RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND SOCIAL CLASS IN ONTARIO

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AND SOCIAL CLASS
IN ONTARIO

By

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Chapter One - Introduction

The advent of the 20th century saw the interests of social scientists oriented at times toward the study of religion and society. The interests of social scientists in religion have not been identical, different aspects of religion and society being examined from time to time.

Early theoretical interest centered around the question of origins -- how it came to be that man has religion. Concern with this question gave way to a concentration of interest in the interaction of religion with other societal institutions. Sociologists have been most interested in the latter area, exploring the role of religion in such fields as family and politics. It is, however, in the area of the social organization of religion that the sociologists have focussed their attention. Although interest in this area of the social organization of religion served several ends,[1] much research has been directed toward the goal of developing a body of theory to account for religious differentiation in Western society.

The classic work in the theory of religious organization is that of Troeltsch[2] in his analysis of the church-sect distinction. This study by Troeltsch and related works by

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[1] For instance, interest in the process of bureaucratization per se.

[2] Troeltsch, E., The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches. New York: Macmillan, 1931.

other scholars comprise what is now generally referred to as church-sect theory. Basically, this theory attempts to account for religious differentiation in terms of social characteristics, such as social class[1] and ethnicity, which characterize adherents of the various religious bodies.

Basically, the church and sect are seen as polar types of religious organization. Churches are described by Niebuhr[2] as religious institutions long established and well accommodated to the secular world, blessing the economic and social activities of the higher socio-economic elements of the population with whom these churches are said to be aligned. The churches then are primarily 'this wordly' and committed to a defence of the status quo, according to Niebuhr. Sects are seen as religious organizations distinguished from the churches by certain fundamental social characteristics such as social class composition.[3]

Lee[4] reports that excellent grounds exist for the support of Niebuhr's suggestion that social factors are largely

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[1] Objective social class, particularly economic position, is explicit in church-sect theory.

[2] Niebuhr, R., The Social Sources of Denominationalism. New York: Holt, 1929.

[3] Later theorists have differentiated sect types on the basis of the response of sects to the attitudes, values and relationships prevailing in society. See: Wilson, B., "An Analysis of Sect Development", American Sociological Review. Vol. 24, Feb. 1959, pp. 3-15.

[4] Lee, R., The Social Sources of Church Unity. New York: Arbingdon, 1960.

responsible for religious differentiation. Lee claims that it is well documented that social differences, e.g., social class, ethnicity and regionalism, find their counterpart in religious differences. Niebuhr's study[1] of the role of social factors in creating disunity among the various religious groups is perhaps the classic work in the field. Niebuhr reports that religious differentiation represents not so much theological difference as it does

> 'the accommodation of Christianity to the caste system of human society ----The division of the churches closely follows the division of men into castes of national, racial and economic groups'.[2]

Niebuhr was concerned with the tendency he observed for sects to evolve into denominations, often within two generations. The principal factor Niebuhr delineated in this process was the degree of upward mobility. Although the inevitability of this process has been challenged,[3] the stress placed by Niebuhr on socio-economic status as an important variable in making for religious differentiation has continued to influence the thinking of contemporary scholars in many fields of religious study. It is a significant fact that recent publications in theological and ecumenical journals have included many papers emphasizing the importance of social

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[1] Niebuhr, R., op. cit.

[2] Ibid, p.

[3] Wilson, B., op. cit.

factors such as social class in religious differentiation.[1] This appears to be a trend away from the traditional affirmation by many theologians of doctrinal difference as the principal divisive factor.

The connection between material success and the type of religion practised was recognized as far back as the time of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. Wesley had a dread of the prosperity he believed would accrue to his flock as a result of the many virtues he had taught them. Wesley predicted that affluence would rob the early Methodists of their religious enthusiasm and thus bring to a halt the revival.[2] Wesley apparently did not extend his thinking in this direction, however, for he did not postulate the emergence of other religious groups comprised of the virtuous poor who would in turn bear the torch of revivalism until accrued affluence robbed them of their fire. Wesley appears to be the first to note the evolution from piety to pride brought about largely by what is now termed upward mobility.

The theme throughout Niebuhr's work is that social factors play a major role in religious differentiation. According to this theory, people with certain of these social characteristics in common, e.g., social class, will tend to

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[1] For example see:
Garrison, "Social and Cultural Factors in our Divisions". Ecumenical Review, Oct. 1952, pp. 43-51.

Douglass, "Cultural Differences and Recent Religious Divisions", Christendom. Winter, 1954, pp. 81-105.

[2] Particularly in the second generation as noted by Niebuhr, op. cit.

affiliate with the same religious organization. It is evident that Troeltsch, Niebuhr and some others who have been concerned with religious organization see social class level as being a principal factor in the differentiation of religious bodies. The one certain expectation from the work of these scholars is that those religious groups displaying 'church' characteristics, e.g. non-millennial, having a largely ascribed membership and a formalized organization and ritual, will NOT be primarily associated with the lower social class.

In this thesis we will attempt to determine the objective social class composition of the seven major Ontario religious bodies. Here, the question is: do these seven groups, all of which would be classified as churches in terms of church-sect theory, conform to the expectations of non-lower class composition? Secondly, will there be a differentiation among these groups with respect to social class composition? In other words, will there be a significant difference in the homogeneity of social class composition among these groups? A final question will be to determine if the pattern that emerges is clear enough so that we can predict religious affiliation on the basis of social class level. The primary task of this thesis then, is to determine the objective social class composition of these seven major Ontario religious groups. Secondly, the writer will try to account for the pattern that emerges.

Previous research designed to objectively determine the

relationship of social class and religious affiliation is very limited. The two studies most relevant to this thesis will be examined in some detail.

One of these studies was done under the direction of Cantril[1] who examined the eight largest religious groups in the United States in terms of their distribution in a three-fold social class scheme, a fourfold occupational and a threefold educational scheme.

Table 1 - Class Composition of Religious Bodies, U. S. A., 1945-46. Percent Distribution

Body	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class
Catholic	9	25	66
Jewish	22	32	46
Methodist	13	35	52
Baptist	8	24	68
Presbyterian	22	40	38
Lutheran	11	36	53
Episcopalian	24	34	42
Congregational	24	43	33
Entire Sample	13	31	56

[1] In Bendix and Lipset, Class Status and Power. Illinois: Free Press, 1953. pp. 319-320.

Table 2 - Occupational Categories and Trade Union Membership in Major Religious Bodies, U. S. A., 1945-46
Percent Distribution

Body	Business Professional	White Collar	Urban Manual Workers	Farmers	Union Membership
Catholic	14	23	55	8	28
Jewish	36	37	27	.6	23
Methodist	19	19	39	23	14
Baptist	12	14	52	22	16
Presbyterian	31	21	31	17	13
Lutheran	13	18	43	26	20
Episcopalian	32	25	36	7	13
Congregational	33	19	28	20	12
Entire Sample	19	20	44	17	19

Table 3 - Education Levels in Religious Bodies, U. S. A., 1945-46. Percent Distribution

Body	High School Incomplete or less	High School Graduates or more	College Graduates
Catholic	57	43	7
Jewish	37	63	16
Methodist	49	51	12
Baptist	65	35	6
Presbyterian	37	63	22
Lutheran	56	44	8
Episcopalian	35	63	22
Congregational	29	71	21
Entire Sample	52	48	11

According to Pope,[1] Cantril's[2] main finding was that Protestantism had a larger representation from the lower class and Catholicism had a higher representation from the middle class than expectations of the time assumed. From Table 1 it is interesting to note a significant difference between the Roman Catholic class composition and all others save the Baptists who parallel them closely in stratification. Distribution of the Jewish group is like that of the Episcopalians (Anglicans in Canada), a majority of members of both these groups coming from the middle and upper classes. From Table 1 there appears to be four religious groups in which more than half the adherents come from what Cantril has designated as the lower class -- the Roman Catholics, Baptists, Methodists and Lutherans.

The Federal Council studies under Cantril also provide us with some information on the distribution of these religious groups by occupation group, trade union membership and educational attainment. Pope[3] reports that the most surprising revelation from Table 2 is the number of trade union members in the churches, especially in the Protestant churches which, according to Pope, have been considered divorced from industrial workers.

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[1] Ibid., p. 317

[2] Actually the American Institute of Public Opinion of which Cantril was director.

[3] Ibid. p. 319.

Cantril, in his early work, noted that the proportion of Protestants to Catholics rises as one moved up the educational scale. From Table 3, however, we see that there are significant differences within Protestantism, ranging from the least educated Baptists to the highest educated Congregationalists.

The extreme class heterogeneity observed from Cantril's data would certainly not support a hypothesis of great homogeneity of social class composition within these religious bodies. From Table 3 we see that in no group is there less than 35% of the adherents sampled with high school education incomplete or less; in no group is there more than 65% with this standard of education. From Table 1 we see that in no group is there less than 33% of the adherents sampled in the lower class and in no group is there more than 68% in this class level.

Cantril's approach was essentially that of sampling the general population and from this total sample obtaining a distribution of social classes and religious groups within them. An alternate approach would be to sample a particular social class stratum in the population, determining the religious groups most prevalent within each of these strata. This is the general approach followed by Porter[1] in his study

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[1]Porter, J., "The Economic Elite in Canada", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. 23, (August 1957), pp. 377-394.

Porter, J., "Higher Public Servants and the Bureaucratic Elite of Canada", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. 24, 1958.

of the Economic and Bureaucratic occupational elites in Canada. Porter was not primarily interested in the religious composition of his occupational elite groups, however, the inclusion of the religious variable appearing to be more of a peripheral interest.

Table 4 - The Religious Composition of the Economic Elite

Percentage Distribution

Religion	Economic Elite	General Population
Anglican	25.5	14.7
Presbyterian	11.3	8.6
United Church	17.6	20.5
Roman Catholic	10.0	43.0

From Table 4 we see that the Roman Catholics are greatly underrepresented in the Economic elite. Porter does not provide comparable figures for other religious groups but states that they are underrepresented in this elite group as well.

In his study of the Bureaucratic elite (the civil service of Canada), Porter has different results.

From Table 5 we see that another Protestant denomination, the United Church, has replaced Anglicanism as the dominant faith. Secondly, the Roman Catholics have increased their percentage of adherents in this elite group from what it was in the Economic elite. Again we lack figures on the

representation of other religious groups here,[1] Porter does state that the Baptist and Presbyterian groups are over-represented in the Bureaucratic elite. Again, all other religions are underrepresented.

