fact that the child must earn a living and that living must be earned in English. Here too, one may speculate regarding the influence of status mobility on school registrations. Are French-speaking parents who are upwardly mobile more inclined to place their children in the English classes? There is no statistically significant relationship between income and registration in bilingual or English classes as shown in Table XXV. However, the observation that the middle income groups tend to register their children more in the English classes

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[50]Interview A06, May 3, 1966. Interview 014, November 17, 1965. Interview 015, November 18, 1966.

than either the low or high income groups suggests the possibility that status mobility is a factor. This, of course, is based on the assumption that middle income groups are more likely to be upwardly mobile than either higher or lower income groups, a rather dubious assumption considering that the income range of Catholics in Normanville is relatively narrow.

TABLE XXV

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY FAMILY INCOME OF EMPLOYED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

	Family Income[a]			
Type of Class in which Child Enrolled	Per Cent High	Per Cent Medium	Per Cent Low	Total
Bilingual Classes	33.3	23.8	40.0	32.1
English Classes Only	66.7	76.2	60.0	67.9
Number of Cases	12	21	20	53[b]

$X_o^2 = 1.25 < X_t^2 = 5.99$, $p = .05$, 2 df.

[a]See Table XXI, page 203.

[b]No children in separate schools = 114.

Voluntary Associations

Voluntary associations aggregate and articulate the various sentiments and interests of a given population and, as such, they both divide and unite persons. Associations of this type arise out of the divergent and common sentiments and interests related to the structure of a community rather than themselves "causing" these expressions of structural relationships. It is because of this characteristic of voluntary associations that they provide a useful device for the analysis of community social

structure. This approach was used by W. Lloyd Warner and his associates in the Yankee City studies and by Everett C. Hughes in his study, French Canada in Transition.[51] Though the former study over-emphasizes the integration functions of voluntary associations, there is a clear recognition of the fact that although,

> . . . the association helps to resolve antagonisms; at the same time it may also organize the antagonisms of these structures [i.e., religious and economic institutions] against the larger community.[52]

Associations also vary according to the emphasis they place on aggregating sentiments, of a religious or moral nature for example, or specific interests. They may, therefore, act as instruments by which the special interests of some are set against the special interests of others. On the other hand, they may be mainly concerned with the maintenance of collective solidarity.[53] "Most associations [will] . . . combine these features in varying proportions."[54] Insofar as an association emphasizes the aggregation and articulation of special interests, it is a potential conflict agency. This type of association will be analysed in detail in Chapter VII. Here, the focus will be on the associational life of Normanville in general.

Though a few associations in Normanville serve to draw the total community together, most are built around ethnic-religious interests and

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[51] W. Lloyd Warner (ed.), Yankee City. op. cit., pp. 105-156; E. C. Hughes, French Canada . . . op. cit., pp. 122-142.

[52] W. L. Warner, op. cit., p. 106.

[53] Ibid., p. 110.

[54] E. C. Hughes, op. cit., p. 122.

sentiments. A picture of the ethnic and religious composition of the main, locally based associations is presented in Figure 2. Those which bring the townspeople together are secular in nature and focus on recreational, patriotic, and economic interests.

The absence of any number of French Protestants in the community accounts for the absence of associations in cells four, six, and seven. The absence of associations in cell two reflects an important fact regarding social life in Normanville. There are no exclusively English-speaking Catholic associations. The religious associations in cell three, though separating Protestant from Catholic, serve to combine French and English-speaking Catholics around common parish sentiments and interests. The observation that English is the predominant, if not the official, language of these total parish associations points to the dominance of the English-speaking party within the parish.

There are two secular associations in cell three which are Catholic in fact rather than by definition. That is, following Hughes' study of Cantonville, people do not say, "Let's form a Euchre Club with an exclusive Catholic membership." Rather, "they simply form associations among their fellows who [happen to be] . . . Catholic."[55] It is through this process that the Euchre Club and the Fire Brigade are predominantly Catholic in membership.

In contrast to the mixed Catholic associations, those in cell one are exclusively French-speaking, functioning to organize some parish

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	ETHNIC AFFILIATION		
	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MIXED
CATHOLIC	1 La Caisse Populaire La Société St-Jean-Baptiste L'A. P. I. Les dames de Ste-Anne	2	3 Legion of Mary St. Vincent de Paul Catholic Women's League Scouts and Guides Ushers Club Young Catholic Workers Young Catholic Students C. P. T. A. K. of C. Euchre Club Volunteer Fire Brigade
PROTESTANT	4	5 United Church Women Scouts and Guides	6
MIXED	7	8 Queen's School Home and School Association	9 Baseball Club Canadian Legion Business Men's Association Bowling Cribbage Club

FIGURE 2

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS IN NORMANVILLE, ONTARIO[a]

[a]This table does not include all the associations in Normanville. It includes those local associations mentioned by the respondents in the sample in answer to question 35, page 449, Appendix III, and others with which this student was familiar.

members around special ethnic sentiments and interests. With the exception of Les dames de Ste. Anne, which is an association organized around the ceremonies of the church, these associations aggregate and articulate the special interests of the Franco-Ontarian population in Normanville through regional and provincial bodies.

There are few English-speaking Protestant associations in Normanville. The United Church Women are Protestant by definition, but English in fact. The Scouts and Guides, though attached to the local United Church, are Protestant and English in fact rather than by definition. The Queen's School Home and School Association, which went out of existence early in 1966 because of lack of interest, was also English in fact. The paucity of English-speaking Protestant associations is due in part to the fact that the majority of this group are relatively new residents in contrast to the strong village and parish attachments built up by the more permanent Catholic population.

Many of the English-speaking Protestants who did indicate local association membership were affiliated with professional, fraternal, and service associations operating on a metropolitan level, (e.g., Business and Professional Women's Association, The Canadian Red Cross, University Women's Association, The Canadian Cancer Society, The Masonic Order, etc.). The status level of the English Protestant group is reflected in the recreational associations to which they belong. Only eleven respondents in the sample belonged to a nearby golf club, a sailing club, and the Metro Center Curling Club; and they were all English-speaking Protestants.

The lack of participation of the members of the English Protestant

party in comparison to the Catholic parties is indicated in Table XXVI. Although there is no statistically significant relationship between party membership and participation in voluntary associations, Catholics tend to participate more heavily than Protestants, and French-speakers more heavily than English-speakers. This, in turn, provides some indication as to the extent to which each party is tied into the life of the community. The northend English Protestants are not as much a part of Normanville, viewing themselves more as residents of the metropolitan region.

TABLE XXVI

CONFLICT PARTIES BY ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP[a]

	Association Membership		
Conflict Parties	Per Cent "Yes"	Per Cent "No"	Number of Cases
French Catholic	55.7	44.3	79
English Catholic	46.2	53.8	51
English Protestant	36.1	63.9	36
Total	48.5	51.5	167

$X_o^2 = 4.01 < X_t^2 = 5.99$, $p = .05$, 2 df.

[a]See Appendix III, question 34, p. 449.

III. SUMMARY

The institutional life of Normanville both divides and unites the town's population. In dividing the population, certain institutions create potentially antagonistic sentiments and interests. In uniting the population, other institutions give a cohesion to the community as a whole. Non-communal institutions perform the former function, communal institutions the latter. Just which institutions will fall into which category

in any given community is a consequence of history.

Political and economic institutions and certain voluntary associations were shown to be primarily communal in character. Religious and educational institutions and the majority of the voluntary associations were viewed as non-communal in character. Certainly, the communal-non-communal distinction is relative to the system with which one is dealing. Thus, it was seen that from the point of view of the Catholic subsystem, the parish was a communal institution with respect to French and English-speaking Catholics, but a non-communal institution in relation to the community as a whole.

The minority status of Catholics in general and French-speaking Catholics in particular became apparent through an analysis of occupational and income differences. The unequal distribution of educational resources among the Catholic and non-Catholic school systems adds additional support to this conclusion as does the subordinate position of the Franco-Ontarians in school and parish.

CHAPTER VII

THE EMPIRICAL CONDITIONS FOR CONFLICT

The empirical conditions required for a state of conflict to exist were defined in Chapter II. The required conditions consist of: (1) two or more parties exhibiting some level of organization beyond that of statistical categories; (2) these parties must be in contact with each other; and (3) a condition of resource scarcity and/or value incompatibility.

In the preceding two chapters, certain characteristics of the population of Normanville and certain aspects of the town's institutional life were described. In this chapter the question, "Does a state of conflict exist between the three social categories referred to as conflict parties?" is addressed to the data. The hypotheses posited for this research were based on the assumption that a state of conflict was present. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate, empirically, that this assumption holds.

I. THE PARTIES: QUASI-GROUPS OR STATISTICAL CATEGORIES?

Up to this point French Catholics, English Catholics, and English Protestants have been referred to as conflict parties. The fact that these parties were constructed by utilizing the subjective judgement of selected leaders in the community does not necessarily imply that they meet the requirements for conflict parties as previously defined. It remains to demonstrate empirically that each meets, as a minimum, the

desiderata for a quasi-group.[1]

R. K. Merton has suggested that in order to establish the existence of social groups the objective criteria of observed interaction and the subjective criteria of definition of membership by self and others are necessary.[2] It would seem that if there is evidence of a degree of interaction within each of the three groupings and a subjective awareness of membership, then they are parties rather than statistical categories. This will be accomplished by examining: (1) the extent of interaction between French and English-speaking residents; (2) the subjective awareness of membership in these groupings; and (3) the extent of institutional separation.

Interpersonal Interaction

A certain amount of residential segregation, according to party membership, was found. An examination of Figure 3, Appendix I, indicates an unequal distribution of French and English Catholics and English Protestants over the eleven municipal polling divisions. Polling divisions nine through eleven are predominantly English Protestant in composition; two through four, and seven are predominantly French Catholic, and the remaining four divisions are predominantly English Catholic.

If the northern boundary of polling divisions four and five is

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[1] Supra, p. 25. Quasi-groups, as defined by Ginsberg, are aggregates ". . . whose members have certain interests or modes of behaviour in common, which may at any time lead them to form themselves into definite groups."

[2] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory. . . . op. cit., pp. 284-286.

arbitrarily taken as dividing the town into two sectors, 63.3 per cent of the French Catholics live below this line, and 86.1 per cent of the English Protestants live above this line. These data are shown in Table XXVII. It should be noted that there is less segregation between English-speaking Protestants and Catholics than between the former and French Catholics. In other words, the patterns of residential segregation follow linguistic more than religious divisions. The English Catholic acts as a bridge between the remaining two groups in that they are much more evenly distributed throughout the town.

TABLE XXVII

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF CONFLICT PARTY MEMBERS

	Polling Divisions		
Parties	1 - 5	6 - 11	Number of Cases
French Catholics (Per Cent)	63.3	36.7	79
English Catholics (Per Cent)	42.3	57.7	52
English Protestants (Per Cent)	13.9	86.1	36
Total (Per Cent)	46.6	53.4	167

Given the close relationship between the parties and income levels, the residential segregation is perhaps more a function of class than of ethnicity and religion. The assessment values of residential property tend to increase as one moves from the southend of town toward the lake. On the other hand, the observed segregation is also a function of the history of the community. The original residents, French and Catholic, clustered around the rail and road intersection in the southend. It was in this district, comprising of polling divisions one through five, that

the religious, educational, political, and economic institutions of early Normanville developed. Later residents, mostly English-speaking, moved into the available lands near the lake, an area which in the middle of the nineteenth century was largely swamp.

Whatever the origins of the current pattern of segregation, its coincidence with ethnic and religious cleavages partially determines the patterns of interpersonal relations at the neighborhood level. Observations of interpersonal relations in various formal and informal settings suggest that interaction does tend to follow the major ethnic-religious divisions in the community.

With the exception of political and sports events, most social gatherings in Normanville are either almost exclusively Catholic or exclusively Protestant in composition. It is within the Catholic grouping that one can observe the effects of language as a divisive factor. There is a tendency for French-speakers to gravitate toward each other and converse in French. The following is quoted from field notes written after the Separate School Board nomination meeting in November 1965:

> Initially, there was considerable milling around, French and English participants talking to each other in English. Finally, three clusters formed. A little group in one corner at the back of the room . . . were speaking English. In another corner at the front of the room, another group was speaking English--McQuaid, Mason, the Carmichaels, and a few others. In the other front corner was a group speaking French--Janisse, Bourdeau, Lacharité, and Durocher. From time to time, people would come in, greet all, and settle in with one or the other now-permanent clusters. The "French" cluster did not remain exclusively in French, but switched back and forth according to who joined their group.[3]

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[3]Observation 017, November 24, 1965. Also Observation 016, December 6, 1965; Observation 018, January 5, 1966; Observation 019, January 16, 1966.

This was not an unusual set of circumstances. Most gatherings of any size broke into linguistically separate sub-groups prior to and following meetings. This same clustering of linguistically separate groups was observed many times in restaurants and taverns, indicating the possibility of linguistically based friendship groups or cliques.[4]

One may also observe the extent to which fraternization across ethnic-religious boundaries occurs by noting who must be introduced to whom during informal gatherings. Following a session at the Town Hall just prior to the municipal elections, a group adjourned to the Normanville Tavern. Before the evening had concluded, two northend English Protestants had joined the group. Both were Public School Board members and had lived in Normanville for sometime, but both had to be introduced to most of those gathered around the table, each being a prominent leader in town affairs. The entrance of one of the northend resident's was recorded as follows:

> It was interesting to watch MacLeod's entrance. He came in alone after most of the group had gathered. He entered hesitatingly, noticed the group in the corner. Jack Smith [the other northend resident present that evening] called him over, set up another chair. MacLeod looked at the group, 'Well, I don't know if I can keep up with this side of town.' and aside to the waiter, 'Oh let's see, yea, I'll have a beer.' He had to be introduced to most of the people around the table, including O'Toole [a member of the council for two years].[5]

A similar set of circumstances occurred at a house party following the municipal elections:

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[4]Observation 020, August 26, 1965; Observation 021, August 29, 1965; Observation 022, October 2, 1965.

[5]Observation 017, November 24, 1965.

> The most significant event of the evening was the arrival of the members of the Public School Board . . . MacLeod, Smith, MacTavish, Jones, Barker, and Brown. This was indeed the first time that this group, representative of the northside Anglo-Protestants, had socially joined with the 'Irish' Catholic clique. All of the former had to be introduced to most of the men and all of the wives of the latter.[6]

Although French and English-speaking Catholics interact with considerably more frequency than Catholics and Protestants, the following event supports the possibility of linguistically based cliques within the Catholic grouping. At a small household gathering, French and English-speaking couples--all active in parish and town affairs--required introductions.

> Jean-Pierre Cartier is the mayor and the son of an old and prominent family in town. Bill McQuaid is a councillor; both he and his wife are active in parish and town affairs. The Patricks who have been in town for five years are extremely active in parish affairs. Jean-Pierre and Bill have grown up together [and therefore know each other quite well and see each other frequently] . . . However, Mrs. Cartier had not been in the McQuaid's house for four years and was anxious to see the renovations. Perhaps they had met from time to time, but the comments seemed to suggest that neither woman had seen the other very often over the last four years.
>
> The McQuaids and the Patricks see each other frequently. But the Cartiers had not met the Patricks, they were strangers! Mr. Patrick may have bumped into Jean-Pierre from time to time [according to his own admission], but as couples they were strangers.[7]

To provide further support for these impressions, a series of questions were asked of the respondents in the sample regarding cross-ethnic and religious contact and association at the interpersonal level.[8] One set of questions queried the respondents regarding the extent of cross-

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[6]Observation 016, December 6, 1965.

[7]Observation 023, July 16, 1966.

[8]See Appendix III, questions 36-44, pp. 450-455.

religious contact in three settings--the neighborhood, non-religious associations, and at work.[9] Similar to the procedure followed with the language questions, each person was given a score of one for each setting in which he indicated cross-religious contacts. These scores were added, giving each respondent a total representing the extent to which he associates with members of the opposite religious grouping. The results are tabulated in Table XXVIII according to party membership.

TABLE XXVIII

CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION SCORES
BY CONFLICT PARTIES

	Catholic-Protestant Association Scores				
Parties	Per Cent Scoring "0"	Per Cent Scoring "1"	Per Cent Scoring "2"	Per Cent Scoring "3"	Number of Cases
French Catholic	30.4	31.6	27.9	10.1	79
English Catholic	13.5	36.5	36.5	13.5	52
English Protestant	5.5	27.8	38.9	27.8	36
Total	19.8	32.3	32.9	15.0	167

Almost one-fifth of the sample indicated a complete lack of cross-religious contact and 15 per cent exhibited a relatively high level of contact. French Catholics have considerably less contact with Protestants than do English Catholics. The higher level of association of Protestants with Catholics as compared to Catholics with Protestants is perhaps a reflection of the residential distribution of each religious grouping. There are Catholics in all the polling divisions, but several

[9]See Appendix III, question 43a to 43c, p. 454.

divisions, particularly one through five, contain very few Protestants. Thus, there is a certain proportion of Catholics who have less opportunity to interact with Protestants at the neighborhood level.

Given the previously noted relationship between ethnicity, religious affiliation, and income levels, it would be expected that social class acts as an additional factor in separating the residents of Normanville into sub-groups. There is a statistically significant relationship between family income levels and cross-religious association scores. As shown in Table XXIX, the higher the income level, the more cross-religious contact there is.

TABLE XXIX

CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT ASSOCIATION SCORES
BY FAMILY INCOME LEVELS

	Catholic-Protestant Association Scores				
Family Income Levels	Per Cent Scoring "3"	Per Cent Scoring "2"	Per Cent Scoring "1"	Per Cent Scoring "0"	Number of Cases
High	35.1	32.4	21.6	10.9	37
Medium	20.0	42.0	28.0	10.0	50
Low	2.5	27.8	40.5	29.2	79
Total	15.1	33.1	32.5	19.3	166[a]

$X_o^2 = 31.59 > X_t^2 = 12.59$, $p = .05$, 6 df.

[a]No answer = 1

Another set of questions was directed to the respondents regarding cross-linguistic contact and association.[10] Each respondent was given

[10]See Appendix III, question 39a to 39d, pp. 451-452.

a score of one for each of the settings (i.e., neighborhood, parish or church, non-religious associations, and at work) in which he indicated cross-linguistic contacts. Comparing Table XXX with Table XXVIII, one may note that there is more contact between French and English-speakers than between Protestants and Catholics. This difference is a reflection of the higher cross-linguistic contact within the Catholic sub-community.

TABLE XXX

FRENCH-ENGLISH ASSOCIATION SCORES

Extent of Contact	Cross-Linguistic Association Scores					
	Per Cent Scoring "0"	Per Cent Scoring "1"	Per Cent Scoring "2"	Per Cent Scoring "3"	Per Cent Scoring "4"	Number of Cases
French with English-speakers	5.6	22.2	33.3	26.4	12.5	72
English with French-speakers	16.5	21.2	34.1	21.2	7.0	85
Total	11.4	21.7	33.7	23.6	9.6	157[a]

[a]No answer = 1; Interviewer errors = 9.

Also, there is a tendency for French-speakers to exhibit a higher degree of association with English-speakers than the reverse. This is due to the religious and linguistic separation of English Protestants from French Catholics, and to the residential distribution of the three groups. English Protestants have far less opportunity to associate with French Catholics than do French with English Catholics. Social class is also operative. Table XXXI indicates a statistically significant relationship between income levels and cross-linguistic association scores. As with cross-religious association, there is a greater tendency for

fraternization across religious and linguistic boundaries at the higher income levels.[11]

There is, then, sufficient evidence from the sample to confirm the observation that interpersonal interaction tends to follow ethnic and religious cleavages supported by residential segregation and class differences. It would be stretching the point, however, to infer from these

TABLE XXXI

FRENCH-ENGLISH ASSOCIATION SCORES
BY FAMILY INCOME LEVELS

Family Income Levels	French-English Association Scores			
	Per Cent High[a]	Per Cent Low[b]	Per Cent No Association[c]	Number of Cases
High	51.4	29.7	18.9	37
Medium	40.0	54.0	6.0	50
Low	23.1	66.7	10.2	78
Total	34.5	54.5	11.0	165[d]

$X_0^2 = 15.35 > X_t^2 = 9.49$, $p = .05$, 4 df.

[a]High = 3-4. [b]Low = 1-2.

[c]No Association = 0. [d]No answers = 2.

[11]The observation that there is greater cross-religious and linguistic contact at higher income levels should not, out of hand, be taken as evidence of a commonly accepted relationship between higher incomes and assimilation. In the context of French-English relations, it is the members of higher income groups who, although having more contact with each other, are also representatives of conflict agencies and are filling conflict agent positions.

Cf. Marc-Adélard Tremblay, "The Acadians of Portsmouth: A Study in Culture Change." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1954), p. 217.

data that the proposed conflict parties are completely closed groups. Residence, religious affiliations, ethnicity and social class have differential effects on the patterns of interpersonal interaction.

Religious affiliations appear to have a most divisive influence, separating Protestant from Catholic, particularly French Catholic from English Protestant. The presence of English Catholics reduces the extent of separation along ethnic lines and to a lesser degree along religious lines. Income levels again redistribute the population by providing sets of common values according to social class which criss-cross ethnic and religious boundaries. At the higher income levels, there is more association between Catholics and Protestants, and French and English-speakers, than at the lower income levels. But even here, there is a sufficient residue of persons with low association scores to support the presence of quasi-groups based on ethnic and religious affiliations. Moreover, a portion of the institutional life of the community follows ethnic and religious cleavages.

Institutional Separation

The extent of institutional separation was described in the previous chapter. Religious and educational institutions and voluntary associations divide the population into ethnic-religious groupings. There is an interdependence between this pattern and patterns of interpersonal interaction. In a recent study on the Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities, Raymond Breton notes that,

> the presence of formal organizations in the ethnic community sets out forces that have the effect of keeping the social relations of the

> immigrants within its boundaries. It tends to minimize out-group contacts.[12]

Likewise, a minimum of out-group contacts provides the interactional base from which ethnically enclosed organizations may emerge and grow. In Normanville, these two factors combine to form relatively stable quasi-groups primarily based on ethnic and religious affiliations.

Subjective Awareness

Another test of the existence of social groups is the degree to which those involved have an awareness of membership. That is, are there subjective definitions of who belongs and who does not belong to one or another grouping? A second but related criterion is a subjective imputing of differential interests to the groups involved.

The fact that three prominent members of the Catholic sub-community were able, without resistance, to classify almost four-fifths of the Catholic portion of the sample as belonging to either a French or an English-speaking grouping is itself evidence of a subjective awareness of membership.[13] Most certainly, lines are blurred when certain specific persons are taken into account, and this was the case with 21.9 per cent of the Catholics in the sample.

Conversations in Normanville are liberally disseminated with references to the three parties, a further indication that they have meaning to the people. A few excerpts from interviews and field notes to this

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[12]Raymond Breton, op. cit., p. 196.

[13]Supra, pp. 76-78.

effect are quoted here. The following is from an interview with an active English-speaking member of St. Jean's parish. He was asked the question, "How about church organizations? Are there French and English groups or are they mixed?" The reply:

> Everytime something gets going around here, the French want to split and form two organizations. And what happens? Both flop. That's what happened to the P. T. A. There are two of them now. Neither is any good. They always try and force French down your throat.[14]

In a campaign speech during the municipal elections, an English-speaking candidate made the following comment,

> It's time we stopped thinking about this side of the tracks and that side of the tracks, about this church and that church, about who speaks French and who speaks English.[15]

A French-speaking resident, attempting to settle a neighborhood dispute between an English-speaking and a French-speaking citizen, was asked by the latter, "Yves, why are you against me? We've been friends for a long time. Why go against <u>your own kind</u>?" [italics mine].[16]

The imputing of divergent interests to each of the parties was most obvious during the municipal elections. Candidates and local political pundits view elections in religious and ethnic terms. There is a belief that French-speaking candidates have less of a chance in the north-end than English-speakers and that Protestants have little chance in the southend polls. During a discussion of municipal politics, the following

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[14]Interview 008, August 31, 1965.

[15]Observation 024, November 26, 1965.

[16]Interview A12, April 19, 1966.

was related to this observer by a French-speaking resident,

> Now, what's your name--Jackson, eh? Well, if you ran in a local election as an unknown, the people on the other side [italics mine, refers to the northend of town] would vote for you.
>
> Because my name is Anglo-Saxon?
>
> Yea, now I know some people over there and they are always complaining about the French clique in town politics.[17]

The following comment, made by an English-speaking Catholic and an ex-member of the town council, agrees with the above statement:

> I've lived here in the village for sometime . . . and I'm active in Church affairs so the people over here [the southend] know me. I got their votes in spite of my name. But I got the votes on the lakeside, too, because of my Anglo-Saxon name. They didn't know me, but they'll vote for an English over a French name. Those people over there are always complaining about the French who run the town. I've told them to run their own candidates if that's the way they feel.[18]

But how does the "other side" of town feel about it? English Protestants have held council positions, but very few since the incorporation of the town in 1921. The following, told by one of the English Catholic candidates in the 1965 election, is indicative of the northend residents' view,

> [upon entering the Town Hall] on Wednesday night . . . I bumped into . . . and . . . [both active leaders in the Protestant subcommunity]. They said, 'Where have you been? We've been looking for you. What are you going to run for? . . . , We need you. We need an English guy to represent our side. We'll put you up for councillor and support you.'[19]

In reply to this comment, a French-speaking resident present during the

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[17]Interview 016, August 28, 1965.

[18]Interview 008, August 31, 1965.

[19]Observation 024, November 26, 1965.

conversation said,

> That . . . told me he was going to support you and . . . . That goddamn . . . is supporting you two because you're the only English, I mean non-French names on the list. He'll support Polacks, Wops, or what-have-you, but not a Frenchman.[20]

These are the perspectives of those active in local politics and as will be seen in an analysis of voting patterns in the next section of this chapter, the voters apparently hold the same perspectives. The people of Normanville feel that if one is an English Catholic, a French Catholic, or an English Protestant, he will represent the special interests of his group. An awareness of these divergent interests is frankly admitted in appointments to many of the municipal boards and commissions. All five members of the council admitted to giving some consideration to the religious groups or the two sides of town in making appointments.[21]

In reference to a recently appointed committee to discuss youth and recreation problems, both the Parks and Recreation Chairman and the Mayor stated that they endeavored to get all points of view represented. From the Mayor,

> [The Chairman and I] immediately thought of the two churches and the two ends of town in setting up the Youth Committee. [On the other hand] the Planning Board has always been loaded with guys from the lake. [A past mayor], he polled heavily out there and put them all on. [One of our councillors] pointed that out and said we need somebody from this neck of the woods [the southend] on the Planning Board.[22]

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Interviews A12, April 19, 1966; A13, April 21, 1966; A14, April 26, 1966; A15, May 1, 1966; A16, May 9, 1966.

[22] Interview A15, May 1, 1966.

And, from the Chairman of the Parks Board,

> Areas are taken into consideration; it's the biggest factor. It might be wrong because we don't always get someone who is interested or qualified. It happens, like in deciding who I would invite to this discussion on youth . . . I thought of the two religious groups, someone from the northside of town and someone from this side . . .[23]

Given the observed degree of in-group interaction at the interpersonal and institutional levels and the presence of a subjective awareness of party membership and interests, it may be concluded that the three conflict parties exhibit a degree of organization which at least meets the requirements for quasi-groups. They are not in any way to be taken as cohesive social groups, but their minimum degree of organization provides the necessary structure for an emergence of groups--of conflict agencies.

II. CONTACT AND INTERACTION: CONFLICT AGENCIES AND AGENTS

The mere presence of quasi-groups does not imply intergroup conflict, there must also be some form of contact between the parties. According to Williams,

> intergroup or intercategory relations do not consist of merely isolated person-to-person relations . . . In addition . . . there is the interplay of organized interest groups . . . and the representational and negotiating relationships of leaders and officials.[24]

The category of <u>interests</u> refers to the orientations associated with

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[23]Interview A14, April 26, 1966.

[24]Robin M. Williams, Jr., <u>Strangers Next Door</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 362.

differential positions in a social structure.[25] In the case of minority groups, an unequal distribution of power, wealth, and prestige provides the positional base for differentiated orientations on the part of subordinate and superordinate groups.

If incumbents of positions carrying common interests are conscious of these interests, one may refer to manifest as opposed to latent interests.[26] Individuals and organized groups emerge from relatively clearly demarcated quasi-groups as promoters of manifest interests.[27] "Manifest interests are the programs of organized groups."[28] In the context of conflict systems, such organized groups are here referred to as conflict agencies.

Conflict agents serve a similar function, but refer to individuals rather than organized groups. A conflict agent promotes the interests of a quasi-group because of the positions he holds in an institutional framework. For example, a district inspector for bilingual schools, by virtue of his position in the school system, is ipso facto a promoter of the interests of the French Catholic party though he may not represent a particular association or conflict agency. The actions of conflict agencies and

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[25]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., pp. 174-175. Also Talcott Parsons, "Social Class and Class Conflicts in the Light of Recent Sociological Theory," in Talcott Parsons (ed.), Essays in Sociological Theory. (Revised edition. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1954), p. 330.

[26]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 178.

[27]T. Shibutani and K. M. Kwan, op. cit., p. 221.

[28]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 178.

agents represent the points of contact between the parties.

Conflict Agencies

According to the theoretical framework for this thesis, "any voluntary association which is ethnically enclosed is a potential conflict agency."[29] Associations of this type may serve one or more functions within ethnic-religious quasi-groups. They may exhibit a supportive function insofar as they contribute to internal solidarity, an interest-articulating function insofar as they place party interests before the public or the opponent, and an interest-aggregating function insofar as they gather party interests together. One or the other of the latter two functions must be present if an association is to be designated as a conflict agency.

Through an analysis of the records of local and extra-local associations related to the three Normanville conflict parties and observations of the activities of these associations, the task was to identify conflict agencies. Referring to Figure 2, page 234, any of the associations appearing in cells one, three, five, or eight are potential conflict agencies. That is, any one may be involved in the aggregation and articulation of the special interests of the conflict parties to which they are related.

A step by step process of elimination was used to arrive at a final analysis of those associations which might be designated as conflict

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[29] Supra, p. 26.

agencies. Certain associations were eliminated early in the field work. Observations made at meetings and unstructured interviews of members and officials did not reveal interest-aggregating and articulating functions in these associations. A structured interview schedule was administered to the officers of the remaining associations,[30] probing the activities of each association.[31] If these data indicated a presence of the above-mentioned functions, the records (i.e., minutes, correspondence, constitutions, etc.) were analysed in depth.

The end result was an analysis of the records of the following local associations:

1. The St. Jacques'-St. Jean's Catholic Parent Teachers Association (C. P. T. A.).
2. The Ste. Cécile's Catholic Parent Teachers Association (C. P. T. A.).
3. L'Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs (A. P. I.).
4. La Société St-Jean-Baptiste (S. S. J. B.).

At the local level, the first two were primarily involved in the special interests of the Catholic sub-community with respect to education. The remaining two were involved in the special interests of the French Catholic party. It is of some importance that locally there were no English Protestant conflict agencies. The significance of this observation will receive special treatment in a subsequent section. It is of equal importance that the two Parent Teacher Associations were involved in Catholic rather than English Catholic interests per se. Certainly, the mixed

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[30] Supra, pp. 93-94.

[31] See Appendix IV, schedules 1A, 1B, 2A, and 2B.

membership of the P. T. A.'s mitigates a purely ethnic alignment.

L'Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs. The constitution of La Fédération des Associations de Parents et d'Instituteurs de langue française d'Ontario makes the following statement regarding the purposes of locally affiliated associations: "La raison d'être de toute A. P. I., c'est l'éducation chrétienne de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne."[32] [italics mine] This general statement is developed further in the constitution, referring to the more specific goals of the Association. These goals are similar to those of any parent teacher association, stressing the necessity of cooperation between home and school. The statement of purpose, therefore, does not provide sufficient evidence from which to conclude that the A. P. I. is a conflict agency. The activities of the Association must also be examined.

Certainly the emphasis on the education of Franco-Ontarian children and the fact that the Association is French-speaking gives it a supportive function. And, indeed, an analysis of the minutes of the Normanville A. P. I., between January 1956 and January 1966, indicated that the supportive function is stressed. Displays and sales of French language books for children;[33] announcements of where one may purchase French books

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[32]"A Christian education for Franco-Ontarian youth is the raison d'être of all A. P. I.'s." La Fédération des Associations de Parents et d'Instituteurs de langue française d'Ontario, "Règlements et Statuts." (Ottawa: La Fédération des Associations de Parents et d'Instituteurs de langue française d'Ontario, September 19, 1964). (Mimeographed), p. 22.

[33]Minutes of the monthly meetings, March 1957, November 1958, November 1959, L'Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs de Normanville. (In the files of the Association.)

and phonograph records;[34] donations of French books to the school library;[35] participation in French Canadian national holidays;[36] evenings devoted to French Canadian folk songs;[37] and support given to a bilingual kindergarten[38] are all examples of activities contributing to the solidarity of the in-group. Programs of this type, along with the customary money raising projects (e.g., bake sales, card parties, dances, etc.) occupied most of the energy of the Association. Money raising activities were frequently conducted in cooperation with the English-speaking Catholic Parent Teachers Association.

The response to the language issues was also more supportive than interest oriented.[39] The phrase, "Le curé nous dit un mot d'encouragement sur la langue française." appeared in the minutes with some regularity.[40] At the October 1957 meeting, the chairman of the program committee "demande la coopération des parents pour continuer l'oeuvre que nous avons commencé. Parlez français à la maison pour faciliter la tâche des maîtresses."[41] At another meeting, the president encouraged the members

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[34] Ibid., February 1957.

[35] Ibid., December 1957.

[36] Ibid., May 1957.

[37] Ibid., January 1959.

[38] Ibid., March 1957.

[39] Supra, pp. 181-182. See discussion on language regarding internal and external responses.

[40] "The curé gave us a word of encouragement regarding the use of French." Minutes, op. cit., November 1958, September 1959, March 1960.

[41] ". . . asked for the cooperation of the parents in continuing the work we have started--speak French in the home to facilitate the task of the teacher." Ibid., October 1957.

". . . à venir et de jaser en français même si les membres font des fautes."[42]

In only eight of the sixty-two recorded meetings over the ten year period did any activities occur which could be classified as interest-aggregation and articulation. This involved such activities as discussions regarding the lack of use of French in the schoolyard;[43] criticism of the condition regarding the teaching of French in grade one bilingual;[44] involvement in requests for French radio and television programs;[45] and requests sent to the municipal library regarding the purchase and condition of French language books.[46] Nevertheless, the A. P. I. may be designated as a conflict agency. The requirement for this designation is that the Association exhibit some activities indicating an interest-aggregation and articulation function. The extent to which conflict agencies are involved in these kinds of activities refers to the intensity of a conflict situation.

The current president of the local A. P. I. is aware of the Association's connection with the special interests of the French Catholic party. In answer to a question concerning the goals of the Association, he answered, "Creating better relations between parent-teacher for the child's benefit." In response to this, a further question was asked,

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[42]"Come on along and chat in French even if you make mistakes." Ibid., January 1962.

[43]Ibid., March 1957.

[44]Ibid., February 1957.

[45]Ibid., February 1960, March 1961, February 1964.

[46]Ibid., October 1963, November 1964.

"Is this your primary goal?" The reply was, "No, we also represent the bilingual group and through our regional and provincial association, we represent them to the government."[47] Further interviews of persons associated with the regional and provincial associations indicated that these latter bodies are far more involved in interest-aggregating and articulating functions than the local associations.[48]

Local A. P. I.'s are affiliated with regional boards and the provincially based Fédération. The regional board, in the case of Normanville, operates out of Metro Center on behalf of the Associations in the metropolitan area. The regional and provincial organizations aggregate local interests and articulate these at the metropolitan and provincial levels. This involves representation to the provincial legislature and the Department of Education.

La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste. The same procedure was followed in analysing the activities of La Société St-Jean-Baptiste and the two Catholic Parent Teachers Associations. The stated purpose of the former society places it in a much broader context within the French-speaking community than the A. P. I.

> La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste est la société nationale des Canadiens français. Cet organisme groupe tous les Canadiens de langue et de mentalité françaises de la province, qui veulent se joindre à ses rangs et constituer une société de vigilance constante pour sauvegarde des droits et des intérêts des groupes

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[47]Interview A29, May 13, 1966. See Appendix IV, interview schedule 2B, question 6.

[48]Interview 017, December 30, 1966; and Interview A22, May 9, 1966.

> français de l'Ontario, et travailler à leur avancement culturel, social et économique.[49]

Devoted to French Canadian nationalism per se, the S. S. J. B. is at once a fraternal, mutual aid and insurance (through the affiliated Caisse Populaire), service, recreational, and political society in contrast to the specific educational interests of the A. P. I. It is also organized on a parish rather than a school district basis (although frequently separate school districts coincide with parish boundaries). A local S. S. J. B. is, in fact, a parish organization joining other such organizations in regularly scheduled corporate communions.

The president of the local S. S. J. B. views its primary objective as being "conserver la langue et la fois" (to conserve the language and the faith).[50] Given these objectives, it might be expected that this society would be more oriented toward interest-aggregation and articulation than the A. P. I. Such was not the case. The analysis of the Society's minutes from January 1960 to December 1965 evinced a strong emphasis on supportive activities. In only three out of forty-two general meetings was there any evidence of activities indicating interest articulation. These involved a correspondence with the Normanville and a

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[49]"The Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste is the national society of French Canadians. It includes all Canadians in the province who are French in both language and attitude and who desire to join its ranks to form a society to safeguard the rights and interests of French groups in Ontario and work toward their cultural, social, and economic advancement."
La Fédération des Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Ontario, La Fédération des S. S. J. B. vous offre son service d'entraide. (Ottawa).