Table 5 - The Religious Distribution of the Bureaucratic Elite

Percentage Distribution

Religion	Bureaucratic Elite	General Population
United Church	28.8	17.6
Anglican	22.7	14.7
Roman Catholic	22.7	43.0

Since a wider range of religious groups are drawn into the Bureaucratic elite as opposed to the Economic elite, Porter feels that the Bureaucratic elite are, on the whole, somewhat lower in social class origins than the Economic elite. Porter then proceeds to demonstrate this with an analysis of the social class origins of the two occupational elite groups. He does find that a greater proportion of the Bureaucratic elite have been upwardly mobile, that is, they have achieved their status, as opposed to the greater proportion of the economic elite who have ascribed status. From Porter's work the impression is that, in certain sections of the upper classes

[1] Of course many religious groups are absent completely from the Elites.

at any rate (i.e. the Economic elite), religious boundaries are more rigid than the data from Cantril's study would have us believe.[1] The relevance of Porter's findings for this thesis will be examined in Chapter 3 which deals in part with the significance of the results obtained by Cantril and Porter for this thesis.

While these studies have illuminated to some degree the relationship between religious affiliation and social class, each has its own limitations. Cantril used data derived from public opinion polls. As Pope notes,[2] the distribution of religious denominations in these samples seldom coincides with their distribution in the general population. In addition, the areal distributions of various religious groups are also often badly sampled. The most damaging comment on Cantril's work rests on the fact that the classification of interviewees into social classes generally rests on a rather superficial and subjective methodology, the interviewer making the classification in terms of his general impressions. Secondly, the variables of education and occupation employed by Cantril are not utilized to full advantage, the threefold break used with the educational variable and the fourfold break with the occupational variable

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[1] Porter, however, sampled only the very top of the upper social class.

[2] Bendix and Lipset, op. cit. p. 687.

providing only a very rough distribution of the population. His categories are especially broad at the lower end, that of 'high school incomplete or less' being especially loose. His occupational categories are also less than satisfactory, each containing "a great deal of variation within ..."[1]

Finally, Cantril studied American religious groups. There is no reason to assume that findings valid for the United States[2] are valid for Canadian religious groups bearing the same name. In fact, it will be seen in Chapter 3 that such generalizations are not warranted.

Porter's work, while being Canadian, is primarily concerned with many social characteristics of specific occupational elite groups. While his work provides us with a possible indication of the religious affiliations of the upper class strata[3] of the general population, it again does not follow that because certain religious groups predominate in selected occupational elite groups that these same religious groups predominate in the upper strata of the general population as well.

The need for this thesis is, I hope, evident -- a study to provide us with an objective analysis of the social class composition of the seven numerically greatest Ontario religious groups at the general population level.

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[1] Ibid. p. 319

[2] Assuming for the moment that they are valid findings.

[3] The class strata that these elites would be placed in by using scores that would be assigned these groups by Blishen. Blishen, B., "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale". The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. 24 (Nov. 1958)

Chapter Two - Methodology

The aim of this paper is to produce an objective illustration of the social class composition of the seven major Ontario religious groups at the general population level.

Fortunately, in Canada we have published data on the social characteristics of the general population, including religious group distribution, education levels, occupation and income groups. These figures are available in different degrees of complexity depending on the unit used, i.e. Dominion, Province, County or Census Tract. These data were computed by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics Census Division.[1] Although the latest census was taken in June, 1961, it will be several years before the results are available. For this reason, we were obliged to use the latest completed census data, collected in 1951.

Unfortunately, the census volumes do not provide us with the distribution of the various religious groups by education level or occupation, or by any other index we might employ, such as income, to determine social class position. What we do have, for certain geographical units, is the distribution by religious affiliation of the general population. For these same units, we also have the distribution of the general population in various educational, occupational and income categories.

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[1] The Ninth Census of Canada, 1951. Vol. I, IV. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1953.

The method the writer employed then, is that of ecological analysis, or analysis by area. Given these independent distributions of religious groups, education groups, etc., it is possible to determine the degree of association between any particular religious group and any particular educational or occupational category by employing the technique of Correlation Coefficients.

In designing this study it was found essential to use the Provincial county as the unit of analysis. Because of the hazards noted by Robinson[1] in employing ecological data, it was decided to use the smallest unit of analysis possible to reduce the probabilities of gross error -- the smaller the unit used, the closer the ecological and individual correlations become.[2] As census tracts are smaller than counties it would seem that census tracts should have been used. However, data by census tract are available only for a few large urban centers in Ontario and the aim of this thesis is to obtain results at the general population level. Therefore, the unit of analysis selected had to include both urban and rural populations. The county was the smallest

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[1] Robinson, W., "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals", American Sociological Review. Vol. XV, (June 1950), pp. 351-57.

[2] Individual correlations refer here to that degree of association that would be evident if we had a count, say, of every Baptist as to his income, occupation, etc., as opposed to inferring this relationship through the use of ecological data.

unit of analysis that provided this data (some counties being markedly urban, some markedly rural). Census tracts have the advantage of being more numerous than counties in Ontario, thus requiring a lower level of significance for the correlation coefficients. There are, however, 54 counties in Ontario, that specific number requiring only .26 as the level of significance at the .05 level.

The Province of Ontario was selected because of the high number of county units it contains as well as for its position as the most populous Province in the Dominion. It was found necessary to restrict the research to this one Province because of the volume of data that required processing.

Once this unit of analysis was selected, the next problem encountered was the selection of appropriate indices to measure social class level. The census volumes provide data on three variables often used by scholars to indicate objective social class level -- education, income and occupation. Education and occupation were the variables selected as indices of social class level in this thesis. Although not mutually exclusive variables by any means, together they are accepted by many scholars in the fields as the best indicators of social class level. These variables were also employed by Cantril[1] in the only other study of religion and social class

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[1] In Bendix and Lipset, op. cit.

at the general population level. Thus employment of these same variables in this study facilitates comparison of results.

The data on education available were broken down into five categories for each county in the Province. These categories are presented in Table 25.[1] At the county level, the distribution of the population was made into several occupational groupings. Unlike the education levels, the ranking of the occupation categories with respect to social class level is not entirely self-evident. Each of the occupational categories used at the county level, e.g., Professional, Clerical, subsumes many individual occupations, such as medical doctor and social worker, in the Professional category. It is fortunate that these individual occupations have been ranked in Canada by Blishen,[2] who used the mean income and education of people in these occupations as the criteria for ranking. For the county unit of analysis however, the only data on occupational distribution is in terms of such gross categories as Professional. To rank these gross categories in terms of social class level, we took the social class score assigned to each individual occupation by Blishen within each gross category, and multiplied this score by the number of people in this particular occupation in the

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[1] See p. 65

[2] Blishen, op. cit.

Province. The resulting figure for each individual occupation was totalled for all occupations within a gross category and then divided by the total number of persons employed in occupations under this gross category. This provided a weighted social class score for the gross category as a whole in the Province of Ontario. The writer found it necessary to use this technique because of the variation in social class scores among various individual occupations found within the same category, e.g., truck driver and airline pilot within the Transportation category. If there were 10,000 truck drivers and only 10 pilots, to assign to the Transportation category a social class score computed by taking the mean of the scores given by Blishen to each of these occupations would result in an optimistic bias for the category at the Provincial level. Following the procedure just described, the writer was able to obtain an accurate weighted social class score for each gross category at the Provincial level, thus enabling us to rank the occupational categories for which data was available at the county level, in terms of social class.

As we have indicated, because this study employed ecological data, it was found necessary to eliminate from the analysis all but the seven numerically largest religious groups. The inclusion of more groups would have increased problems in the interpreting of the resulting correlations. To make this point clear it is necessary to

point out that some religious groups comprise such a tiny percentage of the total population (many less than 1%) that it would be difficult to put much faith in the results. Such tiny groups may simply reflect the Provincial picture, or, if they are congregated in one or two counties, they will tend to reflect the characteristics of those particular counties. For example, the Mennonites are found primarily in Waterloo county where they cluster in agricultural communities. The correlation coefficients obtained with this group would however reflect the characteristics of Waterloo county -- a county which is highly industrialized. In short, we decided that gaining information on the social class composition of such groups through the method of correlation coefficients with ecological data was too hazardous to employ. We are left, then, with the seven numerically largest groups.[1] These groups together comprise 91% of the total Ontario population.

Once the correlations with these seven groups and the educational and occupational variables were obtained,

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[1]Actually the Lutheran group is larger than the Jewish group but the former was eliminated from the analysis because of problems in their ecological distribution -- a similar situation to that discussed above for the Mennonites. The inclusion of the Jewish group could be questioned on similar grounds, the Jews being markedly urban. See p. 62

graphic illustrations of the revised data were then constructed.[1]

To increase the precision in interpretation of these results, it was decided to have a brief look at the distribution of ethnic groups by religion. To do this, the writer selected the top ten counties out of the total of fifty-four, in terms of the proportion of adherents for each of the seven religious groups. These counties, in groups of ten, were examined for ethnic composition against the total Provincial picture of ethnic distribution. Graphic illustrations of these results were also constructed.[2]

The writer will now briefly review the methods employed in this thesis. First, the ecological distributions by Ontario county of the seven major religious groups are correlated with the ecological distributions by county of the five educational and the ten occupational categories. These findings, indicating the objective social class composition of these religious groups, are then illustrated graphically. Finally, as a brief look at the variable of ethnicity, the top ten counties in terms of

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1 See Tables 7-13, pp. 27-30

2 See Tables 14-20, pp. 39-42

the proportion of adherents for each religious group are examined for ethnic composition. These results are also graphically presented.

Defence of this general method of correlation coefficients with ecological data is made on two grounds: first, the availability of good ecological data in the Dominion Census volumes, and second, the cost, both in time and money, of alternative modes of analysis.[1]

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[1] See pp. 61-64

Chapter Three - Results

While evaluating the results, the aims of this thesis must be kept in mind. The principal one is to determine the social class composition of the seven major Ontario religious groups. We are trying to determine if these religious groups can be differentiated on the basis of social class composition. If they can be differentiated on this basis, the question becomes one of determining if the differentiation pattern is such that we can predict religious affiliation on the basis of objective social class level. The second aim of this thesis, the interpretation of these findings, will be carried out in the next chapter.

The basic findings of this study, the Table of correlation coefficients for all seven groups with the education and occupation categories, is given in Table 25.[1]

What do these correlations mean? With the aims of this thesis in mind, we must first see to what extent these religious groups are differentiated according to social class composition. To do this, we broke up the 15 education and occupation categories with which the religious groups were correlated into three groups. The first group contains the top two education categories and the top four occupation ones in terms of ranked position of social class. The second group contains the middle education and the middle three

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1 See p. 65

occupation categories. The third group contains the bottom two education and the bottom three occupation categories. For convenience of terminology only, these groups will be referred to as the upper, middle and lower class groups respectively.

The cut-off points for the education categories were selected in order to get three groupings that would be, to the fullest possible extent, different from each other yet at the same time account for all the categories, hence the break between little or no education, public school education, and high school or better. The occupation cut-off points were selected on the basis of the weighted scores given each occupation group in Table 41,[1] using Blishen's scale.[2] The break selected was intended, as was the break for education, to maximize difference between the three groupings while at the same time accounting for all categories. The total number of categories in the top group is six, in the middle group four, and in the lower group, five.

Now, these three groups are taken to represent three levels of social class as it is delineated by the variables of education and occupation. The question before us is the extent to which our religious groups are distributed throughout these levels in terms of their association with the categories found in each group. If a religious group was

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[1] See p. 99

[2] Blishen, op. cit.

associated in a homogeneous way with the categories found in any one of the three class groups, it could be positively correlated with a maximum of six, four and five categories respectively. The extent to which a religious group does not correlate positively within any one social class is an indication of heterogeneity with respect to social class.

With this in mind, a score of one was given a religious group for any positive correlation of .10 or better with any of the fifteen categories. A religious group positively correlated with all items in the top class group would have a maximum score of six; with the middle group, four; and the lower group, five. The patterns for the seven religious groups are shown in Tables 7, 9, and 11.[1]

To guard against possible error in attributing importance to low correlations, the writer redistributed the religious groups in the three class groups by requiring the statistically significant correlation coefficient of .26 to score a point. The showing of the seven religious groups under these more rigorous requirements is illustrated by Tables 8, 10, and 12.[2]

We are interested not only in the extent of homogeneity shown by any one religious group with respect to social class,[3] but also in the relationship between all the groups in this

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[1] See pp. 27-29

[2] See pp. 27-29

[3] Refers to homogeneity with respect to the total class group.

Table 7 Ranking of Religious Groups by Number of Positive Correlations Over .10 With the Six Highest Education and Occupation Categories.

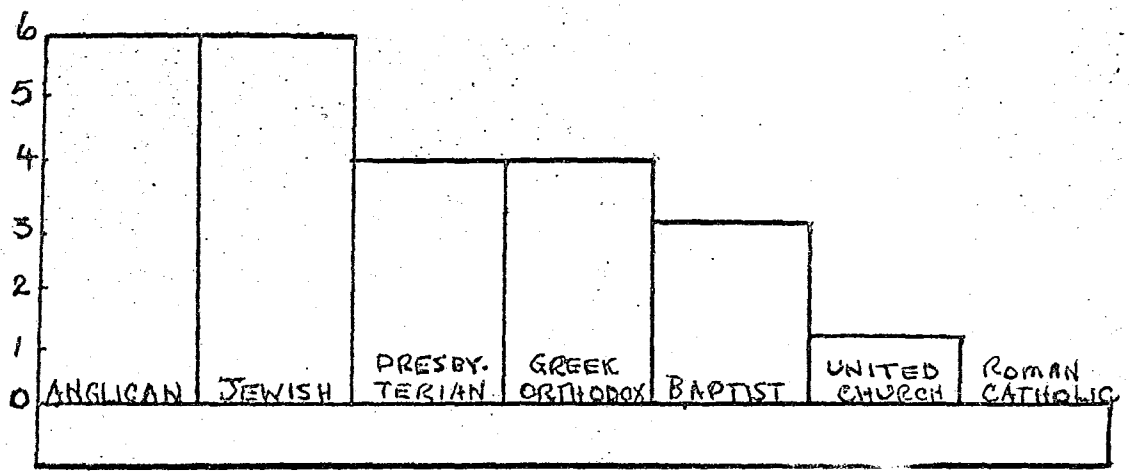


Table 8 Ranking of Religious Groups Using Only Significant (>=..26) Positive Correlations With the Education and Occupation Categories.

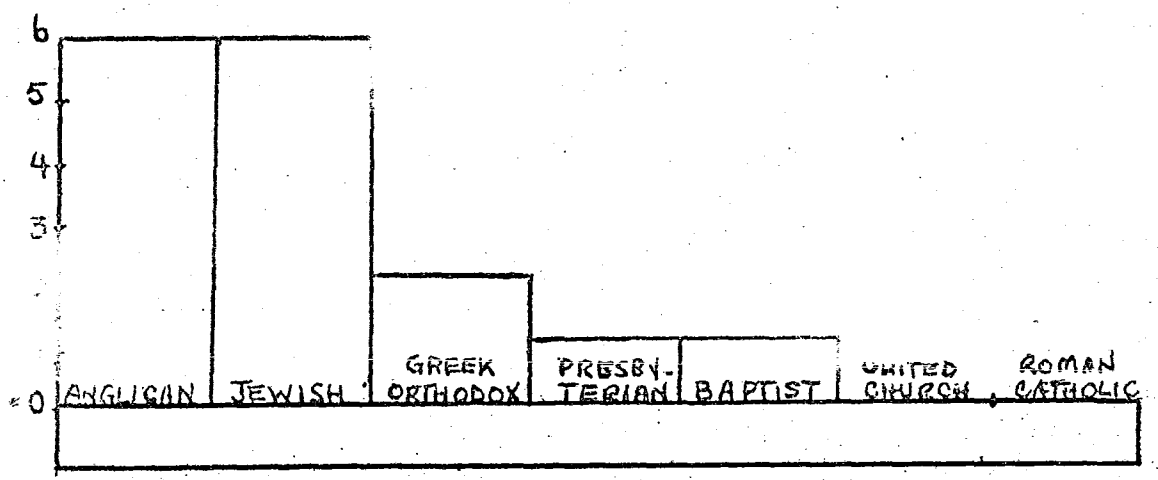


Table 9 Ranking of Religious Groups by Number of Positive Correlations > = .10 With the Five Lowest Education and Occupation Categories

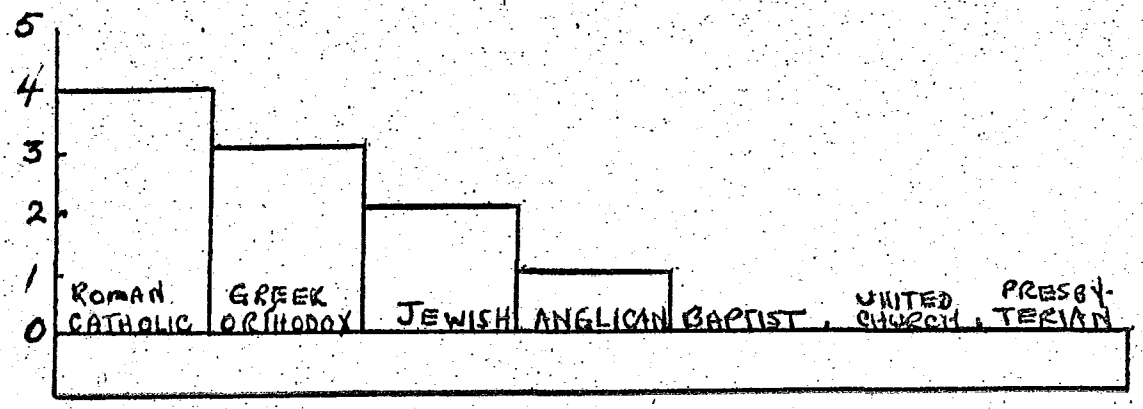


Table 10 Ranking of Religious Groups Using Only Significant (> = .26) Positive Correlations With the Lowest Education and Occupation Categories

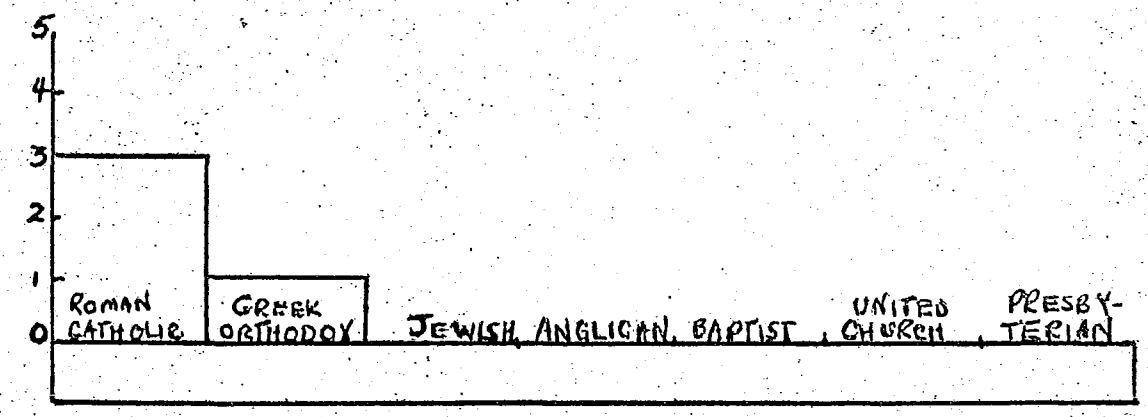


Table 11 Ranking of Religious Groups By Number of Positive Correlations > = .10 With the Middle Four Education and Occupation Categories

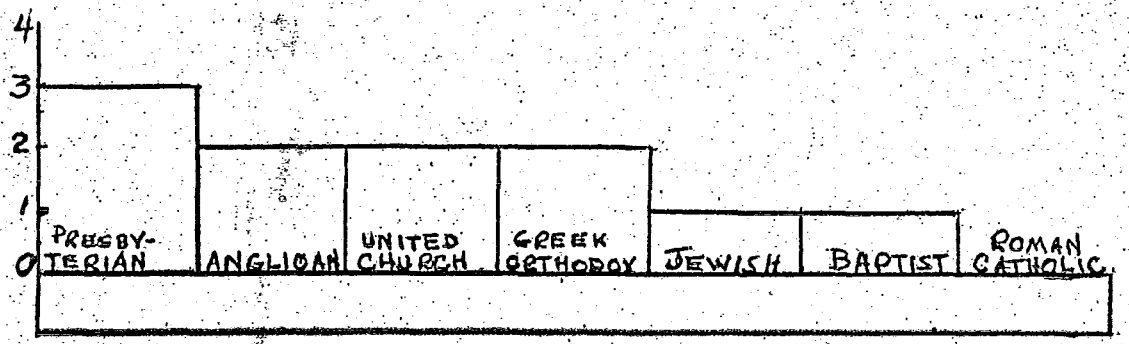


Table 12 Ranking of Religious Groups Using Significant (> = .26) Positive Correlations With the Middle Four Education and Occupation Categories