[50]Interview A29, May 13, 1966. See Appendix IV, interview schedule 2B, question 6.

neighboring town council regarding bilingual signs on their buildings;[51] a similar correspondence with the Ontario Liquor Control Board regarding its building in Normanville;[52] efforts to have a bilingual notice board in the local school;[53] and other activities similar to those in which the A. P. I. was involved.[54] In many cases, the two associations cooperated in promoting the interests of the local French Catholic party.

As with the A. P. I., it is the regional and provincial organizations of the S. S. J. B. which are oriented toward the aggregating and articulating of special interests. The Normanville Société is affiliated with the Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Ouest de l'Ontario and the provincial Fédération. The goals of the regional association, according to its president, are,

> to preserve the language and our national identity, to keep alive and renew the French-speaking community. Our work is directed toward social events, toward the schools and toward encouraging parents to make sure their children learn French.
>
> Now, for example, you will find in a parish that a curé will not use French--the English would object. We, as a group, can ask for French; we represent the French-speaking community.

Following this statement, the respondent was asked, "What about local schools, the bilingual classes? Do you have problems or issues to deal with here?" and the reply,

> Yes, but we don't get involved. The Provincial [re La Fédération]

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[51] Minutes of the monthly meetings, November 1960 and December 1960, La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Normanville. (In the files of La Société).

[52] Ibid., December 1960.

[53] Ibid., November 1960.

[54] Ibid., March 1961.

> represents us here along with l'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario--briefs and letters are sent to the government and the Department of Education.[55]

L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario (A. C. F. E. O.) referred to in the above comment is the primary representative of French interests in Ontario. Through their regional and provincial organizations, the Normanville A. P. I. and S. S. J. B. are affiliated with this organization. The A. C. F. E. O., whose purpose is "La vigilante protection de tous les intérêts de Canadiens français de l'Ontario et la juste revendication de tous leurs droits,"[56] aggregates the interests of the total French-speaking community in Ontario and articulates these directly at the centers of decision-making.

In addition to the A. P. I. and the S. S. J. B., the A. C. F. E. O. draws into its membership twelve other associations. Many French-speaking citizens in Normanville hold memberships in these other associations which operate beyond the local level. Included among these would be: L'Association des Enseignants franco-ontariens (The Franco-Ontarian Teachers' Association), L'Association des Commissions des Ecoles Bilingues d'Ontario (The Association of Bilingual School Boards of Ontario), and L'Association des écoles secondaires privées franco-ontariennes (The Association of Franco-Ontarian Private Secondary Schools).

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[55]Interview A24, May 11, 1966. See Appendix IV, interview schedule 1B, question 6.

[56]L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, "Status de L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario," (Ottawa, April 1965), p. 1. (Mimeographed) "The vigilant protection of all French Canadian interests in Ontario and the just assertion of their rights."

The Catholic Parent-Teachers Association. Whereas the A. P. I. involves parents with children enrolled in the bilingual classes, the two local Catholic Parent-Teachers Associations involve parents with children enrolled in the English classes. Since a number of French-speaking parents have children in the English classes, the membership of the C. P. T. A. is ethnically mixed. The result of the mixed membership is conflicting ethnic allegiances within these two associations which, in turn, inhibits them from representing English Catholic interests as such. The emphasis is placed on total Catholic interests with respect to education. Nevertheless, the existence of a corresponding French-speaking structure implies that the C. P. T. A.'s represent English-speaking interests. Moreover, the association aggregating local interests and articulating these at the provincial level for English Catholics is called the Ontario English Catholic Education Association in contrast to l'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario. Thus, in a town such as Normanville, a C. P. T. A. finds itself in a rather ambivalent position. From one point of view, it represents English Catholic interests and yet, because of its mixed membership, it is more inclined to limit its concern to Catholic interests void of ethnic connotations.

The analysis of the minutes and correspondence of the two C. P. T. A.'s indicated a primarily supportive function, much more so than their French-speaking counterpart, the A. P. I. This may be due to the ambivalence resulting from a mixed membership--an ambivalence which can partially be solved by avoiding issues which might bring out ethnic interests. The Normanville C. P. T. A., the older of the two groups,

involves parents from St. Jacques' School, St. Jean's Intermediate School, and St. Jean's High School. Ste. Cécile's C. P. T. A. was formed in September 1960 for northend parents sending their children to the then-new Ste. Cécile's School.

The main activities of both associations are various money raising projects, and a quasi-educational program promoted through the use of speakers, films, discussions, etc. In a separate school system, the importance of auxiliary funds raised by such associations should not be underestimated. With less income per pupil than the public schools, a separate school utilizes these extra funds for library's[57] and special equipment.[58] Interest-articulation activity takes place through a dialogue with provincial and regional C. P. T. A. bodies to which the local associations are affiliated. Correspondence from these extra-local organizations call for local discussion on issues presented in the form of resolutions to be handled at provincial wide conventions.

The issues are placed in a Catholic versus Protestant, rather than a French versus English, context. The following is an excerpt from a letter from the Federation of Catholic Parent-Teachers Associations of Ontario to local associations:

As you will recall, an important segment of these resolutions dealt

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[57]Minutes of the monthly meetings, October 1961, Ste. Cécile's Catholic Parent-Teachers Association. (In the files of the Association.) See also, minutes of the monthly meetings, April 1954, The Normanville Catholic Parent-Teachers Association. (In the files of the Association.)

[58]Ibid., Ste. Cécile's, October 1961, February 1964, and October 1964.

> with problems of the Separate Schools and the need for a thorough knowledge and understanding of the school system in the Province, and in particular of the financial straight jacket in which our schools are placed.
>
> . . . To insure proper action, one or two meetings in the year should be devoted to this subject. Special speakers, preferably those having a sound knowledge of the school assessment system, should be invited to speak . . .[59]

At a meeting of the Normanville C. P. T. A., a member of the Federation executive invited to speak referred to the Federation as the "liaison between what the people want and what the government will give us." He went on to say that "it is the Federation that represents Catholic interests in government circles."[60]

At an earlier meeting of the same Association, the annual discussion of resolutions for the provincial convention resulted in the following:

President: If there are any resolutions for Federation, we should bring them up now.

A Parent: We should send in a resolution asking that the government give Catholic schools grants up to grade thirteen, just like they do to the others.

President: Yes, well, I think the Bishop is working on that.

School Principal: The Bishop is a man of the cloth and as such he doesn't have the same influence that we have. This is political and we, after all, are the voters. Maybe a resolution isn't strong enough; maybe we should have a petition.

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[59]Letter from the Federation of Catholic Parent-Teachers Associations of Ontario to the presidents of local Associations, September 1, 1961.

[60]Observation 019, January 16, 1966.

Another Parent: I agree. We've got to do something. I approve of a resolution.[61]

The following resoltuion was passed:

> Moved by . . . , seconded by . . . , that members of the Normanville C. P. T. A. resolve that the government take over the operating cost of Catholic high schools so that all our children have equal financial assistance in education.[62]

A similar resolution was passed by the Ste. Cécile's Association a month later.[63]

With a similar structure to its French counterpart, the C. P. T. A. Federation is a member of the English Catholic Education Association of Ontario, along with The Ontario Separate School Trustees' Association, The Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association, and The Association of Catholic High School Boards of Ontario. This association whose stated purpose is:

> . . . to foster, unite, and co-ordinate all efforts to provide Catholic education in Ontario . . . To provide a medium which will effectively express and encourage Catholic thought and action on questions affecting education . . .[64]

is the main conflict agency representing English Catholic interests in Ontario.

Within the Normanville Catholic sub-community then, there are four

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[61]Observation 025, November 7, 1965.

[62]Minutes, Normanville, op. cit., November 1965.

[63]Minutes, Ste. Cécile's, op. cit., December 1965.

[64]The English Catholic Education Association of Ontario, The Ontario English Catholic Education Association: Serving the School with the Cross. (Toronto, 1966).

associations which may be identified as conflict agencies: the A. P. I. and the S. S. J. B. representing French Catholic interests; and the two C. P. T. A.'s directly representing Catholic interests, but indirectly, through regional and provincial organizations representing English Catholic interests. All four agencies have emerged from identifiable conflict parties. The special interests of these parties are the programs of their corresponding agencies. The observation that these agencies are mainly supportive at the local level, articulating interests only through regional and provincial bodies, has certain effects on the conflict system at the local level.

One of these effects is the absence of English Protestant conflict agencies in Normanville. With issues being articulated by extra-local agencies, there is little to stimulate activity locally. But of greater import is the fact that there are two school systems. Thus, locally, there is no contact over educational issues between English Protestants and French or English Catholics. This separation actually functions to reduce rather than increase the potential for overt conflict. Even at the provincial level, there are few vocal agencies representing English Protestant interests. The Orange Lodge which was so actively anti-French and anti-Catholic during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of this century has almost disappeared from the scene. Recently, the Protestant League of Ontario received a press on its appearance before the federal government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The spokesman for this association, reminding the Commission that the French Canadians "are a conquered people," suggested that

bilingualism will divide rather than unite the country.[65]

Apart from the peculiarities of Normanville itself, there are other factors which may be regarded as responsible for the observed paucity of English Protestant conflict agencies. The English Protestant holds the superordinate position within the French-English and Protestant-Catholic conflict systems. In a superordinate-subordinate relationship, the former party seldom has rights to defend or rights to gain, and unless it perceives a threat to the system, it will tend not to develop special organizations to answer the demands of the latter party. Since the nature of the rights in question places the debate at a governmental level, the government, in fact rather than by intent, becomes the conflict agency for the superordinate party. It becomes a case of French Catholic versus the "English Protestant" government of Ontario and English Catholic versus the "Protestant" government of Ontario. A further check is placed on the development of English Protestant conflict agencies by retaining the dialogue in the offices of the Department of Education. This gives the issues far less visibility than if they were to be debated on the floor of the legislative assembly.

A complex system has developed since the accommodation of 1927 such that French-English and Protestant-Catholic issues pertaining to education are dealt with as administrative rather than as political problems. That is, the issues are articulated in a bureaucratic setting within governmental departments removed from the floor of the legislature. Part of this

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[65] Le Droit, Ottawa, December 2 and 3, 1965.

system is revealed in an analysis of conflict agents as differentiated from conflict agencies.

Conflict Agents

The category of conflict agent refers to status-role complexes within institutional structures which function, either latently or manifestly, to articulate quasi-group or party interests.[66] A conflict agent is not an agency representative, but a position within an institutional structure utilized by party members and conflict agencies to promote their special interests. The empirical problem was to identify such positions, if any, within the educational, political, and religious institutions of Normanville.

The school system. It has been noted that two schools under the Normanville Separate School Board operated both bilingual and English classrooms. As would be expected, the bilingual classes are taught by French-speaking Catholics, the English classes by English-speaking Catholics. From the point of view of the schools, both sets of teachers function to promote identical educational goals. But the fact that the teaching staff is divided along ethnic lines implies a potential for the articulation of ethnic interests. This notion may be further elaborated by using Merton's concepts of status-set and role-set.[67]

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[66]Merton's conceptualization of status-role is used here. Status is viewed as "a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals." Role refers to the behavioral enacting of the patterned expectations attributed to that position. R. K. Merton, op. cit., p. 368.

[67]Ibid., pp. 369-370.

The status of "bilingual teacher" carries the customary elementary school teacher role-set relating the incumbent to colleagues, Board of Education members, school principal, etc. In addition to this, there is also a role-set relating the teacher to the French Catholic party--a role-set involving French-speaking parents, the bilingual inspector, French-speaking members of the Board of Education, and French Catholic conflict agencies. That is, the statuses of "bilingual" and "English" teacher carry an ethnically as well as an educationally based role-set.

Accompanying the dual role-set, a particular bilingual or English teacher will carry a status-set which may further tie him to the ethnic sub-community. A bilingual teacher is a Franco-Ontarian; he may be a member of the local Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs, La Société St-Jean-Baptiste, L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, and he will most certainly be a member of l'Association de l'Enseignement de l'Ontario. Likewise an English teacher will most likely be an English Catholic, a member of the English Catholic Teachers Association, and indirectly, the English Catholic Education Association of Ontario.

It is in this sense that a given position in an institutional structure functions as a conflict agent. Through the role-sets associated with the bilingual and English teacher statuses and through the status-sets which each incumbent generally carries with him, the interests of the ethnic-religious parties are built into these positions. From the viewpoint of the school system, these are unintended and generally unrecognized consequences. That is, the conflict agent component is a latent function. To be sure, there are bilingual and English teachers, but

the formal distinction is not according to ethnic affiliation. A bilingual teacher is one who holds a French certificate from a recognized training school; one need not be a Franco-Ontarian to obtain such a certificate. Similarly, an English teacher holds an English certificate and need not be ethnically "English" to obtain such. What occurs in fact, however, is that although some Franco-Ontarians hold English or English and French certificates, few if any native English-speakers hold French certificates. The training schools granting French certificates are de facto Franco-Ontarian institutions. Their graduates have themselves come up through the bilingual elementary school system. From a Franco-Ontarian viewpoint, they are "our teachers."[68]

Conflict agents may thus be located at several levels within the educational system. In each of the two schools, if the principal is "English" a French-speaking vice-principal or "senior teacher" is appointed to supervise and administer the bilingual classes. Currently, both St. Jacques' and St. Jean's have "English" principals and special appointees to direct the bilingual sections. Both principals and assistants were interviewed. The following excerpts from the principals' interviews best describe the system:

> St. Jean's Principal: I'm the principal of the whole school. The senior teacher is the 'vice-principal in charge of French instruction.' I have no authority over the curriculum in the bilingual classes. But I am in charge of the safety, discipline, attendance, and over-all administration, although she keeps the bilingual class records and reports to the bilingual inspector. I'm responsible only

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[68] I am using here Mertons' distinction between manifest and latent functions. Ibid., pp. 62-64.

to the English inspector.[69]

St. Jacques' Principal: It's like two schools, really. Mother . . . has complete authority over the bilingual classes. I'm the over-all principal . . . discipline is my problem . . .[70]

The dual inspectorate referred to in the above excerpt adds yet another level of conflict agents. Inspectors are appointed by the Department of Education to oversee the curriculum and administrative aspects of the Education Act.[71] In a district with a bilingual system, one inspector is responsible for the bilingual program, another for the English program. Based on a majority formula set by precedent, one inspector assumes responsibility for the administration of the district and the curricula problems of "his" ethnic group, the other being limited to the curricula problems of the opposite ethnic group.

In Normanville where approximately 70 per cent of the enrollment is in English classes, the English inspector assumes the over-all responsibility for the administration of the district. Nine years ago, when the proportions were reversed (see Figure 1, p. 227) the administration was under the office of the bilingual inspector. Certain positions within the Department of Education also carry an ethnic component and thus function as conflict agents. For example, the Department's Curriculum Branch carries an assistant superintendent, a Franco-Ontarian, specifically

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[69]Interview A04, April 29, 1966.

[70]Interview A10, May 12, 1966.

[71]A district inspector in Ontario is approximately equivalent to a county superintendent in the United States.

responsible for the curricula of the bilingual schools.[72] The connections between these appointments and the French Catholic sub-community is amply illustrated by the following item which appeared in a recent edition of the monthly bulletin of L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario:

> Here are several recent appointments [in the Department of Education] enlarging our representation [italics mine] and suggesting that Franco-Ontarians may see their other demands realized.
>
> . . . [appointed] assistant superintendent in the program and textbook division;
>
> . . . [appointed] assistant superintendent in the professional advancement and teacher training division;
>
> . . . [appointed] superintendent of the Outaouais region for public and separate schools.[73]

The positions of bilingual and English teacher, of bilingual and English principal or senior teacher, of bilingual and English inspector, and of various appointees in the Department of Education offices are designated as conflict agents. Whether or not the conflict agent component of these positions is actually utilized depends on two factors, one which will be analysed subsequently. First, the idiosyncracies of individual incumbents will have some influence. A particular teacher or principal may choose to ignore or may be unaware of this component. There is less chance that a principal or inspector will take this route as the conflict

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[72] Interview 011, November 4, 1965.

[73] L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, La Vie Franco-Ontarienne, Vol. 11, No. 1, October 1966. (Ottawa)

agent function is more manifest in these positions; their appointments are made with a recognition of the parties involved and the advantages of representation. Second, apart from individual whims, the variables of the conflict system will influence the extent to which the conflict agent component is exercised. The very presence of conflict agents is an indicator of institutionalized conflict.

As with conflict agencies, there is an absence of English Protestant conflict agents. This is due, of course, to the fact that the bilingual classes operate within the separate school system. Locally, there is simply no contact between Catholic and Protestant, and French and English within the educational system. At the Department level, one may identify agents associated with each of the three parties--French Catholic, English Catholic, and English Protestant.

The political system. Although the school boards are part of the school system, their structure dictates that, for the purposes of locating conflict agents, they are better dealt with as political bodies. It is the structural similarity of the boards and the town council which minimizes the possibility of ethnic-religious conflict agents emerging. The town council has been characterized as a communal institution, and though the school boards are non-communal with respect to religious divisions, the separate school board is communal in relation to the ethnic cleavage within the Catholic sub-community.[74] Positions on the boards

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[74]Supra, pp. 208 and 219.

and the council are elected at large; there is no ward system. Moreover, in contrast to the school system, there are no French or English positions. Members of these political bodies find themselves having to deal with all factions to gain and remain in office. Thus, there is no conflict agent component associated with these positions through their corresponding role-sets.

However, a conflict agent component may be introduced to any of these via three sources. First, the status-set of a particular incumbent on a school board or on the town council may introduce the component. Second, given the unequal distribution of party members over the eleven polling divisions, a particular incumbent may either campaign as a representative of party interests or, in spite of himself, poll heavily in certain divisions and be perceived by the voters as representing party interests. Third, as noted previously, ethnicity, religion, and residence are partly taken into account by council members in making appointments to municipal boards and commissions.[75]

As would be expected, conflict agents representing ethnic-religious interests are not to be found on the Public School Board. All five members are English Protestants, and with the exception of a few French and English Catholics who are public school supporters, the Board operates within the limits of the English Protestant sub-community. It is in the Separate School Board that the possibility of French and English Catholic conflict agents arises. Of the six Separate School Board members elected

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[75]Supra, p. 252.

for the 1966-67 term, four are Franco-Ontarians; two are English Catholics. The status-set that each brings to the position of board member includes his ethnic identity as well as possible memberships in conflict agencies.

During the 1965 election campaign, separate school board candidates emphasized educational and religious interests. Not one candidate publicly introduced ethnic interests into the campaign. However, the Board itself is affiliated with both the Ontario Separate School Trustees' Association (O. S. S. T. A.) and L'Association des Commissions des Ecoles bilingues d'Ontario (A. C. E. B. O.). The English-speaking members attend only the English O. S. S. T. A.[76] The remaining four bilingual French-speakers attend meetings of both associations.[77] One member holds a position on the provincial executive of the French A. C. E. B. O.,[78] and another has received an award of merit from this association.[79] Three of the French-speaking members are also affiliated with local conflict agencies, the S. S. J. B. and the A. P. I. Through membership in such associations which tie persons to the interests of conflict parties, a particular school board member will introduce a conflict agent component to his position on the board. Whether the component is activated or not depends on the incumbent and the variables of the conflict situation.

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[76] Interviews A32, April 19, 1966, and A35, May 3, 1966.

[77] Interviews A43, May 2, 1966; A36, May 4, 1966; and A38, May 17, 1966.

[78] Interview A38, Ibid.

[79] The Centurion, Normanville, March 1961.

Conflict agent components may be introduced into positions on the town council in the same manner. All five members of the council are Catholic; two are English-speaking; three are French-speaking. Two of the French-speaking members belong to local conflict agencies;[80] one of the English-speaking councillors is a member of a local conflict agency.[81] As in the school board election, not one of the candidates publicly campaigned on ethnic-religious issues. One candidate made a special plea to the voters to avoid viewing the election in ethnic-religious terms.[82] For the first time in the memory of the citizens, campaign meetings were held in the English as well as the French side of town.

In spite of these efforts, the voting patterns suggest that ethnic-religious interests play a part. It has already been noted that candidates calculate votes expected on an ethnic-religious basis and that one English Catholic candidate was singled out by a few members of the English Protestant sub-community to represent their interests.[83] In Table XXXII, the distribution of votes received by three of the five current town council members according to the two ethnic residential sectors in Normanville is presented.[84] The Reeve, elected by acclamation, and the Mayor,

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[80]Interview A14, April 26, 1966, and Interview A15, May 1, 1966.

[81]Interview A13, April 21, 1966.

[82]Supra, p. 250.

[83]Supra, p. 251.

[84]Supra, Table XXVII, p. 240; 63 per cent of the residents in polling divisions one to five are French Catholic, and 86.1 per cent of the residents in polling divisions six to eleven are English Protestants.

TABLE XXXII

DISTRIBUTION OF VOTES RECEIVED BY THREE INCUMBENTS OF POSITIONS ON THE TOWN COUNCIL IN DECEMBER 1965 ACCORDING TO FRENCH AND ENGLISH RESIDENTIAL SECTORS

		Per Cent of Votes Received		
Position	Incumbent	French Sector Polling Divisions 1 to 5	English Sector Polling Divisions 6 to 11	Number of Votes Received
Councillor	English Catholic	26.9	73.1	389
Councillor	French Catholic	50.7	49.3	408
Deputy Reeve	French Catholic	55.1	44.9	514

whose opponent was also French Catholic, are omitted. The English Catholic councillor in relation to his French Catholic colleague polled far more votes in the English sector, the latter receiving about equal support from each area. Similarly, the French Catholic Deputy Reeve polled heavier in the French sector than he did in the English sector.

Table XXXIII compares the proportion of votes received by the two incumbent councillors in a predominantly French and a predominantly English polling division. There were seven candidates running for the two positions, the successful English Catholic candidate polled 37.9 per cent of the votes in the predominantly English polling division, and only 14.4 per cent in a predominantly French division. The support for the successful French Catholic candidate was reversed. Table XXXIV shows a similar pattern in the Deputy Reeve contest where the successful candidate, a French Catholic, polled far more votes in division four than he did in division ten.

TABLE XXXIII

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE OF VOTES RECEIVED BY CANDIDATES FOR COUNCILLOR IN DECEMBER 1965 IN POLLING DIVISIONS 10 AND 4

	Per Cent of Votes Received	
Candidates	Polling Division 10 Predominantly English	Polling Division 4 Predominantly French
Successful English Catholic	37.9	14.4
Successful French Catholic	11.7	21.2
All Others	50.4	64.4
(Total Votes Cast)	(274)	(236)

TABLE XXXIV

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE OF VOTES RECEIVED BY CANDIDATES FOR DEPUTY REEVE IN DECEMBER 1965 IN POLLING DIVISIONS 10 AND 4

Candidates	Polling Division 10 Predominantly English	Polling Division 4 Predominantly French
Successful French Catholic	13.4	54.2
French Catholic	24.2	25.2
English Catholic	62.4	20.6
(Total Votes Cast)	(157)	(131)

It does not follow that a candidate receiving a heavy support from one of the three conflict parties automatically becomes a conflict agent. The voting patterns only provide a base from which a particular member of the town council may act as a conflict agent given certain issues and conditions. Since there is no absolute coincidence between party membership and voting patterns, each member of the council receives some support from all three parties and must act accordingly. The primary issues facing the council are communal issues which only with difficulty could be interpreted in ethnic or religious terms.

The Church. As with the Public School Board, the one Protestant church in Normanville contains no conflict agents in the context under investigation. The Catholic church, because of its communal nature within the Catholic sub-community, is also void of conflict agents. Most of the party interests within the parish are aggregated and articulated by conflict agencies. The clergy could become agents. However, in Normanville all three clergy are Franco-Ontarians! There is no tradition of appointing French and English priests. If an attempt were made to maintain an ethnic balance in clergy appointments, the possibility of conflict agents would increase considerably and could take on a structure similar to that in the school system.

It is in the school system then that conflict agents are readily identified, especially at the administrative level. To a lesser extent, conflict agents are apparent on the Separate School Board. The phenomena all but disappears on the town council, with the exception of special boards and commissions, and is absent in the parish. The difference between the school and the remaining bodies referred to is that positions in the school system carry a conflict agent component, regardless of the incumbent, through associated role-sets. School board, town council, and church positions may only develop a conflict agent component through the status-sets of particular incumbents.

A Note on Interpersonal Contact

At the beginning of this chapter, a tendency for members of the three parties to interact more with each other than across party boundaries

was noted. It was also noted that these parties are not closed groups; there is considerable interaction between their members. This interaction takes place in the neighborhood and within communal institutions. In Table XXVIII, for example, 69.6 per cent of the French Catholics in the sample indicated a low to high level of contact with English Protestants. Similarly, in Table XXX, 38.9 per cent of the French-speakers indicated a high level of contact with English-speakers.

Given the observed frequency of contact at this level, the dimensions of prejudice and discrimination are of some interest. Individual prejudice and acts of discrimination, however, do not have any special relevance to an analysis of intergroup conflict. That is, prejudice and discrimination at the interpersonal level may be assumed rather than introduced as a requirement or variable. Furthermore, interpersonal contact itself is not necessary for social conflict. What is required is contact between agencies and/or agents.

Prejudice and discrimination should not be equated. Discrimination is "the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social group."[85] Prejudice refers to "an . . . attitude (a predisposition to respond to a certain stimulus in a certain way) toward a group of people."[86] Thus, discrimination is an act; prejudice is a readiness to act in a certain way toward a particular object. The two do

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[85]Robin M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions, op. cit., p. 39.

[86]G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities. (New York: Harper and Row, 1953), p. 14.

not necessarily correlate.[87]

The observed unequal distribution of income and status, and of educational resources may be taken as evidence of differential treatment. The focus here, however, is on acts of interpersonal discrimination. Although some discriminatory acts were observed, the frequency was very low. There was no evidence of acts of religious discrimination between Catholics and Protestants, but there was some evidence of linguistic discrimination. Around the neighborhood, at work, and in the parish, French-speakers experience discriminatory acts from time to time. One respondent reported the following: "At the shop some of us will speak French to each other, and the other guys will say, 'Why don't you guys speak like Whitemen?'"[88] Another respondent related the following incident involving a friend:

> [My friend and his wife] were walking over to my place . . . they were speaking French to each other and [from] a nearby couple they overheard the man saying, 'Why don't these people learn to speak English like the rest of us?' [My friend] went up to him and said, 'Are you talking to me?' The man said, 'No, to my wife.' Then [my friend] said, 'Well, you're talking about me.' And they got into a good argument. Well, a lot of our people meet up with these kinds of experience.[89]

The hesitancy of French-speakers to use French publicly in the Normanville area is frequently explained in terms of a reluctance to place oneself into situations similar to those mentioned above. French-speakers

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[87] Ibid., pp. 19-22.

[88] Interview X05, May 13, 1964.

[89] Interview X06, May 1964.

expect such responses, though few can recall such incidents occurring to them. This could mean that because so few will use French in public, few experience discriminatory responses. On the other hand, it could mean that the incidence of such responses locally is very low and more imagined than real.

There is another type of contact situation where French-speakers meet with responses they define as discriminatory. They are at times unable to use French in their contacts with federal civil servants in the Metro Center post office, and in various welfare and insurance offices. One of the editors of Normanville's newspaper referred to:

> . . . a sixty-five year old man who lives on a farm just outside of town. He's retired from the C. P. R. on a very low pension. He went over to the Unemployment Insurance office to see if he could collect. He's had a terrible time with them because his comprehension of English is limited, especially in complex situations like this. I've given him some help. Finally, he contacted our member of Parliament who gave him the name of a French-speaking girl in the office, but no one would make any effort to use French with him before.[90]

Another Normanville resident whose English is limited reported that she had to bring her sister-in-law with her as an interpreter to obtain an unemployment insurance book. On her first attempt, she was unable to find a clerk who could deal with her request in French.[91]

Acts of this type are interpreted by French-speakers as discriminatory within the context of the B. N. A. Act and the implied equality of both "official" languages within all federal government services.

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[90]Interview 019, March 7, 1966.

[91]Interview A27, May 12, 1966.

English-speakers tend to view these acts as a lack of discrimination. To give special treatment to French-speakers is to discriminate against other foreign language groups. From a French-speakers point of view the designation of his language as foreign is itself an act of discrimination.

This dual definition of discrimination complicates the use of the standard definition which has primarily emerged from the American race relations experience. In the American experience, Negroes wish to be treated as whites, the demand being based on a general ideological position that "all men are created equal" and should, therefore, receive equal treatment. Differential treatment is viewed, in this perspective, as discrimination. From an objective point of view, the use of French in the federal offices of Metro Center is differential treatment and therefore discrimination. The provision of school systems for Protestants and Catholics, for French-speakers and English-speakers, is differential treatment and likewise discrimination. The demand of Catholics on one hand and French-speakers on the other hand for separate school systems is objectively similar to the separate, but equal, doctrine of American race relations. What would seem to have more relevance for the development of issues within a conflict system are the goals of the parties and the extent to which past agreements are put into effect, rather than differential treatment per se.

Contact and interaction between the parties takes place on both the interpersonal and the intergroup levels. It is the latter level that is relevant to the analysis of social conflict. Here the contact is

between conflict agencies and agents acting to promote the interests of their respective parties. The interests of the parties are mainly concentrated within the educational system, and to a lesser degree, in the parish and municipal politics. Locally, there is little contact between English Protestants and the remaining two parties except through the political structure. Interest-aggregation and articulation activities take place primarily at extra-local levels rather than in the community itself.

III. POSITION SCARCITY, RESOURCE SCARCITY AND VALUE INCOMPATIBILITY

It is from conditions of scarcity and incompatibility that the issues arise over which conflicts take place. Conflicts involve, "attempts to gain control over scarce resources and positions or to influence behavior in certain directions."[92] Subjectively, conflicts do not take place over boundary maintenance, for example, but over values, resources, and desirable positions within the social structure.

The problem of resource scarcity is relative to the existence of parties. That is, if there were only a single school system upon which no special ethnic or religious demands were made, there would be no scarcity of resources. The scarcity, in this sense, is a result of two, and to some extent, three systems competing for the educational dollar. Scarcity is a function of an unequal distribution of resources with

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[92]R. W. Mack and R. C. Snyder, op. cit., p. 219.

respect to parties rather than a necessarily absolute or objective state. The parties do not arise because of scarcity; scarcity arises because of a multiplicity of demands on a limited resource. Position scarcity also presupposes the existence of parties and the ascription of positions according to party membership. If party membership is a criterion for the distribution of positions in the social structure, an unequal distribution of status and power is implied.

Position and Resource Scarcity

Position and resource scarcity are not necessarily mutually exclusive categories. Status and power may also be considered as resources, and as such, the distribution of positions according to party membership implies attempts to gain these resources as a possible focus of conflict systems. Status and power are as necessary as financial resources as a means of reaching other goals.

Within the context of French-English relations in Ontario, attempts on the part of Franco-Ontarians to gain or increase power takes place at two levels of organization. First, there is a push to gain collective power through demands for positions within certain institutional structures. Frequent demands for Franco-Ontarian representation on appointed bodies and to appointed offices within the federal government appear in Ottawa's Le Droit. Generally, in these requests comparisons are made with the English-speaking representation from Québec:

> Modest and patient, the Franco-Ontarians remain content with two seats in the upper chamber when their number demands a better representation. Proportionately, Franco-Ontarians are as numerous in Ontario (10.39 per cent in the last census) as are English-speakers

in Québec (10.78 per cent) . . .[93]

Similar attempts may be noted in the field of education. In October 1965, for example, the directors of L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario met with the Ministry of Education's Council on Orientation and Development. Among the items discussed was a proposed decentralization of department administrative machinery. According to a report on the meeting, in order for decentralization ". . . to be acceptable to Franco-Ontarians, provision must be made for certain nominations [of Franco-Ontarians] within various branches of the Ministry."[94] Demands for positions in the Department of Education also appeared in the resolutions of the recent General Congress of L'Association d'Education[95] and in a brief presented to the provincial government's Hall Commission on Education.[96]

From observable demands of this type, it is inferred that there is a condition of resource scarcity with attempts by both parties to hold on to or gain positions of power within the educational and political spheres. English Catholics make similar demands in relation to the educational

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[93]Le Droit, Ottawa, January 22, 1966. There is some ambivalence here among Franco-Ontarians. The same editorial writer, Marcel Gingras, wrote on November 11, 1965 that "a terrible disservice would be rendered to the entire country if distributive justice [appointments according to language, religion, and location] were the only criterion upon which the cabinet was built." Ibid., November 11, 1965.

See also Ibid., February 26, 1966 and February 28, 1966.

[94]L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, La Vie Franco-Ontarienne, Vol. 1, No. 8, May 1966, p. 2. (Ottawa).

[95]Ibid., p. 12.

[96]Ibid., p. 14.

system. According to an officer of the Ontario English Catholic Education Association demands for more English Catholic representation on Department of Education policy groups is one of the Association's "main concerns."[97] It should be noted that these demands are directed toward "the government" and, in this sense, the government is viewed as representing English Protestant interests.

At the local level, there is a more equal distribution of positions of influence in church, school, and municipal politics. If anything, there is a feeling among English Protestants that they are under-represented in municipal politics, indicated in the previously noted comments regarding "the French clique" and attempts to support an English Catholic for municipal office. The problem of scarcity from a local point of view focuses more on the unequal distribution of financial resources between the separate and public school systems.

The second level refers to an individual rather than a collective demand for status and power. Within the occupational structure locally, provincially, and nationally, Catholics tend to remain in lower status occupations than Protestants and French-speakers are more predominant at the lower status levels than English-speakers.[98] Tables XVIII and XXI in the previous chapter, demonstrate the unequal distribution of status and income according to membership in the three conflict parties. English Protestants rank highest followed by English and French Catholics, in

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[97]Interview A18, op. cit.

[98]John Porter, op. cit., pp. 91-103.

that order.[99]

This second level of position scarcity is referred to as "individual" rather than "collective" because the demand is for a distribution of occupations according to achievement as opposed to ascribed characteristics. A Franco-Ontarian does not want to be held back because he is French nor a Catholic because he is Catholic, both desire to be treated on an equal basis with English Protestants given the qualifications. This stands in contrast to the demand for collective recognition in institutional structures as French or English Catholics. Certainly, a Franco-Ontarian can move on an equal basis with Anglo-Ontarians if he rejects his identity or "passes." This student received some reports of certain Franco-Ontarians changing or anglicizing their names in order to merge into the dominant group.

It could be argued that French Catholics hold lower income jobs because they are not qualified to do otherwise. From the point of view of this analysis, it is of little importance why French Catholics find themselves in this position. What is relevant is that there exists a condition of position and resource scarcity relative to the three parties under analysis.

Incompatible Values

In Chapter IV, the value positions of the various parties were reviewed.[100] Historically, English-speakers, be they Catholic or Protestant,

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[99] Supra, pp. 200 and 203.

[100] Supra, pp. 153-163.

have assumed an assimilationist position; French Catholics have tended toward separation. At their extremes, the two positions are incompatible. Since 1760, the dialogue has resulted in a biculturalism or pluralism adhered to by a majority of the members of all parties. Issues have focused on types of pluralism and the degree of pluralism accepted by one side or demanded by the other. This has been particularly true in Ontario where Franco-Ontarians have generally held a moderate pan-Canadian view with reference to the position of French vis-à-vis English Canada.

The incompatibility of positions within the pluralistic orientation is subtlely buried in the very generality of pluralism itself. The Anglo-Ontarian position accepts a pluralism where all "cultures," including French Canada, should be permitted to maintain their heritage, thereby contributing to the greater whole. The greater whole is viewed as an Anglo-Saxon culture. Franco-Ontarians, in contrast, view the greater whole as a cooperative venture between two cultures, implying a degree of structural pluralism which the English-speaker finds difficult to accept and, at times, to comprehend.

These differences were apparent in Normanville. A general, open question concerning biculturalism and bilingualism was put to all respondents in the "A" interview series.[101] It should be recalled that these interviews were primarily for the purpose of identifying conflict agents and agencies, and were not intended to sample the value positions of the

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[101]Appendix IV, interview schedules 1 to 6.

community as a whole. In any case, of the forty-one respondents interviewed, twenty-four were French Catholics, twelve were English Catholics, and five were English Protestants. All accepted a pluralistic position with respect to French-English relations. Contrary to what might be expected, although consistent with the close contact between French and English Catholics, the French Catholic and English Protestant views were closer than the French and English Catholic views.

The following is an excerpt from an interview with a member of the Public School Board:

> I'd hate to lose French Canada. I would like my children to learn French in school . . . This is what I would like . . . actually we should come up with a solution to the problem and both be able to carry on our own traditions in harmony. I'd hate to see the French people told that they had to speak English all the time and that's that.[102]

From another member of the Public School Board,

> The only way for harmony is to definitely recognize French culture as a part of Canada. I would very much like to see French taught in the public schools.[103]

Compare these statements to the following statement made by the president of L'Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Ouest d'Ontario,

> We must work hand in hand, arm in arm, as two groups--each with our own identity . . . the English should learn French and, of course, we [learn] English. Then we can work together.[104]

In a similar vein, a Franco-Ontarian school teacher felt that,

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[102]Interview A41, June 6, 1966.

[103]Interview A40, May 4, 1966.

[104]Interview A24, May 11, 1966.