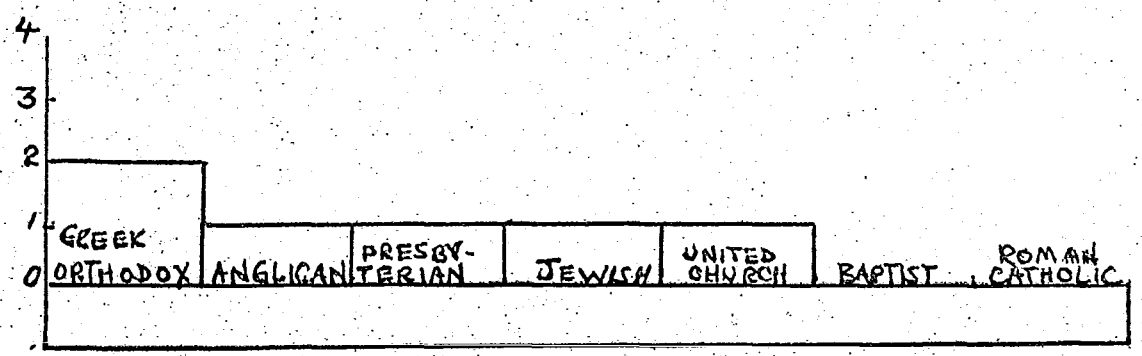
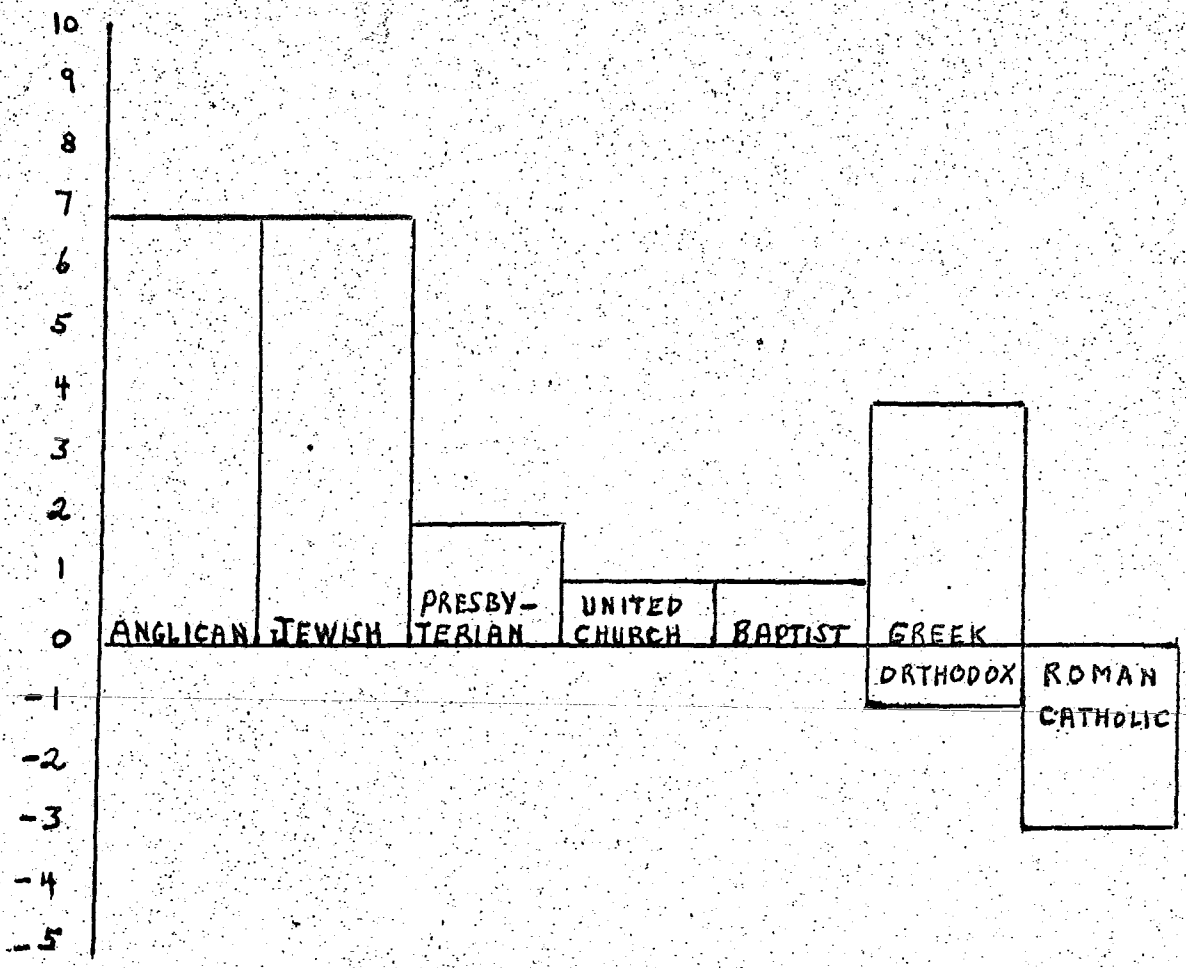


Table 13 - Ranking of Religious Groups Showing Both Homogeneity and Direction of Social Class Composition



regard. To do this required tying together graphically the three individual Tables showing each group's distribution in relation to the others within individual class categories. In Table 13,[1] we combine the top and middle class groups to give a total possible score of ten. This was done as a heuristic device to illustrate the overlap of the lowest ranking religious groups into the middle class ranges. In this Table, a statistically significant score of .26 was required. The zero point on the scale indicates lack of homogeneity with respect to social class composition as constructed by this Table. A fall below the zero line indicates an increase in homogeneity with respect to the bottom social class group.

It is worth noting the support found in this paper for the suggestion by Niebuhr[2] that these churches[3] are not primarily associated with the lower class. The apparent lower class strength of the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox ecclesia will be discussed in Chapter 4.

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[1] See p. 30

[2] Niebuhr, R., op. cit. This negative association of 'churches' with the lower class as opposed to the 'sects' positive association with the lower class has been commented on by Troeltsch, E., op. cit., and others.

[3] More precisely denominations as distinct from ecclesia. For a good discussion of the distinction see: Nottingham, E., Religion and Society. New York: Random House, 1959. pp. 62-63.

From the Tables on pages 27-29, we see that roughly the same ranking of religious groups with respect to homogeneity of association within any one class is maintained in transition from the .10 to the .26 levels of positive correlations required to score. Noticeable changes include the elimination of Jews and Anglicans from the lowest class when the statistically significant level of .26 is required. This points to the general consistency in the direction of the correlations with respect to the three class break.

The results, graphically illustrated in Tables 7-13 are not surprising and tend to corroborate the results obtained in other studies. Apparently, the ranking of religions in the higher or elite classes, tangentially referred to by Porter[1] in his study of the Economic and Bureaucratic Elites, is applicable to the general population of Ontario as well. From Table 13[2], it can be seen that the Anglicans and Jews emerge as the 'upper class' religions in terms of social class composition as defined in this paper. Porter found that the Anglicans had a greater proportional representation in these occupational elite groups than they had in the general population. It appears from this study that Anglicanism is the 'upper class' religion of the general population

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1 Porter, Op. cit.

2 See p. 30

as well. Mills noted the primacy of Anglicanism in his Power Elite of the United States.[1] Anglicanism (Episcopalianism) also appeared to have a higher proportional representation in the upper classes of the United States general population in Cantril's study.[2]

Porter found the Presbyterian church overrepresented in his Economic elite group and the United church attaining close to proportional representation with respect to its proportion in the general population. Table 13 shows these religious groups associated with the upper class level of the general population as well. The Economic elite of Canada, as selected by Porter, apparently has one social characteristic in common with the upper social class levels of the general population -- religious affiliation.

The figures in Table 13 support Porter's statement that the Bureaucratic elite is drawn on the whole from a wider range of social classes than is the Economic elite. While the Anglicans are also overrepresented in the Bureaucratic elite group, the Roman Catholics, significantly associated with the lower classes in Table 13, come up from great underrepresentation in the Economic elite to tie the Anglicans for second place in proportional representation

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[1] Mills, C. W., The Power Elite. Oxford: University Press, 1956.

[2] Bendix and Lipset, op. cit.

in the Bureaucratic elite. It may be inferred from this that Porter's suggestion of the placing of French Canadians in the Bureaucratic elite mainly as a device to pacify this minority group, is essentially correct. The United church has the greatest representation in Porter's Bureaucratic Elite, both in absolute numerical proportion and in overrepresentation with respect to its proportion in the general population, the Presbyterians and Baptists also being overrepresented with respect to their respective general population proportions. Taking Table 13 as indicative of the social class composition of these religious groups at the general population level, and assuming that upwardly mobile[1] people retain their traditional religious affiliation at least for a generation, it would seem that the Bureaucratic Elite does, as Porter suggests, draw its ranks from a somewhat wider social class range than does the Economic Elite.

If the elite groups of Porter are placed, as they would be according to Blishen's scale,[2] in the first class group as circumscribed in this paper, it is only the Economic Elite group that shares religious affiliation with the upper class levels of the general population to any extent.

The 'recency of arrival' of many of the Bureaucratic Elite is a factor to bear in mind when attempting to account

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[1] Porter demonstrates the recent upward mobility of the majority of the Bureaucratic Elite.

[2] Blishen, op. cit.

for this difference. The ascribed status of many of the Economic Elite points out the possibility of Anglicanism as the religion of the established elite. Perhaps the longer the time since one has 'arrived', the greater the probability that he will affiliate with the Anglican church.

Somewhat contradictory to this suggestion is the positive correlation of Anglicanism with a lower class category (Table 9[1]). Although the standing of Anglicanism here disappears when one uses the significance level of correlation, this still requires some attempt at explanation. One suggestion would be that this represents rapid mobility on the part of this group's members, leaving the older generation along with a few stragglers in the lower class. However, this would indicate recency of arrival for Anglicans, hence the contradiction. Anglicans have been in Canada for a long time and in significant numbers. It is therefore unlikely that they constitute a great proportion of the recent arrivals in the upper class. It is possible that a continual flow of English immigrants (if indeed these English immigrants are likely to be affiliated at least nominally with the Anglican church) into lower class occupations could account for this, assuming flexibility in the Anglican church to adapt to differential class elements. The explanation in terms of

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[1]See p. 28

rapid mobility is more likely applicable to the Jewish group, the rapid upward mobility on the part of the Jews being noted by many scholars.