> . . . both groups should meet somewhere in the middle without losing their own identities. Complete separation would prevent a unity, but we should be able to reach some unity on the basis that we are all Canadian. If a student is French Canadian, he should attend a French school. You can't be both. A person owes his loyalty to his own culture.[105]

In contrast is the following view held by an English Catholic educational official,

> I think it's good and valuable to maintain different cultures--the mosaic idea, each contributes to the total. Theoretically, it's a good idea. But, practically, what if you have different languages and different goals within one nation? There is certainly more possibility for conflict and dissension. This isn't good. Different languages means a lack of communication.[106]

English Catholics, though assuming such a position in reference to French Catholics, do not generalize to Catholic-Protestant separation. The same respondent was asked, "What about religious differences, should we all be of one religion?" The reply,

> I don't think that's the same thing. Different religions don't prevent communication and cooperation like different languages. The cooperation between us and the Public School Board in Metro Center is very, very good, for example.[107]

An English Catholic school teacher expressed an opinion similar to the above, "I have my doubts whether duality will work . . . I wonder if they [French-speakers] put the country or the language first. The country must come first."[108] And from a prominent English Catholic member of St. Jean's parish, "I'm favorable to French schools, the usual classes

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[105]Interview A07, May 3, 1966.

[106]Interview A01, April 19, 1966. [107]Ibid.

[108]Interview A08, May 4, 1966.

though [referring to English and bilingual classrooms in contrast to French schools as such], French will inevitably disappear anyway."[109]

The English Protestant tendency to agree with the French Catholic view is partly a result of their lack of contact in other than the field of municipal politics. They are less tolerant, however, of the Catholic position on education. Opinions range from mere acceptance, "separate schools are a fact of life; it's accepted, whether we approve or not."[110] to frank expressions of disagreement:

> They have a right to separate schools, but not to equal grants from my point of view. They chose to opt out of the public system from the beginning.[111]

> The public school taxes are lower because we get, up until recently, the biggest hunk of the bounty from the province. Recently, Robarts [the provincial premier] has changed this and now Catholics are getting an equal amount. I think this is wrong. This is really wrong because we are operating a public school system and the Catholics--well, they can operate their own if they want to, but we should put <u>all</u> our resources into the public system.[112]

There was a divergency of opinion within each group as well as between groups. With only forty-one respondents selected for purposes other than a sampling of opinion, the above comments are presented as illustrative of tendencies within each group toward types of orientations. Indeed, the most outright assimilationist of all the respondents was a

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[109]Interview A18, April 22, 1966.

[110]Interview A26, May 11, 1966.

[111]Interview A39, April 22, 1966.

[112]Interview X03, April 10, 1964.

Franco-Ontarian school teacher teaching in the English system.[113] It is concluded, however, from these data that there are differing value positions and that these positions follow party membership.

IV. SUMMARY

Social conflict was defined as consisting of any relationship between two or more sets of individuals exhibiting some degree of organization and incorporating one or more of the following conditions: incompatible values, position scarcity, and resource scarcity. The purpose of this chapter was to identify what have been referred to as the empirical conditions necessary for a conflictive state to exist--parties, exhibiting some degree of organization; contact and interaction between these parties; and a condition of position scarcity, resource scarcity or value incompatibility.

Initially, three parties--English Catholic, French Catholic, and English Protestant--were posited as being in a state of conflict. Through an analysis of patterns of interpersonal interaction within and between these parties, of the extent to which local residents are subjectively aware of party membership, and of the extent of institutional separation, it was concluded that they met the minimum requirements for quasi-groups. Contact between the parties and the content of their interaction was demonstrated through an analysis of conflict agencies and agents. Finally, it was demonstrated that the conditions of position and resource scarcity,

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[113]Interview A02, April 26, 1966.

and to a lesser degree, value incompatibility obtain between the parties. Given these conditions, subsequent analysis will deal with variations in the conflict system and the relationship between these variations and the structure of the local community.

Certain features of the particular conflict system under consideration emanated from this analysis which will have some bearing on the hypotheses to be considered in the next chapter. First, a low level of English Protestant involvement was observed at both the local and extra-local levels of organization. Locally, this was seen as due to the more complete institutional separation of English Protestants from the Catholic sub-community and the consequent lack of visibility of and involvement in the main issues around which French-English conflict takes place. Although there was also a paucity of English Protestant conflict agencies observed at the extra-local level, the government, in receiving the demands of French and English Catholics, is placed in a position where it articulates English Protestant interests and, as such, acts as a conflict agency.

A second feature, which further depresses the visibility of issues, was the observation that interests were dealt with as administrative rather than as political problems. This was especially so with educational interests. French and Catholic agencies worked through government bureaucracies in opposition to elected political representatives on the floor of the Legislature. Within the bureaucracy, a complex structure of conflict agents articulated the interests of their respective parties. This system, which was essentially a mode of conflict control, will be seen to

have considerable influence on the militancy expressed by the parties.

A third feature with implications for the local conflict system was that the main interest promotion activity took place through vertical lines of organization as opposed to local horizontal lines. Local conflict agencies, apart from their emphasis on supportive functions, functioned to aggregate local interests which in turn were articulated through regional and provincial bodies. It was mainly at the provincial level that these interests were finally articulated across party boundaries.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VARIABLES OF CONFLICT, PART I: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Given a state of social conflict, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, the next question concerns variations in that state. Discussions of this problem are frequently limited to considerations of overt and covert, manifest and latent, or potential and actual conflict. In an attempt to arrive at a greater precision in the analysis of variations in conflict states, a set of variables and hypotheses specifying their interrelations were posited in Chapters II and III. The purpose of this and the next chapter is to demonstrate the plausibility of these hypotheses.

The procedure followed is to discuss each of the six variables in turn and in terms of their empirical indicators. The independent variables are analysed in this chapter, the dependent variables in the next. Following this, the hypotheses are tested. Although the main body of evidence on hand is limited to the period during which this research was conducted, an attempt is made to demonstrate changes in each of the variables over time. For this purpose, three time periods were selected: the periods between 1900 and 1930, between 1930 and 1935, and between 1950 and 1966. Each of these periods, as noted in Chapter IV, is of special importance to the particular conflict under study.

The analysis focuses on the two main issues over which the conflict has taken place--the bilingual and the Catholic school issues. It should be emphasized that the aim of this thesis is to demonstrate the credibility

of these hypotheses rather than to conclusively reject or accept them.

I. INSTITUTIONALIZATION

The institutionalization of conflict entails the regularization of the relationship between the participating parties. Considered as a variable of a conflict state, institutionalization opens the question of conflict resolution. The institutionalization of a conflict system does not imply its resolution, but refers to its regularization. Indeed, according to the definition of conflict advanced in this thesis, only the elimination of one of the parties, through its withdrawal or destruction, resolves the conflict. If the parties remain intact, resolution may be thought of in relation to issues, but not in relation to the dissolution of the conflict system itself.

Empirically, institutionalization refers to the recognition by each party of its opponent's legitimacy as a party, of its opponent's claims, and the availability of a means of communication through which parties may articulate their claims. In a superordinate-subordinate relationship, the very action on the part of the "minority" party of placing its claims before the "majority" party implies a recognition of the latter on the part of the former. Actually, the minority does not have much choice in the matter. It is the actions of the superordinate party that conclusively determines the over-all level of institutionalization.

There is a heuristic value in making a distinction between the recognition of the legitimacy of a party and the recognition of the legitimacy of that party's claims. Certainly, the recognition of a party's

claims implies the recognition of the party itself, but a party may be recognized without its opponent granting recognition to particular claims at a given time. The continued recognition of parties maintains a certain level of institutionalization; the recognition of a party's claims at a particular time increases that level.

This distinction is not easily made at the empirical level. The presence of conflict agents is an indicator of party recognition, but not necessarily a recognition of claims. Agreements, implicit and explicit, are taken as indicating a recognition of claims. Observed cancellation of such agreements by one party or refusal to negotiate a claim is used as an indicator of non-recognition of claims. The presence of communication channels through which claims may be articulated, another aspect of institutionalization, is inferred from the presence of conflict agents.

Period I: 1900 to 1930

A low level of institutionalization, relative to Periods II and III, is posited during the debate over the bilingual school question. The level of institutionalization, with respect to this issue, decreased from 1867 to 1912, although the parties remained intact. Between 1840 and 1867, within the framework of the Act of Union, French education demands were recognized.

The Council of Public Instruction's decision in 1851 to certify teachers with a "knowledge of French grammar" in lieu of a "knowledge of English grammar" and the Council superintendent's approval of the use of

both languages in the schools in 1857 are taken as evidence of the recognition of the educational demands of the French party.[1] Furthermore, during this period communication channels remained open, with local trustees and parent groups acting as conflict agencies. The 1867 Confederation agreement recognized both French and English parties and "sectarian" educational claims, but not linguistic educational claims. Thus legally, the claims recognized during the Union period were denied. However, actual withdrawal of recognition did not begin until 1878 when the Department of Education with a minister responsible to the Legislature and an electorate succeeded the Council of Public Instruction.

The final act of recognition of both the French party and its educational claims by the Council took place two years after Confederation. In 1869, French inspectors were appointed (conflict agents) and a number of French texts were authorized for use in the bilingual schools.[2] Therefore, by 1878 there was a relatively high level of institutionalization.

The effects upon the level of institutionalization brought about by the transfer of educational responsibilities from the Council of Public Instruction to the new Department of Education cannot be underestimated. The Council, though responsible to the government, was far more removed from the political process than the Department. The chief officer of the Council was neither an elected official nor a member of the provincial cabinet; the Minister of Education was both. What effects

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[1] Supra, p. 148.

[2] Lucien Brault, op. cit., p. 11.

did this have upon the conflict system? First, it increased the visibility of the issues through their introduction into the political arena--what had been a "private" issue was now a public issue. Second, the old lines of communication which had previously been established between representatives of Franco-Ontarian interests and the Council had collapsed. New ones had to be worked out with the new center of authority if the level of institutionalization was to remain stable.

In 1883, a conference of representatives of the province's Franco-Ontarian groups was convened in Metro Center, and although a list of delegates is not available, it could be assumed that delegates from nearby Normanville attended. A resolution requesting that attention be given to the French schools by the government was passed.[3] It may or may not have been submitted directly to the Minister of Education. In any case, two years later the Minister of Education

> . . . proceeded to inquire into the extent to which the schools of Ontario were exclusively French, and somewhat to his surprise he found them quite numerous, namely twenty-seven . . .[4]

Following this inquiry, general instructions were sent to all teachers in the province specifying the amount of English that must be taught.[5] In response to these instructions, a petition was sent from seventy citizens of Hawkesbury to the Minister through their member of the legislative assembly requesting that French schools or French classes

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[3]L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, Rapport de Congrès d'Education canadienne-française d'Ontario. (Ottawa: L'A. C. F. O., 1910), p. 41.

[4]C. B. Sissons, op. cit., p. 44. [5]Ibid., p. 35.

remain exclusively so.[6] This request was refused. Six years later, the teaching of French was prohibited in the public schools.[7]

Between 1900 and 1910, two more investigations were directed toward the "French-English" school situation.[8] In February 1910, the newly founded L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario forwarded a list of demands to the office of the Minister of Education. The appeal was justified according to the:

> British North America Act . . . [which] explicitly recognized, for the Dominion as a whole, the legal existence of both official languages . . . [and] in entrusting to the Provinces the right to freely legislate in the fields of education, the Imperial Government never intended that the Provinces might take advantage of this right to oppress the minority of one or the other language.[9]

The Minister did not reply until August. His reply, refusing the demands, was based on a decision not to allow,

> 'The creation of a new, additional statutory class of schools organized upon a racial basis.' The Confederation settlement [i.e., the B. N. A. Act], which the government would follow, provided for special school provisions for the religious minority, but did not allow the establishment of a class of schools on racial grounds.[10]

It was at this point that English Catholics allied with the English Protestant majority. In August 1910, the Bishops of Ontario presented

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[6] Ibid., p. 44.

[7] Lucien Brault, op. cit., p. 12.

[8] F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 235-255.

[9] L'A. C. F. E. O., Rapport de Congrès d'Education . . ., op. cit., pp. 150 and 156-159. See also, F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 241.

[10] Ibid., pp. 241-246.

their objections to the French demands to the premier of the province.[11] Party alignment was now in terms of French versus English-speakers. Both parties referred to the Confederation agreement which explicitly recognized the legitimacy of each. Nevertheless, the superordinate English-speaking party chose to view this agreement as a base from which it could deny recognition to French educational claims--claims which were implicitly recognized up to 1867. The French-speaking party, with little success, attempted to use the same agreement as justification for its claims. Thus, by 1910 the level of institutionalization with respect to the bilingual school issue had decreased considerably. Although mutual recognition on the part of each party remained, the claims of the subordinate party were no longer recognized and channels of communication had collapsed.

These two positions were generally maintained throughout the struggle over Instructions 17 which was passed two years later. These instructions, commonly known as "Regulation 17" passed by the provincial Legislative Assembly in the early summer of 1912 contained the following:

1. it "affirmed that there were only two classes of primary schools in Ontario--public and separate, but for convenience of reference, the term English-French was applied to schools in which French was the language of instruction.";

2. the use of English was subject to the direction and approval of the supervising inspector;

3. where necessary, French was permitted as the language of instruction and communication, but not beyond Form I (Grades 1 and 2);

4. apart from the exception granted above, French would be permitted for only one hour a day in all forms, subject to the approval of

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[11] Ibid., p. 247. See also, Supra, pp. 151-152.

parents and the supervising inspector;

5. a thorough system of inspection was provided for, and no teacher would be permitted to teach without proper knowledge of English.[12]

Regulation 17, though considered the "coup de grâce" by the French party, was perhaps anticlimatic in view of what had transpired up to 1910. Its immediate effect was to reduce the level of institutionalization even further by, (1) refusing to recognize French or bilingual schools which were previously implicitly recognized; (2) limiting the use of French in the schools; and (3) reducing the effectiveness of the French inspectors as conflict agents.[13] At the same time, Regulation 17, by its very existence, recognized the French party as such thereby providing the seeds for a new level of institutionalization.

The Regulation provided a statement of policy around which negotiation might take place and it began the process of returning the issue itself to the "private" level of the department bureaucracy. A year later, in 1913, an ammendment was introduced. The Chief Inspector, a departmental administrative position, was given the power to extend the use of French beyond the first form according to local circumstances.[14] This permitted an area for negotiation between local and provincial conflict agents. The entry of the Vatican into the dispute furthered the level of

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[12] Ibid., p. 267.

[13] The policy of appointing "supervising inspectors" over the bilingual inspectors limited the latters' abilities to function as conflict agents. Ibid., p. 269.

[14] F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 280-281.

institutionalization by providing a recognition of the French party and its claims within the Catholic sub-community.[15]

A new high level of institutionalization was reached with the conclusion of the debate over Regulation 17. In 1925, the government appointed a commission to investigate the situation in the "French-English" schools. In contrast to previous commissions, this one consisted of three members representing the contending parties--a French Catholic, a member of the Department of Education, and an English Protestant.[16] The commission's report did not request the repeal of the Regulation, nor was it ever repealed, but it recommended that French and English directors of education be appointed to deal with local school boards and to take decisions regarding the introduction of French and the extent to which it could be used.[17] A new conflict agent and communication system was created.

That which transpired at the provincial level regarding recognition of claims, agents, and communication would have been reflected in the local Normanville school system. It was no mere coincidence that in 1900, one year before the teaching of French was prohibited in the public schools, the French Catholics of Normanville withdrew from the local public school system to establish the Normanville separate school system. One of the results of Regulation 17 was the appointment of "supervising inspectors" over local bilingual inspectors. Apparently, some bilingual inspectors, the principal conflict agents at the local level, were

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[15] Ibid., pp. 302-308.

[16] Ibid., p. 314.

[17] Ibid., pp. 316-317.

dismissed for allegedly objecting to the Regulation. The inspector whose district included Normanville was so dismissed.[18]

Period II: The Thirties

Bilingual schools. The 1927 compromise over Regulation 17 was received by most of Ontario's French-speakers with satisfaction. The bilingual schools moved immediately to reorganize under the modified regulations. The following appeared in the minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, December 16, 1927,

> Moved and carried that a letter be sent to the director of French instruction . . . re. immediate organization of classes according to the parallel system recommended in the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the conditions of schools attended by French-speaking pupils.[19]

The following month the Board passed a motion establishing "the system of parallel classes as suggested in the . . . investigation committee's report and recommended [by the inspector]."[20] During the thirties, the efforts of the local school board were directed toward improving the quality of French instruction, their main problem being that of securing trained French-speaking teachers.[21]

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[18]The Evening Record, Metro Center, December 3, 1912.

[19]Minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, December 17, 1927, op. cit.

[20]Ibid., January 28, 1928.

[21]Ibid. In the minutes of November 18, 1935, a motion was passed requesting that a letter be sent "to Mother Superior . . . asking her explanation about her failure in sending her 'nuns' destined to teach in our bilingual schools to the Ottawa University normal school to qualify

The local French language newspaper noted some three years later that

> . . . the new system in force for only a few years has already proved itself in spite of numerous difficulties inherited from the period of transition. The results from all points of view are very satisfying.[22]

A few incidents regarding bilingual schools were reported during the thirties,[23] but in the main, the issue had subsided.

The Catholic school issue. The 1927 accommodation on bilingual schools placed the French-English conflict system into a relatively highly institutionalized framework. The Catholic school issue, having taken a secondary position during the twenties, emerged as paramount during the thirties. The various agreements, both implicitly and explicitly recognizing Catholic claims up to 1928, have already been discussed.[24] A system of conflict agents had also evolved since the 1840 Union permitting

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and advising her also of the dissatisfaction of a good number of our Separate School supporters as to the deficiency as to the teaching of French in our local schools." See also minutes of August 10, 1936, December 29, 1927, and July 13, 1926.

[22]Le Castor, Normanville, April 16, 1931.

[23]Ibid. September 8, 1932: an editorial reprinted from Le Droit of Ottawa registered a complaint regarding the English language history text required in the bilingual classes. August 31, 1933: a reference to the effect that "on Saturday, from several platforms in the Province, there was another oratorical attack on the use of the French language in Ontario . . . bilingual schools were denounced as if they were a species of sedition." April 9, 1934: reference to Orange Lodge protests to government that the Department of Education was attempting "to mislead the public as well as the Orange association as to . . . the conditions prevailing in the French schools." The Orangemen noted that the British North America Act did not grant privileges to the French in Ontario.

[24]Supra, pp. 145-146.

Catholic and Protestant to deal with these claims. During the 1870's, the Archbishop of Toronto was a member of the Council of Public Instruction and was considered by government and educational officials alike "as the chief representative of Catholic interests."[25] Although Catholic high schools were not recognized, separate school boards placed representatives on public high school boards.[26] Conflict agents also operated at the political as differentiated from the administrative level.[27] Channels of communication remained open at both levels up to the dissolution of the Council of Public Instruction and during the initial years of the Department of Education's regime.[28]

The level of institutionalization in existence in 1927 was based on a recognition of the Catholic party and its original claims, with some revisions, legitimized in both the 1863 Scott Act and the B. N. A. Act.[29] The new claims calling for the establishment of a publicly supported Catholic high school system and an equitable distribution of tax revenues were not recognized. It was not until the turn of the century that these two issues became relevant. Prior to the nineteen hundreds, demands for mass education, especially beyond the elementary level, were at a minimum.

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[25]F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 86. [26]Ibid., p. 159.

[27]The positions of the Archbishop on the Council and separate school board representatives on high school boards are taken as administrative agent positions. This is in contrast to the roles played by Catholic members of the Legislative Assembly which are considered as political agents.

[28]F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 89-90.

[29]Supra, pp. 145-146.

The rapid urbanization and industrialization of Canada after 1900 placed demands on local educational systems which the public schools were able to meet, but from which the separate schools were prohibited. As the issues regarding financing and secondary education became relevant, Catholics were faced with the decisiveness of previous legislation. The issues were far more explicitly defined from a legal point of view than was the language issue.

However, certain government action between 1896 and 1913 appeared, to some, to implicitly recognize Catholic secondary education. In 1896, legislation was passed permitting school boards to operate "continuation classes," the first two years of a high school program, in districts where high schools did not exist. Catholics were quick to take advantage of this and subsequent legislation.[30] In response to these moves, the Minister of Education in January 1915, ". . . sent a directive to all boards 'which had ignorantly or designedly misapplied the Regulation [pertaining to classes beyond the continuation school level]'."[31] The Minister further stated that ". . . their [the separate schools] object undoubtedly is to continue the Separate School system beyond the limits guaranteed to Separate Schools under the Confederation Act."[32]

The Catholic bishops chose to view this new block placed in their way as a denial of the implications in the 1896 legislation. To bring

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[30] F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 329-333. [31] Ibid., p.333.

[32] Loc. cit.

the issue to a conclusion, the bishops submitted a test case (The Tiny Township Case) to the Supreme Court of Ontario regarding the right of separate schools to teach secondary school subjects,

> . . . the right of separate school supporters to exemption from taxes for the support of high schools not under the jurisdiction of separate school trustees, and whether separate schools were entitled to all legislative grants for common schools, including all grants for the support of secondary schools.[33]

The case went through the Ontario courts, the Supreme Court of Canada, and the Privy Council, the latter deciding in favor of the government. The decision, handed down in 1928, failed to recognize Catholic claims for a redistribution of educational resources thus legitimizing the government's stand.

It is at this point that the bishops of Ontario, who had previously acted as conflict agents, turned the task of placing Catholic claims before the government over to the laiety.[34] The laiety did not hold conflict agent positions at the administrative level, but they were capable of utilizing agent positions at the more public political level.[35] Thus, as the period of the thirties is entered, the conflict system was beginning to exhibit some reduction in the level of institutionalization. This

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[33] Ibid., pp. 337-338.

[34] Ibid., p. 355.

[35] The Catholic Taxpayers Association organized with the bishops' approval in response to the 1928 court decision operated through Catholic members of the Legislative Assembly rather than through the Department of Education which was now void of agent positions. In a similar vein, the separate school board in Normanville utilized its local members of both provincial and federal parliaments to negotiate further funds on their behalf. See minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, December 26, 1929, op. cit.

is inferred from the following indicators:

1. the loss of the conflict agent position at the center of the decision-making process when the Department of Education succeeded the Council of Public Instruction;

2. the denial of the secondary education and revenue claims placed before the government by the Catholic party; and

3. the emergence of lay conflict agencies requiring an initial use of political as opposed to administrative channels of communication.

The over-all level of institutionalization, though reduced during the thirties, was maintained at a higher level than that exhibited by the conflict over the bilingual school issue. The Catholic party retained its legitimacy and its original claims were not questioned. The new claims were not recognized until 1936, and then only partially, when legislation directed toward a redistribution of tax revenues was passed.[36] In spite of the fact that this legislation was repealed a year later at the request of both parties, Catholic claims regarding revenue were recognized through increases in departmental grants to separate schools. This action removed the issue from the political to the administrative level. By 1942, a salaried official of the Catholic party was acting as a liaison between the Catholic party, the Department of Education, and the government on educational matters. His role as a conflict agent was recognized by both parties.[37]

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[36]F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 428. The reference here is to the Assessment Act passed by the Hepburn Government in 1936.

[37]Ibid., pp. 481-42.

Period III: The Sixties

The Catholic school issue. Since the thirties, the level of institutionalization has gradually increased. During the past three decades, the government through administrative acts on the part of the Department of Education adjusted its grants to separate schools in an attempt to fill the gap between public and separate school incomes. None of these actions have met the original Catholic demand for an equitable distribution of all sources of tax revenue according to the number of pupils or average daily attendance.

Up to the present day, both the government and Catholic spokesmen have dealt with the income issue within an institutionalized framework, concentrating on the amount of monies available through departmental regulations. When legislation is necessary, as was the case in 1963 when the Ontario Foundation Tax Plan was introduced, specific reference to separate schools is omitted. At that time, the provincial premier stated that

> we must provide each school board with sufficient revenue to finance adequately the educational programme which it deems essential . . . the actual solution . . . is . . . to be found in the transfer of provincial revenues to local school boards on a basis which provides for equality of opportunity . . . that principle is recognized by this government as fundamental.[38]

Agreeing with this principle, a recent brief of the Ontario Separate School Trustees' Association presented to the Department of Education

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[38]Ontario Separate School Trustees' Association, The Catholic Trustee. (Toronto: O. S. S. T. A., March 1966), p. 9.

argues within this framework for additional funds.[39]

The secondary school issue took second place to the overwhelming problems of financing Catholic schools at the elementary level. Following the second world war, however, Catholics throughout Ontario began to erect secondary schools as private institutions under parish support. The burden of financing these schools only increased the over-all financial dilemma. Recently, Catholics have renewed their demands for secondary schools under public support. These demands have generally been tied to the demands and negotiations over the general tax picture with reference to elementary schools. The position has been to work within a framework of an equitable distribution of tax revenues for Catholic education from kindergarten to the end of high school and, as such, the secondary school issue has been tacitly recognized within this more general appeal.[40]

Indeed, certain compromises have been reached resulting in practices

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[39]Ibid., pp. 9-12.

[40]In a recent pastoral letter from the Catholic Conference of Ontario Bishops, a reference to high schools is made noting that

> ". . . we recognize that on this level the problem is of a somewhat different nature [than that concerning elementary schools] and we acknowledge its complexity . . . and we are fully prepared to consider and discuss any modality of high school education which, while meeting the needs of the society as a whole, does not lose sight of the positive spiritual and moral contribution we are prepared to make and which is our duty to procure."

The Catholic Conference of Ontario Bishops, Pastoral Letter on the Subject of Ecumenism and Catholic Truth. (Toronto: September 1965), p. 6.

which the Department of Education "officially" ignores. Since Catholic schools can operate up to grade ten (the second year of high school), it is not uncommon to find two buildings side by side, sharing major facilities. One building, under the separate school board, contains grades nine and ten; the other, under a parochial board, contains grades eleven to thirteen. The system operates de facto under one principal and one teaching staff, sharing auditoria, libraries, playing fields, science laboratories, and other similar facilities, the separate school board assuming the costs of these shared facilities.[41]

In addition to an implicit recognition of Catholic claims on the part of the government, lines of communication into the Department of Education are well established. Local agencies articulate their interests at the regional and provincial levels of their own organizations. These interests are relayed to the English Catholic Education Association and L'Association canadienne-française d'Education which, in turn, articulate these directly with the Department of Education. Assuming conflict agent roles, French and English Catholic inspectors are appointed to oversee schools attended by French and English-speaking pupils. English Protestants and French and English Catholics sit on the Department of Education's policy development committee.

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[41]This student is familiar with one such system operating in Lincoln County. It is to this end that the Normanville Catholic Education Association is directing its energies. This Association, which is referred to below, was formed in March 1966.

Bilingual schools. Since the accommodation over the bilingual school issue of 1927, French and English Catholics have tended to join forces on their demands regarding Catholic schools. Until very recently, both have presented identical briefs to the Department of Education insofar as reference to school income and secondary schools are concerned.[42] The difference is that the French-speaking group tie linguistic to religious "rights" and in so doing, still find themselves involved in the language issue with their English-speaking co-religionists. In an interview with an official of the English Catholic Education Association, it was pointed out that both Trustees' groups had presented a common brief to the Department which was ignored. Following this, the two groups have decided to work out their problems on the language issue prior to presenting another common brief.[43]

There has been a greater tendency in Franco-Ontarian briefs and press releases to justify demands in terms of constitutional accommodations than in English Catholic representations. In a brief presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in October 1964, L'A. C. F. E. O. based its demands on the B. N. A. Act, noting that "for all practical purposes Confederation was a pact arrived at between the

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[42]The demands for a completely equitable tax distribution and support for secondary education appear in The Ontario Separate School Trustees' Association, op. cit., pp. 9-12, and in L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, Mémoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilingualisme et le Biculturalisme. (Ottawa: Imprimerie Gatineau Ltée., 1964), pp. 51-55.

[43]Interview A18, April 22, 1966, confirmed in Interview 017, December 30, 1965, with the Secretary of L'A. C. F. E. O.

people of English Canada and the people of French Canada through the mediation of their representatives."[44] The same brief refers to Article 26 of the United Nations declaration on human rights[45] and notes that

> too often, unfortunately, persons are inclined to believe, especially those outside of Ontario, that the shelving of Regulation 17 brought a solution to all the problems of French-Canadians living in Ontario.[46]

Before dealing with the current government's response to these demands, a clarification of the major issues, from a Franco-Ontarian view point, will be of help. They are as follows:

1. a demand for legislative recognition of bilingual schools;
2. a demand for a bilingual system extending from kindergarten to university; and
3. a demand that the system, Catholic rather than "public," receive its fair share of tax revenues.

At the time of writing, a change occurred in the policy of the Franco-Ontarian organizations with respect to secondary schools. In 1965, a debate within the Franco-Ontarian organizations took place regarding the necessity of tying linguistic to religious rights at the secondary level. L'A. C. F. E. O. came out in favor of maintaining the traditional

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[44]L' A. C. F. E. O., Mémoire à la Commission Royale . . . op. cit., p. 17. This position is in keeping with the "compact theory" of the British North America Act referred to in Chapter IV, p. 139.

[45]Ibid., p. 12.

[46]This same position may be found in L'A. C. F. E. O., and affiliated associations, "Brief Submitted to the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario," (Ottawa: L'A. C. F. E. O., December 1965). (mimeographed); and "Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission Inquiry into Civil Rights," (Ottawa: L'A. C. F. E. O., January 1965). (mimeographed). Ibid., p. 9.

stand in February 1966.[47] A year later, the same organization, at a specially convened meeting of its affiliated associations, announced its new policy: "Our mandate is . . . to seek the establishment of secondary schools in Ontario integrated to the public school [italics mine] system, and which will be bilingual or French."[48] This policy, which divorces linguistic from religious demands, and places emphasis on the former, will have implications for the relations between French and English Catholics. The French group is no longer requesting tax support for French Catholic schools, only for French schools.

The response of the government of Ontario to the Franco-Ontarian demands is contained in a statement made by the provincial premier in November 1966. The following are excerpts from that statement:

> I would not want to give the impression that all in Ontario are satisfied with the present system for teaching French, we recognize its faults and will remedy it as rapidly as possible. . . . In order to permit French-speaking pupils to continue to acquire a French culture, we need a program of studies at the secondary level. This program should parallel the existing course for English-speaking pupils and continue the current program of the bilingual elementary schools. . . . We in Ontario accept the fact that Canada was founded on a dual cultural base. [italics mine][49]

It is inferred from this statement that the government recognizes the claims put forward in the Franco-Ontarian briefs.

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[47]L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, La Vie Franco-Ontarienne, Vol. 1, No. 6, February 1966, p. 1.

[48]The Gazette, Montréal, January 20, 1965. See also L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, La Vie Franco-Ontarienne, Vol. II, No. 4, March 1967.

[49]L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, La Vie Franco-Ontarienne, Vol. II, No. 3, January 1967, pp. 2-3.

Although the recognition of a party's claims implies recognition of the party itself, an examination of the conflict agent system, especially at the local level, will provide further insight into the current level of institutionalization. This system is duplicated to one degree or another in communities across Ontario where French and English-speaking students share the same schools. The dynamics of this system may be viewed by noting how local issues are handled.

In the fall of 1965, there were approximately twenty-two pupils in the English grade ten, and nine in the bilingual grade ten at Normanville's St. Jean's Intermediate School. According to the English Catholic principal, it was impossible to operate two grades ten given such low enrollments. He, therefore, wanted to combine both grades into one, using one classroom.[50] Since this involved a bilingual classroom under the bilingual vice-principal and the French inspector, he could not make this decision without first consulting the other party.

His first move was to check with the English inspector who approved his suggestion. He then contacted the French inspector:

Principal: I told him the problem and asked for his suggestions. He turned it back to me. I suggested the combination and he agreed.

Interviewer: It was as easy as that? No argument?

Principal: I think he first felt me out--for my reasons--to make sure that I wasn't out to smother the bilingual classes. I assured him that they would be guaranteed their seven periods of le français a week.[51]

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[50] Interview A04, April 29, 1966; Interview 014, November 17, 1965.

[51] Interview A04, op. cit.

From the French Inspector's point of view, the recipient of the above communication, the incident was reported in the following manner:

French Inspector: There was no choice. We didn't have enough to make up a class. They asked me if they could combine the classes.

Interviewer: Who asked you?

French Inspector: Well, how they decided, I don't know. But the principal asked me to make a suggestion. I had no choice. So they [the bilingual grade ten] were separated only for special French. This is a problem in high schools today, with options and different courses, you can't maintain a small class or two grades in one room. I didn't approve, but to object wasn't practical.[52]

Again in the fall of 1965, a French-speaking parent complained to a member of the Separate School Board that the bilingual classes were receiving more than the specified amount of physical education. The objection was not about physical education per se, but over a perceived extra load on the already overloaded bilingual pupils. The fact that the health portion of the program was taught in English was also a factor in the complaint.

The complaint was referred to the Board and on October 21, 1965, the French and English inspectors were invited to discuss the matter. The English inspector was very careful to contain his statements within the prescribed requirements for the English classes. The French inspector noted that for "his side" the amount of "P.T." instruction exceeded the prescribed requirements and promised to investigate.[53] An inspection

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[52]Interview All, May 13, 1966.

[53]Observation 026, October 21, 1965.

was carried out within a week or two, the bilingual vice-principal was instructed to see that the time be reduced and that health be taught in French.[54]

Members of the French-speaking sub-community are quick to refer such issues to the conflict agent system when they arise. In the spring of 1966, one of the French-speaking members of the Separate School Board noted that the English inspector wanted to use one classroom for both the French and English kindergartens, with French pupils attending in the morning, English pupils in the afternoon. This suggestion was put forward in order to,

> release a room for a library, but he [the English inspector] should not do this. It puts too many in one room and, of course, we end up with one less French teacher, too. I'm against this change and I'm going to suggest [to the Board] that [the French inspector] be called in.[55]

According to the English inspector, there is more than just the releasing of a room for a library involved. The French kindergarten has the only properly equipped room in the school and he has been receiving complaints about this situation from English-speaking parents.[56]

These appear to be relatively minor issues. It is suggested, however, that the presence of an effective system of decision-making which recognizes both parties is responsible for preventing a magnification of such issues. The first two issues were managed smoothly and quickly at

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[54]Interview A11, May 13, 1966.

[55]Interview A38, May 17, 1966.

[56]Interview 026, October 25, 1965; and A01, April 19, 1966.

the administrative level with little public visibility. The second issue, initially a public issue at the board or political level, was immediately referred to the administrative level.[57] The third issue was only in its first stages at the time that the field work was concluded, but it appears as though it, too, will be referred to the administrative level.

Lines of communication are well established at the local level. Conflict agents, through their status and role-sets, tie the local system to the Department of Education on one hand and to conflict agencies on the other.[58] Local conflict agencies follow established lines in articulating their interests through local agents and their regional and provincial offices. At the provincial level, L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario aggregates all local interests and articulates these with the Department of Education.

The linguistic claims of the French party, as distinct from their religious claims, are perhaps recognized to a greater extent than the claims of the Catholic party. Since 1927, various administrative concessions have been made, the consequences of which were further recognition of the French party's claims. During the sixties, the Department of Education, in lieu of recognizing bilingual secondary schools as such, granted permission for additional subjects to be taught in French. The list now

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[57]All of these issues, with the possible exception of the third one, are curricula problems and, as such, normally fall into the hands of the administration. But since they involve both parties and the claims of these parties, if there were not a conflict agent system at the administrative level, it is assumed that the issues would become public.

[58]Supra, pp. 270-275.

includes French, history, geography, Latin, science, and religion.[59] The number of potential conflict agent positions representing the French party have been steadily increased.

The current level of institutionalization, then, is high both in Normanville and at the provincial level. It should be noted, however, that the claim on the part of the French party for an official legislative recognition of French or bilingual schools from kindergarten to university remains unmet by the opposition. The bilingual schools are defined simply as "schools attended by French-speaking pupils." Thus, the policy stated in Regulation 17 in 1912 that there are only two classes of schools--public and separate, remains intact.

Summary

Using the presence of conflict agents, the presence of agreements recognizing party claims, and available lines of communication through which parties may articulate their claims as indicators of institutionalization, the degree of institutionalization for each of three time periods with respect to educational issues was analysed. Taking the current level as the standard, the degree of institutionalization with respect to the bilingual school issue began to drop around the turn of the century to a low level in 1912. From 1912 on, the level gradually increased to its present high point. The Catholic school issue had reached a low level during the thirties relative to its current high level.

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[59]Interview All, op. cit.

II. SUPERIMPOSITION

The second variable, superimposition, refers to the coincidence or "overlap" of potential conflict fronts in a given situation. Three conflict parties have been identified based on the categories of ethnicity and religious affiliation. It has also been demonstrated that the relevance of one or the other category to the conflict system varies according to the issue in question. Thus, ethnicity was shown to be more relevant than religious affiliation to the bilingual school issue and the latter more relevant than the former to the Catholic school issue. In considering superimposition, a third category is added--social class.

The question regarding the over-all conflict system is: To what extent is there a coincidence of membership in the three categories--religion, ethnicity, and social class? Membership in one or the other religious groupings (Protestant or Catholic) and in one or the other ethnic groupings (French or English) has been established.[60] Annual family income and occupational status are taken as indicators of social class.[61] The contingency coefficient (C) is used as the indicator of the extent of superimposition with respect to the three categories.

A second indicator of the level of superimposition is the extent to which members of any one party belong to associations identified with the other party. This provides yet another means of determining the

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[60] Supra, pp. 76-78.