Because these suggestions tread on the subject matter of the final chapter, further analysis of the results will be pursued there.

The results of this study are in general agreement with those of Cantril's study[1] with some notable exceptions. There are limitations in doing a direct comparison of results however. For one thing, Cantril used a different method of analysis, employing interview techniques on a selected sample of the general population. Furthermore, Cantril's delineation of social classes was not identical with ours. The results of this study are applicable for 1951, six years later than Cantril's results, applicable for 1945. Another important limitation is the lack of similarity between some Canadian and American religious groups studied. The American Congregationalists and Methodists, for instance, have been combined in Canada into the United Church since the 1930's. The Canadian Baptists are also quite different in composition and organization from the American ones. Outside of these limitations, however, it is interesting to note the basic similarity in the findings of both studies. The

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[1] In Bendix and Lipset, op. cit.

groups having the highest proportions of adherents in the upper class levels are the same in both studies with the Anglican (Episcopalians in Cantril's study), Jewish, Presbyterian and Congregational (part of the United church in Canada), groups enjoying top positions. The Roman Catholic group is predominantly in the lower class in both studies. The Canadian Baptists, however, although the least homogeneous of the Protestant groups with respect to the middle and upper class categories, are far from being at the very bottom of the class scale as they are in Cantril's study. The difference is no doubt due to the large numbers of Negroes who are members of the various non-aligned groups categorized as Baptist in the United States.

To obtain an indication of the ethnic composition of these religious groups, the writer selected ten counties for each religious group in which they had their highest representation. These counties were then ranked in terms of this proportional representation. For each county the percentage distribution of each of the fourteen major ethnic groups (in terms of their representation in the total population) was calculated. These results are seen in the Appendix, Tables 29 to 35.[1] To produce a graphic illustration of the results, the writer gave a point to each ethnic group whenever the proportion of this group in one of these

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[1]See pp. 39-42

ten counties was greater than that of the group at the Provincial level. The maximum score for each ethnic group then was ten. A broken line was drawn across the five score level to indicate when an ethnic group scored more points than would be expected from chance alone. By chance alone we would expect that half the counties would be overrepresented with a particular ethnic group, the other half underrepresented.

Table 14 - Ethnic Composition of the Ten Ontario Counties Having The Highest Proportion of Baptists

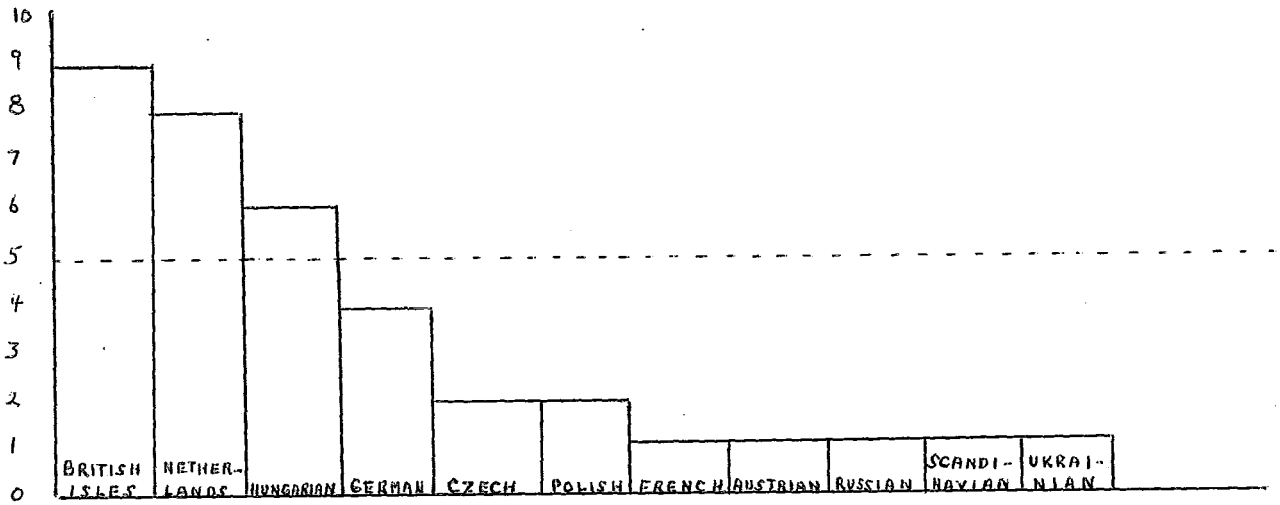


Table 15 - Ethnic Composition of the Ten Ontario Counties Having The Highest Proportion of Anglicans

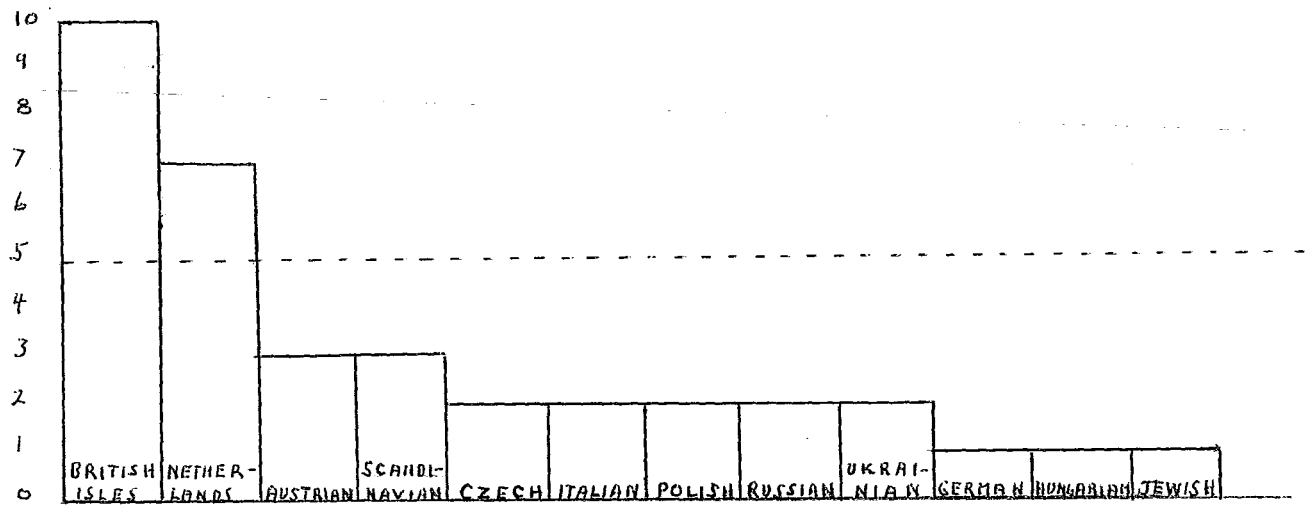


Table 16 - Ethnic Composition Of The Ten Ontario Counties Having The Highest Proportion of Jews

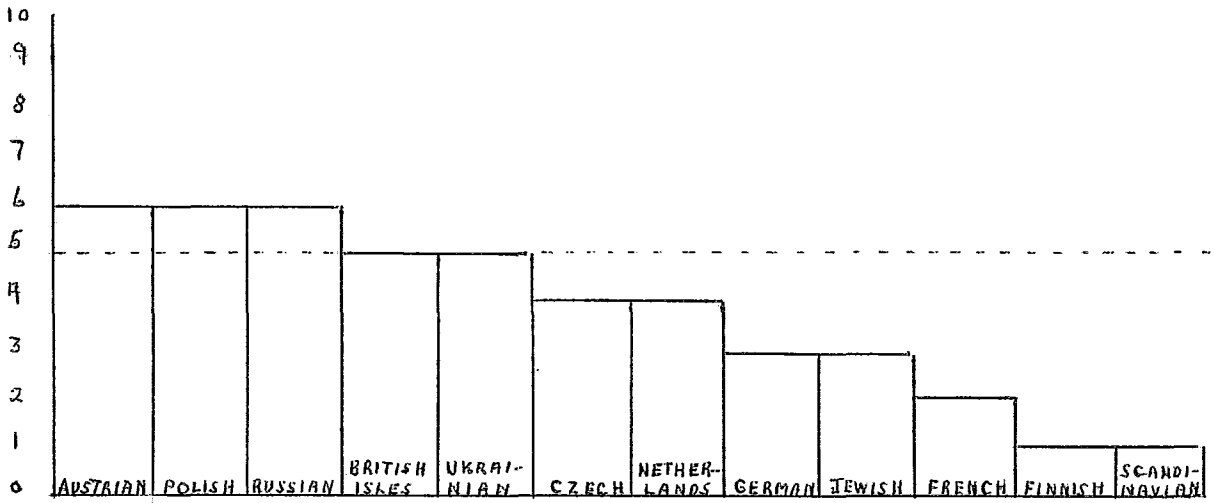


Table 17 - Ethnic Composition Of The Ten Ontario Counties Having The Highest Proportion of Presbyterians

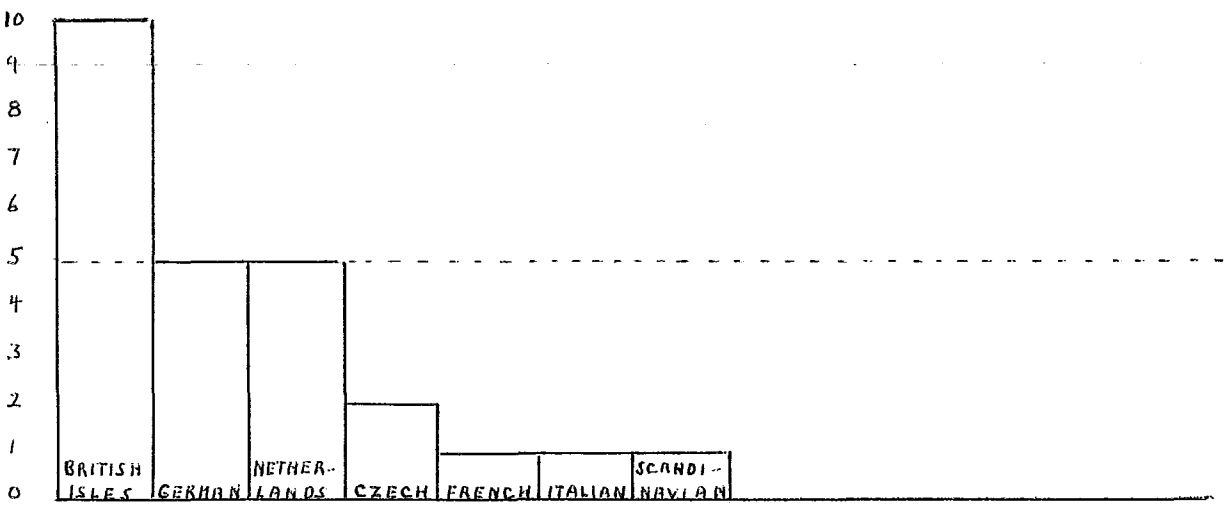


Table 18 - Ethnic Composition Of The Ten Ontario Counties Having The Highest Proportion Of Greek Orthodox