[61] Supra, p. 70.

cross-pressures placed upon individuals as a result of associational ties pulling a person in one or another direction in a conflict situation. The data collected on association membership will be used to ascertain the extent to which such cross-pressures might be operative.[62]

Periods I and II: 1900 to 1939

The position assumed here is that during Periods I and II, Normanville exhibited close to a perfect coincidence of ethnicity, religion, and community. The 1921 census data indicates that of a total population of 978, approximately 844 (86.3 per cent) were French Catholics, 73 (7.5 per cent) were English Catholics, and 61 (6.2 per cent) were English Protestants.[63] It should be noted that up to 1910 (two years prior to Regulation 17) the minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board were written almost entirely in French, indicating a lack of significant numbers of non-French-speaking Catholics active in school affairs.[64]

It is inferred from these data that during the first three decades of this century neither an English Catholic nor an English Protestant party had completely crystallized at the local level. Normanville, as a French Catholic community, faced English Protestants and Catholics in the vertical system during the bilingual school struggle. The issue was a

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[62] Supra, pp. 70-71.

[63] See Appendix II, Tables 1 and 2. These are only approximate figures since "French" and "English" are ethnic origin categories, not parties as defined in this thesis.

[64] The minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, op. cit.

community as well as an ethnic issue. This is not to say that superimposition was irrelevant at the local level. On the contrary, it was quite relevant insofar as there was a coincidence of ethnicity, religion, and community such that Normanville, a French Catholic community faced an English Protestant dominated provincial authority. On the other hand, the lack of a completely crystallized local representation of the opposing parties prevented bitter internal conflict.

The same situation existed in the thirties during the debate over Catholic schools. Of a total population of 2,128 in 1931, there were 1,588 French Catholics, and 294 English Catholics or a total of 1,882 Catholics representing 88.4 per cent of the total population.[65] The problem of local Catholic school finances was coincident with the problem of financing the community's main school system--religious and community interests were identical.

It would be useful, however, to examine the level of superimposition for the province as a whole. Census data are limited in this respect. There was no cross-tabulation of the relevant categories available for Period I, and a cross-tabulation of only two categories, ethnicity and occupation, was available for Periods II and III.

Using the available material, the procedure followed was to establish the proportion of each ethnic group found in each occupational category and to compare these proportions with the proportion of the total male labor force in each occupation. An ethnic group was considered

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[65]See Appendix II, Tables 1 and 2.

over-represented if it exhibited a higher proportion in a given category than that shown for the total labor force, and under-represented if a lower proportion was exhibited. These data are presented in Tables XXXV and XXXVI. To calculate the proportion of each ethnic group in any one category, one simply adds or subtracts the percentage points indicating over- and under-representation to the proportion indicated in the total male labor force column.

TABLE XXXV

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND OCCUPATIONS, MALE LABOR FORCE, ONTARIO 1931
PERCENTAGE OF OVER- AND UNDER-REPRESENTATION
IN OCCUPATION BY ETHNIC GROUP[a]

	Ethnic Groups			
Occupation	British	French	Other	Total Male Labor Force
Managerial	+0.2	-2.2	+0.1	6.5
Professional and Technical	+0.8	-2.0	-2.4	4.5
Clerical	+1.0	-1.4	-2.9	4.6
Service	-0.4	-0.7	+1.3	4.9
Transportation and Communication	+0.7	-0.2	-2.8	8.5
Farm and Farm Workers	+0.9	+2.7	-4.5	29.0
Primary Industries	-1.4	+2.5	+4.3	2.9
Craftsman	+1.1	-4.7	-2.5	25.3
Laborers	-2.9	+6.0	+9.4	13.8
Total	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

[a]This table was constructed from data provided in Canada, 1931 Census of Canada, Vol. VII, "Occupations and Industries," Table 49, pp. 492-506. Certain adjustments were made to enable a comparison with 1961 census data.

In 1931, those of British origin were over-represented in all categories with the exception of service, primary industry, and the unskilled labor occupations. Those of French origin were over-represented in only

three categories--farm and farm workers, primary industries, and laborers. The latter, therefore, tended to be under-represented in higher status occupations and over-represented in lower status occupations.

TABLE XXXVI

ETHNIC ORIGIN AND OCCUPATIONS, MALE LABOR FORCE, ONTARIO 1961
PERCENTAGE OF OVER- AND UNDER-REPRESENTATION
IN OCCUPATION BY ETHNIC GROUP[a]

	Ethnic Groups			
Occupation	British	French	Other	Total Male Labor Force
Managerial	+1.5	-4.5	-1.3	12.1
Professional and Technical	+1.7	-3.8	-1.9	9.1
Clerical	+1.5	-1.1	-2.6	8.3
Service	-0.1	+0.9	-0.1	9.4
Transportation and Communication	+0.9	+2.0	-2.5	7.8
Farm and Farm Workers	+0.5	-1.4	-0.5	9.7
Primary Industries	-1.2	+5.3	+0.8	2.5
Craftsmen	-3.0	+0.2	+5.5	34.4
Laborers	-1.8	+2.4	+2.6	6.7
Total	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

[a]This table was constructed from data provided in Canada, 1961 Census of Canada, Bulletin 3.1-15, Vol. III, Part I, Table 22. (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1964), pp. 21-22. Certain adjustments were made to enable a comparison with the 1931 census data.

In 1961, those of British origin maintained their over-representation in all those categories in which they were over-represented thirty years previously with the single exception of craftsmen where they dropped from +1.1 to -3.0. A significant change was in the increase in over-representation at the higher status levels--managerial, professional and technical, and clerical. Those of French origin moved from under- to over-representation in service, transportation and communication, and craftsmen occupations. The extent of over-representation in the laborer

category dropped considerably from +6.0 to +2.4, but the over-representation in the primary industries increased from +2.5 to +5.3. The significant change among the French was the increase in the extent of under-representation at the higher status levels. French representation in managerial, and professional and technical occupations dropped from -2.2 to -4.5, and -2.0 to -3.8 respectively.

Over-all changes in the occupational structure of the province, consistent with changes in Canada as a whole and in the United States,[66] are operative here. There was, for example, a considerable drop in the proportions in farm and farm workers and laborers in the total labor force, and an increase in the proportion of managerial and professional and technical occupations. The positions of both groups improved as the demand in the economy for unskilled labor decreased.

The implications these data have for superimposition levels, however, are difficult to assess. As defined, superimposition refers to the categories of ethnicity, religion, and social class. Tables XXXV and XXXVI deal only with ethnicity--French Catholics as compared to English Catholics and Protestants. At best then, these data suggest that the level of superimposition with respect to ethnicity and class was medium in 1931, and medium to high in 1961. The conclusion regarding the possibility of an increase over the thirty year period is drawn from the

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[66]Canada, Department of Labour, Occupational Trends in Canada, 1931 to 1961, Report No. 11, September 1963; Thomas C. Fichandler, "The American Labor Force," Sigmund Nosow and William H. Form (eds.), Man, Work, and Society. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1962), pp. 97-111.

observation that those of French origin increased their under-representation in the higher status occupations while the British increased in over-representation. At the same time, however, French over-representation decreased at the lowest level and showed some increase at the middle levels. The over-all picture may have remained about the same over the three decades, with perhaps a slight increase in superimposition.[67]

Period III: The Sixties

The very existence of a "third party," the English Catholics, prevents a complete superimposition of religion and ethnicity. The effects of this arrangement have been demonstrated. The bilingual school issue is a French-English dispute with "cross-pressures" resulting from overlapping religious affiliations. The Catholic school issue is a Protestant-Catholic dispute with "cross-pressures" resulting from overlapping ethnic affiliations. The lack of French-speaking Protestants prevents a complete overlap of ethnicity and religion, thereby maintaining a certain level of superimposition.

The interest here is in the extent to which religion, ethnicity, and social class overlap or are superimposed. For example, if all Catholics were French and lower class, and all Protestants were English and upper class, the level of superimposition for the community as a whole would be at its maximum. Within the Catholic sub-community, which is the relevant point of reference in the bilingual school issue locally, if all

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[67]These changes are consistent with the picture for Canada as a whole. See John Porter, op. cit., pp. 86-91.

English-speakers were upper class and all French-speakers lower class, the level of superimposition would also be at a maximum.

Table XXXVII indicates a statistically significant relationship between party membership and income. This was discussed in Chapter VI.

TABLE XXXVII

CONFLICT PARTIES BY ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME

	Annual Family Income Levels			
Parties	Per Cent High[a]	Per Cent Medium[b]	Per Cent Low[c]	Number of Cases
French Catholics	12.8	20.5	66.7	78
English Catholics	25.0	38.5	36.5	52
English Protestants	38.9	38.9	22.2	36
Total	22.3	30.1	47.6	166[d]

$X_o^2 = 24.44 > X_t^2 = 9.49$, $p = .05$, $df = 4$.

$C = .358$

[a]High = $7,000 and over.

[b]Medium = $5,000 - $6,999.

[c]Low = Under $5,000.

[d]No answers = 1.

The contingency coefficient (C) is .358 indicating a moderately strong relationship.[68] There is, therefore, certainly less than a perfect superimposition in this case. A more accurate estimate may be reached by using the Blishen occupational-status scores as indicators of social class and breaking down the ethnic and religious components of the conflict parties. This is done in Tables XXXVIII and XXXIX.

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[68]The upper limit resulting from two perfectly correlated variables in a 3 x 3 table is .816; Sidney Siegel, op. cit., p. 201.

TABLE XXXVIII

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BY ETHNICITY AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS LEVELS OF EMPLOYED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Religion	Ethnicity	Occupational Status[a]			Number of Cases
		Per Cent High	Per Cent Medium	Per Cent Low	
Catholic	French	9	66	25	44
	English	14	54	32	44
Protestant	French	0	0	0	0
	English	45	41	14	29
Total		20	55	25	117[b]

[a]See Tables XVII and XVIII.

[b]Not working = 49; No answer = 1.

TABLE XXXIX

SUMMARY OF MEASUREMENTS OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AND ETHNIC CATEGORIES AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS LEVELS OF EMPLOYED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

Religious-Ethnic Categories	Relationship with Occupational Status-Levels		
	Value of (C)	Chi Square	Level of Significance
French Catholic; English Protestant	.381	12.41	$P < .01$
Catholic; Protestant	.343	15.69	$P < .001$
English Catholic; English Protestant	.342	9.64	$P < .01$
French; English	.208	5.30	not significant
French Catholic; English Catholic	.118	1.25	not significant

The observation that all French-speakers were Catholic is clearly illustrated in Table XXXVIII. This alone indicates some, but less than

perfect, superimposition with respect to religion and ethnicity. When the class dimension is taken into consideration, (see Table XXXIX) Catholics, both French and English, tend to cluster more at lower status levels than English Protestants. This relationship also holds when French and English Catholics are viewed separately in relation to Protestants. On the other hand, the level of superimposition is very low when French-speakers and English-speakers are related to status levels, controlling for religious affiliations. The same, perhaps lower, level of superimposition exists within the Catholic sub-community--French and English Catholics are distributed fairly evenly throughout the three status levels. There would appear to be sufficient overlap to conclude a low level of superimposition with respect to all three categories for the community as a whole.

An examination of association memberships lends support to this conclusion. The absence of any exclusively English Catholic associations was noted in Chapter VI.[69] An analysis of actual memberships showed that of the forty-four French Catholics who held association memberships of any type,[70] only six belonged to exclusively French associations, whereas fourteen belonged to English-speaking associations. The remaining twenty-four held memberships in a combination of French Catholic, English Catholic, and mixed secular associations. In other words, of the forty-four French Catholics involved in associations, thirty-eight were subjected to

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[69] Supra, pp. 231-236.

[70] See Table XXVI, p. 236.

cross-pressures resulting from memberships in associations other than those limited to their own party.

Only two of the English Catholics holding association memberships belonged to French-speaking associations; thirteen belonged to exclusively Catholic associations. The remaining eleven belonged to both Catholic and mixed secular associations. Taking both French and English Catholics, 48.5 per cent or thirty-three out of sixty-eight Catholics belonged to only Catholic associations. Of the thirteen English Protestant association members, only two belonged to exclusively English Protestant associations. Thus, the extent of superimposition present at the associational level is about the same as that exhibited between the major conflict fronts of religion, ethnicity, and social class.

Summary

During Periods I and II, it was found that the English Catholic and Protestant parties had not completely crystallized and, consequently, there was a relatively high level of superimposition with respect to ethnicity, religion, and community. During the height of the bilingual school dispute between 1900 and 1927, a French Catholic community faced a hostile English-Protestant environment. Likewise, during the thirties a Catholic community faced a hostile Protestant environment.

The situation changed rapidly as English-speakers of both religious groupings moved into Normanville, beginning in the late forties. An analysis of the relationship between ethnicity, religion, and social class pointed to an over-all low level of superimposition locally, with an

especially low level within the Catholic sub-community. Controlling for religion, the level of superimposition between ethnicity and class was also found to be low. Such was not the case when ethnicity was controlled; religion and class exhibited a higher level of superimposition. An analysis of association memberships supported these findings.

Data were unavailable for complete analysis of superimposition at the provincial level. However, census materials for 1931 and 1961 on ethnicity and occupations suggested the possibility of a medium to low level during Period II, and a medium to high level during Period III.

III. THE STRENGTH OF THE HORIZONTAL PATTERN

The remaining two independent variables are, specifically, local or community variables. That is, whereas institutionalization and superimposition have relevancy at both the local and extra-local levels, the vertical-horizontal dichotomy and community identity refer to only the local level.

Theoretically, the notion of vertical and horizontal patterns refers to the structural and functional relations of local social units to extra-local systems and to each other respectively. Here the interest is in the extent to which decision-making power with respect to concrete issues lies in the horizontal pattern. The empirical question is: Can a given issue be managed locally or must local parties defer to extra-local systems?

Period I: 1900 to 1930

Up to 1885, the question of French schools and the amount of French

to be used in these schools was mainly a local issue. Local boards decided whether or not to have a bilingual system, and how much French would be used in that system. The 1885 instructions issued from the Department of Education specifying the amount of English to be taught in the schools was the first attempt at bringing decisions regarding the amount of French used under the control of the vertical system.[71] To be sure, the power to make decisions on educational matters had gradually shifted from the horizontal to the vertical level since the establishment of the Council of Public Instruction in the early 1800's. The establishment of the Department of Education only increased this tendency.

The bilingual school issue during the 1900's was primarily over the amount of French to be used in the schools, the provision of French texts, and the provision of adequate training programs for French teachers. All of these claims required decisions at the provincial level. The question of bilingual schools as such, though a local decision, was irrelevant in communities like Normanville where the French-speaking majority had had an established bilingual school system for sometime. The Normanville shift from a public to a separate school in 1900 was a local decision avoiding the 1901 prohibition of French in the public schools. The demand at the provincial level for "official" recognition of bilingual schools was based on the hope that their establishment could proceed in some communities without bitter conflicts with the English-speaking members of local boards.

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[71] Supra, p. 150.

Regulation 17 could not be debated at the local level from a decision-making point of view. Decisions regarding the regulation were beyond local authority. Thus, conflict agencies, both English and French, directed their energies through regional and provincial organizations. The regulation took on a local relevancy only if a board refused to adhere to its specifications and found itself confronted with local English-speaking representatives as was the case in the city of Ottawa.[72] Normanville chose to adhere to the regulation, its French-speaking citizens objecting through the vertical system. During the 1900's, the only point at which the issue entered the horizontal system in Normanville was during the provincial elections of 1911 and 1914. At that time, Normanville residents, both French and English, found themselves faced with voting decisions relative to the policies of the political parties on Regulation 17.

Period II: The Thirties

Decision-making power regarding Catholic schools in Ontario was and is distributed throughout the vertical and horizontal systems in much the same manner as it is with respect to the bilingual school issue. The initial question--to have or not to have a separate school system--is a local issue. Local Catholic ratepayers may decide, as they did in Normanville in 1900, to withdraw from the public school system. However, once a separate system is established the question of limits regarding available tax revenues and grade level is in the hands of provincial authority.

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[72]F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 270, and 281-287.

A major difference between the religious and linguistic school issues is that any involvement of local Catholics over the question of limits does not draw in the opposing party at the local level. Neither party, Catholic or Protestant, has the power to decide on limits at the local level nor, once a separate school is established, is there any contact between the two parties at the local level. In contrast, French and English Catholics, within a common separate system, are in direct contact over questions concerning the extent to which French may be used within the limits set by the Department of Education. The bilingual school issue ceases to be a local question only when an extension of limits set by provincial authority is demanded.

The 1927 accommodation over Regulation 17 settled, temporarily at least, the upper limits of the bilingual school issue and weakened the horizontal system by placing decision-making power in the hands of the Department of Education through the directors of French and English education, and a system of French and English inspection of local schools. As noted previously, given this accommodation, the overwhelming problem of the thirties in Normanville was the financing of separate schools.[73]

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[73]In the June 1930 minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, the following note appeared:

> ". . . the committee cannot recommend the extension of the parallel system [the bilingual system] to Form V on the grounds of cost. Such an extension would mean the engaging of an extra teacher and the committee does not believe that such a course is wise under the present conditions."

Minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, June 25, 1930, op. cit. The extension of the bilingual system within the limits set by the 1927

The local separate school system as a whole and its bilingual sub-division were equally threatened by the lack of funds. The only appeal lay in the vertical system. The visits of local school board representatives to the provincial capital,[74] the letters and motions directed from the local board to the Department of Education,[75] and the activities of the provincially based Catholic Taxpayers Association in aggregating local interests and articulating these to provincial authorities attest to this conclusion.[76]

As with the bilingual school issue, the Catholic school issue involved the participating parties at the local level only briefly during provincial elections. The Catholic Taxpayers Association organized Catholic voters against the Conservative government during the 1934 elections. Catholics were encouraged to vote for the opposition as a means of achieving their desired goals regarding Catholic education.[77] Likewise, through the efforts of the Orange Lodge, Protestants were encouraged to vote for the government in power.[78] The ensuing campaign temporarily created a

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accommodation was tied to the lack of funds available to Catholic schools, be they English or French.

[74]Supra, N. 35, p. 311.

[75]Minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, November 18, 1935, and December 27, 1935, op. cit.

[76]F. A. Walker, op. cit., Chapter 13.

[77]Ibid., p. 392.

[78]Ibid., pp. 403-405.

local involvement of the participating parties.[79] Apart from this election, the Catholic school issue of the thirties was mediated in the vertical rather than in the horizontal system.

Period III: The Sixties

The strength of the horizontal system with respect to the two major issues continues into the sixties, and to a degree, exhibits some decrease relative to Periods I and II. The power to make decisions regarding the existence or non-existence of a bilingual or a separate school remains in the horizontal system. Issues regarding the limits placed upon these two systems by provincial authority remain in the vertical system.

The decreasing strength of the horizontal system is demonstrated in the operation of the complex conflict agent structure at the local level, and the extent to which local conflict agencies are involved in the regional and provincial levels of their organizations. The agent structure refers to the bilingual system. As was noted above,[80] most of the day-to-day issues regarding the operation of this system are managed by the agent structure rather than by the local school board. It is suggested that this activity lies within the vertical system insofar as (1) the crucial

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[79]The following is an excerpt from an advertisement placed in the Normanville French language newspaper by the opposition party: "The Henry Government refuses justice to the Separate schools . . . Mayor Croll, Liberal candidate, will settle the issue if he is elected and the Liberal party is the victor." Le Castor, Normanville, May 31, 1934.

[80]Supra, pp. 319-322.

positions are held by the inspectors who are provincial civil servants; and (2) where locals are involved, it is the professional educators--principals and teachers. The teachers, though some are local residents, are nor permanently tied to any one school system, and for the most part, we might expect that their loyalties lie more in the profession than in any one school district. The profession and its organizational expressions are not part of the horizontal system.

Local conflict agencies seldom confront each other locally, but articulate their interests at regional and provincial levels. This was seen to hold for the A. P. I., and the S. S. J. B., as well as the two C. P. T. A.'s.[81] The only agency operating totally within the horizontal system is the new Normanville Catholic Education Association. The issue upon which this agency focuses, extension of Catholic education within the limits set by provincial authority, is internal to the Catholic party. It involves non-linguistic factions within the Catholic party rather than a confrontation of the parties which are the subject of this investigation.

Summary

The locus of decision-making power with respect to the school questions was examined in this section. The extent to which decision-making power on a given issue lies within the horizontal system was the question addressed to the data. The point of reference was Normanville,

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[81] Supra, pp. 255-269.

the local community. It was found that prior to the 1900's decisions regarding bilingual schools or the teaching and use of French in local schools were a prerogative of the horizontal system. With the growing centralization of education exhibited in the establishment of a Department of Education, decision-making power shifted from local horizontal systems to vertical systems.

During the Regulation 17 debate, the issues from the point of view of the Normanville schools, required involvement in the vertical system rather than the horizontal system. This was also the case with the Catholic school issue during the thirties. During the sixties, the situation remained much the same with a tendency toward a decrease in the strength of the horizontal system.

IV. COMMUNITY IDENTITY

The second specifically community variable, identity, refers to the extent to which the members of locally based conflict parties identify with communal as opposed to party interests. As with the other community variables, it is assumed here that the community, or more concretely the municipality, is a social system. From this perspective, the conflict parties are factions or sub-systems. The question then is: Are those interests common to the larger system of more importance to its members than party or factional interests?

At a more abstract level, this variable is related to what Warren has called "the extent of psychological identification with a common

locality."[82] That is, to what extent is a locality viewed by its members as a significant reference group? It is assumed that the stronger the identification with a social group, the more members of that group will identify with interests pertaining to the group as a whole in contrast to factional interests. This will remain an assumption. The hypothesis to be tested involves the dependent variable of the above proposition. The indicator of the variable in question is the extent to which the members of each party consider specific communal interests as more important than party interests.

Period III: The Sixties

As was the case in the above discussion of superimposition, the observation that neither the English Catholic nor Protestant parties had completely crystallized until toward the end of Period II points to the inapplicability of community identity during the first two periods. The emergence of the English-speaking parties in the local setting does not begin to take on significance until the decade between 1940 and 1950. It is during this last period that the variable of identity with communal as opposed to ethnic interests becomes relevant. Several observed events will be used here in an attempt to arrive at a conclusion regarding the strength of identity with communal interests.

Just prior to 1960, Metro Center had made application to the Ontario Municipal Board to annex several surrounding communities including Norman-

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[82]Roland L. Warren, op. cit., p. 13.

ville. In December 1959, the citizens of Normanville were asked to vote for or against annexation. Table XL shows the distribution of negative and positive votes according to French and English polling divisions. Those polling divisions where more than 50 per cent of the residents were classified as members of the French Catholic party are referred to as the "French" polls. The remaining polls, where more than 50 per cent of the residents were classified as belonging to the English Catholic and Protestant parties are referred to as "English" polls.[83]

TABLE XL

THE ANNEXATION VOTE BY FRENCH AND ENGLISH POLLING DIVISIONS

	Annexation Vote		
Polling Divisions	Per Cent "Yes"	Per Cent "No"	Number of Cases
French (Nos. 2-4, and 7)	10.7	89.3	423
English (Nos. 1, 5, 6, and 8-11)	11.5	88.5	716
Total	11.3	88.7	1139

The overwhelming vote against annexation, void of any ethnic differences, is taken as an indication of a strong over-all identity with community interests. Annexation involved the very existence of the community. However, these data do not oppose ethnic to communal interests. In the questionnaire administered to the sample, respondents were asked to rank three ethnic and three communal issues according to their

[83] See Figure 3, Appendix I.

relative importance.[84]

The sum of the assigned ranks for the three ethnic-religious issues was 1,723 and for the three communal issues, 1,614. Dividing these through by the total number of respondents (155) the "ranking-ratio" for ethnic-religious issues is 11.42 and for communal issues, 10.41.[85] Disregarding party differences, the respondents tended to rank communal issues slightly higher than ethnic-religious issues. This is largely due to the weight given to communal issues by English-speakers.

Table XLI compares the "ranking-ratios" for each party and sub-community. English Catholics and Protestants together placed considerably more emphasis on communal issues than did French Catholics. The latter emphasized ethnic-religious issues. From a religious affiliation perspective, Protestants ranked communal issues high while Catholics emphasized, but only very slightly, ethnic-religious issues. This observed Catholic emphasis is a result of a common Catholic concern over separate school financing. Within the Catholic sub-community, though English Catholics ranked communal issues higher than French Catholics, the former party still stressed ethnic-religious issues.

Nevertheless, looking at the community as a whole, communal are marked higher than ethnic-religious issues. Although English Protestants put more emphasis on communal issues, there was sufficient number from both Catholic groups also emphasizing communal issues that, along with

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[84]See Appendix III, question 45, p. 455.

[85]<u>Supra</u>, p. 75.

the observed reaction to the annexation issue, an over-all medium level of identity with communal issues is concluded.

TABLE XLI

A COMPARISON OF "RANKING-RATIOS" ON ETHNIC-RELIGIOUS ISSUES ACCORDING TO PARTY AND SUB-COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

	Ranking-Ratio	
Parties	Ethnic-Religious Issues	Communal Issues
French Catholics	9.51	11.25
English Catholics	11.23	10.38
English Protestants	14.41	8.09
Sub-Communities		
Catholic	10.19	10.90
Protestant	14.41	8.09
French	9.51	11.25
English	12.55	9.21

Summary

In an examination of the extent to which members of the three conflict parties perceive communal interests as more important in relation to party interests, it was found that during Period III, communal interests were perceived as slightly more important. However, there were certain differences according to party membership. French Catholics viewed ethnic-religious as more important than did either English Catholics or English Protestants. English Catholics considered communal issues of slightly less importance than English Protestants. Combining these data with evidence derived from an analysis of voting patterns on an annexation issue, a medium level of identity with community interests was concluded.

V. SUMMARY

The four independent variables were analysed in this chapter. An attempt was made to demonstrate variations in these variables over time with reference to the bilingual and Catholic school issues. Tables XLII and XLIII summarize the state of each of the variables according to issue, time period, and regional focus. In the following chapter, the dependent variables will be analysed and the connections between the two sets of variables examined through the hypotheses proposed in Chapters II and III.

TABLE XLII

SUMMARY OF STATE OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH REFERENCE TO THE BILINGUAL SCHOOL ISSUE BY TIME PERIOD AND REGIONAL FOCI

Foci		State of Independent Variables			
Period	Regional	Institutionalization	Superimposition	Strength of Horizontal Pattern[a]	Community Identity
I. 1900 to 1930	Provincial	Low		Strong	-
	Local	Low	High re external systems; little internal relevance	Weak[b]	-
II. The Thirties	Provincial	High	Medium	Strong	-
	Local	High	High re external systems; little internal relevance	Weak[b]	-
III. The Sixties	Provincial	High	Medium to High	Strong	-
	Local	High	Low	Weak	Medium

[a]"Strength of Horizontal Pattern" was taken as a community variable. However, in this case (and the same could be applied to "Identity"), either variable may apply to either the provincial or local level, depending on the system which one is dealing with. Therefore, it is presented at the provincial level as additional information.

[b]In both periods, there was a brief period when the issues were drawn into the local horizontal system through provincial elections.

TABLE XLIII

SUMMARY OF STATE OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH REFERENCE TO THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL ISSUE BY TIME PERIOD AND REGIONAL FOCI

Foci		State of Independent Variables			
Period	Regional	Institutionalization	Superimposition	Strength of Horizontal Pattern[a]	Community Identity
I. 1900 to 1930	Provincial	Not relevant: issue held in abeyance due to English Catholic-Protestant alliance over bilingual school issue.			
	Local				
II. The Thirties	Provincial	Medium	Medium[c]	Strong	-
	Local	Medium	High re external systems; little internal relevance	Weak[b]	-
III. The Sixties	Provincial	High	Medium to High[c]	Strong	-
	Local	High	Low	Weak	Low

[a]See footnote (a), Table XLII, p. 348.

[b]See footnote (b), Table XLII, p. 348.

[c]The conclusions on superimposition at the provincial level are drawn from data dealing only with ethnicity and class, and should therefore be interpreted with qualifications when considering the Catholic school issue.

CHAPTER IX

THE VARIABLES OF CONFLICT, PART II: THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES AND TEST OF HYPOTHESES

In this chapter the two dependent variables, intensity and militancy, will be analysed, using the same procedure as adopted in the previous chapter. Following this, the proposed hypotheses will be examined and revised according to the evidence presented.

I. INTENSITY

Intensity refers to the magnitude of party involvement in a conflict situation. Empirically, it involves the emergence of conflict agencies, the extent to which these agencies pursue the interests of their respective parties, and the viability of the agencies themselves. The observed activity of agencies, the appearance of new agencies, membership size and attendance, and the over-all involvement of party members in the conflict situation are used as the indicators.

Period I: 1900 to 1930

L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario was founded in 1910 for the specific purpose of interest-aggregation and articulation. It grew out of the activity which began with the initial Franco-Ontarian responses to the curtailment of bilingual schools in the late 1800's and concluded in the massive "Congrès d'Education" held in

Ottawa in 1910. During this period there was an increasing level of activity on the part of French Catholic agencies and the government.[1] The activities of the government in opposing bilingual schools is documented in Chapters IV and VIII.[2] During the 1880's when the Department of Education was beginning to view its bilingual schools with some anxiety, a conference of Franco-Ontarian representatives was convened in Metro Center for the purpose of presenting their stand to the Department.[3] This was only the beginning.

From 1900 to 1910 several meetings were held across the province, directing demands to the Department of Education for a recognition of the problems of bilingual schools. In 1906, two large rallies were held, one in a community less than ten miles west of Normanville,[4] the other in Ottawa.[5] Both were sponsored by local Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste; each directed resolutions to the government regarding bilingual schools. In 1907, an organization known as the Catholic Bilingual Society met in

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[1]In a system of representative government, the government itself is usually viewed as a neutral aggregator and mediator of interests in conflict situations. Nevertheless, representative government also acts in the interest of majority parties, and as such, minorities find themselves dealing with governments as conflict agencies representing the interests of dominant groups. It is in this sense that the government must be viewed as an English Protestant conflict agency. Supra, p. 269.

[2]Supra, pp. 147-153, and pp. 300-308.

[3]L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, Rapport de Congrès d'Education canadienne-française d'Ontario, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

[4]Ibid., p. 42.

[5]F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 233.

Ottawa to direct similar demands to the Department of Education.[6] Between 1908 and 1910, three meetings were held in preparation for the Congrès d'Education.[7] The Congrès represented an accumulation of agency activity over a thirty year period.

By 1909 the main English Protestant agency (the Orange Lodge), apart from the government itself, was beginning to increase its activity in opposition to the French-speaking agencies. At a meeting held in the spring of 1909, it was decided "to investigate the state of Public schools in Ontario, especially where bilingual schools exist."[8] In November 1910, three months after the government's reply to the demands submitted to them by the Ottawa Congrès, the "Supreme Grand Master [of the Ontario Lodge] called for the abolition of bilingual schools."[9] During the 1911 elections, the Lodge attempted to demand pledges from candidates assuring their opposition to bilingual schools.[10]

Following the passing of Regulation 17, conflict agencies from both parties continued to pursue their respective interests. In July 1912, Essex County Orangemen met in Kingsville, some forty miles west of Normanville, to denounce bilingual schools and call for stronger regulations on their operation.[11] Meetings and counter-meetings continued through

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[6] Ibid., p. 233.

[7] L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, Rapport op. cit., pp. 53-56.

[8] F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 235. [9] Ibid., p. 254. [10] Ibid., p. 259.

[11] The Evening Record, Metro Center, July 13, 1912.

to 1914 with some regularity, to diminish only slightly until the accommodation of 1927 was reached. In March 1913, the Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario held a meeting in Metro Center protesting Catholic schools in general.[12] A month later the trustees of the bilingual schools in the district held a meeting in Normanville to protest the Lodge's position and to demand an investigation of the dismissal of the local French-speaking inspector.[13]

Involvement in agency activity on the part of party members appears to have been fairly extensive during this period. Although data are not available regarding agency membership and attendance, especially at the local level, the record does provide some indication of over-all involvement with the issue in question. Normanville residents took part at both the local and provincial levels. A Normanville delegate attended the second, and perhaps the third, of the three meetings held to prepare for the 1910 Congrès d'Education.[14] A total of 1,245 representatives of Franco-Ontarian agencies attended the Congrès. Of this group, seventy-two were from Essex County, sixteen of these from Normanville.[15] The Normanville Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste contributed $25.00 to Congrès expenses. On the English side, there is evidence that the Orange Lodge

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[12] Ibid., March 13, 1913.

[13] Ibid., April 5, 1913. Supra, pp. 306-307.

[14] L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, Rapport, op. cit., p. 56.

[15] Ibid., list of delegates and contributions.

was also increasing in both numbers and units across the province. Three new Lodges opened in Metro Center in 1914.[16]

English Catholics, though allied with English Protestants on the bilingual question, did not appear to have taken part through conflict agencies, with the possible exception of the city of Ottawa. Their involvement was primarily through their clergy. This was especially noticeable in the Diocese of London where the Bishop led a strong attack against bilingual schools. The attack focused on the schools of Essex County, especially those around Metro Center.[17] Apart from his campaign against local bilingual schools, Bishop Fallon was appointed by the Bishops and Archbishops of Toronto and Kingston to present their opposition to the French Canadian demands to the premier of the province.[18]

The Bishop extended his attack beyond the schools into the parishes of Metro Center and surrounding districts which he found to be "very much dominated by the French language and French influence."[19] In 1911, a delegation of laymen from one of the Metro Center parishes appeared before the Bishop requesting that French be used in the church and in their schools. The following is a translated excerpt from a notarized account

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[16]The Evening Record, Metro Center, May 16, 1914.

[17]F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 242-254. See also J. K. A. Farrell, "The History of The Roman Catholic Church in London, Ontario, 1826-1931." (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Western Ontario, 1949), pp. 134-147.

[18]F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 247.

[19]J. K. A. Farrell, op. cit., p. 147.

of the dialogue which took place.

Monseigneur: Your complaints are unjust and my decision is made. It will be that of my superiors. Go, go, continue your work, you will gain nothing here.

M. Jacques: We are sincere in our convictions and we are going to continue our work until we obtain justice.

Monseigneur: There are only fifty persons, together with some of the clergy in [Metro Center], [Hiramville], and [Normanville] [italics mine] who want to make war with their Bishop.

M. Jacques: That is not exact, we are more numerous that you think, not only fifty . . .[20]

The above excerpt was quoted only to demonstrate the involvement of Normanville in the dispute with their Bishop over the use of French in church and school. A few years later, several priests in the county were brought before a diocesan court for accusing their Bishop "of prohibiting . . . preaching and teaching in French."[21] Before the case was completed, it had been referred to the Vatican for mediation.[22]

Local involvement was most obvious in Normanville during the election of 1914, the first following the passing of Regulation 17. The campaign focused on North Essex, the Normanville constituency, where the seat had been held by a Franco-Ontarian cabinet minister in the

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[20]London, Province du Canada, Mémoire au Sujet de Paroisses canadienne-françaises à [Metro Center], 1914, Allegatum VII, p. 20.

[21]J. K. A. Farrell, op. cit., p. 150.

[22]Ibid., pp. 154-159. See also, London, Province du Canada, Cause des Curés Dénoncés, diffamés, ou suspendus ab officio par Monseigneur M. F. Fallon, (1914).

Conservative government responsible for the Regulation.[23] At a Conservative Party meeting in Normanville in June 1914, a French-speaking resident of the town was nominated, the cabinet minister's bid for the nomination being pushed aside.[24] Another French-speaker had been nominated by the Liberal Party a few weeks earlier.[25] The two opposed each other on platforms in Normanville and throughout the constituency. Regulation 17 was the central issue.[26] The Liberals won the seat on the bilingual school question. The Conservatives were returned to power, but with losses in those areas where significant proportions of Franco-Ontarians were located.[27]

These data, on agency activity and involvement on the part of party members, are sufficient to permit the conclusion that the over-all level of intensity during the first three decades of the 1900's was extremely high. Data on Normanville itself are somewhat lacking, but sufficient to conclude a medium to high level of intensity locally.

Period II: The Thirties

As previously noted, the Catholic school issue assumed a dominant position during this period. It drew both French and English Catholics together in opposition to English Protestants. Because of this, it is

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[23]The Evening Record, Metro Center, June 14, 19, and 26, 1914.

[24]Ibid., June 5, 1914. [25]Ibid., June 1, 1914.

[26]Ibid., June 17, 23, and 27, 1914.

[27]F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 283.

difficult to determine just what activity and growth on the part of French Catholic agencies was due to their involvement in the Catholic school question as differentiated from their involvement in strictly linguistic issues.

The bilingual school issue. Following the 1927 accommodation, agency activity did not immediately cease. It decreased with respect to bilingual schools, but was maintained at a relatively high level as the focus shifted to the problem of financing these schools. Three new French-speaking agencies appeared on the local scene during this period. One of these, L'Union des Cultivateurs, represented French agricultural interests,[28] another, L'Association des Dames Canadiennes, founded "pour que la race survive,"[29] attended to a broad spectrum of French interests including the schools. It was also during the thirties that Normanville's French language newspaper, Le Castor, emerged as the most viable French language newspaper in the district in years. Newspapers are not necessarily conflict agencies, but Le Castor was founded as a spokesman for local Franco-Ontarian interests.[30] Its actions confirmed its original

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[28]Le Castor, Normanville, February 28, 1935.

[29]Ibid., May 21, 1935; "in order that the race may survive."