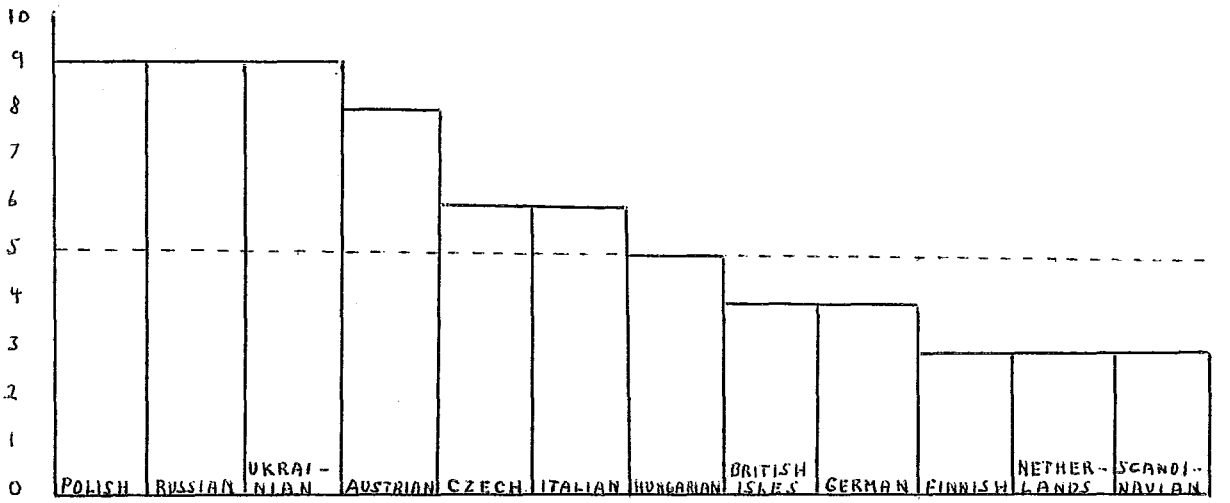


Table 19 - Ethnic Composition Of The Ten Ontario Counties Having The Highest Proportion Of United Churchmen

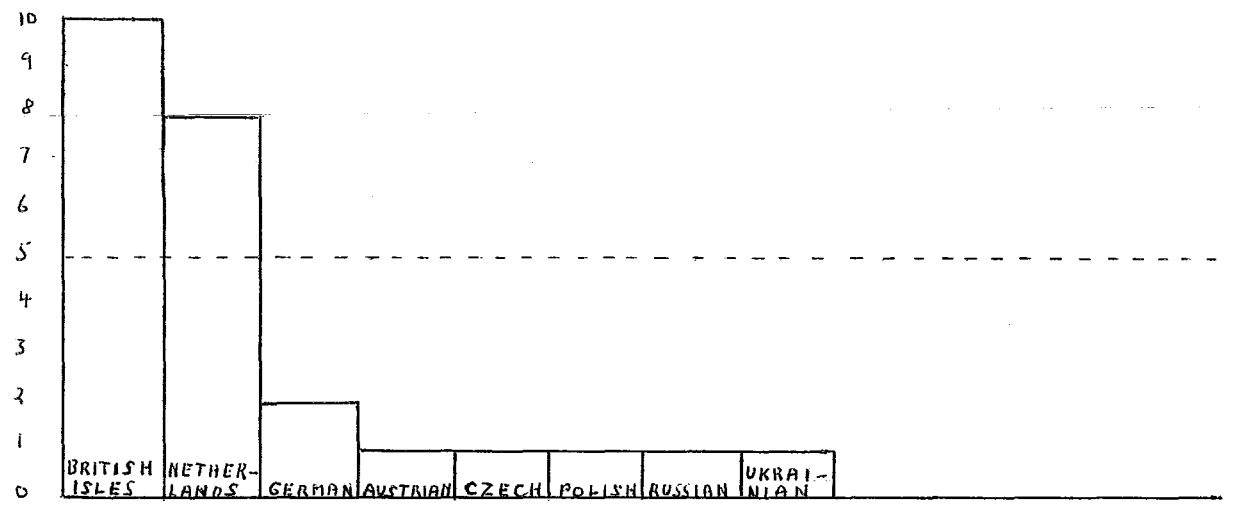
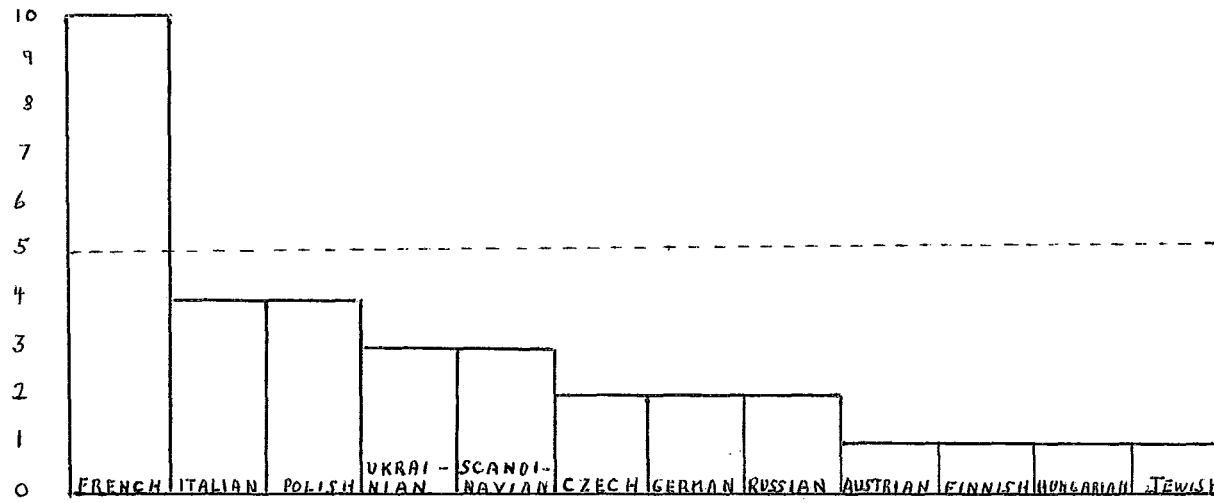


Table 20 - Ethnic Composition Of The Ten Ontario Counties Having The Highest Proportion of Roman Catholics



Chapter Four - Interpretation

From Niebuhr's work[1], we expect that those religious bodies whose adherents have been recently upwardly mobile will display the greatest heterogeneity of social class composition. This is because it is unlikely that all the adherents of a religious body will become upwardly mobile at the same time or become stabilized at the same point on the social class scale. That 'recency of arrival' is an important factor in attempting to explain the differences in class homogeneity observed is suggested by Porter's[2] analysis of the occupational elites. Here, Anglicanism turned out to be the predominant religion of the Economic elite, an elite with largely ascribed status. From this writer's study Anglicanism also appears to be the most homogeneous with respect to social class level. The Bureaucratic elite, on the other hand, are largely upwardly mobile. Not only does this latter elite group display more variation in religious affiliation, but some of those religions with which the Bureaucratic elite are overrepresented (United church, Presbyterian, Baptist) are, according to our study, less homogeneous with respect to social class composition. This is, of course, an entirely reasonable explanation. We should expect in the future, providing that there are no great changes in the immigration patterns or occupational structure,

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[1] Niebuhr, op. cit.

[2] Porter, op. cit.

that the Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox will become increasingly heterogeneous in social class composition than they appear to be from this study, as the various ethnic groups in these two religious bodies become upwardly mobile in increasing proportions.[5]

This brings us to another question which is undoubtedly most important in understanding the question of the 'recency of arrival' of the various religious groups, that of the ethnic composition of these groups. From Table 20[1], we see that the Roman Catholics have an overwhelming overrepresentation of French Canadians in the ten counties where the Roman Catholic representation is highest. Many of these French Canadians have undoubtedly migrated recently from the Province of Quebec.[2] It can be expected that this French Canadian Rural-Labor[3] pattern will gradually change in Ontario as it is doing in Quebec.

From Table 18[4], a similar pattern emerges for the Greek Orthodox group with the top ten counties of Greek Orthodox

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[1]See page 42

[2]We need a time study analysis to corroborate this. It is interesting to note however that the county with the third highest proportion of Roman Catholics and 56.8% French is called "Glengarry" (on the Quebec border).

[3]Derived from Table 38. The writer has constructed Tables of the occupation and education composition of those ten county groups but has not included them except for an occasional reference as made above.

[4]See p. 41

[5]Despite the heterogeneous class impression of the 'Orthodox' from Table 13, Table 25 reveals the strength of this group in 'manual' occupations and the lowest educational categories.

representation also being overrepresented in nine out of ten cases with Polish, Russian and Ukrainian ethnic groups. In these Greek Orthodox counties, Agriculture, Labor and Other Primary (mining, logging), are kinds of the occupations most often overrepresented. Again it can be expected, as for the Roman Catholics, that this pattern will gradually change as the younger generations of these ethnic groups become upwardly mobile.

The rapid upward mobility of the Jews in the United States has been well documented. There is no reason why this should not hold for Canada as well. However, this is not revealed from Table 16[1] dealing with the ten counties where Jewish religious affiliation is highest. This ten county analysis of ethnic origins is perhaps most inappropriate for the Jewish group because 78.2% of the Jews are found in one county (York), which contains 24.7% of the general Ontario population. In addition some confusion seems to be evident in the ethnic origins reported by Jews, many giving their national origins, e. g., Austrian, Polish and Russian.