[30]Ibid., January 29, 1931. The following statement of purpose is quoted and translated from Le Castor's first edition:

> "It is necessary that our people, a minority, have a voice. It is necessary that the French Canadians of Western Ontario have an organ which explains their point of view and defends their place, their rights, and their interests . . . [Le Castor] will play the role of a liaison agent . . . between the two great races of the Union . . . ."

purpose for twenty-eight years.

These new agencies together with the now established ones were involved in a host of lesser issues concerning Franco-Ontarian rights. The language issue in the schools no longer provided a focus of interest. Le Castor itself found the new school arrangements to be satisfactory.[31] There was some activity on the part of the Orange Lodge directed toward the bilingual schools, but with little response.[32] Involvement on the part of French Catholics remained at a high level.[33] However, insofar as bilingual schools were concerned, efforts were directed toward putting into effect the arrangements made possible by the 1927 accommodation. The new difficulty was money, and since most bilingual schools were separate schools, the Catholic school issue was of more immediate relevance.

The Catholic school issue. The Catholic Taxpayers Association of Ontario grew out of the accumulated efforts of Catholics to have their school demands recognized in much the same way as L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario emerged as the peak organization representing French interests in 1910. The organization of the C. T. A. began in the fall of 1931 with a letter from the Bishops of Ontario to all parish priests instructing them to organize lay protest at the local level.[34] By

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[31] Le Castor, op. cit., April 16, 1931; May 28, 1931. Supra, p. 308.

[32] City Star, Metro Center, April 9, 1934.

[33] In 1934 and 1935, annual regional S. S. J. B. rallies drew 4,000 and 7,000 respectively. Le Castor, op. cit., July 5, 1934 and July 4, 1935.

[34] F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 356-357.

May of 1933, it was reported that 423 of the 492 Ontario parishes had organized local committees.[35] It is not known whether Normanville was among the 423 organized parishes or not. The C. T. A. was not, however, solely an English agency. It did have the support of French agencies.

As early as 1928, only a year after the settlement of the bilingual school issue, L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario expressed its willingness to cooperate with English Catholics in an effort to secure additional revenue for separate schools.[36] The Normanville Separate School Board had sent four delegates to the meeting at which this decision was made.[37] At a regional meeting, la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste of Western Ontario voiced its approval of the activity of the C. T. A., and encouraged Franco-Ontarians to participate.[38] In the fall of 1934, L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario voted officially to associate itself with the C. T. A.[39]

The C. T. A. acted as the main spokesman for Catholic interests at the provincial level where it found itself in opposition to the ever-present Orange Lodge and the government. Parish petitions were collected and forwarded to the provincial premier's office late in 1932.[40] In

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[35] Ibid., p. 378.

[36] Ibid., p. 349.

[37] Minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, op. cit., April 13, 1928.

[38] Le Castor, Normanville, March 30, 1933.

[39] F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 415.

[40] Ibid., p. 369.

January 1933, the C. T. A. presented a formal brief to the premier outlining Catholic school demands. Counter-petitions were forwarded to the premier a few weeks later from Orange Lodges across the province.[41]

The C. T. A., failing to receive satisfaction proceeded to organize a "grass roots" political campaign against the government which was then in the process of preparing for a provincial election.[42] The Orange Lodge countered, requesting its members to support the government at the polls.[43] The Conservative government lost to the Liberals who gained sixty-five of the eighty-two seats in the Legislative Assembly.[44]

In January 1935, a delegation of both French and English Catholics placed their demands before the new premier.[45] A month later a counter delegation of English Protestants, representing the Orange Lodge and eleven other Protestant associations, public school boards, municipal councils, and the main Protestant denominations, met with the premier.[46] In 1936, an ammendment was made to the Assessment Act in an attempt to satisfy Catholic demands.[47] Neither Protestants nor Catholics were satisfied with the new legislation. The ammendment was repealed a year later.[48]

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[41] Ibid., pp. 371-373.

[42] Ibid., pp. 391-405.

[43] F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 403. According to one Orange Lodge official, "the separate school question is the chief issue in the provincial elections . . . as far as Orangemen are concerned." Ibid., p. 405. See also, supra, p. 340.

[44] F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 406.

[45] Ibid., p. 416.

[46] Ibid., p. 417.

[47] Ibid., pp. 427-428.

[48] Ibid., p. 451.

Normanville involvement in the Catholic school issue is reflected in the minutes of the Separate School Board and the pages of Le Castor. The problem of financing the Normanville Separate Schools increased year by year during the thirties finally culminating in a closing of the schools for a brief period in 1936.[49] On January 11, 1929, a motion was passed authorizing the chairman and secretary-treasurer to sign a petition to the Lieutenant Governor of the province requesting an equitable distribution of school tax revenue.[50] On November 8, 1932, members of the Normanville Board attended a meeting of school trustees in the neighboring community to discuss the refusal of the county to pay its grants to schools operating fifth forms (grades nine and ten).[51]

On the basis of these data it is concluded that, with respect to the bilingual school issue, intensity gradually decreased during the thirties to a point considerably lower than that present during the previous decade. However, the Catholic school issue kept both French and English Catholic activity at a high level. Provincially, the over-all intensity was relatively high. Locally, the intensity level was most likely medium to high.

Period III: The Sixties

The two main issues upon which this analysis has focused continued into the sixties. However, neither the bilingual nor the Catholic school

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[49]Minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, op. cit., December 27, 1936, and January 6, 1936.

[50]Ibid., January 11, 1929. [51]Ibid., November 8, 1932.

question retained the central positions which they had held during the last two periods. The sample data on issue ranking used in the previous chapter provides a picture of the relative position of the pertinent issues. It was noted that French Catholics ranked ethnic-religious issues as more important than communal issues. English Catholics ranked communal issues slightly higher. Using aggregate rankings, both groups ranked the question of government support for Catholic secondary schools first and, although English Catholics ranked a communal issue second in importance, French Catholics ranked the question of an equitable distribution of tax revenue between separate and public schools as second. Therefore, the Catholic school issue still held some position of prominence during the sixties. It was more important to Normanville French Catholics than to their English-speaking co-religionists. The bilingual school issue was ranked fifth and sixth by French and English Catholics respectively.[52]

Further insight may be gained into the relative position of these issues by analysing the response to each issue separately in terms of high or low assigned ranks.[53] Tables XLIV to XLVI demonstrate the importance of the secondary school issue to both Catholic parties. An equitable distribution of tax revenue is less important, bilingual schools of least importance. It should be kept in mind that the data presented in

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[52] Supra, pp. 345-346.

[53] An issue is defined as highly ranked if it received a rank of 1, 2 or 3; as lowly ranked if it received a rank of 4, 5 or 6. See Appendix III, question 36, p. 450.

these tables are influenced by the forced ranking situation in which the respondents were placed.

TABLE XLIV

FRENCH AND ENGLISH CATHOLIC RANKING OF THE ISSUE "BILINGUAL CLASSES FOR FRENCH-SPEAKING CHILDREN TO GRADE 13" IN RELATION TO FIVE OTHER ISSUES

	Rank Assigned		
Party	Per Cent High	Per Cent Low	Total
French Catholic	49.9	50.1	100.0
English Catholic	16.7	83.3	100.0
Total	36.4	63.6	100.0[a]

[a]N = 121; No answer = 10.

TABLE XLV

FRENCH AND ENGLISH CATHOLIC RANKING OF THE ISSUE "EQUAL GRANTS FOR PUBLIC AND SEPARATE SCHOOLS" IN RELATION TO FIVE OTHER ISSUES

	Rank Assigned		
Party	Per Cent High	Per Cent Low	Total
French Catholic	56.2	43.8	100.0
English Catholic	52.1	47.9	100.0
Total	54.5	45.5	100.0[a]

[a]N = 121; No answer = 10.

TABLE XLVI

FRENCH AND ENGLISH CATHOLIC RANKING OF THE ISSUE "EXTENSION OF GOVERNMENT SUPPORT TO CATHOLIC SCHOOLS UP TO GRADE 13" IN RELATION TO FIVE OTHER ISSUES

	Rank Assigned		
Party	Per Cent High	Per Cent Low	Total
French Catholic	69.9	30.1	100.0
English Catholic	70.8	29.2	100.0
Total	70.3	29.7	100.0[a]

[a]N = 121; No answer = 10

The following analysis of intensity levels during the sixties must be viewed in the light of the above data dealing with the relative importance of the issues to Normanville residents. Looking first at French interests, no new agencies have developed locally over the last seven years. Moving back into the fifties, the Normanville Catholic Parent Teachers Association (C. P. T. A.) was founded during the early fifties, and its French-speaking counterpart, L'Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs (A. P. I.) was founded in 1957. Initially, the C. P. T. A. attempted to operate as a "bilingual" association. The A. P. I. resulted from a perceived failure of this policy on the part of C. P. T. A. French-speaking members.

The events leading up to the split were indicative of a continuing feeling on the part of Normanville Franco-Ontarians that French interests still required a special and separate representation. Up to 1957, the C. P. T. A. operated with French and English-speaking secretaries, and

with French and English-speaking members separating after the "business meetings" for programs in their respective languages. In reading the minutes, one gets the impression that this scheme did not begin with the founding of the C. P. T. A., but developed over a period of time in answer to French demands for a "bilingual" association.[54]

An examination of the A. P. I. minutes revealed that the French-speaking members operated as an A. P. I. for a year prior to the official split.[55] The official separation took place in February 1957. This is confirmed in the minutes of both associations.[56] The following is recorded in the February 1957 minutes of the A. P. I., "Notre président nous annonça notre séparation complête du P. T. A., afin de mieux accomplir notre tache comme parents d'enfants dans les classes bilingues."[57] A rather lengthy report on the split was presented, at the same time, to C. P. T. A. members. This report is included in the Appendices because of its description of the events leading up to the split, and its strong appeal to Catholic communal loyalty as against ethnic or linguistic loyalty.[58]

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[54]Minutes of the monthly meetings, June 1954 and October 1955, The Normanville Catholic Parent Teachers Association, op. cit.

[55]Minutes of the monthly meetings, L'Association de Parents et d'Instituteurs, January 1956 to February 1957, op. cit.

[56]Minutes, C. P. T. A., and minutes, A. P. I., op. cit., February 1957.

[57]Ibid. "Our president announced our complete separation from the P. T. A. in order to better accomplish our task as parents of children in the bilingual classes."

[58]See Appendix V.

The development of the A. P. I. in 1957 is taken as an indication of conflict agency activity and thus, as a certain minimum level of intensity. At the same time, in 1959, Le Castor, Normanville's French language newspaper ceased publication. A new paper, The Centurion, took its place. Also in 1959, la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste extended its activities by forming an exclusively French-speaking credit union, a branch of Les Caisses Populaires.[59] Thus, just prior to the sixties one new agency developed, one extended its activities, and a third ceased to operate.

Over the last few years, far more agency development has taken place at regional and provincial levels. The hiring of an assistant secretary on a full time basis,[60] and the placing of a full time liaison officer in southern Ontario by L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario indicates an expansion of activity on the part of this association.[61] Also, with the assistance of L'A. C. F. E. O., Le Conseil des Sociétés canadien-français du Sud de l'Ontario was founded in 1965. This association, an interest-aggregation and articulation agency for the southern region including the Normanville district, presented its objectives as providing a means of,

1. maintaining [the current] French revival;
2. raising the economic level [of French-speaking citizens];

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[59]The Centurion, op. cit., February 25, 1960.

[60]Le Droit, Ottawa, April 14, 1966.

[61]L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, La Vie Franco-Ontarienne, Vol. 1, No. 5, January 1966, p. 1.

3. providing a common front for the development of Franco-Ontarian life in southern Ontario along social, parish, educational, cultural, and economic lines.[62]

Finally, in 1963 L'Association de la Radio Télévision française du Sud de l'Ontario was founded for the purpose of obtaining French language radio and television in southern Ontario. The Metro Center branch of this association was formed in 1966.[63]

The presence of conflict agencies and the emergence of new agencies are taken as indicators of a minimum level of intensity. But given such agencies, there remains the question of the extent to which they pursue the interests of their respective parties. The extent of agency activity at the local level was discussed in Chapter VII. It was noted that both local agencies, the A. P. I., and the S. S. J. B., though sufficiently involved in interest-aggregation and articulation to be classified as conflict agencies stressed a supportive function.[64] In other words, the extent to which these agencies currently pursue French interests is extremely low. Another index of interest-aggregation and articulation would be the extent to which the successor to Le Castor, The Centurion, utilized the French language. Le Castor generally contained eight pages per edition, one of these being in English. The data presented in Table XLVII show that the new paper, though published by the same firm, put out French copy ranging from 150.5 to 60.5 square inches of copy per volume.

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[62]Le Droit, Ottawa, December 1, 1965.

[63]Interview A28, May 12, 1966.

[64]Supra, pp. 256-264.

TABLE XLVII

AMOUNT OF FRENCH LANGUAGE COPY BY VOLUME
IN "THE CENTURION"

Volume	Year	French Copy in Square Inches
I	1959	112.0
II	1960	135.0
III	1961	104.5
IV	1962	132.5
V	1963	150.5
VI	1964	63.5 (two editions missing)
VII	1965	60.5 (one edition missing)

As would be expected, in contrast to the local level, regional and provincial agencies have been pursuing the interests of the French party at a much higher rate. L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario continued to represent Franco-Ontarian interests in the Department of Education. The activity of this association is well documented in its monthly bulletin, La Vie Franco-Ontarienne, a publication started early in 1965. The recently formed L'Association de la Radio-Télévision française du Sud de l'Ontario managed to obtain a French language radio station operating out of Toronto. The Metro Center branch has been extremely active in its attempt to obtain the same in that district.[65]

Local involvement in agency activity is not too high. The president of the Normanville Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste noted that attendance was "not too good, averages out to twenty, not good for a membership of

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[65]Observation 027, April 29, 1966. Interview A21, May 8, 1966. Interview A28, May 12, 1966. See also, L'Association de la Radio-Télévision française du Sud de l'Ontario, "Mémoire présenté à la Société Radio-Canada." (May 1966) (mimeographed)

two hundred. Sometimes at the beginning of the year, it's higher."[66] An examination of the S. S. J. B. minutes confirmed this statement. In 1960, attendance averaged forty-seven; twenty-three in 1961 and 1962; eighteen in 1963; twenty-eight in 1964; and seven in 1965.[67] During the sixties, membership remained at the two hundred plus level, but this includes a large number of inactive members of the affiliated Caisse Populaire. On the other hand, A. P. I. attendance is "fairly good," according to its president, averaging out to about thirty per session.[68] Between 1963 and 1964, membership in this association almost doubled.[69]

Certainly Normanville residents take part in regional and provincial agency activity. Although regional S. S. J. B. rallies no longer draw numbers upward to 7,000, they do attract 400 to 600 participants.[70] The regional president, a Normanville resident, felt that Normanville participation was equal to that of any other community in the region.[71] Other Normanville residents take part directly in the activities of L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario and L'Association de la Radio-Télévision du Sud de l'Ontario, but the participants number

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[66]Interview A31, May 19, 1966.

[67]Minutes of the monthly meetings, La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, op. cit.

[68]Interview A19, April 22, 1966.

[69]Minutes of the monthly meetings, Normanville C. P. T. A., op. cit.

[70]The Centurion, Normanville, March 31, 1959. The Star, Metro Center, March 28, 1966. Le Droit, Ottawa, June 28, 1966.

[71]Interview A24, May 11, 1966.

no more than a dozen.

Turning to activity on the Catholic front, keeping in mind that the local English Catholic agencies include both French and English-speakers, two new agencies have developed over the last few years. The Ste. Cécile C. P. T. A. was founded in 1960, and the Normanville Catholic Education Association (N. C. E. A.) in 1966. No evidence was found to indicate any special expansion on the regional or provincial level during the last decade although the English Catholic Education Association, the successor to the C. T. A., remains active as the peak association at the provincial level.

The N. C. E. A. was in its infancy at the time that this research was concluded. Its efforts were directed inward toward the Separate School Board in an attempt to gain certain improvements under existing agreements concerning Catholic schools. Thus, this association is not a conflict agency in the sense used in this analysis.[72] The activities of the two C. P. T. A.'s were discussed in Chapter VII.[73] There, it was noted that these agencies were involved less in interest-aggregation and articulating than their French counterparts.[74] The membership in the older Normanville C. P. T. A., and in the Ste. Cécile C. P. T. A. during the 1965-1966 school year were ninety-two and eighty-four

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[72]It is not a conflict agency only insofar as this analysis is not concerned with internal conflicts, but focuses on the relations between the parties as delineated.

[73]Supra, pp. 264-268.

[74]Supra, p. 264.

respectively.[75] Attendance ranged from a low average of twenty-five in the former to an average of forty in the latter.[76]

Taking into consideration the emergence of new agencies, agency activity, and party involvement during the sixties, it is concluded that locally both French and English Catholic activity was at a low level of intensity. The French agencies seemed to be increasing at the regional and provincial levels, but the English agencies were not. In comparison to the early 1900's and the thirties, the absence of English Protestant activity was conspicuous. This would effect any over-all estimation of intensity.

Summary

Variations in the level of intensity were analysed in this section, using the observed activity of agencies, the appearance of new agencies, membership size and attendance, and the over-all involvement of party members as indicators. It was found that during the period from 1900 to 1930, the over-all level of intensity was extremely high with respect to the bilingual school issue. Locally, though data were lacking, it was concluded that a medium to high level of intensity was present.

During the thirties the level of intensity gradually decreased on the bilingual school issue, but reached a high level over the Catholic school issue. Again, local intensity was somewhat lower. Finally, during the sixties intensity over both issues was observed to have declined to

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[75]Interview A19, April 22, 1966; A17, April 21, 1966. [76]Ibid.

a low point. Provincially, French agencies maintained a higher level. The absence of English Protestant activity was taken as an additional factor in estimating the over-all low level of intensity.

II. MILITANCY

The second dependent variable, militancy, refers to the nature of specific acts directed against the opponent in contrast to the pursuit of party interests per se. Militancy is a particular type of strategy employed as a means of pursuing party interests. A militant strategy would be one in which the activity directed toward the opponent is coercive, intimidating or violent. Several empirical indicators were used to determine the extent of this type of activity. The use of force to injure or destroy the opponent is, of course, an indicator of violence. Three indicators were used to determine the extent of coercion and intimidation.

Firstly, there is the use of petitions. The meaning of "petition" is taken in a narrow sense as a written request for a specific action directed toward the opponent and signed by a number of party members. A resolution or a list of demands presented by one agency to its opponent would not be considered as a petition in this sense. Secondly, there is the use of demonstration--displays of support and strength through organized or spontaneous public marches or processions. Thirdly, there is noncompliance, insofar as one party refuses to adhere to regulations which it perceives as being imposed by its opponent.[77] It is implied that the

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[77]Noncompliance does not refer to regulations brought about through

degree of coercion and intimidation increases from the first to the third of these indicators. That is, noncompliance is a more coercive act than the presenting of a petition.

Period I: 1900 to 1930

Noncompliance was the most frequently used strategy by the French party following the passing of Regulation 17. At the opening of the 1912-1913 school year, the Ottawa Separate School Board decided to resist the Regulation.[78] The resistance movement spread throughout the province. In the summer of 1916, the acting Minister of Education reported that 270 bilingual schools in the province had "refused to follow Instruction 17 until compelled to do so."[79] The government "compelled" the schools to conform to the Regulation by (1) requiring teachers to sign a "pledge" committing themselves to obedience; (2) withdrawing departmental grants from delinquent boards; and (3) preventing the use of locally collected taxes for the payment of teacher salaries.[80]

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the process of institutionalization insofar as mutual agreement and recognition is implied. It does refer to regulations (i.e., laws) perceived as being imposed, generally by the superordinate party upon the activities of the subordinate party.

[78] F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 270. [79] Ibid., p. 289.

[80] Ibid., p. 271. Teachers were required to sign the following:

> "I, the undersigned, a teacher in the English-French school at . . . County of . . . , Ontario, do hereby solemnly pledge myself to comply with all Instructions and other Regulations, now in force, of the Ontario Department of Education, that relate to the duties of the teachers in the French-English schools in Ontario."

By 1915, 190 schools in the province were excluded from departmental grants. C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review. (Toronto: The Annual Publishing Co., Ltd., 1915), p. 506.

Apparently, there was complete compliance in Essex County, neither the Metro Center nor the Normanville Boards passed resistance resolutions.[81] The teachers of the North Essex district, which includes the town of Normanville, considered noncompliance but did not follow through.[82] For the most part, demonstrations occurred only in the Ottawa area, although there is evidence of demonstrations in Metro Center associated with a combined church-school protest. This is referred to below.

There were several mass demonstrations in the Ottawa area involving Franco-Ontarian teachers, pupils, and parents.[83] Violence erupted at one of these which took place when school trustees with the aid of the police attempted to break through a crowd of "several hundred men and women" to install two newly appointed teachers in a school where the regular teachers had refused to adhere to the Regulation.[84] A school "strike" took place in February 1913 when 122 Ottawa French-speaking teachers resigned "leaving seventeen schools without teachers and 4,000 children without schools."[85]

Petitions were used by Metro Center and North Essex Franco-Ontarians. The Essex County protest over the bilingual school issue was closely tied

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[81]The Tilbury schools officially announced that they would adhere to the regulation and so did the Metro Center School Board. The Evening Record, Metro Center, September 17, 1912, and September 12, 1912. There is no recorded announcement regarding the intentions of the Normanville Board.

[82]Ibid., September 26, 1912.

[83]F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 285-286. Also, Lucien Brault, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[84]F. A. Walker, op. cit., p. 286. [85]Ibid., pp. 286-287.

in with a related protest regarding the use of French in local parishes. The position taken by Bishop Fallon on the school issue only served to further tie the two issues together.[86] On January 18, 1911, the first of two petitions was forwarded to the Bishop requesting a bilingual church where, ". . . l'on parle les deux langues à tous les services religieux, ou que, chaque dimanche chaque nationalité ait sa grand'messe."[87] On December 4, 1913, another petition was directed to the Apostolic Delegate in Canada by Metro Center French Catholics requesting the creation of two French-speaking parishes complete with Church and school. This petition contained 3,039 signatures.[88] Four years later, a special meeting was held in Normanville protesting the Bishop's position on both the church and school issues. A petition expressing a lack of confidence in the Bishop was formulated.[89]

Less than orderly demonstration are reported to have taken place in Metro Center over the church-school issue. One priest was dismissed and others were reprimanded for accusing their Bishop of having ordered that French not be used in local schools.[90] In one parish, parishioners

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[86]The perceived connections between the two issues is demonstrated in the petitions dealing with essentially church problems. London, Province of Canada, Mémoire au Sujet des Paroisses, op. cit., p. 7.

[87]Ibid., p. 14. ". . . where one uses both languages at all religious services, or where each Sunday each nationality has its own high mass."

[88]Ibid., pp. 23-45.

[89]Monique Chénier, "Les problèmes scolaries en Ontario et au Manitoba," Le Droit, Ottawa, May 30, 1966.

[90]London, Province du Canada, Causes des Curés. . . , op. cit.

attempted to prevent a replacement priest from entering their church; the Bishop is alleged to have called the police to restore order. Some violence was reported.[91] Apart from these demonstrations, none are reported as having taken place in Normanville itself.

Given these data, only a low level of militancy may be concluded as having existed locally during this period. Militancy was between a low and a medium level in Metro Center, and at a medium level in the province as a whole. Noncompliance, demonstrations, and petitions generally apply to only one side in a subordinate-superordinate party conflict. The imposing of regulations on the subordinate party and the attempt to eliminate it by depriving it of necessary resources are, however, equally acts of coercion--militant acts. Thus, during this period the actions of the English Protestant and Catholic parties may also be viewed as militant.

Period II: The Thirties

As far as can be ascertained, neither violence, noncompliance nor demonstrations took place either locally or provincially over the Catholic school issue.[92] It is doubtful whether the closing of the Normanville Separate Schools in 1936 should be considered an act of noncompliance.

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[91]We have no direct documentation of these demonstrations. They are hinted at in, Ibid., p. 6; Monique Chénier, op. cit., and were referred to frequently by respondents in Normanville and Metro Center. One respondent referred to the fact that his uncle had been arrested during these demonstrations, Interview X07, May 22, 1964.

[92]Four sources were used here: F. A. Walker, op. cit., Le Castor, Normanville, City Star, Metro Center, and the minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, op. cit.

No regulations were being resisted; the schools were simply forced to close because of a lack of money brought on first and foremost by the depression. The fact that the school system was a Catholic system accentuated the problem.

Petitions, too, were at a minimum although one may want to consider the collection of resolutions from local branches of the C. T. A.[93] and the Orange Lodge[94] as a type of petition insofar as the endorsement by several local branches could be taken as "collective" signatures.[95] There is a record of the chairman and secretary of the Normanville Separate School Board being granted permission to sign a petition circulated locally and requesting "that legislation be enacted providing for an equitable . . . distribution . . . between Separate and Public taxes payable by publicly owned corporations and companies and other incorporated companies."[96]

In relation to the previous period, only a low level of militancy may be concluded from the above data. This would have been the case both locally and provincially.

Period III: The Sixties

The extent of militancy has remained close to the zero point over

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[93]F. A. Walker, op. cit., pp. 368-369. [94]Ibid., p. 373.

[95]This strategy is somewhat different from the mere presentation of a set of resolutions from an organization representing a membership minus the endorsations of its members, either associational or individual members.

[96]The Minutes of the Normanville Separate School Board, op. cit., January 11, 1929.

the last decade with respect to both the bilingual and Catholic school issues. Indeed, it has remained at a very low level since the late forties. There was no evidence, either locally or provincially, of violence, non-compliance, demonstrations, or petitions. The only exception to this has been the activities of the recently formed L'Association de la Radio-Télévision du Sud de l'Ontario.

The strategy adopted by this association has been one of collecting endorsations of its objectives from "key citizens," other associations, municipal councils, and school boards.[97] An official endorsation was obtained from the Normanville town council on June 30, 1966.[98] An officer of the association had also collected 2,000 names on a petition circulated among local Franco-Ontarian associations and in the bilingual schools.[99]

Summary

Militant acts involve violence and/or coercion and intimidation directed toward the opponent in a conflict situation. The use of force to injure or destroy an opponent, non-compliance, demonstrations, and petitions were taken as indicators of these phenomena. It was found that the over-all level of militancy during the early 1900's was medium to high, but was at a lower level locally. During the thirties, the level

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[97]Interview A21, May 8, 1966.

[98]Observation 015, June 30, 1966.

[99]Interview A21, op. cit.

was found to be considerably lower both locally and provincially. Finally, during the last period, militancy was found to be close to the zero point.

Tables XLVIII and XLIX summarize the state of each of the dependent variables according to issue, time period, and regional foci.

III. TEST OF HYPOTHESES

The objective of this thesis is to demonstrate the credibility of the proposed hypotheses rather than to conclusively accept or reject them. First, the testable hypotheses posited in Chapter III will be examined according to the data presented on each variable. Following this, in Chapter X, an attempt will be made to revise the theoretical hypotheses in view of the evidence presented.

Hypothesis I: Institutionalization and Militancy

Testable Hypothesis I.1 The recognition, on the part of each party, of the legitimacy of each other's demands tends to reduce the use of coercive or intimidating measures by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests.

Throughout the three Periods, French Catholics retained their legitimacy as a party, though from a French Catholic point of view, this legitimacy was in jeopardy during Period I. However, the degree to which the demands of each party were mutually recognized varied considerably. It was shown to have decreased around the turn of the century culminating in Regulation 17. The 1927 accommodation again recognized French Catholic demands and sufficient control was maintained over the bilingual schools

TABLE XLVIII

SUMMARY OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH REFERENCE TO BILINGUAL SCHOOL ISSUE ACCORDING TO TIME PERIOD AND REGIONAL FOCI

Period	Region	State of Dependent Variables	
		Intensity	Militancy
I. 1900 to 1930	Provincial	High	Medium
	Local	Medium[a] to High	Low
II. The Thirties	Provincial	Medium to Low	Low
	Local	Low[a]	Low
III. The Sixties	Provincial	Medium to Low	Very Low
	Local	Low	Very Low

[a]During the period of provincial elections, local intensity temporarily reached a high level.

TABLE XLIX

SUMMARY OF DEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH REFERENCE TO CATHOLIC SCHOOL ISSUE ACCORDING TO TIME PERIOD AND REGIONAL FOCI

Period	Region	State of Dependent Variables	
		Intensity	Militancy
I. 1900 to 1930	Provincial	Not relevant. See Table XLI.	
	Local		
II. The Thirties	Provincial	High	Low
	Local	Medium[a] to High	Low
III. The Sixties	Provincial	Low but increasing	Low
	Local	Low	Low

[a]See footnote (a), Table XLVIII.

to suggest an equal recognition of English Catholic and Protestant demands.

Accordingly, the extent to which coercive and intimidating measures were used would be expected to have been higher during Period I than during Periods II and III. This expectation was met at the provincial level. Noncompliance was found to be fairly widespread; demonstrations occurred throughout the province, and petitions were utilized. However, in Normanville the evidence pointed to a lack of coercive and intimidating activity during all three Periods. This finding questions the credibility of the hypothesis. It holds at the provincial level, but not at the local level.

Turning to the Catholic school issue, it was found that the extent to which the claims of the Catholic party were recognized was somewhat greater than in the bilingual school issue. Neither the legitimacy of the Catholic party nor its original claims were questioned. Its new claims regarding the distribution of taxes and secondary schools were initially unrecognized. Thus, the lack of noncompliance and demonstrations at both provincial and local levels would be expected. Such was the case. Petitions were used indicating a low level of militancy.

The Normanville experience during the bilingual school debate, as mentioned above, is the exception to the predicted direction suggested by the hypothesis.[100] This one exception prevents a conclusion of complete credibility; some revision will be necessary.

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[100] Supra, p. 376.

Testable Hypothesis I.2 The presence of established and sanctioned communication channels through which participating parties may articulate their interests tends to reduce the use of coercive or intimidating measures by one or both, in the pursuit of their respective interests.

It was found that the communication channels never completely collapsed during either the bilingual or the Catholic school debates. The change-over from the Council of Public Instruction to the Department of Education affected both issues in much the same manner in that new channels of communication had to be established. In both cases, the minority party was required to move from "private" bureaucratic channels to "public" political channels. It is held that during this process the degree of regulation dropped somewhat. The accommodation reached in each case returned interest-articulating activity to the "private" sector.

It would be expected, then, that during the process of establishing new channels, coercive and intimidating measures would have been used to at least a minor degree. The qualification, "to a minor degree," is employed because, as stated, there was never a complete breakdown of communication channels. The findings on militancy confirm this expectation with the exception of Normanville itself where little evidence of coercive activity was found.

Testable Hypotheses I.3 and I.4 The recognition, on the part of each party, of the legitimacy of each other's demands tends to reduce the use of violence by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests. (I.3)

> The presence of established and sanctioned communication channels through which the participating parties may articulate their interests tends to reduce the use of violence by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests. (I.4)

The variations observed in the independent variables, recognition of party claims and presence of communication channels, suggest the possibility of some violence during Period I over the bilingual school issue, less during Period II over the Catholic school issue, and none during Period III. No evidence of violence was found during Period III or Period II. Minor violence did occur in Ottawa and Metro Center during Period I. Apart from the local level, this evidence follows the predicted direction fairly closely. The extremely minor nature of the violence exhibited is not inconsistent with the hypotheses, since during all three Periods the parties retained their legitimacy and the channels of communication remained, for the most part, intact.

Summary

Hypothesis I states that "the institutionalization of the relations between conflicting parties reduces the level of militancy exhibited by both parties." Given the above results, it may be concluded that this hypothesis possesses a fair degree of credibility. It holds for Period III on both issues and at both the provincial and local levels. Taking the bilingual school issue, it holds at the provincial level for Periods II and I, but the evidence fails to follow the predicted direction at the local level during Period I. The hypothesis also holds during Period III

on the Catholic school issue. Revisions, taking into account the local exception to the rule, will be made later.

Hypothesis IV: Community Identity and Militancy

For the sake of convenience, since hypothesis IV deals with the same dependent variable as the preceding hypothesis, it is presented at this point rather than proceeding with the remaining hypotheses in numerical order.

Testable Hypotheses IV.1 and IV.2 If the members of parties involved in a local ethnic conflict identify more with communal than with ethnic interests, there will be less of a tendency to use coercive and intimidating measures by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests. (IV.1)

If the members of the parties involved in a local ethnic conflict identify more with communal than with ethnic interests, there will be less of a tendency to use violence by one or both parties in the pursuit of their respective interests. (IV.2)

Locally, during Periods I and II, ethnic-religious interests coincided with community interests. Bilingual and Catholic school interests were the predominant educational issues in Normanville which was, for all practical purposes, a French Catholic community. Thus, during Periods I and II the problem of identity was irrelevant with respect to internal expressions of conflict. It was, therefore, impossible to examine variations in this variable over time. Using only Period III, the complete lack of coercive activity and violence would suggest the presence of a

degree of identity with communal interests. The findings, however, indicated only a medium level relative to the three parties, with some variation between the possible ethnic-religious combinations--Catholic versus Protestant, French versus English, etc. This may be a sufficient level to repress militant activity, especially with the observation that two of the three parties considered communal issues as more important than ethnic-religious issues. The hypotheses are, therefore, accepted as having a fair degree of credibility.

There are a few qualifications which should be taken into consideration regarding the credibility of these hypotheses. As discussed in Chapter III, some problems were encountered regarding the validity of the issue ranking data.[101] Assuming validity, there are other qualifications. It was impossible to code the answers of twelve respondents, representing 9.2 per cent of the sample, to the issue ranking question.[102] With this proportion omitted, although they are fairly evenly distributed among the three parties, the reliability of the indicator is open to question.[103]

Another factor, based on English Protestant participation in local voluntary associations, is that the members of this party are not as tied to the community as are the French and English Catholics.[104] This suggests

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[101] Supra, p. 110.

[102] This problem was a result of interviewer error rather than respondent refusal.

[103] French Catholic "No answers" - 8 per cent; English Catholic "No answers" - 8 per cent; English Protestant "No answers" - 6 per cent.

[104] Supra, Table XXVI, p. 236.

a lack of community identity relative to the remaining two parties, notwithstanding the ranking results. The ranking question forced a choice between what were essentially French and Catholic interests opposed to general community interests. The English Protestant responses, therefore, may not be a consequence of higher community identity. Rather, given the choice, if the community is not a significant reference group, he might tend to reject Catholic and French interests because of their irrelevance and assign a high rank to communal interests.

Summary

Hypothesis IV which states that "the more that members of locally based conflict parties identify with communal in contrast to party interests, the less will be the degree of militancy exhibited by these parties," is taken as having a fair degree of credibility. Certain qualifications discussed will be taken into consideration in the revision of the hypothesis.

Hypothesis II: Superimposition and Intensity

Testable Hypotheses II.1 and II.2 Given an ethnic conflict, the greater the coincidence of ethnic, religious, and class affiliations, the higher the level of activity directed toward the pursuit of party interests on the part of ethnic conflict agencies. (II.1)

Given an ethnic conflict, the greater the coincidence of ethnic, religious, and class affiliations, the more viable will be the participating ethnic conflict agencies. (II.2)

As was the case with community identity, the population composition of Normanville during Periods I and II was such that superimposition was inapplicable at the local level from an internal point of view. An estimation of the extent of superimposition at the provincial level was made possible through the use of census data available for Periods II and III. Extrapolating from these data, superimposition during the thirties was estimated to be at a medium level. This level appeared to have increased somewhat during the sixties from a medium to a medium to high level. The census materials related ethnic origins and occupations. Thus, the estimations have a relevance only in relation to the bilingual school issue.

Consequently, according to the hypotheses, it would be expected that agency activity and viability would be at a medium level during Period II and at a slightly higher level during Period III. The evidence, indicating a medium to low level, sufficiently meets these expectations to support the credibility of the hypotheses.

Locally, the over-all level of superimposition was found to be low, with variations according to two party combinations. Accordingly, a low level of agency activity and viability would be expected. The findings met this expectation. Agency activity and viability, though not completely depressed, was found to be at a low level during the sixties. There was a measure of French and English Catholic activity directed toward party interest-articulation, but no English Protestant agency activity.

Summary

Given the above results, hypothesis II, "the greater the extent to

which potential conflict categories are superimposed, the higher the degree of intensity exhibited by any single conflict front," may be taken as possessing a fairly high degree of credibility.

Hypothesis III: The Strength of the Horizontal Pattern and Intensity

Testable Hypotheses III.1 and III.2 If issues identified as relevant to the local conflict system require decisions beyond the local level, the level of activity directed toward the pursuit of party interests on the part of local conflict agencies will tend to be lower than if such issues require decisions at the local level. (III.1)

If issues identified as relevant to the local conflict system require decisions beyond the local level, local conflict agencies will tend to be less viable than if such issues require decisions at the local level. (III.2)

Decision-making power regarding both issues, the bilingual and the Catholic school issues, was found to be primarily located beyond the local level for each of the three Periods. There was an exception in each case. Provincial elections temporarily placed decision-making power in local hands during Period I, with respect to the bilingual school issue, and Period II, with respect to the Catholic school issue. With these exceptions, the horizontal system was weak with respect to decision-making on both key issues. In each case, referring specifically to Normanville, ultimate decisions were made at the provincial level.

The hypotheses fail to predict the observed direction of agency

activity and viability on the bilingual issue during Period I, and on the Catholic school issue during Period II. Local agency activity was found to be at a medium to high level in both cases in spite of the observations regarding the location of decision-making power. The hypotheses hold, however, in predicting an increase in agency activity and viability at the time of the provincial elections. They also hold at the provincial level, if the province is viewed as a local system within the federation. The predicted directions are not exceptionally out of line with the observed, but enough to question the credibility of the proposed hypotheses.

Summary

Hypothesis III, "the weaker the horizontal pattern with respect to decision-making regarding the issues pertaining to a local conflict situation, the more likely will the intensity of a conflict be depressed at the local level," was found to be sufficiently out of line with the observed data that some revision will be necessary.

IV. SUMMARY

In this chapter, the two dependent variables were analysed with respect to the two main issues and each of the three time Periods. The findings are summarized in Tables XLVIII and XLIX.

Following this, the hypotheses proposed in Chapters II and III were tested according to the observed directions of each of the seven variables. Hypotheses I, II, and IV were found to possess a fair degree of credibility, hypothesis III a low degree of credibility. The next

step will be to revise the hypotheses, taking into consideration the evidence presented. The revision will also take into account the weaknesses inherent in bivariate hypotheses when applied to social phenomena, and the problem of intervening variables.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

Two tasks are undertaken in this chapter. In the first part, an attempt is made at reassessing the proposed hypotheses in relation to the findings. Following this, the connections between assimilation and the variables of conflict are given consideration. Finally, suggestions for further research are recommended. In the second part, a general summary of the thesis is presented.

I. CONCLUSIONS

Reassessment

The process of verification involves a comparison of two classes of statements, those concerned with theory and those concerned with indicators and empirical findings. Each should be in accord with the other.[1] If a single bivariate hypothesis is not in accord with the data, there are two alternatives. Either the hypothesis can be rejected or it can be held pending a reassessment. If the latter course is taken, more alternatives are available. The investigator might assume that the difficulties lie in the indicators of the phenomena implied in the hypotheses. He might pursue an opposite course assuming the problem is one of definitions or theoretical terms. Another alternative is to assume that the refutable hypothesis is contingent upon other conditions and,

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[1]See Hans L. Zetterberg, op. cit., p. 151.

unless these are specified, a potentially useful hypothesis may be in danger of being discarded. This is the objective here--to arrive at a set of multivariate hypotheses which take possible contingencies into account.

To give an over-simplified example, one might have made the observation that every time it rains there are clouds in the sky. From this, he concludes that clouds cause rain. However, two later observations are made which seriously question the original hypothesis. The observer notices that for several days there is a complete overcast, but no rain. And from time to time, he has experienced something his friends call a "sun shower." Rather than reject his original hypothesis, he notes different types of cloud, temperature variations, wind direction and speed, humidity, and a host of other variables; all contingencies upon which his original hypothesis rests. It is this alternative that is taken in reassessing the proposed hypotheses, although some attention is directed toward the problem of indicators.

Hypothesis I--relating institutionalization and militancy, hypothesis II--relating superimposition to intensity, and hypothesis IV--relating community identity to militancy, were accepted as credible. An exception at the local level was noted for hypothesis I. The credibility of hypothesis III--relating the strength of the horizontal pattern to intensity was questioned. Each of these hypotheses was analysed separately. The problems of verification arising in each case can now be accounted for by considering the compound effect of the several independent variables upon the dependent variables. Figures 3 to 8 present a

diagrammatical representation of this compound effect with respect to the bilingual school issue.[2]

During the period between 1900 and 1930, the intensity of the local conflict situation was noted as ranging from a medium to high level. The hypothesized relationship between the strength of the horizontal pattern and intensity was rejected on this basis. The strength of the horizontal pattern with respect to decisions on the bilingual school dispute was found to be constantly weak during all three Periods. (See Figures 3 to 5) This presents a controlled situation, thereby permitting an examination of the effects of other variables. By viewing the strength of the horizontal pattern at the provincial level, the control is reinforced.[3] At this level, the variable also maintains a constant value, but opposite to that exhibited at the local level. (See Figures 6 to 8)

Given this control, it is possible to examine the effects of institutionalization on militancy and intensity in isolation. Two features regarding the relationship between these variables alluded to previously, but not contained in the hypotheses, must now be considered. The first of these has to do with the relationship between militancy and intensity, the second with the possible effects of institutionalization on intensity.

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[2]Only the bilingual school issue is used here. The Catholic school issue is omitted in the interests of brevity. There were no major differences in the two issues with respect to the acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses.

[3]Horizontal and vertical patterns are relative to the system under consideration. It is, therefore, possible to examine the horizontal pattern at the provincial level vis-à-vis the federal level.

The implications of the relationship between intensity and militancy were discussed in Chapter II.[4] It was noted that a certain degree of intensity would be necessary for militant behavior to take place, although there was no suggestion that the two are interdependent. Intensity may increase without a corresponding increase in militancy.[5] To this relationship must be added the possible effects of institutionalization on intensity. Initially, institutionalization was posited as influencing militancy; the question of its relationship to intensity was left open.[6] The data suggest that institutionalization influences intensity through its effects on issue visibility and, consequentially, the extent to which the participating parties are subjectively aware of the conflict.

Prior to 1900, a relatively high level of institutionalization with respect to the bilingual school issue was observed. The level dropped considerably between 1878 and 1912, and slowly increased to a high point during the thirties. At the time this research was undertaken, the level had reached an extremely high point relative to the previous two Periods. A characteristic mechanism of this process was the manner in which issues were deferred to a complex system of conflict agents as the level increased. In so doing, the public visibility of the issues was considerably reduced. This was especially noticeable during the field work period where several issues were immediately referred to the conflict agent system preventing

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[4]Supra, pp. 30-32.

[5]Supra, Table I, p. 32.

[6]Supra, p. 39.

a public knowledge of the problems.[7] This system is based upon the accommodation of 1927 which transferred the dialogue from the public sector to the privacy of the Department of Education offices. A similar process took place over the Catholic school issue.

This characteristic of institutionalization has a direct effect on the intensity of a conflict situation. Intensity refers to the magnitude of party involvement. It follows that the more visible the issues are to the public, the greater is the likelihood that participation in conflict agencies will increase. High intensity levels require a public awareness of the issues in dispute. It would seem, then, that as the level of institutionalization drops the issues are released to public visibility, thereby influencing intensity before the level has dropped sufficiently to influence militant behavior.

On the other hand, institutionalization has an independent effect on militancy. Militant behavior results from a lack of recognition of the legitimacy of a party's existence and claims. In a conflict situation, as one party withdraws recognition, and channels of communication collapse, militant behavior tends to increase. But, for militancy to increase beyond a minimum level, intensity must also have reached a certain level. Intensity is not only effected by institutionalization, but by such variables as superimposition and the strength of the horizontal pattern. It is in this sense that the bivariate hypotheses proposed in Chapter II are contingent hypotheses.

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[7] Supra, pp. 319-322.

With these contingencies in mind, it is now possible to assess the effects of the total system of variables and their interrelationships. The problem encountered with the hypothesized relationship between the strength of the horizontal system and intensity is not solved by simply rejecting it. Intensity responds to several variables; the problem concerns the relative weight of their influence.

At the local level, during Period I (see Figure 3) intensity was observed as increasing in spite of a weak horizontal system. It is now possible to state that the increasing level of intensity was in response to the effects of a decreasing level of institutionalization on issue visibility. By 1900, the issues were sufficiently visible to stimulate local agency activity. At the same time, the observation that decision-making power on these issues was not a local prerogative modified the intensity level. Confirmation of this would seem to be in the observed effects of a strong horizontal pattern at the provincial level. Comparing the two levels enables one to observe clearly the effects of variation in the strength of the horizontal pattern. While the institutionalization-intensity relationship remained constant, the strength of the horizontal system was high at the provincial level, and accordingly, the level of intensity was also higher. (Cf. Figures 3 and 6)

Another factor which should be taken into consideration regarding the intensity level during Period I is the observation that community, ethnicity, and religion were highly superimposed. A French Catholic community faced a hostile party in the vertical pattern. The intensity, the agency activity was directed outward into the vertical pattern. Internally,

the opposing parties had not completely crystallized.

Variations in militancy may be assessed in much the same manner. According to hypothesis I, the level of militancy should be higher than observed, given the decreasing level of institutionalization. If the previously mentioned relationship between intensity and militancy is accepted, the findings during Period I (see Figure 3) suggest that the effects of institutionalization upon militancy are modified by the low, though increasing, level of intensity. The same effect may be observed provincially (see Figure 6) where, given a higher level of intensity than was observed locally, militancy responds to the decreasing level of institutionalization.

The effects of superimposition are noted in Figures 5, 7, and 8. A drop was observed in the level of superimposition at the provincial level between Periods II and III (cf. Figures 7 and 8). Accordingly, intensity was observed as exhibiting a slight increase during Period III in response to the combined effect of an increasing superimposition and a strong horizontal system.

Hypothesis IV dealing with community identity is acceptable only if the problems concerning the validity and reliability of the indicators as discussed in Chapters III and IX are put aside. The solution would seem to lie in a redefinition of the independent variable in such a way that it refers to significant reference groups rather than the importance of certain issues. In a particular situation, given the choice between one's ethnic-religious group and community of residence which one does a person select? If the latter is selected, the community may be viewed as the more significant of the two frames of reference for the respondent in

the given situation. Using this approach, rather than ranking issues, a number of situations bringing both frames of reference into play to which subjects could respond would have to be developed as indicators. In any case, given the medium level of community identity as observed (see Figure 5), its effect on militancy should not be too great. What effect there is, is counteracted by a high level of institutionalization and a low level of intensity.

Apart from the problem with community identity, it would appear that the discrepancies between the data and the hypotheses can be accounted for by viewing the variables as a system rather than in terms of a number of bivariate hypotheses. This system of variables, as outlined in Figures 3 to 8, generates a number of multivariate hypotheses which are testable in principle. Prior to considering these, there are other findings which, though not inconsistent with the proposed model, require some attention.

The crucial role played by concrete issues was underestimated in the original design. Given a state of conflict, issues were found to act as catalysts setting a conflict system into motion. It was found that specific issues had to be taken into consideration in order to relate the data to the hypotheses. Although the same parties were involved, the Catholic school issue and the bilingual school issue resulted in different configurations of the participating parties and the conflict variables.

It was also found that the visibility of an issue varies. The less visible an issue is to the general party membership, the more difficult it is to increase intensity and militancy. However, issue visibility

need not be posited as an additional variable since it appears to operate as a function of the extent to which the relations between the participating parties are institutionalized. The availability of conflict agents to deal with specific issues prevent them from being highly visible or "public."

Some clarification is needed regarding the terms--issues, interests, claims and demands. The last three are used interchangeably. An issue refers to the concrete event over which a dispute takes place. Issues are derived from the conditions for conflict states--resource scarcity, position scarcity, and incompatible values. An interest is the program of a party related to the issue in question. The bilingual school question is an <u>issue</u>. The fact that the French Catholic party wanted bilingual schools extended, and the English Catholic-Protestant parties wanted them reduced in scope were the <u>interests</u> of these parties. In this sense, an issue is objective; an interest is a subjectively defined program for party action. It is possible that although an issue is present, it is not translated into a program for party action. Obviously, the lower the visibility of an issue, the less chance there will be of it being translated into an action program.

Any empirical analysis must, therefore, take specific issues into consideration. That is, variations in conflict states must be referred to concrete issues at the empirical level. This should be kept in mind during the following discussion wherein a new set of hypotheses are proposed. In proposing these hypotheses, a state of conflict is assumed and the community is the point of reference.

Hypothesis III stated that the strength of the horizontal pattern in a given situation influences the level of intensity--the weaker the horizontal pattern, the lower the intensity. It is now suggested that this relationship is modified by the level of superimposition and the effects of institutionalization. Thus, to determine the effect of the strength of the horizontal pattern on intensity, it would be necessary to control for the effects of the other two variables. A statistical analogy can be drawn from the procedure used to compute partial correlations where, given a set of independent variables, the effects of all but one on the dependent variables are ruled out. Accordingly, hypothesis III may be restated as follows:

> Controlling for the effect of institutionalization and superimposition, the strength of the horizontal pattern with respect to decision-making regarding the issues pertaining to a local conflict situation will influence the level of intensity--the stronger the horizontal pattern, the higher the intensity.

The same procedure may be repeated for hypothesis II, relating superimposition and intensity. In each case, the effects of the remaining two variables must be controlled.

Considering the observed variations in militancy, the same type of hypothesis is appropriate. The relationship between institutionalization and militancy as stated in hypothesis I is modified by the level of intensity and community identity. To take these conditions into account, hypothesis I may be restated as follows:

> Controlling for intensity and community identity, the institutionalization of the relations between conflicting parties reduces the level of militancy exhibited by both parties.

Hypothesis IV may be restated in the same manner.

Assimilation and Conflict

In Chapter II, assimilation was viewed as a special case of social conflict.[8] It was suggested that variations in the institutionalization, superimposition, and intensity of ethnic or racial conflicts may reverse, retard, or increase the rate of assimilation among the groups involved. It was noted that the indicators for institutionalization, superimposition, and intensity overlap with those which would be used to demonstrate the extent of structural assimilation. Thus, variations in any one of the three would also influence structural assimilation. It followed from this discussion that if the credibility of the conflict hypotheses could be demonstrated, the position taken regarding the relationship between conflict and assimilation would be supported.

The relationship between structural assimilation and the variables of conflict is illustrated in Figures 3 to 8. The variable is entered at both provincial and local levels on the assumption that the extent of structural assimilation will vary from community to community, and between any one community and the region as a whole. In this case, according to the expected influence of the conflict variables, structural assimilation

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[8] Supra, pp. 59-62.

is assumed to be higher in Normanville than in the province as a whole for all three periods.

A certain level of structural separation is, of course, maintained as long as the conditions required for a state of conflict exists. A complete assimilation of the parties would, by definition, result in a disintegration of the conflict system. Thus, moving to the present situation in Normanville (see Figure 5), a certain amount of structural separation between French-speakers, English-speakers, Catholics, and Protestants is maintained. The parties are intact. This viability is partially sustained through the highly institutionalized relations existing between the parties and, to a lesser extent, a minimum level of superimposition. On the other hand, the over-all low level of intensity permits the process of assimilation to proceed. Locally, it is a case of the conflict system retarding, but not reversing or reducing, the level of assimilation. Nevertheless, the introduction of a new issue or a redefinition of an old unsolved issue could succeed in reactivating the conflict system and thus reversing the assimilation process.

The observed increasing level of intensity provincially (see Figure 8) would be expected to influence the level of structural assimilation in the region as a whole, tending to reverse the current trend. The effects of provincial French Catholic agencies', notably L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario, decentralization of activities may well contribute to an increasing intensity (and thus structural separation) at the local level by introducing more decision-making power into the horizontal system. Another factor which could well reactivate the

conflict system at both levels is the reintroduction of the bilingual school issue into the provincial legislature in order to attain a formal recognition of the existence of "French schools," an issue left unsettled in the accommodation of 1927. The result would be increased issue visibility which, in turn, would influence the level of intensity.

It is in this sense that the race relations cycle is questioned. Accommodations follow intense and militant conflicts over certain issues, but an accommodation is not necessarily permanent nor can the possibility of a new issue reactivating the system be excluded. A state of conflict-accommodation-conflict could be maintained thereby retarding the assimilation process. The history of French-English relations in Canada would seem to be a case in point. The current trends in Negro-White relations in the United States are not inconsistent with this scheme. As the intensity and militancy have increased over the last decade, it could be demonstrated that the structural separation has also increased in spite of efforts at "integration." Ironically, the very methods used by Negroes in attempting to gain integration or assimilation may well result in further separation. The Black Power slogan is more consistent with this trend. The French Canadian "être maître chez nous" is equivalent to the implications behind "Black Power."

However, assimilation and conflict are taken to be interdependent. Assimilation is itself influenced by other than the variables of conflict (e.g., industrialization). Therefore, while a conflict is dormant (i.e., intensity and militancy are at low levels), the effects of a continuing process of assimilation may make it very difficult to reactivate the

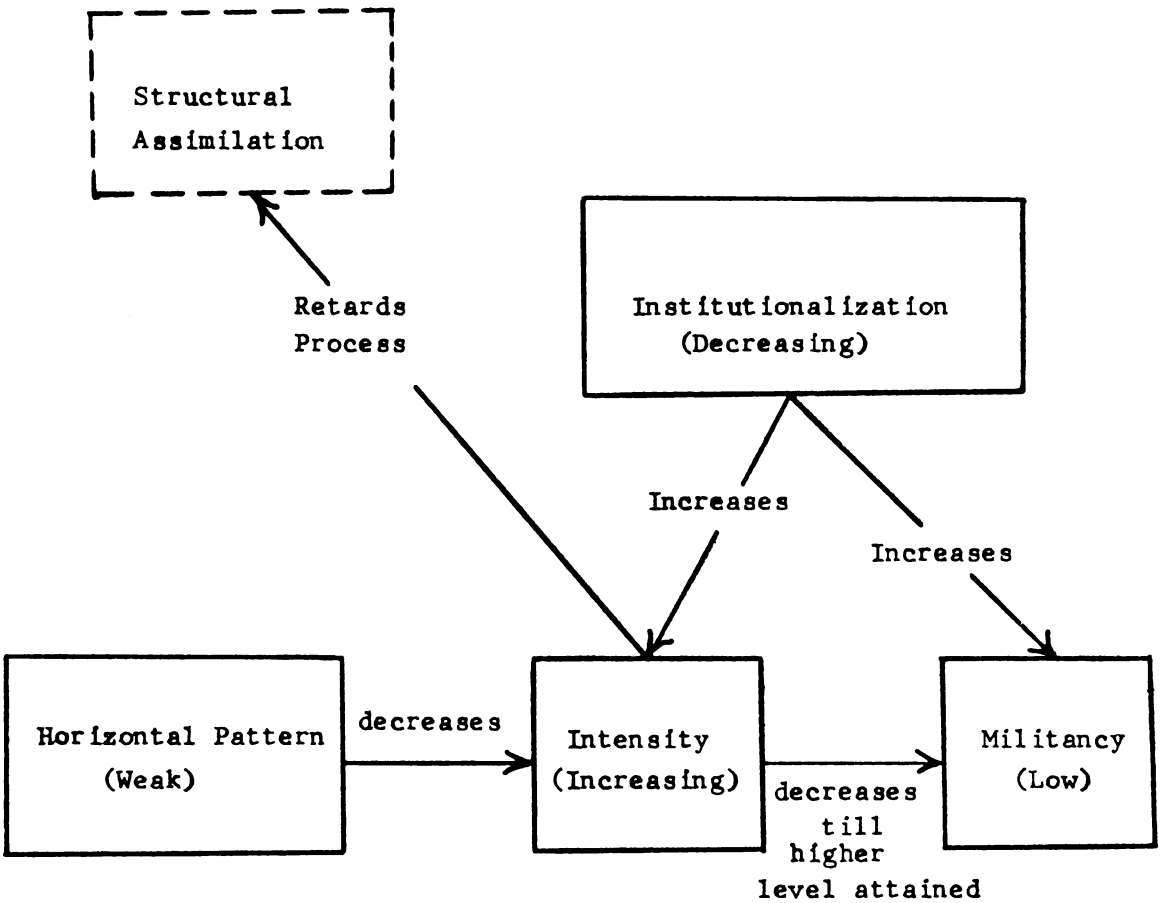


FIGURE 3

THE CONFLICT SYSTEM: BILINGUAL SCHOOL ISSUE
LOCAL LEVEL, PERIOD I, 1900-1930

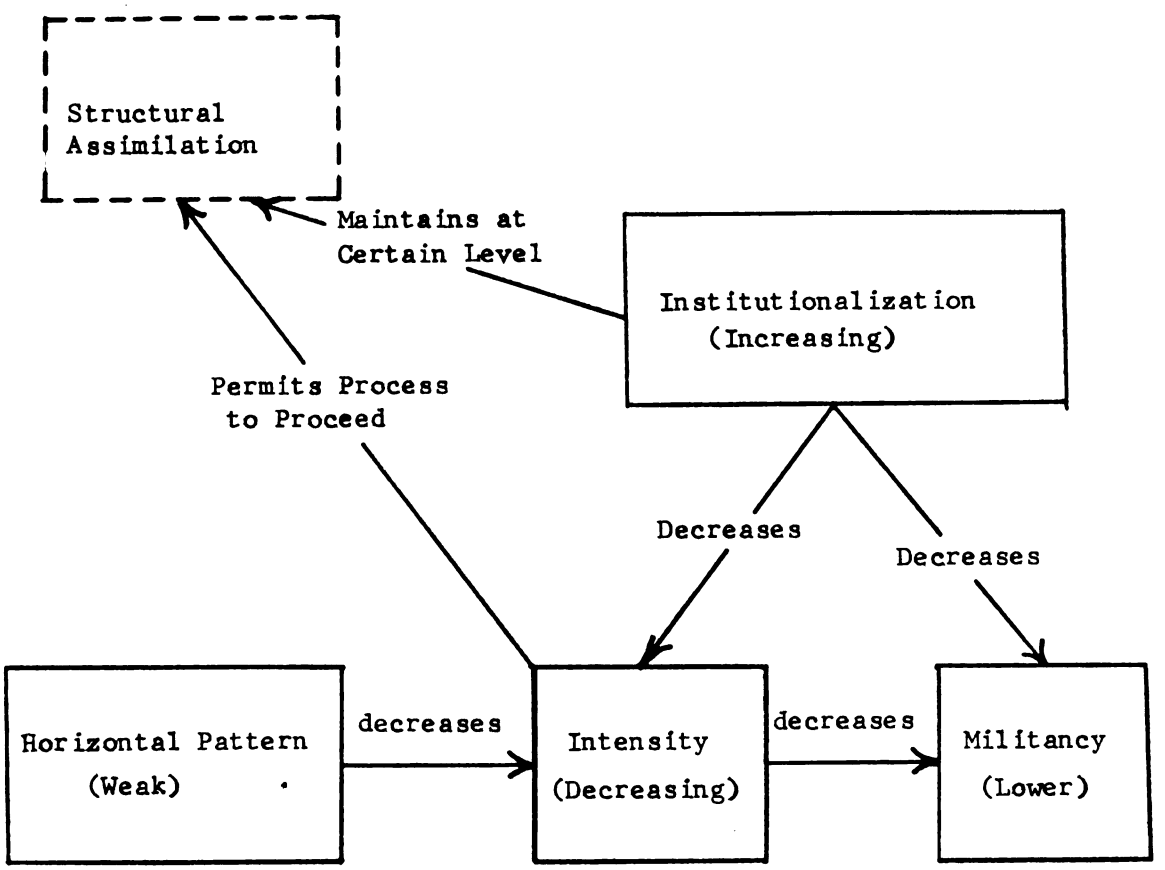


FIGURE 4

THE CONFLICT SYSTEM: BILINGUAL SCHOOL ISSUE
LOCAL LEVEL, PERIOD II, THE THIRTIES

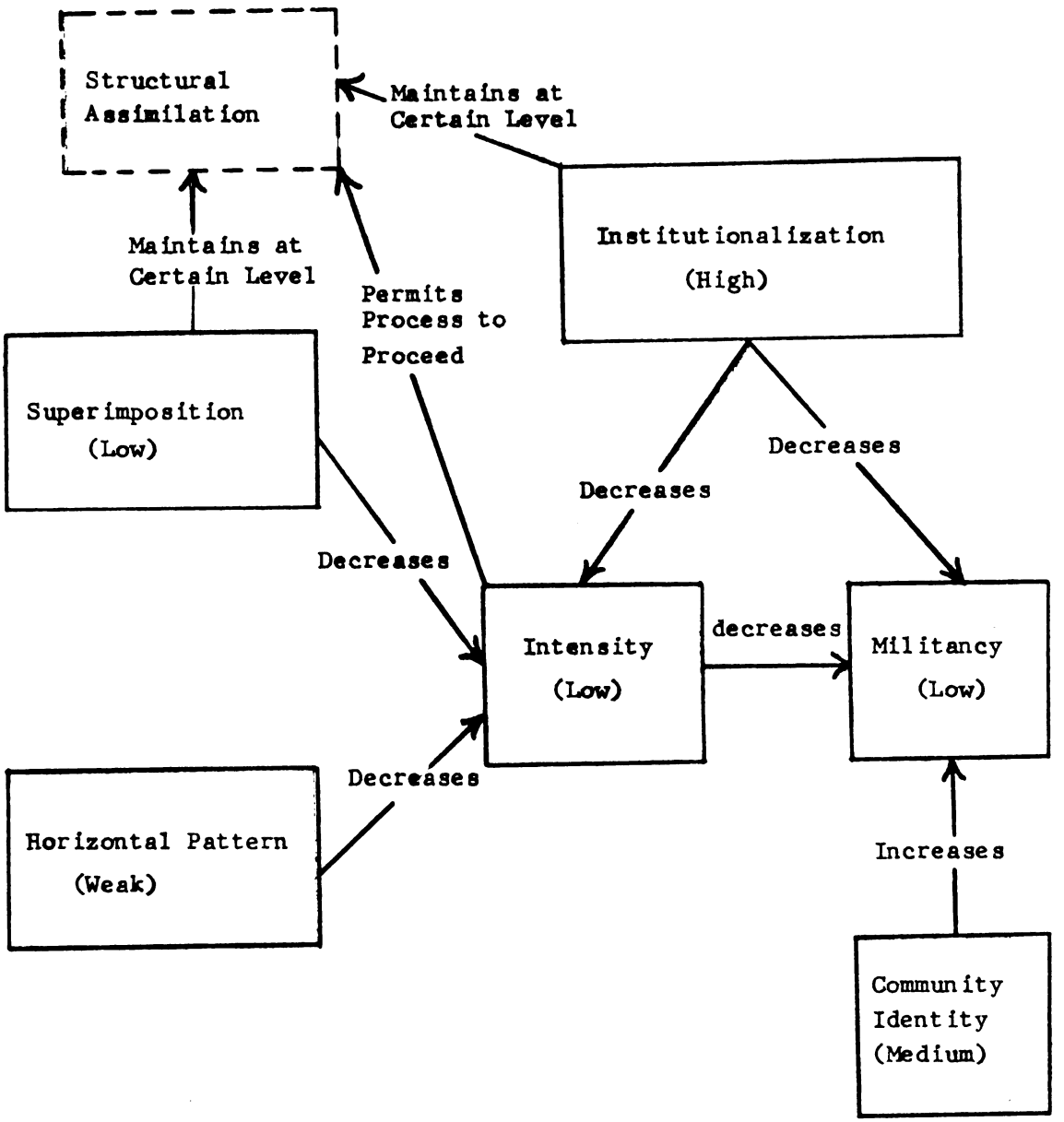


FIGURE 5

THE CONFLICT SYSTEM: BILINGUAL SCHOOL ISSUE
LOCAL LEVEL, PERIOD III, THE SIXTIES

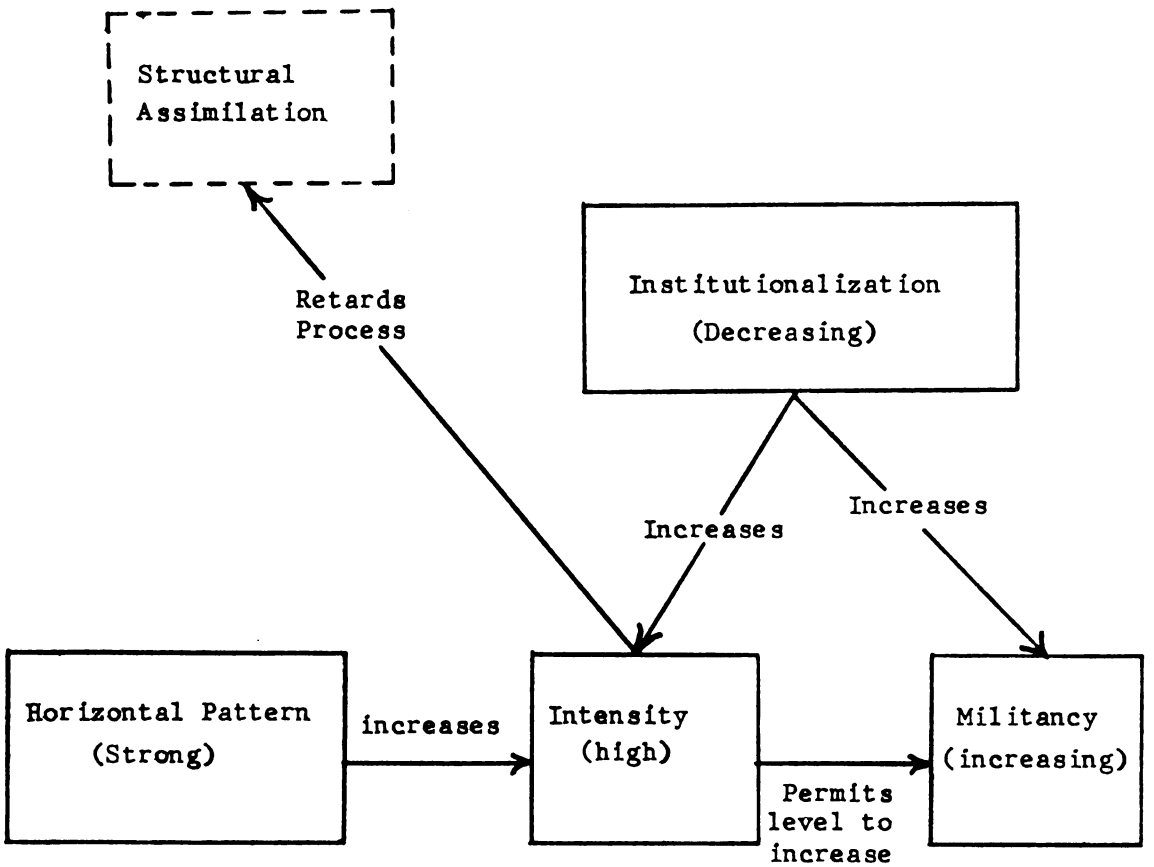


FIGURE 6

THE CONFLICT SYSTEM: BILINGUAL SCHOOL ISSUE
PROVINCIAL LEVEL, PERIOD I, 1900-1930

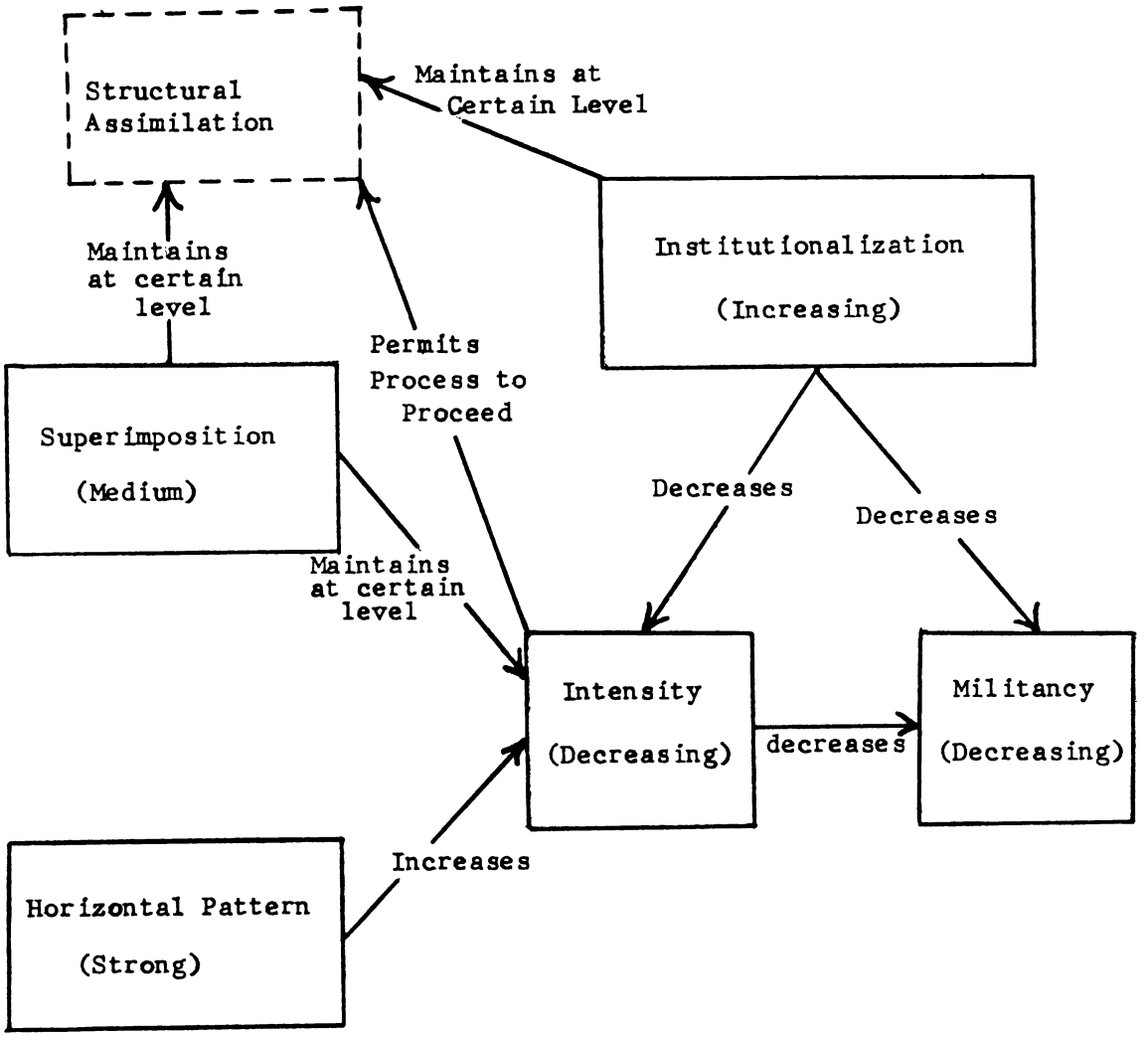


FIGURE 7

THE CONFLICT SYSTEM: BILINGUAL SCHOOL ISSUE
PROVINCIAL LEVEL, PERIOD II, THE THIRTIES

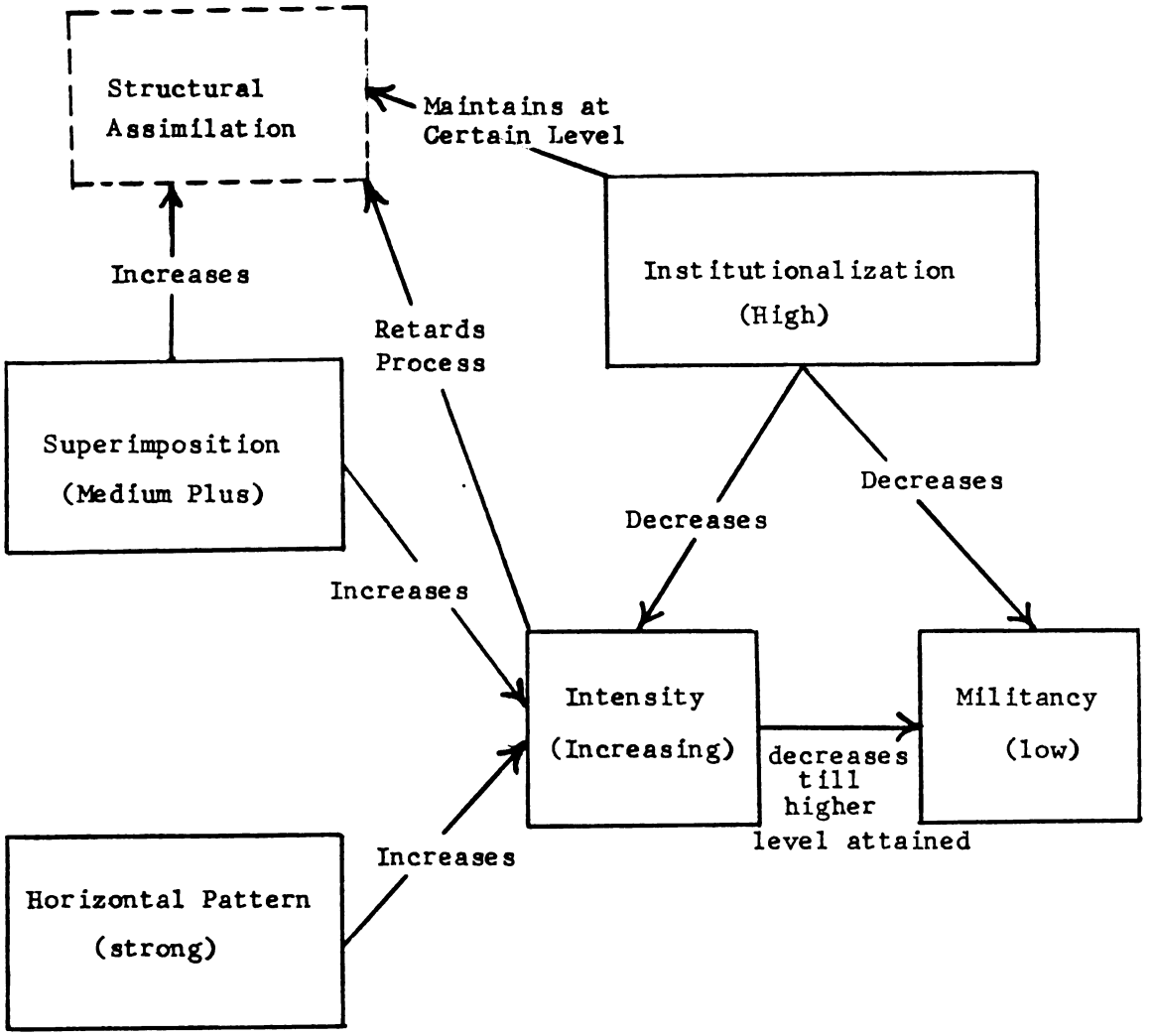


FIGURE 8

THE CONFLICT SYSTEM: BILINGUAL SCHOOL ISSUE
PROVINCIAL LEVEL, PERIOD III, THE SIXTIES

conflict system. Assimilation and conflict influence each other, but the process is not a sequential one as suggested by the race relations cycle model.