As expected, Tables 14, 15, 17 and 19[2] reveal that all Protestant denominations have an overrepresentation of persons reporting British Isles ancestry. British Isles origins are overrepresented in all ten counties for all Protestant groups save the Baptists where British Isles

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[1] See p.40

[2] See pp. 39-41

origins are overrepresented in nine out of ten cases. The Netherlands group also appears to have strong representation. In no Protestant group are they overrepresented in less than half the counties and in both the Baptist and United Church counties, they are overrepresented in eight out of ten cases. Homogeneity in ethnic composition does not determine the degree of social class homogeneity however, the Presbyterians, for instance, appearing to have the most homogeneity with respect to ethnicity but not the most homogeneity with respect to social class.

This leads to a second area of enquiry, that of value orientations and how they may affect the social class levels of various groups.

According to Niebuhr,[1] we logically expect those groups exhibiting denominational characteristics to be committed (or resigned) to a more energetic participation in the 'world' than required for sheer sustinence. To the extent that participation in certain worldly events, e.g., economic activity beyond the bare minimum, results in upward mobility in Canada, those participating more fully (denominationalists) than others (sectarians) can reasonably be expected to attain a higher objective social class position. That these denominations are in fact of other than lower class composition has already been demonstrated. That people in the

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[1] Niebuhr, op. cit.

major Protestant denominations (and the Jewish group) are in fact, collectively at least, more committed to worldly, i.e., economic, participation, that sphere of effort most likely to count for upward mobility has been statistically demonstrated by Lenski[1] for Detroit. Lenski, in a comparison of a collectivity comprised of the major Protestant denominations with the Roman Catholics, demonstrated that Protestants were more likely to be upwardly mobile than Roman Catholics, controlling for point of origin. To account for this on the Protestant side, Lenski observed that Protestants, to a significantly greater degree than the Roman Catholics, retained elements of the original 'Protestant Ethic'[2] which he considers important for upward mobility. This orientation included a more positive attitude toward work as an end in itself, longer participation in the school system, more willingness to 'take chances' in opposition to a security orientation, and, in the sphere of personality development, a stress by Protestant parents on the ability of the child to think for himself rather than stressing obedience.

To partially account for the lower class composition of the Roman Catholics in the United States, Lenski notes that

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[1]Lenski, G. The Religious Factor. New York: Doubleday, 1961.

[2]From Weber, M., The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism. London: Allen and Unwin, 1930.

there are several characteristics exhibited by Roman Catholics that make it less likely that they will become upwardly mobile from the class position largely determined by the period of immigration. (The writer's association of certain ethnic groups and Catholicism in Ontario then is just a partial answer to the question of Catholicism and the lower class).[1] These factors include a stress on obedience at the expense of instilling the ability to think for oneself, larger families that, combined with class position prevent many from continuing at school, the generally poor quality of the separate school system, and the significant factor of the devaluation of work as an end in itself. Distance from the 'Protestant Ethic' then, to the extent that it applies in Canada, is an important factor to consider when attempting to account for the social class composition of any religious group.

The writer will now turn to a discussion of the trends apparent in the social class composition of religious bodies.

The proportionate increase in the middle class in America and some of its implications for religion have been examined by Lee.[2] Lee sees an increasing probability of union in Protestantism, the main reason for this optimism being the disintegration, bit by bit, of differential social

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[1] If indeed Lenski's findings are valid for Ontario.

[2] Lee, op. cit.

characteristics. That this disintegration has not been completed as far as social class is concerned in Ontario, is seen in Table 13.[1] These major Protestant groups do form a 'pool' in that none are significantly correlated with the 'lower' social class. Historical factors such as an early concentration on rural populations may, in fact, account for some of the variation shown between them.

Lenski treats these major Protestant groups in his Detroit study as one group or pool. With respect to trends in doctrine he finds this pool becoming increasingly unorthodox (which he defines as non-supernatural). This is even more the case for those elements of the population that are increasing to the greatest extent in Detroit, e.g., the second and later generations of immigrants, the group longest in the urban setting, and the better educated. That the 'religion' elements of Ontario Protestant groups are being reduced (whether or not these elements are 'orthodox' or 'unorthodox'), is seen in the following statement by Allen.[2]

> 'Almost without exception the new churches have placed great emphasis on their auxiliary activities -- Boy Scout, Cub and Girl Guide groups, men's clubs, women's clubs, teenage clubs, sports and special classes that have no formal connection with the scriptures. The older congregations are also stepping up their extra-biblical activities'.

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[1] See p. 30

[2] Allen, R., "The Hidden Failure of Our Churches", MacLeans. Feb. 25, 1961. p. 11.

Lenski in fact sees the possibility of Protestantism developing into an International Unitarian type of religious organization, possessing an eclectic, non-supernatural doctrine.

Perhaps one of the major findings of Lenski's study as it applies to this one lies in his demonstration of the increasing polarization of the Protestant and Catholic groups, in both doctrine and class composition. That this polarity with respect to social class seems to be the case for Ontario in a synchronic way can be seen from Table 13. We need a series of these pictures at different times, however, in order to make a statement on Ontario trends. That the major Protestant denominations at least, are fluid with respect to membership, under certain conditions is illustrated in another statement of Allen's on Canadian religion.

> 'People are moving by the hundreds of thousands from congregation to congregation, and often, if a matter of convenience is involved, from denomination to denomination. When a new Presbyterian church opened recently in .... Don Mills, its congregation actually turned out to have more members of the United Church than it had Presbyterians'.[1]

The suburban context of this statement suggests that the degree of horizontal mobility may be important in determining how fluid Protestants will be with respect to denominational choice. That these Protestant denominations

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[1] Ibid. p. 11

recognize this fluidity is seen in Lee's[1] statement that in the United States, the major groups have agreed to 'split' the territory opened up by the flourishing new suburbs, each group apparently reasoning that what they lose of their own members by not moving into suburb A, they will gain back from members of the other denominations in their exclusive territory in suburb B.

The writer will now turn to an evaluation of the strength of the social class variable, as employed in this paper, in differentiating the religious groups studied. The test of strength is the degree to which knowledge of social class enables us to predict religious affiliation. The first thing to consider with this end in view is the proportions of different religious groups at the different class levels as delineated in this thesis. The percentage each group takes up of the total population is given in Table 21. The percentage of each group found in each of the two class pools (Protestant and Jewish in the 'high' pool and Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox in the 'low' pool), is found in Tables 22 and 23.[2] According to the results of this study it seems reasonable only to divide the religious groups with respect to their social class composition, into these two pools.[3]

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[1] Lee, op. cit.

[2] See p. 52

[3] The tenuous nature of Greek Orthodox strength with 'middle' and 'upper' class categories, revealed in Table 25, makes it reasonable to assign this group to the 'low' pool.

Table 21 - Numerical Distribution In Percent Of Ontario's Religious Groups

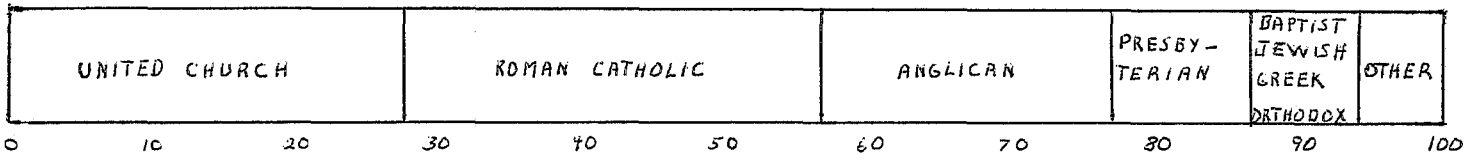


Table 22 - Numerical Distribution In Percent Of Religious Groups In The High Social Class Pool

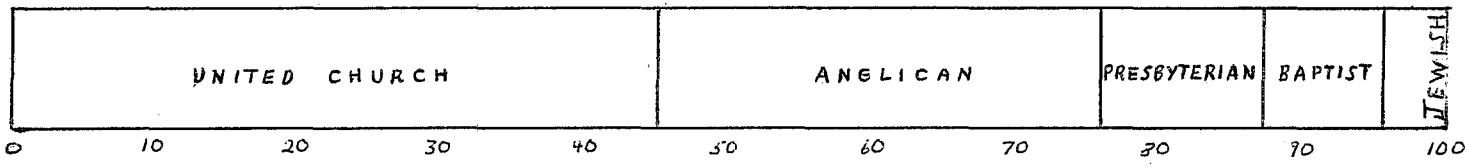
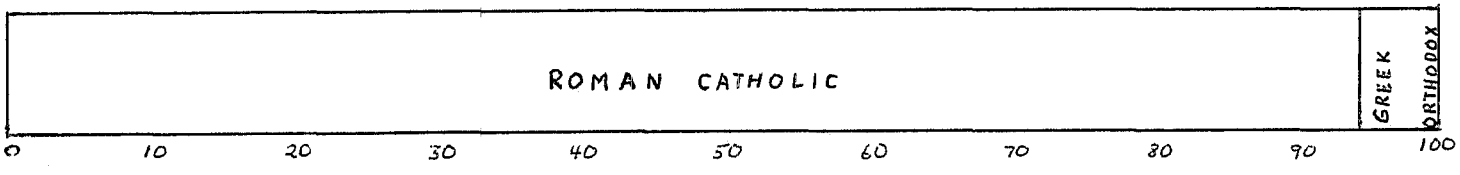


Table 23 - Numerical Distribution In Percent Of Religious Groups In The Low Social Class Pool



Now, given the social class, i.e. education and occupation of a sample of people, it would be possible on the basis of the results obtained in this study, only to assign them to one of these two pools. If pressed to make a prediction of SPECIFIC religious affiliation on the basis of social class alone, the writer would be forced to assign people to that denomination with the greatest representation in each class pool. Thus, on the basis of social class alone, prediction of a specific religious affiliation is too hazardous to be of much use.

A more comprehensive analysis of the ethnic composition of these religious groups than afforded by the cursory review in this paper would be very useful in strengthening the accuracy of predicting religious affiliation. The variable of ethnicity would be of great use here only if we had data of a different order than that supplied in the census volumes. For instance, it is probable that some religious groups are homogeneous with respect to ethnicity, the Jewish group being the obvious example. From Table 16[1] we see that it is likely that the responses of Jews to the census question on ethnic origin vary, many giving the ethnicity or nationality of the country where they or their parents spent their early years. This writer is not arguing that a Polish Jew should answer 'Jewish' to the census question, but that to have knowledge

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[1] See p. 40

of Russian or Polish as ethnic origins would be of little use in predicting Jewish religious affiliation. Similarly, it is quite possible that the Presbyterian church is significantly homogeneous with Scottish ethnicity but at the county level we have Scots, English, Welsh and Irish ethnic groups all combined into one category -- British Isles.