Proposals for Further Research

In order to test and further develop the proposed theoretical framework, a situation wherein control can be maintained over certain variables is required. This was partially accomplished in this study by comparing observed values on each variable over time. The inadequacy of this approach lies in the difficulty of locating necessary and reliable data as one moves further back in time. This is especially so with the variables of intensity and militancy which require the identification of conflict agencies and a delineation of their activities and membership.

It would, therefore, seem that a comparative study of several different communities could provide the necessary controls. Given a continuing interest in the substantive material of this thesis, and the data already collected, it would be appropriate to continue to explore the theory in the context of French-English relations in the province of Ontario. The selection of communities in Ontario also holds the historical situation relatively constant.

Communities could readily be located where the levels of institutionalization are equal and the horizontal patterns are weak, but where variations would be exhibited in the levels of superimposition, community identity, intensity, and militancy. This would permit a test of some of the multivariate hypotheses discussed above. One could also vary the

region of Ontario from which the communities are selected in order to explore the possible effects of such factors as proximity to the Québec border, the presence of older and newer French-speaking families, the proportion of French and English-speakers in the population, and the economy of the region.

It is suggested that the following communities might meet the required criteria: Hawkesbury in southeastern Ontario close to the Québec border, Tilbury in southwestern Ontario, Georgetown in central Ontario, and Sturgeon Falls in northern Ontario. All are between five and ten thousand in population. The first two are primarily agricultural servicing communities, with some industry in the second; the last two are close to major industrial centers. All four have a history of French-English conflict.

A related area of study, narrower in focus than the above, but which would contribute to the proposed conflict model is a further exploration of the phenomena of conflict agents. The concept was developed from observations made in this study and Merton's concepts of status- and role-sets. Though their presence was used as an indicator of institutionalization, the phenomena could be investigated in more depth, particularly those positions which have been built into the Department of Education to mediate French and Catholic interests. One of the consequences of their activity is to keep issues and decisions regarding these issues out of the political arena under the guise of universalistic standards when their very presence implies particularistic standards.

Are the consequences of these activities for the conflict system

latent or manifest? How do the incumbents of these positions deal with the universalistic demands of the bureaucracy and the particularistic demands of the ethnic quasi-groups they represent? What pressure is brought to bear on them by related conflict agencies? At a time when students of the American racial situation are exploring the ramifications of Negro political power,[9] a study of this type may provide a useful perspective.

II. SUMMARY

The principal objective of this thesis was to amplify certain hypotheses concerning social conflict through an empirical study of inter-ethnic relations in a particular community. Of secondary interest was the relationship between social conflict and ethnic assimilation. The substantive material itself was of special interest. The community selected for this study, located in southwestern Ontario, was composed of both French and English-speaking residents. Thus, at this level the study focused on an instance of French-English relations in the province of Ontario.

The theoretical orientations upon which this research was based were derived mainly from Lewis A. Coser's The Functions of Social Conflict,[10]

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[9]E. Lee Sloan, "Urban Government and the Politics of Race," a paper delivered at the Ohio Valley Sociological Association Meetings, 1967. (Mimeographed)

[10]Lewis A. Coser, op. cit.

and Ralf Dahrendorf's Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society.[11] Social conflict was defined as consisting of any relationship between two or more sets of individuals exhibiting some degree of organization and incorporating one or more of the following conditions: incompatible values, position scarcity, and resource scarcity. From this definition, the following three empirical conditions were posited as necessary prerequisites for a state of conflict to exist:

1. parties--sets of individuals exhibiting some level of organization;
2. interaction between these parties; and
3. a condition of incompatible values and/or position and resource scarcity.

Two additional concepts, conflict agencies and agents, were developed in order to specify and account for the mediating links between conflicting parties. Conflict agencies were referred to as associations which act to aggregate and articulate the interests of their respective parties. Conflict agents were defined as status-role complexes within institutional structures which function, either latently or manifestly, to articulate party interests.

Given a state of conflict, five general hypotheses were advanced in order to deal with variations in such a state. The position assumed in this thesis was that a state of conflict is a structural arrangement. Observed phenomena which is often referred to in the literature as representing overt or covert conflict, manifest or latent conflict, or

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[11]Ralf Dahrendorf, op. cit.

potential or actual conflict were taken as relating to variations in the intensity and militancy of a conflict situation. A conflict exhibiting a low level of intensity and militancy would correspond to a covert, latent, or potential conflict in the more common terminology.

Intensity was defined as the magnitude of party involvement through agency activity in a conflict situation, militancy as the use of coercive and violent strategy in the pursuit of party interests. These two variables were taken as dependent. Institutionalization, the extent to which the relations between conflicting parties are regulated, and community identity, referring to the extent to which party members identify with communal in contrast to party interests, were posited as independent variables influencing the degree of militancy. Whether decision-making power relevant to the issues in dispute is located in the vertical system (i.e., beyond the local community) or in the horizontal (i.e., within the local community) system and the extent to which ethnic, religious, and class groupings are superimposed were taken as independent variables influencing the intensity of the conflict system.

As noted above, there was a secondary interest in the relationship between assimilation and conflict. The relevant question here was: Is the race relations cycle suggesting an inevitable sequence of the processes of contact, competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation an adequate explanation of ethnic relations or might conflict and assimilation more usefully be viewed as interdependent processes? An analysis of the concept of assimilation stressed three dimensions of a multi-dimensional process--cultural, structural, and identificational assimilation.

Structural assimilation, advanced as the keystone in the assimilation process, was defined as the fusing of the primary and secondary social relationships and institutional structures of previously separate ethnic subgroups. It was noted that the indicators for structural assimilation overlap with those for intensity, superimposition, and institutionalization and as such, structural assimilation was viewed as responding to variations in conflict systems.

The research proceeded in three phases. During the first phase, frequent trips were made to the selected community to ascertain its utility as a research site and to delineate the major components of its social structure. Unstructured interviewing of community leaders was the primary method of data collection used during this phase. An eight month period of intensive interviewing and observation followed during which time the investigator resided in the community under study. An analysis of these data led to the development of the hypotheses referred to above. These hypotheses were tested during the final phase using structured interviewing, documentary analysis, and a questionnaire administered to a residential sample. The objective was to demonstrate the plausibility of the hypotheses rather than to conclusively reject or accept them.

Placing the conflict system under study in a historical context, it was found to be neither a solely local nor a unique set of events. The three conflict parties, French Catholics, English Catholics, and English Protestants, were found to have emerged from a history of conflict and accommodation originating in the British conquest of French Canada in the mid-eighteenth century. Each party had derived its viability from an

interplay of power based on the intersecting interests of religion, class, politics, and ethnicity. Throughout the history of French-English relations, it was found that all possible combinations of these interests had come into play at one time or another according to the issue in dispute.

Moving from the historical context to the present situation at the local level, it was pointed out that the proportion of French-speakers and Catholics in the total population was higher than in other districts in the metropolitan area. In addition, the citizens of Normanville were found to rank about average in income and education in comparison to the metropolitan region. The trend seemed to be toward an increasing proportion of higher income English Protestants in the local population. The minority status of Catholics in general and French Catholics in particular was demonstrated through an analysis of occupational status and income differences. English Protestants have tended to have higher incomes and occupational status than either English or French Catholics. English Catholics ranked higher on these two dimensions than did French Catholics.

Language was found to be the symbol of the relations between the parties. In many ways, language was the "color" of Normanville ethnic relations. It provided the Franco-Ontarian with a basis for ingroup identity and yet, at the same time, provided a visible mark of minority status to English-speakers. The use of French was, therefore, seen as carrying both a negative and a positive quality leading to ambivalent feelings regarding the language on the part of French-speakers.

The institutional life of Normanville was characterized as both dividing and uniting the townspeople. In uniting the population, certain

communal institutions gave cohesion to the community as a whole; in dividing the population, other non-communal institutions created potentially antagonistic sentiments and interests. Political and economic institutions and certain voluntary associations were shown to be primarily communal in character. Religious and educational institutions and the majority of voluntary associations were viewed as non-communal.

Within the broader historical and local context, the problem was to identify the empirical conditions for conflict. Through an analysis of the patterns of interpersonal interaction, the extent of institutional separation, and the extent to which local residents were aware of membership in the various parties, the existence of the three ethnic-religious groupings as conflict parties was confirmed. Contact between the parties and the content of their interaction was demonstrated through an identification and analysis of conflict agencies and agents. The conditions of position and resource scarcity and, to a lesser extent, value incompatibility were found to hold.

Having empirically delineated the necessary prerequisites for a conflict situation, the next problem was one of demonstrating the plausibility of the hypotheses designed to express variations in states of conflict. The analysis focused on two main issues over which the conflict had taken place--the bilingual and the Catholic school issues. In order to demonstrate change in the variables and to control for extra-local effects, the variables were examined at both provincial and local levels over three time periods: (1) Period I between 1900 and 1930; (2) Period II between 1930 and 1935; and (3) Period III between 1950 and 1966.

The hypotheses relating institutionalization to militancy, and superimposition to intensity, were accepted as plausible. The hypothesis relating community identity to militancy was accepted, but with qualifications concerning the validity and reliability of the indicators of the independent variable. The hypotheses relating the strength of the horizontal pattern to intensity failed to correspond to the observed direction of the indicators. A series of multivariate hypotheses were proposed to account for the discrepancies found between the data and the hypotheses. These will require additional testing.

Today in Normanville, a state of conflict does exist although its intensity and militancy were found to be at a minimum level. Four conflict agencies were identified within the Catholic sub-community. Mainly, these agencies functioned more as supportive groups than in terms of interest-aggregation and articulation. The two French-speaking agencies tended to pursue party interests to a greater extent than the two English Catholic agencies. The latter were prevented from pursuing ethnic interests locally, partly because of their mixed French-English membership; a feature indicating incomplete superimposition, whereas the former were exclusively French in membership. Involvement in both sets of agencies was low, relative to past periods.

The extremely high level of institutionalization observed with its accompanying complex system of conflict agents has its effects on both intensity and militancy. Institutionalization, in recognizing the existence of the parties and their claims, provides a set of rules and positions by which and through whom claims can be mediated. This process

removes the issues which arise from time to time from public visibility. Issues which might have otherwise aggrevated the situation in the Normanville schools were referred directly to conflict agents. In decreasing the visibility of issues, the possibility of public awareness and involvement is reduced considerably.

Of equal importance was the observation that decision-making power regarding relevant issues was located in the vertical system. Decisions concerning extensions of either the bilingual or Catholic school systems beyond the present limits is in the hands of the provincial government. Consequently, Normanville agencies deal through the vertical system in articulating local interests. The confrontation of opposing interests takes place in Toronto, not in Normanville. This further contributes to a lack of interest and involvement locally.

Moreover, Normanville residents, be they French Catholic, English Catholic or English Protestant, are subject to a multitude of cross-pressures arising from an overlap of memberships in ethnic, religious, and class groupings. English Catholic confronts French Catholic over an issue, but both are tied together by their Catholicism. English Protestant confronts English Catholic, but both are tied together by a common ethnicity. The relations are further complicated by intersecting class affiliations. This lack of a superimposition of relevant categories finds its concrete expression in association memberships which do not directly correspond to ethnic-religious affiliations. Nevertheless, a sufficient level of superimposition sustained by a lack of French Protestants and a tendency for French Catholics to be concentrated in lower income groups

prevents the level of intensity from dropping to the "zero" point.

The lack of participation on the part of English Protestants was also suggested as a factor related to the low level of intensity. On one of the issues, the bilingual school issue, the very nature of Ontario's school system prevents contact between French Catholics and English Protestants. To the English Protestants in Normanville, the separate school system is irrelevant. It is within the separate school system that French-speakers face their English-speaking co-religionists over the bilingual school question. The vertical decision-making process only adds to the lack of involvement on the part of English Protestants.

Community identity was found to be neither high nor low. As a whole, Normanville citizens readily respond to community interests, interests which supersede ethnic-religious differences. Their reaction to a proposed annexation to Metro Center was met with vigorous opposition, void of ethnic or religious differences. At the same time, given a forced choice between ethnic-religious and communal interests, the citizens respond with some differentiation according to party membership. However, any effects that this might have upon militancy are currently counteracted by the observed values on the remaining variables.

Given the low degree of intensity, the level of structural assimilation in Normanville was seen as on the increase. However, so long as the parties remain intact, largely through the extent to which the relations between them are institutionalized, a certain amount of structural separation will remain. On one hand, the extent to which Normanville agencies pursue party interests prevents the formation and development of

associational ties which would serve to draw the population into their respective sub-groups. On the other hand, the continuing presence of conflict agents acting on behalf of party interests maintains some degree of separation.

Conflict and assimilation were viewed as interdependent. The increasing urbanization and industrialization of Normanville and the surrounding district over the last two decades has contributed to the assimilation process which in turn effects the conflict system. The Catholic school issue was found to hold more interest among Normanville French-speakers than the bilingual question. Some French-speaking parents hesitate to enroll their children in bilingual classes which they perceive as a disadvantage in the struggle for middle class success in English Protestant Ontario. However, should the intensity level rise in response to changes in the other conflict variables, it is held that the rate of assimilation would be checked and might be reversed.

APPENDIX I

FIGURE 1

THE TOWN OF NORMANVILLE, ONTARIO

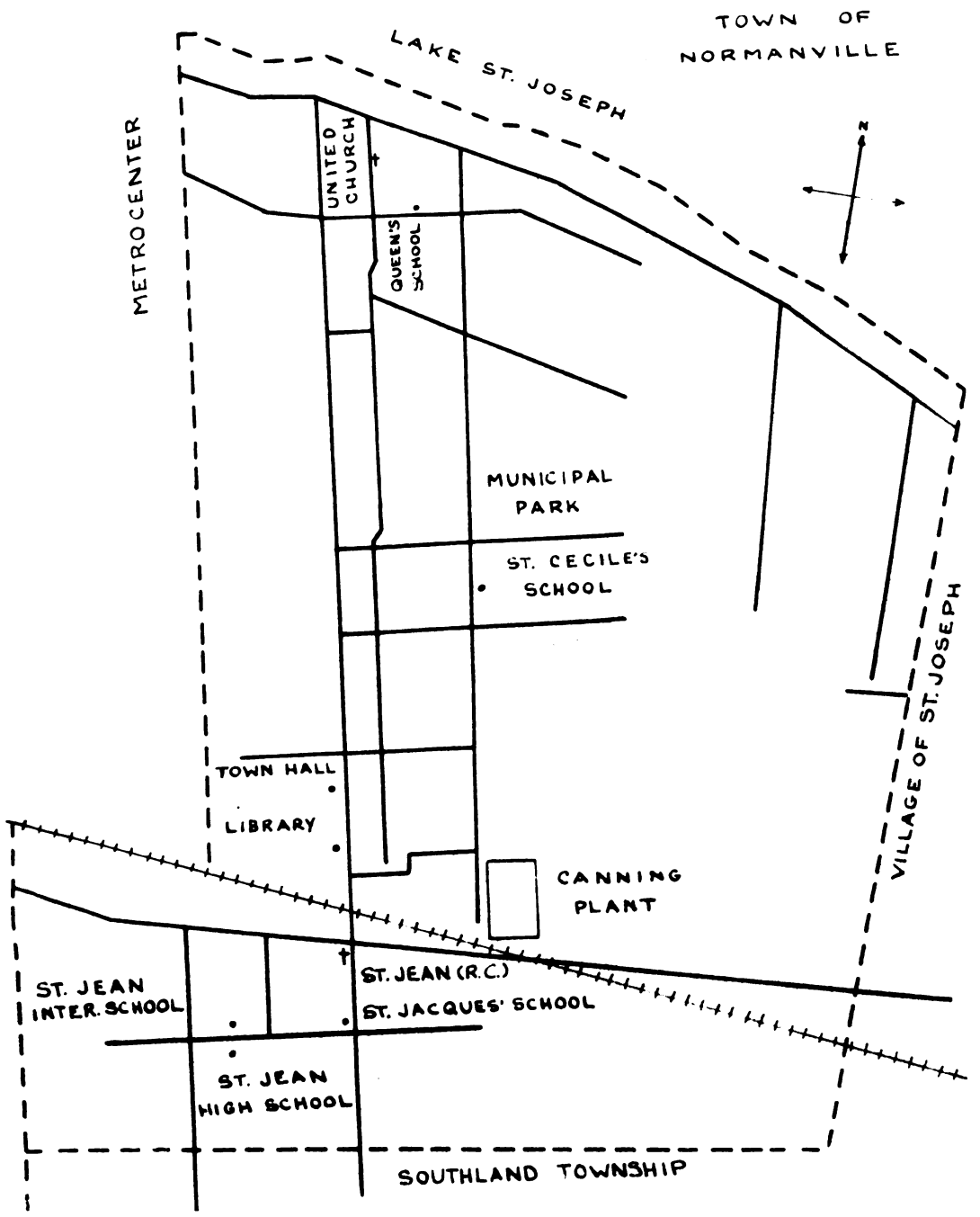


FIGURE 2

THE TOWN OF NORMANVILLE, ONTARIO
LAND USE

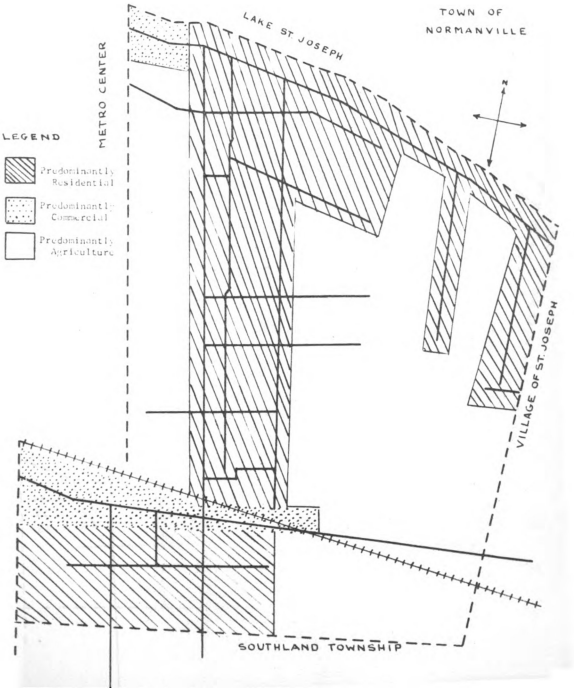
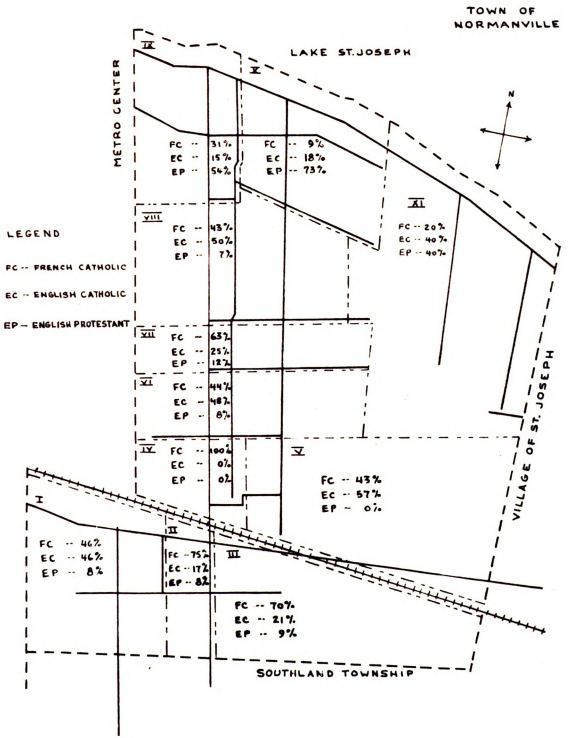


FIGURE 3

THE TOWN OF NORMANVILLE, ONTARIO
DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC-RELIGIOUS
GROUPS BY POLLING DIVISION



APPENDIX II

TABLE I

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF NORMANVILLE, ONTARIO, 1921-1961

Year	Population	Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Groups			
		British	French	Other	Total
1921	978	10.5	86.3	3.2	100.0
1931	2129	18.6	74.6	6.8	100.0
1941	2412	20.6	74.1	5.3	100.0
1951	3543	26.6	63.3	10.1	100.0
1961	4476	30.3	55.9	13.8	100.0

Source: Canadian decennial census, Vol. 1, 1921; Vol. 2, 1931; Vol. 2, 1941; Vol. 1, 1951; Vol. 1, 1961. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

Note: "A person's ethnic group is traced through his father . . . each person was asked the question, 'To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?'"
1961 Census, Vol. 1, Part 2, Bulletin 92-545, D. B. S., Ottawa.

TABLE II

RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF NORMANVILLE, ONTARIO, 1921-1961

Year	Population	Percentage Distribution of Religious Affiliations			
		Protestant	Roman Catholic	Other	Total
1921	978	6.2	93.8	0.0	100.0
1931	2129	10.9	88.4	0.7	100.0
1941	2412	11.7	86.9	1.4	100.0
1951	3543	18.2	79.8	2.0	100.0
1961	4476	21.3	76.7	2.0	100.0

Source: Same as Table I.

Note: "Each person was asked the question, 'What is your religion?' thus the figures do not measure church membership or indicate the degree of affiliation with any religious body."
1961 Census, Vol. 1, Part 2, Bulletin 92-546, D. B. S., Ottawa.

TABLE III

KNOWLEDGE OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH
IN NORMANVILLE, ONTARIO,
1951 AND 1961

	Percentage of Population	
Language Spoken	1951	1961
English Only	42.7	59.9
French Only	1.9	2.6
English and French	55.1	37.3
Neither	0.3	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Canadian decennial census, Vol. 1, 1951; Vol. 1, 1961. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa.

Note: Language spoken refers to the number of persons who reported they were able to speak one or both of the languages. 1961 Census, Vol. 1, Part 2, Bulletin 92-349, D. B. S., Ottawa.

In interpreting this table, the reader should be aware of the fact that very few English Canadians have a knowledge of French. Those reported in the column, "English and French," therefore, would be mainly Franco-Ontarians.

APPENDIX III

THE NORMANVILLE PROJECT

April 1966

Instructions for Interviewers

I. Be sure to:

(1) Study the questionnaire carefully so that you know what each question means, and are familiar enough with them to ask the questions rather than to read them.

(2) Practice interviewing on your friends. This is a very useful way to familiarize yourself with the questionnaire.

(3) Plan to do your interviewing between 9:00 a.m., and 9:00 p.m. Any earlier or later may inconvenience the respondent.

II. Your attitude should be:

(1) Neutral

(2) Impartial

(3) Casual

(4) Conversational

(5) Friendly

III. Cautions:

(1) Interview only the person indicated on the card, or his or her spouse.

(2) Ask all questions and place a check mark (x) in all columns provided for each question.

(3) You ask the questions. The respondent need not nor should he see the questionnaire.

(4) Do your interviewing alone. More than one interviewer might overwhelm the respondent.

III. (5) Seek privacy where possible. Family members or friends from whom information is not required tend to disturb the respondent.

(6) Avoid interviewing by telephone. Over the telephone, the respondent will have a better opportunity to refuse, and it is impossible to convey the full meaning of the questions.

(7) Avoid turning interviews over to a friend to complete on your behalf. Additional interviewers are welcome, but before interviewing, they should see the Project Director.

IV. Possible problems:

(1) If a respondent presses for an elaborate explanation of the study, offer him our telephone number, suggesting that we would appreciate a call. (Mr. Jackson, 735-9573.)

(2) If respondent wonders why his name was chosen, tell him that it was selected at random, completely by chance, from the voter's list.

(3) If respondent claims he does not have time, you may tell him that the questions will not take long, perhaps ten or fifteen minutes. If the respondent is involved in some task, offer to ask the questions while he continues.

(4) If respondent insists he does not have the time, attempt to make an appointment for a later interview.

(5) If respondent claims he does not know enough to give good answers, tell him that it is not what one knows that counts. There are no right or wrong answers.

(6) If respondent is afraid to answer some questions, saying for example, "Why do you want to know that?" or "What are you going to do with the answers?" tell him that a lot of people in town are being asked the same questions, and what he says is confidential. You might add that the information will be used only to develop a statistical profile of the people of Normanville.

M I C H I G A N S T A T E U N I V E R S I T Y
East Lansing Michigan 48823

Continuing Education Service
Institute for Community Development 27 Kellogg Center

April 20, 1966

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

In cooperation with the General Mission Centre of Essex County, we are conducting a community study in the Town of Normanville. Our major interest is in language behaviour and neighbourhood association patterns. The bearer of this letter is a volunteer interviewer working on our behalf.

All information obtained from you is confidential, and no person will be identified by name in the report.

If you have any questions regarding the nature of our study, please feel free to contact John Jackson at 735-9573, or the General Mission Centre's office at 252-9756.

Thank you for your cooperation.

(signed) John D. Jackson

John D. Jackson
Research Assistant
Institute for Community Development

M I C H I G A N S T A T E U N I V E R S I T Y
East Lansing Michigan 48823

Continuing Education Service
Institute for Community Development 27 Kellogg Center

le 20 avril, 1966

A qui de droit:

Avec Le Centre de la Mission Générale du Comté d'Essex, nous faisons des recherches sociologiques sur la vie franco-ontarienne à Normanville. Les personnes qui possedent cette lettre travaillent en faveur de nous.

Tous les renseignements que vous nous donnez sont confidentiels et nous ne nommerons personne dans notre rapport.

Si vous avez des questions, veuillez téléphoner le Centre de la Mission Générale à 252-9756 ou M. John Jackson à 735-9573.

Nous voulons vous remercier pour votre coopération.

Salutations distinguées

(signée) John D. Jackson

John D. Jackson
Institute for Community Development

THE NORMANVILLE PROJECT

April 1966

Opening Statement for Interviewers

Hello . . . I'm an interviewer for a survey being conducted by the General Mission Center (of Essex County) and Michigan State University. We are interested in certain aspects of language behaviour and community associations in Normanville.

Are you _____? (According to the methods employed in this study, I am required to interview _____.)

I have a few questions to ask. Your name will not be used; the information you give me is confidential.

About how long have you lived at this address?

. . . . . .

Bonjour . . . je suis un intervieweur pour le Centre de la Mission Générale (du Comté d'Essex) et "Michigan State University." Nous faisons des recherches sur la vie franco-ontarienne à Normanville.

Etes-vous _____? (Selon que mes instructions, il faut que j'aie une entrevue avec _____.)

J'ai un petit nombre des questions à vous demander. Nous n'emploierons pas votre nom et les renseignements que vous me donnez sont confidentiels.

Depuis quand demeurez-vous à cette adresse?

UNE ETUDE SOCIOLOGIQUE DE LA VILLE DE NORMANVILLE

INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

ET

LE CENTRE DE LA MISSION DU COMTE D'ESSEX

THE NORMANVILLE PROJECT

INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

AND

THE GENERAL MISSION CENTRE OF ESSEX COUNTY

Questionnaire à résidence

La date: _____ L'heure: _____

L'intervieweur: _____

Numéro d'identification _____ (C2-5)

Langue employée pendant l'entrevue (C6)

L'anglais _____ (1)

Le français _____ (2)

Les deux _____ (3)

Residential Questionnaire

Date: _____ Time: _____

Interviewer: _____

Case Number _____ (C2-5)

Language used in interview (C6)

English _____ (1)

French _____ (2)

Both _____ (3)

C1. CODE
Deck Number (1)

C7-8. CODE
Polling Subdivision 01-11

1. Etes-vous marié(e), célibataire, ou veuf (veuve)?
   Are you married, single, or widowed? (C9)

	M	F
Marié(e) Married	(0)	(1)
Jamais marié(e) Never married	(2)	(3)
Separé(e) Separated	(4)	(5)
Divorcé(e) Divorced	(6)	(7)
Veuf (veuve) Widowed	(8)	(9)

2. Avez-vous demeuré à Normanville pendant toute votre vie?
   Have you lived in Normanville all your life? (C10-11)

	(C10) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C11) Epouse Wife
Oui Yes	_____	_____
x Non x No	_____	_____
D.K.	_____	_____
D.N.A.	_____	_____

x If "No" in Question No.2, Answer Questions Nos. 3-4; otherwise proceed to Question No. 5

3. Depuis quand demeurez-vous à Normanville?
   How long have you lived in Normanville? (C12-13)

	(C12) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C13) Epouse Wife
Moins de 5 ans Under 5 years	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
10-14 ans 10-14 years	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
15-19 ans 15-19 years	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
Plus de 19 ans More than 19 years	_____ (4)	_____ (4)
D.K.	_____ (5)	_____ (5)
D.N.A.	_____ (6)	_____ (6)

4. Ou demeuriez-vous juste avant de venir à Normanville?
Where did you live immediately before moving to Normanville? (C14-15)

	(C14) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C15) Epouse Wife
Dans la région metropolitaine de Metro Centre. Within Metro Centre area.	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Dans l'Ontario, mais pas dans la région metropolitaine de Metro Centre. Within Ontario, but not in Metro Centre area.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
Dans la province de Québec. Within Quebec.	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
Dans une province autre que l'Ontario ou le Québec. Within a province other than Ontario or Quebec.	_____ (4)	_____ (4)
Hors du Canada Outside of Canada.	_____ (5)	_____ (5)
D.K.	_____ (6)	_____ (6)
D.N.A.	_____ (7)	_____ (7)

5. Vos parents ont-ils jamais demeuré à Normanville?
Have your parents ever lived in Normanville? (C16-17)

	(C16) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C17) Epouse Wife
x Oui x Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Non No	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
D.K.	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
D.N.A.	_____ (4)	_____ (4)

x If "Yes" in Question No. 5, answer Question No. 6; otherwise proceed to Question No. 9.

6. Ont-ils (vos parents) demeuré à Normanville pendant toutes leurs vie?
Have they (your parents) lived in Normanville all their lives? (C18-19)

Question No.6, continued.

	(C18) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C19) Epouse Wife
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
x Non x No	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
D.K.	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
D.N.A.	_____ (4)	_____ (4)

x If "No" in Question No. 6, answer Questions Nos. 7-8; otherwise proceed to Question No. 9.

7. Pouvez-vous vous rappeler combien longtemps ils ont demeuré à Normanville?
Can you recall how long they (your parents) lived in Normanville? (C20-21)

	(C20) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C21) Epouse Wife
Moins de 5 ans Less than 5 years	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
10-14 ans 10-14 years	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
15-19 ans 15-19 years	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
Plus de 19 ans More than 19 years	_____ (4)	_____ (4)
D.K.	_____ (5)	_____ (5)
D.N.A.	_____ (6)	_____ (6)

8. Pouvez-vous vous rappeler où ils demeuraient immédiatement avant de venir à Normanville?
Can you recall where they (your parents) lived immediately before moving to Normanville? (C22-23)

	(C22) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C23) Epouse Wife
Dans la région metropolitaine de Metro Centre. Within Metro Centre area.	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Dans l'Ontario, mais pas dans la région metropolitaine de Metro Centre. Within Ontario, but not in Metro Centre area.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

Question No. 8, continued.

	(C22) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C23) Epouse Wife	
Dans la province de Québec. Within the province of Québec.	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
Dans une province autre que l'Ontario ou le Québec. Within a province other than Ontario or Québec.	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
Hors du Canada Outside of Canada.	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
D.K.	_____	(6)	_____	(6)
D.N.A.	_____	(7)	_____	(7)

9. Etes-vous à loyer ou êtes-vous propriétaire de la maison?
Do you own or rent your home? (C24)

Propriétaire Own	_____	(1)
A loyer Rent	_____	(2)

10. Dans quel pays êtes-vous né(e)?
In what country were you born? (C25-26)

	(C25) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C26) Epouse Wife	
Le Canada Canada	_____	(0)	_____	(0)
La France France	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
L'Allemagne Germany	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
L'Irlande Ireland	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
L'Italie Italy	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
Le Royaume-Uni United Kingdom	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
Les Etats-Unis United States	_____	(6)	_____	(6)
Autre (précisez) Other (specify)	_____	(7)	_____	(7)
D.K.	_____	(8)	_____	(8)
D.N.A.	_____	(9)	_____	(9)

C27 Summary CODE on C25		C28 Summary CODE on C26	
Canadian Born	(1)	Canadian Born	(1)
Foreign Born	(2)	Foreign Born	(2)
Not Reported	(3)	Not Reported	(3)

11. A quel groupe ethnique appartenait votre ancêtre paternel lors de son arrivée en Amérique?
To what ethnic or national group did your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this country? (C29-30)

	(C29) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C30) Epouse Wife	
Britannique British	_____	(0)	_____	(0)
Français French	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
Allemand German	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
Irlandais Irish	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
Italien Italian	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
Polonais Polish	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
Ukrainien Ukranian	_____	(6)	_____	(6)
Autre (précisez) Other (specify)	_____	(7)	_____	(7)
D.K.	_____	(8)	_____	(8)
D.N.A.	_____	(9)	_____	(9)

C31 Summary CODE on C29		C32 Summary CODE on C30	
British	(1)	British	(1)
French	(2)	French	(2)
Other	(3)	Other	(3)
Unknown	(4)	Unknown	(4)

12. De quelle religion êtes-vous?
What is your religious affiliation? (C33-34)

	(C33) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C34) Epouse Wife	
Anglicane Anglican	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
Catholique romaine Roman Catholic	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
Eglise-Unie du Canada United Church	_____	(3)	_____	(3)

Question No. 12, continued.

	(C33) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C34) Epouse Wife	
Autre (précisez) Other (specify)	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
Aucune affiliation religieuse No religious affiliation	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
D.N.A.	_____	(6)	_____	(6)

C35 Summary CODE on C33		C36 Summary CODE on C34	
Protestant	(1)	Protestant	(1)
Roman Catholic	(2)	Roman Catholic	(2)
Other	(3)	Other	(3)

If Respondent married, answer Question No.13; otherwise proceed to Question No. 14.

13. De quelle religion etiez-vous avant votre mariage?
What was your religious affiliation before marriage? (C37-38)

	(C37) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C38) Epouse Wife	
Anglicane Anglican	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
Eglise-Unie du Canada United Church	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
Catholique romaine Roman Catholic	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
Autre (précisez) Other (specify)	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
Aucune affiliation religieuse No religious affiliation	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
D.K.	_____	(6)	_____	(6)
D.N.A.	_____	(7)	_____	(7)

C39 Summary CODE
Married Respondents Only.

Mixed Marriage	(1)
Not Mixed Marriage	(2)
D.N.A.	(3)

14. A quelle paroisse appartenez-vous?
To what Church or Parish do you belong? (C40-41)

Question No. 14, continued.

	(C40) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C41) Epouse Wife	
St. Jean's, Normanville	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
St. Michael's, Village of St. Joseph	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
St. Matthew's, Village of St. Joseph	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
Normanville United Church	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
Autre (précisez) Other (specify)	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
Aucune affiliation paroissiale No church affiliation	_____	(6)	_____	(6)
D.N.A.			_____	(7)

15.x Avez-vous (votre époux a-t-il) un emploi?
x Are you (is your husband) employed? _____ (1) (C42)
Etes-vous (votre époux est-il) sans emploi?
Unemployed? _____ (2)
Etes-vous (votre époux est-il) à sa retraite?
Retired? _____ (3)

x If employed, answer Questions Nos. 16-18; otherwise proceed to Question No. 19.

16. Quelle est votre (son) occupation?
What is your (your husband's) occupation? (C43-45 D.B.S.) (C46-48 Blishen)

_____

(Description brève, mais précise)
(Brief, but precise description)

17. Pour quelle compagnie travaillez-vous (travaille-t-il)?
For what company do you (does your husband) work? (C49-52)

_____

18. Cette compagnie est-elle située dans la Ville de Normanville?
Is this company located within the Town of Normanville? (C53)

Oui Yes	_____	(1)
Non No	_____	(2)
D.K.	_____	(3)
D.N.A.	_____	(4)

If Respondent married, answer Questions Nos. 19-22; otherwise proceed to Question No. 23.

19. Avez-vous (votre épouse a-t-elle) un emploi soit, à mi-temps, soit à temps plein?
Are you (is your wife) employed part time or full time? (C54)

x Oui, à mi-temps
x Yes, part time or seasonal _____ (1)
x Oui, à temps plein
x Yes, full time _____ (2)
Non
No _____ (3)
D.N.A. _____ (4)

x If employed full time or part time, answer Questions Nos. 20-22; otherwise proceed to Question No. 23.

---

20. Quelle est votre (son) occupation?
What is your (your wife's) occupation? (C55-57 D.B.S.)
(C58-60 Blishen)

_____
(Description, brève, mais précise)
(Brief, but precise description)

21. Pour quelle compagnie travaillez-vous (travaille-t-elle)?
For what company do you (does your wife) work? (C61-64)

_____

22. Cette compagnie est-elle située dans la Ville de Normanville?
Is this company located within the Town of Normanville? (C65)

Oui
Yes _____ (1)
Non
No _____ (2)
D.K. _____ (3)
D.N.A. _____ (4)

23. Etes-vous contribuable aux écoles separées ou aux écoles publiques?
Are you a separate or public school supporter? (C66)

Publiques
Public _____ (1)
Separées
Separate _____ (2)

24. Avez-vous des enfants?
Do you have any children? (C67)

	Aucun			5-6	_____ (4)
	None	_____ (1)		Plus de 6	
x	1-2	_____ (2)		More than 6	_____ (5)
	3-4	_____ (3)		D.N.A.	_____ (6)

x If one or more children, answer Question No. 25; otherwise proceed to Question No. 26.

25. Nous donneriez-vous les renseignements suivants au sujet de vos enfants?
Would you provide us with the following information concerning your children? (C68)

Sexe	Age	Si à l'école: l'année	(C68) Si l'enfant frequente l'école separée, est-il inscrit: aux classes bilingues	aux classes anglaises

Sex	Age	Grade: If in School	For Those Attending Separate Schools Only Child Enrolled In: Bilingual Classes	English Classes

C68 CODE:

Children in Bilingual Classes only.	(1)
Children in English Classes only.	(2)
Children in both types.	(3)
No children in school.	(4)
No children.	(5)
D.N.A.	(6)

C69-70 Reserve

26. Quelles langues parlez-vous?
What languages do you speak? (C71-72)

	(C71) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C72) Epouse Wife
Anglais English	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Français French	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
x Anglais et français x English and French	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
Ni anglais, ni français Neither English nor French	_____ (4)	_____ (4)
D.N.A.		_____ (5)

x If both French and English, answer Questions Nos. 27-32; otherwise proceed to Question No. 33.

27. Laquelles des deux langues (l'anglais ou le français) est votre langue maternelle?
Which of the two languages (French or English) is your mother tongue? (C73-74)

	(C73) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C74) Epouse Wife
Anglais English	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Français French	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
D.N.A.	_____ (3)	_____ (3)

28. Quelle partie du temps parlez-vous français?
What proportion of the time do you speak French? (C75-76)

	(C75) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C76) Epouse Wife
La plupart du temps Most of the time	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Environs la moitié du temps About half the time	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
De temps en temps Occasionally	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
D.N.A.	_____ (4)	_____ (4)

If there are children, answer Question No. 29; otherwise proceed to Question No. 31.

29. Vos enfants, parlent-ils français?
Do your children speak French? (C77)

x	Oui Yes	_____ (1)
	Non No	_____ (2)
	D.N.A.	_____ (3)

x If "Yes" in Question No. 29, answer Question No.30; otherwise proceed to Question No. 31.

30. Quelle partie du temps le parlent-ils?
What proportion of the time do they speak French? (C78)

La plupart du temps Most of the time	_____ (1)	De temps en temps Occasionally	_____ (3)
Environs la moitié du temps About half the time	_____ (2)	D.N.A.	_____ (4)

31. Lisez-vous des journaux français, des revues françaises, des livres français, etc.?
Do you read any French language newspapers, magazines, books, etc.? (C79-80)

	(C79) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C80) Epouse Wife
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Non No	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
D.N.A.	_____ (3)	_____ (3)

END DECK 1. BEGIN DECK 2
C1: Code Deck Number (2)
C2-9 transfer from Deck 1

32. D'habitude, parlez-vous français:
Do you usually speak French:

(a) à la maison avec la famille?
at home, with the family? (C10-11)

	(C10) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C11) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

(b) avec des amis, dans le voisinage?
with friends, around the neighbourhood? (C12-13)

	(C12) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C13) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

(c) dans les activités paroissiales?
in Church or Parish activities? (C14-15)

	(C14) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C15) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)

Question No. 32, continued:

	(C14) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C15) Epouse Wife
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

(d) au milieu des associations ou des organisations autre que religieuses?
in non-religious associations or organizations? (C16-17)

	(C16) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C17) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

(e) au travail ou dans les affaires?
at work or in business? (C18-19)

	(C18) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C19) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

C20 Summary CODE
32 (a) - (e), Cols. 10, 12 14, 16, and 18.

C21 Summary CODE
32 (a) - (e), Cols. 11, 13, 15, 17, and 19.

If Respondent is a member of St. Jean's Parish, answer Question No. 33; otherwise proceed to Question No. 34.

33. Quand vous assistez à la Messe, combien souvent assistez-vous à la Messe française?
When you attend Mass, how often do you attend the French language Mass? (C22-23)

	(C22) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C23) Epouse Wife
Jamais Never	_____ (1)	_____ (1)

Question No. 33, continued:

	(C22) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C23) Epouse Wife
La plupart du temps Most of the time	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
Environs la moitié du temps About half the time	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
De temps en temps Occasionally	_____ (4)	_____ (4)

34. Etes-vous membre d'associations ou d'organisations quelconques (par exemples, des groupes paroissieux, des clubs socieux, P. T. A., A. P. I., des clubs sportifs, des groupes récréatifs)?

Do you belong to any clubs, associations, or organizations (e.g., Church or Parish groups, service clubs, lodges, P. T. A., recreation groups, sports clubs, etc.)? (C24-25)

	(C24) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C25) Epouse Wife
x Oui x Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Non No	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
D.N.A.	_____ (3)	_____ (3)

x If "Yes" in Question No. 34, answer Question No. 35; otherwise proceed to Question No. 36.

35. Desquelles?
To what organizations do you belong? (C26-27)

(C26) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C27) Epouse Wife
_____	_____

C26. CODE Function:

Primarily supportive	(1)
Supportive & Conflict Agency	(2)
Neither, no ethnic-religious closure	(3)

C27. Repeat Function Code.

36. Vos amis les plus intimes, sont-ils:
Are your closest friends: (C28-30)

	(C28) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C29) Epouse Wife	(C30) Leurs amis mutuels Mutual Friends
des Canadiens d'expression anglaise. English-speaking Canadians.	_____ (1)	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
des Canadiens d'expression française. French-speaking Canadians	_____ (2)	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
Les deux Both	_____ (3)	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
Autre Other	_____ (4)	_____ (4)	_____ (4)
D.N.A.		_____ (5)	_____ (5)

37. Quelle langue parlez-vous d'habitude quand vous vous réunissez à ces amis?
What language do you usually speak when you get together with these friends? (C31-33)

	(C31) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C32) Epouse Wife	(C33) Leurs amis mutuels Mutual Friends
Anglais English	_____ (1)	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Français French	_____ (2)	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
Les deux Both	_____ (3)	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
Autre Other	_____ (4)	_____ (4)	_____ (4)
D.N.A.		_____ (5)	_____ (5)

38. Combien souvent rencontrez-vous des Canadiens d'expression anglaise?
How often do you meet English (French) speaking Canadians? (C34-35)

Question No. 38, continued.

	(C34) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C35) Epouse Wife
x Souvent x Frequently	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
x Rarement x Seldom	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
Jamais Never	_____ (3)	_____ (3)
D.N.A.		_____ (4)

x If Respondent comes into contact with English (French) speaking Canadians, answer Questions No. 39-40; otherwise proceed to Question No. 41.

39. Rencontrez-vous des Canadiens d'expression anglaise:
Do you come into contact with English(French) speaking Canadians:

(a) dans le voisinage?
around the neighbourhood? (C36-37)

	(C36) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C37) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

(b) dans les activités paroissiales?
in Church or Parish activities? (C38-39)

	(C38) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C39) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

(c) parmi des associations ou des organisations autre que religieuses?
in non-religious associations or organizations? (C40-41)

Question No. 39, continued.

	(C40) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C41) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

(d) au travail ou dans les affaires?
at work or in business? (C42-43)

	(C42) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C43) Epouse Wife
Non No	_____ (0)	_____ (0)
Oui Yes	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
D.N.A.	_____ (2)	_____ (2)

C44 Summary CODE.
39 (a) - (d), Columns 36, 38, 40, 42.

C45 Summary CODE.
39 (a) - (d), Columns 37, 39, 41, 43.

40. Combien souvent échangez-vous des visites avec des Canadiens d'expression anglaises?
How often do you exchange visits with English (French) speaking Canadians in your home? (C46-47)

	(C46) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband	(C47) Epouse Wife
Ordinairement deux ou trois fois par mois. Usually two or three times a month	_____ (1)	_____ (1)
Ordinairement une fois par mois. Usually once a month	_____ (2)	_____ (2)
Ordinairement quelques jours par an. Usually a few times a year.	_____ (3)	_____ (3)

Question No. 40, continued.

	(C46) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C47) Epouse Wife	
Ordinairement une fois par an. Usually once a year.	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
Jamais Never	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
D.N.A.	_____	(6)	_____	(6)

41. Vos amis les plus intimes, sont-ils:
Are your closest friends: (C48-50)

	(C48) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C49) Epouse Wife		(C50) Leurs amis mutuels Mutual Friends	
Protestant	_____	(1)	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
Catholique romaine Roman Catholic	_____	(2)	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
Les deux Both	_____	(3)	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
Autre Other	_____	(4)	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
D.N.A.			_____	(5)	_____	(5)

42. Combien souvent rencontrez-vous des gens Protestant?
How often do you usually meet persons of the Protestant (Catholic) faith? (C51-53)

	(C51) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C52) Epouse Wife		(C53) Leurs amis mutuels Mutual Friends	
x Souvent x Frequently	_____	(1)	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
x Rarement x Seldom	_____	(2)	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
Jamais Never	_____	(3)	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
D.N.A.			_____	(4)	_____	(4)

x If Respondent comes into contact with Protestants (Catholics), answer Questions No. 43-44; otherwise proceed to Question No. 45.

43. Rencontrez-vous des gens Protestant:
Do you come into contact with members of the Protestant (Catholic) faith:

(a) dans le voisinage?
around the neighbourhood? (C54-55)

	(C54) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C55) Epouse Wife	
Non No	_____	(0)	_____	(0)
Oui Yes	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
D.N.A.	_____	(2)	_____	(2)

(b) parmi des associations ou des organisations autre que religieuses?
in non-religious associations or organizations? (C56-57)

	(C56) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C57) Epouse Wife	
Non No	_____	(0)	_____	(0)
Oui Yes	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
D.N.A.	_____	(2)	_____	(2)

(c) au travail ou dans les affaires?
at work or in business? (C58-59)

	(C58) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C59) Epouse Wife	
Non No	_____	(0)	_____	(0)
Oui Yes	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
D.N.A.	_____	(2)	_____	(2)

C60 Summary CODE.
43 (a) - (c), Columns 52, 54, 56.

C61 Summary CODE.
43 (a) - (c), Columns 53, 55, 57.

44. Combien souvent échangez-vous des visites avec des gens Protestants?
How often do you exchange visits with persons of the Protestant (Catholic) faith in your home? (C62-63)

Question No. 44, continued.

	(C62) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C63) Epouse Wife	
Ordinairement deux ou trois fois par mois. Usually two or three times a month.	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
Ordinairement une fois par mois. Usually once a month.	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
Ordinairement quelques jours par an. Usually a few times a year.	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
Ordinairement une fois par an. Usually once a year.	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
Jamais. Never.	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
D.N.A.	_____	(6)	_____	(6)

45. Sur cette carte, vous trouverez une liste de questions d'importance courante à Normanville. Voudriez-vous les classer dans l'ordre de leur importance par rapport à vous? C'est-à-dire, écrivez (1) vis-à-vis la question que vous considerez la plus importante; (2) vis-à-vis la deuxieme plus importante; est ainsi de suite jusqu'à (6) vis-à-vis la moins importante.

(La Carte) Des Questions d'Importance

Des Questions	L'Ordre de leur importance
Le développement industriel.	_____
L'extension de subvention gouvernementales pour les écoles catholiques jusqu'à la treizieme année.	_____
La délinquance juvénile.	_____
Les classes bilingues pour les enfants d'expression françaises à partir du jardins d'enfant jusqu'à la treizieme année.	_____
Un système d'égouts.	_____
L'égalité d'octrois pour les écoles publiques et les écoles separées.	_____

Question No. 45, continued.

On this card, (HAND RESPONDENT ISSUE RANKING CARD) is a list of current issues in Normanville. Would you please rank these in their order of importance to you? That is, place a (1) beside the issue you believe to be most important; a (2) beside the next most important, and so on down to a (6) beside the least important. (C64-69)

(Card)

Issue Ranking Card

Issue	Rank
Industrial development.	_____
Extension of government support to Catholic schools up to Grade 13.	_____
Juvenile delinquency.	_____
Bilingual classes for French-speaking children from kindergarten to Grade 13.	_____
Sewage treatment facilities.	_____
Equal grants for public and separate schools.	_____

Cols. 64-69
Code Rank Assigned
1-6.

46. Dans cette enveloppe se trouve une carte indiquant les divers catégories de revenu. Voudriez-vous indiquer la catégorie dans laquelle se située le revenu total de votre famille? Si vous voulez, remettez la carte dans l'enveloppe et scellez-la.

(La Carte)

De Confiance

Revenu annuel par famille:		
Moins de $3,000	_____	(1)
Entre $3,000 et $4,999	_____	(2)
Entre $5,000 et $6,999	_____	(3)
Entre $7,000 et $8,999	_____	(4)
Plus de $9,000	_____	(5)

In this envelope is a card showing different income groups. (HAND RESPONDENT INCOME CARD.) Would you mind placing a check mark beside the group which includes your total annual <u>family</u> income. You may replace the card in the envelope and seal it. (C70)

Question No. 46, continued.

(Card)

Confidential

Total Annual Family Income:

Under $3,000	_____	(1)
Between $3,000 and $4,999	_____	(2)
Between $5,000 and $6,999	_____	(3)
Between $7,000 and $8,999	_____	(4)
Over $9,000	_____	(5)

C70

D.K. (6)

Unwilling to answer. (7)

47. Quel âge avez-vous atteint à votre dernier anniversaire?
How old were you on your last birthday? (C71-72)

	(C71) Célibataire ou Epoux Single or Husband		(C72) Epouse Wife	
Moins de 20 Under 20	_____	(0)	_____	(0)
20-29	_____	(1)	_____	(1)
30-39	_____	(2)	_____	(2)
40-49	_____	(3)	_____	(3)
50-59	_____	(4)	_____	(4)
60-69	_____	(5)	_____	(5)
Plus de 70 70 or over	_____	(6)	_____	(6)
N.A.	_____	(7)	_____	(7)
D.N.A.			_____	(8)

APPENDIX IV

X 52

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE 1A

ASSOCIATION (CONFLICT AGENCY) OFFICERS

Respondent: _____ Position: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

1. What are the geographical boundaries of the regional organization?

2. How do local associations affiliate with the regional organization?
   (a) Is the regional executive committee or board made up of local representatives?
   (b) Are these representatives elected locally?
   (c) Do local associations have a financial responsibility to the regional organization?
   (d) Does the regional organization have control over local policy?

3. Is the regional organization, in turn, affiliated with a provincial or national organization?

4. (If "Yes")
   In what way is it affiliated?

5. Do Normanville people and associations participate in the regional organization? To what extent? More or less than other local districts?

6. I know the general purpose of your organization, but what are the special functions of the regional organization?

7. Could you tell me something about your activities, your program over the last year?

8. Do you ever find yourselves involved in issues like the ecumenical movement, education, the separate school--public school issue, the use of French as a medium of instruction in schools, problems people might encounter as French Canadians, French-English relations, bilingualism, etc.?

9. You mentioned that your organization has dealt with such issues as _____.
   How much of your energies are directed along these lines? Are these issues the most or least important of your activities?

10. How do you go about attaining your objectives in reference to these issues?

11. To be a little more specific, just what persons and organizations do you work through to reach your objectives?

12. Where are the final decisions made on these issues? Is this where you apply the pressure?

13. What about the level of participation in regional activities--is it high, medium, low? Is this normal in comparison to other years?

14. Have there been any significant changes in the level of participation since you have been a member?

15. What kinds of programs or activities seem to attract a high level of participation?

16. There is considerable discussion these days on such topics as bilingualism and biculturalism, assimilation, "the melting pot," "the mosaic," and so on. In a country such as ours, what is your opinion regarding these issues, especially relating to French-English relations?

17. Hand Respondent "Issue Ranking Card."

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE 1B

ASSOCIATION (CONFLICT AGENCY) OFFICERS

Respondent: _____ Position: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

1. Quelles sont les limites géographiques de votre organisation régionale?

2. Les associations locales, comment affilient-elles à l'organisation régionale?
   (a) Est-ce que votre comité executif régional est composé des représentants locales?
   (b) Est-ce que ces représentants ont été élu localement?
   (c) Est-ce que les associations locales ont des responsibilités financiers à l'organisation régionale?
   (d) Est-ce que l'organisation régionale dirigé la politique locale?

3. L'organisation régionale, a-t-elle affilié à une organisation provinciale ou nationale?

4. (Si "Oui")
   Dans quelle manière?

5. Est-ce que les gens et les associations de Normanville participent à l'organisation régionale? Plus ou moins commes les autre régions locale?

6. Je connais les buts générale de votre organisation, mais quelles sont les fonctions spéciales de l'organisation régionale?

7. Et vos activités, votre programme, qu'avez-vous fait pendant l'année passée?

8. Est-ce que vous vous absorbez jamais dans des questions comme le problème des écoles bilingues, le problème des subventions governementales pour les écoles separées, les divers problèmes que les franco-ontariennes rencontrent au milieu anglophone?

9. Vous disiez que votre association s'absorbe dans des questions tel que _____.
   Est-ce que l'association fait appel à tout son énergie à ses questions, ou non? Est-ce que ces questions sont les plus ou les moins importantes de vos activités?

10. Comment arrivez-vous à vos objectifs, vos buts, à propos de ces questions? (Employez-vous la presse? Faites-vous des petitions auprès de vos députés à Ottawa ou Toronto?)

11. Exactement, avec quelles personnes et organisations travaillez-vous pour arriver à vos buts?

12. Savez-vous qui prend les décisions finales à propos de ces questions? Est-ce que vous poussez ici pour arriver à vos buts?

13. Le niveau de participation aux activités régionales, est-il plus fort ou non? C'est un état normal en comparaison d'autres années?

14. Y-a-t-il eu des changements d'importance à la participation depuis vous êtes un membre?

15. Quelles sortes des programmes attirent la plus forte participation?

16. On parle beaucoup ces jours au sujet d'assimilation, "the melting pot," le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, etc. Dans un pays comme chez nous que pensez-vous de ces questions?

17. Sur cette carte, vous trouverez une liste de questions d'importance courante à Normanville. Voudriez-vous les classer dans l'ordre de leur importance par rapport à vous? C'est-à-dire, écrivez (1) vis-à-vis la question que vous considerez la plus importante; (2) vis-à-vis la deuxieme plus importante; et ainsi de suite jusqu'à (6) vis-à-vis la moins importante.

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE 2A

ASSOCIATION (CONFLICT AGENCY) OFFICERS

Respondent: _____ Office Held (at time of interview): _____

Other Offices Held: _____

Length of time as a member: _____

1. First, let me make sure that I have the correct name of your organization.

2. About how many members do you now have?

3. What about the composition of your membership--sex, age, religious affiliation, ethnicity (French speaking, English speaking)?

4. (If membership French or mixed)
In what language do you conduct your meetings? Is French ever used? Do you ever hear French spoken during a meeting?

5. What is the purpose of your organization?

6. Could you tell me something about your activities, your program over the last year?

7. Do you ever find yourselves involved in issues like the ecumenical movement, education, the separate school--public school issue, the use of French as a medium of instruction in schools, problems people might encounter as French Canadians, French-English relations, bilingualism, etc.?

(In Questions 5 to 7, probe for existence of supportive, interest articulation, and interest aggregation functions.)

8. Is your organization affiliated with any regional, provincial, or national organization?

9. (If "Yes")
What is the nature of these affiliations?
(Probe: Are you assessed special fees? Do you send delegates to regional meetings? Do you have any control over the parent body's policy? Does the parent body suggest or direct policies and programs at the local level? Is there a regional publication or newsletter?)

If Association defined as conflict agency re French-English relations, answer Questions 10 to 19; otherwise proceed to Question 20.

10. You mentioned that your organization has dealt with such issues as _____. How much of your energies are directed along these lines? Are these issues the most or least important of your activities?

11. How do you go about attaining your objectives in reference to these issues?
(Probe for tactics: Do you make use of the press? Have you ever used petitions? Do you send letters to your representatives in Ottawa or Toronto? Do you send resolutions to your parent body?)

12. To be a little more specific, just what persons and organizations do you work through to reach your objectives?

13. Where are the final decisions made on these issues? Is this where you apply the pressure?

14. You stated that you have _____ members. What about attendance or participation? Is it high, medium, low? About how many members have you been getting out to your meetings over the past year? Is this normal in comparison to other years?

15. Have there been any significant changes in attendance since you have been a member?

16. What kinds of programs or activities seem to attract a high attendance?

17. What are your membership requirements? That is, must a person meet any special requirements to become a member?

18. You have then a fairly large constituency. What about the size of your membership in relation to all those who could join?

19. Have there been any significant changes in this respect since you have been a member?

20. There is considerable discussion these days on such topics as bilingualism and biculturalism, assimilation, "the melting pot," "the mosaic," and so on. In a country such as ours, what is your opinion regarding these issues, especially relating to French-English relations?

21. Hand Respondent "Issue Ranking Card."

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE 2B

ASSOCIATION (CONFLICT AGENCY) OFFICERS

Respondent: _____ Position: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

1. D'abord, je voudrais confirmer le nom de votre association. C'est _____?

2. Combien des membres, environs, est-ce que vous avez?

3. Et la composition de votre société, tous sont catholique et français? Quels âges ont-ils? Est-ce que la majorité des participants sont des hommes, ou des femmes?

4. Quelle langue employez-vous à vos réunions? Entendez-vous jamais l'anglais à ces réunions?

5. Quels sont les objectifs de votre association?

6. Et vos activités, votre programme, que faites-vous à vos réunions?

7. Est-ce que vous vous absorbez jamais dans des questions comme le problème des écoles bilingues, le problème des subventions gouvernementales pour les écoles separées, les divers problèmes que les franco-ontarienne rencontrent au milieu anglophone?

8. Votre association, a-t-elle affilié à des associations régionaux, provinciaux, ou nationaux?

9. Dans quelle manière? Avez-vous des droits d'inscription? Envoyez-vous des délégués aux réunions au niveau régional?

10. Vous disiez que votre association s'absorbe dans des questions tel que _____.
Est-ce que l'association fait appel à tout son énergie à ses questions, ou non? Est-ce que ces questions sont les plus ou les moins importantes de vos activités?

11. Comment arrivez-vous à vos objectifs, vos buts, à propos de ces questions?
(Employez-vous la presse? Faites-vous des petitions auprès de vos députés à Ottawa ou Toronto?)

12. Exactement, avec quelles personnes et organisations travaillez-vous pour arriver à vos buts?

13. Savez-vous qui prend les décisions finales à propos de ces questions? Est-ce que vous poussez ici pour arriver à vos buts?

14. Vous disiez que vous avez _____ membres. Est-ce que l'assistance aux réunions est plus forte ou non? Pendant l'année passée, combien de vos membres ont assisté aux réunions? C'est un état normal en comparaison d'autres années?

15. Y-a-t-il eu des changements d'importance en l'assistance depuis que vous êtes un membre?

16. Quelles sortes des programmes attirent la plus forte assistance?

17. Y-a-t-il eu des éxigences spéciales qu'on dois avoir pour appartenir à l'association?

18. Ainsi, il y a beaucoup des gens qui pourraient appartenir à l'association. Croyez-vous, donc, que vous avez autant des membres que possible?

19. Y-a-t-il eu des changements d'importance ici depuis que vous êtes un membre?

20. On parle beaucoup ces jours au sujet d'assimilation, "the melting pot," le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, etc. Dans un pays comme chez nous que pensez-vous de ces questions?

21. Sur cette carte, vous trouverez une liste de questions d'importance courante à Normanville. Voudriez-vous les classer dans l'ordre de leur importance par rapport à vous? C'est-à-dire, écrivez (1) vis-à-vis la question que vous considerez la plus importante; (2) vis-à-vis la deuxieme plus importante; et ainsi de suite jusqu'à (6) vis-à-vis la moins importante.

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE 3

PUBLIC SCHOOL BOARD

Respondent: _____ Position: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

1. What issues would you consider to be the most important in the local educational system today? Are there other issues of less importance?

2. How are these issues resolved? To what degree have you been involved in their resolution?

3. According to your knowledge of the situation, where and by whom are the final decisions made regarding these issues?

4. Are you a member of:
   (1) The Ontario Public Schools Trustees Association _____
   (2) The Ontario Education Association _____

5. Do you belong to any other associations or organizations? Which ones?

6. Do you attend local Home and School Association meetings?

7. Does the presence of a large separate school system in Normanville affect your operation at all? Does it create any special problems?

8. What do you know about the bilingual or French classes in the separate school system?

9. Have you ever met with members of the separate school board, formally or informally, to discuss problems you might have in common?

10. What about your Board's relationship to the Town Council? Is it satisfactory?

11. Do you feel that your Board's interests are adequately represented in the municipal government and its various committees? Whom do you consider to be the "Board's representative" on the Council?

12. There is considerable discussion these days on such topics as bilingualism and biculturalism, assimilation, "the melting pot," "the mosaic," and so on. In a country such as ours, what is your opinion regarding these issues, especially in relation to French-English relations?

13. Hand Respondent "Issue Ranking Card."

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE 4

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Respondent: _____ Position: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

1. What issues would you consider to be the most important in the administration of town affairs today? Are there other issues of less importance?

2. According to your knowledge of the situation, where and by whom are the final decisions made regarding these issues?

3. In a town like Normanville, where we do find such groupings as English speaking Protestants, English speaking Catholics, and French speaking Catholics, do these linguistic-religious differences have any effect on voting patterns?

4. In the last election _____ per cent of the votes polled by yourself came from polling division(s) _____. Do you feel that you have any special obligation toward the residents of these particular polling divisions?

5. How would you account for the fact that you did poll a greater proportion of your votes from these areas?

6. Do they, the residents of divisions _____, direct their requests to you more than do residents of other divisions?

7. Just recently, on two different occasions, members of delegations to Council made reference to the linguistic division in the town. I'm referring to the "sign" issue and the "service station" issue. What was your reaction to their observations?

8. Do you think these comments had an element of truth in them?

9. When appointing members to various commissions and boards (i.e., Library Committee, Recreation and Parks Board, etc.), what factors does the Council take into consideration? Do you endeavour to see that the linguistic-religious groups are represented?

10. What associations or organizations do you belong to?

11. Do these organizations ever ask for your assistance regarding issues before the Council?

12. There is considerable discussion these days on such topics as bilingualism and biculturalism, assimilation, "the melting pot," "the mosaic," and so on. In a country such as ours, what is your opinion regarding these issues, especially in relation to French-English relations?

13. Hand Respondent "Issue Ranking Card."

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE 5

SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD

Respondent: _____ Position: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

1. What issues would you consider to be the most important in the local educational system today? Are there other issues of less importance?

2. Are any of these issues peculiar to Catholic education, to a bilingual system?

3. Have issues arisen from time to time which might indicate a possible divergency of interests or objectives between the linguistic divisions in the separate school system?
(Probe: e.g., frequency of use of French as medium of instruction; curricula variations, i.e., physical education.)

4. (If "Yes")
Specifically, what issues?

5. In your position as a Board member, do you find that you, from time to time, become involved in any of these issues?

6. (If "Yes")
In what ways have you become involved, and in just what issues?

7. How are these issues resolved? To what degree have you been involved in their resolution?

8. According to your knowledge of the situation, where and by whom are the final decisions made regarding these issues?

9. Are you a member of:
(1) The Ontario Separate Schools Trustee Association ____
(2) The Ontario Catholic Education Association ____
(3) L'Association des Commissions des Ecoles Bilingues d'Ontario ____
(4) L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario ____

10. What other organizations do you belong to?

11. Do you attend meetings of the C.P.T.A. ____
A.P.I. ____
Both ____

12. Do these groups or the public in general seek your assistance as an educator in the resolution of the various issues confronting Catholic education and a bilingual system?

13. (If "Yes")
In what way, and over what issues? How have you responded?

14. What is the relationship between the Board and each of the inspectors? Do the inspectors have equal authority in all spheres of the operation or does each have a special sphere of authority?

15. Have the inspectors assisted the Board in making decisions on some of the issues we were just discussing? In what way?

16. Are there certain areas of school administration where the Board may make decisions with the inspector's approval?

17. (If "Yes")
What areas? To your knowledge, has the Board ever acted contrary to the inspector's advice?

18. Have you ever met with members of the Public School Board, formally or informally, to discuss problems you might have in common?

19. What about members of the Senior High School Board (Separate School Board)?

20. What about your Board's relationship to the Town Council? Is it satisfactory?

21. Do you feel that your Board's interests are adequately represented in the municipal government and its various committees? Whom do you consider to be the "Board's representative" on the Council?

22. There is considerable discussion these days on such topics as bilingualism and biculturalism, assimilation, "the melting pot," "the mosaic," and so on. In a country such as ours, what is your opinion regarding these issues, especially in relation to French-English relations?

23. Hand Respondent "Issue Ranking Card."

INTERVIEW GUIDE SCHEDULE 6

SEPARATE SCHOOL TEACHERS

AND INSPECTORS

Respondent: _____ Position: _____

Date: _____ Time: _____

1. What issues would you consider to be the most important in the local educational system today? Are there other issues of less importance?

2. Are any of these issues peculiar to Catholic education, to a bilingual system?

3. Have issues arisen from time to time which might indicate a possible divergency of interests or objectives between the linguistic divisions in the separate school system?
(Probe: e.g., frequency of use of French as medium of instruction; curricula variations, i.e., physical education.)

4. (If "Yes")
Specifically, what issues?

5. In your position as _____, do you find that you, from time to time, become involved in any of these issues?

6. (If "Yes")
In what ways have you become involved, and in just what issues?

7. How are these issues resolved? To what degree have you been involved in their resolution?

8. According to your knowledge of the situation, where and by whom are the final decisions made regarding these issues?

9. Are you a member of:
   (1) Ontario Catholic Teachers' Association _____
   (2) Association of Inspectors and Professors of Colleges of Education _____
   (3) Ontario Catholic Education Association _____
   (4) L'Association des Enseignants franco-ontariennes _____
   (5) Association franco-ontarienne des Inspecteurs de L'Enseignement et des Professeurs d'Ecole Normale _____
   (6) L'Association canadienne-française d'Education d'Ontario _____

10. What other organizations do you belong to?

11. Do you attend meetings of the C.P.T.A. ____
A.P.I. ____
Both ____

12. Do these groups or the public in general seek your assistance as an educator in the resolution of the various issues confronting Catholic education and a bilingual system?

13. (If "Yes")
In what way, and over what issues? How have you responded?

Numbers 14 and 15: Principal and Senior Teacher Only.

14. Just what is the relationship between yourself and the Senior Teacher of the bilingual classes? (The Principal.)
(Probe for locus of authority in the various spheres of school operation: e.g., discipline, curricula, administration, etc.)

15. As Principal, (Senior Teacher) to which inspector are you responsible?

Numbers 16 and 17: Teachers Only.

16. As a teacher in the bilingual division (English division), to whom are you responsible?

17. What is the relationship between you and the bilingual (English) inspector?

Numbers 18 and 19: Inspectors Only.

18. As the bilingual (English) inspector, what authority do you have over the English (bilingual) classes?

19. As bilingual (English) inspector, what is your relationship to the Board of Education?

20. There is considerable discussion these days on such topics as bilingualism and biculturalism, assimilation, "the melting pot," "the mosaic," and so on. In a country such as ours, what is your opinion regarding these issues, especially in relation to French-English relations?

21. Do you live in Normanville?

22. (If "Yes")
Hand Respondent "Issue Ranking Card."

APPENDIX V

Speech by the President of the Normanville Catholic Parent-Teachers Association, February 1957.

Before this meeting is adjourned, I would like to take a few minutes to explain a situation that has been developing over the past and has finally come to the point where it needs clarification. Most of you are probably aware by now, through the bulletin that was sent out through children in the French classes and via the grapevine, of the impending separation of the French and English sections of the P. T. A. In order to try and hold to a minimum any misunderstandings as your President I feel it is my duty to explain just what is to take place. For the sake of accuracy, I have prepared a written statement that I would like to read.

For those of us who are not aware of the problem, I might point out that when the P. T. A. was first organized in the Parish, it was decided that the business meeting should be conducted in English, and that the French language be considered only as one phase of our interests. On several occasions since that time, the pros and the cons of forming a separate organization to handle the problems of the French classes have been discussed at length, and each time it was apparently found unfeasable. However, there is still a group who are convinced that this is a necessary organization, and it is this faction that is proceeding with the organization of the A. P. I. as a separate organization.

Three members of the P. T. A. executive were asked to attend an informal meeting on Thursday, January 17th. Due to other commitments, Mrs. _____, our first vice-president, and myself were the only ones able to be present. Also present were Msgr. _____, our pastor and spiritual advisor to P. T. A., Mrs. _____ and Mr. ____, representing A. P. I., and Mr. _____ representing St. John the Baptist Society.

The subject of this meeting was the complete separation of the A. P. I. from the P. T. A. as it now exists. The purpose of the members of the P. T. A. executive being present was not to give approval or disapproval of the separation, but only to be informed as to what the A. P. I. executive planned to do with, of course, the approval of the pastor. It was strictly a courtesy and a display of Christian charity.

During the course of the meeting, it was explained how his Excellency the Bishop had given permission some time ago for the formation of the A. P. I., subject to the approval of the pastor; the desire and aims being to get the best out of both groups put to effective advantage. It was explained how the aims of the two groups differ, and how it hampers the efficient operation of the A. P. I. by having so little time at their disposal. The time being what is left of an evening after

a long business session.

It was explained that the main objective of the A. P. I. is the fostering and furthering of the French language and culture, and the dealing with methods necessary to combat the dying out of the language entirely, such as the all-English T. V., and radio programs, papers, magazines, etc. Further, it was explained that the meetings of the A. P. I. are conducted as laid down in a monthly bulletin sent from their federation in Ottawa, and that they comprise of very little actual "business session," but deal almost exclusively with the problems of keeping the French language and culture alive through the indoctrination of the parents, and so the children also.

It was agreed that as the two organizations are apparently dealing in somewhat different fields, there should be no reason for rivalry or competition. It was stated also that the A. P. I. is not a "money-making" organization, so we should not run afoul [of] each other in that field. It was also agreed that it must be given a try, dealing with it as rational Catholic adults. From here on in, it becomes a matter for each one of us to consider individually.

As to the future program of the P. T. A., it remains exactly the same. Our aims and objects remain as stated in Article II of our Constitution-- (quote). Those eligible for membership remains as stated in Article III of our Constitution--(quote). In short, if your Christian conscience tells you that you should follow the program of the A. P. I., that is certainly what you should do. But please understand that you also qualify and are most welcome to remain, or become, a member of P. T. A.

As I have tried to point out by quoting our Constitution, our scope is very broad, covering <u>many phases</u> of a Catholic child's education, and adult education also, so it can be of benefit to <u>all</u> who would take advantage of it.

It has been my aim to try and treat this controversial subject objectively, as a God-fearing Catholic, and have long ago given over the outcome of this situation completely to the will of God. As Catholics, we know "without Him we can do nothing," and I am sure by all of us putting a little true Christian charity and patience to work there should be a minimum of friction and prejudice. If we need guidance in making a decision, we only need ask for it.

Finally, in the light of this statement, may I ask that you refrain from any comment or discussion on this matter at this meeting. Remember our pastor has made a decision, and we must humbly respect it. Also remember that the success or failure of this new organization is left with you. Without members, an organization is doomed to failure.

I would ask that those of you who can understand the French language to go into the meeting tonight and listen to Msgr. _____. My only regret is that I am unable to do that very thing myself.

APPENDIX VI

THE NORMANVILLE PROJECT

INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CLASSIFICATION OF SAMPLE

There are 187 cards in the accompanying deck. These cards represent individuals and married couples, randomly selected from the voter's list who are defined as Roman Catholics on the Assessment Roll. Also included are a few cases where, though the married couple are separate school supporters, one partner is Roman Catholic; the other is Protestant.

Excluded from this deck are those listed as Protestant on the Assessment Roll and a few cases where, though the married couple are public school supporters, one partner is Roman Catholic; the other is Protestant.

You are asked to make a judgement, according to the criteria listed below, as to whether each of the persons or couples in the deck belong to the "French-speaking" or "English-speaking" community in town.

In Column 1 on the attached list appear the identification numbers for each case; these numbers correspond to the numbers in the upper right hand corner on each card. After you have made the decision as to which community a person or couple belongs, simply place a check mark (x) in the appropriate column (either Column 2 or Column 3), opposite the correct identification number.

There are two possible exceptions:

(1) You may not be able to make a decision in which case the person or couple shall be classified as "Decision Impossible" by placing a check mark (x) in Column 4.

(2) You may come across married couples where you would classify one partner as belonging to the "French-speaking" community, the other to the "English-speaking" community. Should this occur:

(a) classify the couple as belonging to one or the other community according to your decision regarding the husband;

(b) and also place a check mark (x) in Column 5.

CRITERIA

You are asked for an over-all judgement on each person and couple according to the criteria listed below.

To be classified as a member of the "French-speaking" community, a person or couple:

(1) must use French as a medium of expression and communication to some degree or another. The use of French may be limited to family and intimate friends or more widely used. But, it must be used.

(2) must associate with other members of the "French-speaking" community as you conceive of this community. That is, some of their intimate friends and acquaintances will also be "French-speaking."

(3) must be considered by others as one of "our group"--persons with whom you and others would converse in French from time to time.

(4) may belong to French organizations in the Parish; e.g., A. P. I., St-Jean-Baptiste, Les dames de Ste. Anne, etc.

Each person or couple, to be classified as a member of the "French-speaking" community must meet at least criteria 1, 2, and 3. Those who do not meet these three criteria are to be classified as members of the "English-speaking" community.

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