Assuming we obtain accurate information on ethnic distribution by religion which is more precise (perhaps by sample data), the usefulness of ethnicity in increasing the precision of predicting religious affiliation will depend on the degree to which each ethnic group is homogeneous with respect to a particular religious group.

This question of which variables are important in predicting accurately religious affiliation is of more than academic interest. Every census year, the Census Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has to do just this for a significant proportion of the population who were either not enumerated at all or else failed to answer this question on religious affiliation. For the present, the Bureau can assign religious affiliations to these people only on the basis of the proportions of the major religious groups found in each Province. Implications for the improvement of accuracy in our demographic data, as it pertains to religion, from an extrapolation of work started in this paper should be evident.

Up to now, we have been considering factors which might account for the pattern of differential class composition

found in this study. The writer will now turn to an examination of several factors which, if operative, would tend to minimize the importance of this observed pattern of differential social class composition.

First of all, we have to consider the possible role played by subjective social class. In this study, the writer has employed only objective measures of social class level. The degree to which a group, say, Anglican, appears to accommodate lower class elements objectively does not necessarily mean a loss of power for social class in predicting religious affiliation[1] if subjective social class of the adherents is taken into account. It may be that there is more homogeneity in social class composition of these denominations than appears to be the case objectively. That is, there may be considerable homogeneity with respect to subjective social class in these denominations. The degree to which the two measures of social class, subjective and objective, are congruent for different religious groups may be an important source of bias in assessing the power of social class (objective) in the differentiation of religious bodies. It must be borne in mind that throughout this thesis, comments on the quality of social class as a variable refer only to objective social class as measured by this writer.

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[1] More precisely, it does not necessarily mean a loss of power for social class to differentiate groups at the congregation level.

A more likely explanation for the observed differences in the homogeneity of social class composition lies in the degree of elasticity in the religious organization itself. There is the possibility of close homogeneity at the level of the individual congregation but also one variation in the social class composition of different congregations of the same religious group. The Baptists, characterized as a group only in the sense that they stress the autonomy of the individual congregation and are often members of a voluntary Convention which has no power over the theological outlook or organization of the individual congregations, are most likely to be in this situation. Given a certain elasticity of doctrine,[1] certain congregations could be composed of quite different class levels than others, the total Provincial picture, as obtained in this thesis, being quite misleading. The larger groups such as the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics no doubt have a certain number of parishes highly atypical in class composition with respect to the apparent class composition at the Provincial level. Here, the great weight of representation at one class level obscures this situation.

Religious groups may be quite homogeneous with respect to social class composition in that they can accommodate

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[1] There has also been some recent discussion by religious scholars about the role of Liturgy here. For example see: Lee, op. cit.

within a single parish or congregation different class levels in a more or less mutually exclusive manner. For instance, Hughes[1] reports the increasing differentiation of the Roman Catholic parish of a Quebec community with industrialization -- different masses and priests, for instance, apparently catering to different class groups in the community. The employment of such devices (consciously or not) may, on analysis, be found in Protestantism as well via the morning and evening service division.

These various factors pertaining to the observed differences in class homogeneity -- the operation of subjective social class, differences in the elasticity of the groups, accommodative devices within a single parish, if indeed operative, would tend to reinforce part of the original tenet of church-sect theory -- that religious differentiation is primarily the result of social differences. It is, however, at the level of the Individual Congregation that these differences are most likely to be manifested. This appears to be the case as far as ethnicity and Catholicism in the United States is concerned.

> 'Ethnic division cut across the organization of Catholic parishes in geographical districts, though the latter have themselves reflected the residential propinquity of immigrants from a particular country. Thus the local Catholic churches in a community may include a French Catholic church, a Polish Catholic church, an Irish Catholic church ...'[2]

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[1] Hughes, E. C., French Canada In Transition. Chicago: University Press, 1943.

[2] From Pope, L., in Bendix and Lipset, op. cit. p. 322.

To summarize, the primary aim of this thesis was to determine the social class composition of the seven major religious groups for the Province of Ontario. From Table 13,[1] the writer believes that he has demonstrated this -- the seven groups being differentiated from each other on the basis of homogeneity of social class composition at the Provincial level. The pattern of differentiation suggests a 'pool' concept with the major Protestant denominations and the Jewish group in the upper class pool and Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox in the lower class pool. In attempting to account for this pattern, the writer commented on the differential ethnic composition of these groups, especially as this affected the 'recency of arrival' of these religious groups. As ethnicity itself was not the total answer, the writer commented, via Lenski,[2] on the variable of value orientations, as they apply to the two major groups-- Protestants and Roman Catholics.

It is reasonable to expect that religious groups strive for homogeneous value orientations among their members. This goal is facilitated when the adherents are homogeneous with respect to social characteristics such as social class and ethnicity. Heterogeneity with respect to these characteristics is likely to produce stress. On first glance, from

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[1] See p. 30

[2] Lenski, op. cit.

Table 13,[1] we would infer that some groups are more homogeneous in social class level of their adherents than are others. From this point the writer proceeded to discuss several factors which, if operative, may in fact strengthen the actual class homogeneity that exists in religious bodies. These factors were the operation of subjective social class, class homogeneity of individual congregations but class distinction between different congregations of the same religious group through elasticity of doctrine and organization, and thirdly, accommodative devices within individual congregations such as separate services for different class levels.

The final test of the validity of attempting to account for religious differentiation in terms of social characteristics, such as social class and ethnicity, must be made at the level of the individual congregation. Nevertheless, the analysis pursued in this paper has been useful in that it has demonstrated the direction and strength of the social class composition of these various groups at the Provincial level. Here such questions as why Roman Catholics tend to be lower class and Protestants on the whole upper class[2] have been fruitfully discussed.

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[1]See p. 30

[2]More precisely, non-lower class.

From the analysis in this paper, it is evident that the answer to the question of what determines religious affiliation is likely to be a highly complex one, not favourable to the view of the reductionist whether he claims that it is 'simply a matter of doctrinal difference' or that religious differentiation is merely "the accommodation of Christianity to the caste system of human society".[1] The former implies a limitless accommodation of any group, the 'truth' being available to all. The latter appears to underestimate the accommodative capabilities of religious groups.

The ideal approach to determine the ethnic and social class composition of religious groups is the sample survey in which a random sample from each group, controlling for urban-rural and regional representation, is examined through questionnaires and/or interviews. This approach would be superior to the one used in this thesis, first of all, because of the 'looseness' of the raw data on religion provided in the census volumes. The main problem here is one of 'marginality'.[2] Since the number of adherents in each group is arrived at by the Bureau of Statistics by adding all the respondents who answered, say, Anglican, to the question of religious preference, the total will, of necessity, include many who are but 'nominal' adherents -- many having nothing

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[1] From Niebuhr, op. cit. p. 6.

[2] A distinction is made here between 'marginal' or 'nominal' adherents who take no active part in the church and may never attend and the core adherents.

to do with the church since childhood. A priest of the Anglican church has estimated that about one half of those who replied Anglican to this question on the last census are in this category.[1] It may be that different groups will have different proportions of these nominal or marginal adherents. With a sample study, this possible source of bias could be avoided by sampling only from the active church population.

In the ecological approach as used in this thesis, the occupation variable was employed as an index of social class. Occupation has been recognized by scholars as one of the best indicators of social class level but in the form data is available on this variable in the census volumes at the county level, the variable becomes of questionable accuracy. Examination of Table 39 in the Appendix[2] reveals differences in the homogeneity of social class level among occupations within each gross occupational category. Some, like Professional, Clerical and Labor seem quite homogeneous in the social class level (as determined by Blishen[3]) of the occupations included within their scope. Other gross categories such as Commercial - Financial are less homogeneous in the social class levels of occupations within them, this category including both newsboys of class 7 and stock

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[1] In Allen, op. cit.

[2] See p. 99

[3] Blishen, op. cit.

and bond brokers of class 2.

In a sample study we could determine the social class and ethnic composition of many sects and cults which were necessarily omitted from this thesis because of the limitations of the method the writer employed. In addition, problems associated with an evaluation of the rural-urban variable for some groups would be overcome. With ecological data, in a unit as large as a county, one gets a concentration of some of the variable categories used in the analysis according to the urban or rural nature of some of the units. In this study, the higher educational and occupational categories in terms of social class level are concentrated in urban areas. Now, when a religious group is also concentrated in these urban areas, the correlations between this group and these high educational and occupational categories will be quite high. There are several reasons such as the availability of more channels for upward mobility, that most urban groups would tend over time, by chance alone, to mirror the general urban characteristics. Other factors such as ethnicity, recency of arrival, and group values might work against this happening. No urban religious group is, of course, likely to reflect perfectly the general urban characteristics. Special difficulties arise with a group such as the Jews, which is so strongly urban that it reflects the general urban picture, justifiably or not. If this rural-urban variable is controlled by Partial correlations,

the Jews, because of their strong urbanism and the urbanism of the high social class educational and occupational categories, suffer a great drop in social class level. There is no way of knowing, in the ecological type of analysis used by this writer whether this reduction in the social class level of the Jews is warranted or not. If sample data were available for this group in Ontario instead of our having to infer from ecological data, it would be found that the Jews in fact display social class characteristics of a higher level than those of the general urban population.

The sample survey approach on a broad scale is, of course, prohibitive both in terms of time and finances required. Nevertheless, it is the only way to obtain accurate information on the composition of the smaller religious groups.

Use should be made of the information available at the census tract level. Although as stated earlier, data derived from a census tract analysis would have a marked urban bias, dangers of distortion in the correlations obtained using this small unit of analysis would be minimized. In addition, some interesting inter-city differences might result.

An ecological analysis of the type attempted in this paper employing a time sequence analysis of the major religious groups would be very useful in determining trends in both social class and ethnic composition. Census data is

available for such a study in ten year periods dating back to the 19th century.

A more comprehensive analysis of the ethnic composition of the religious groups is needed. Although there are problems of precision involved[1], an analysis of this variable through correlation coefficients at both the county and census tract level might be useful.

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[1] See p.p. 53-54

Appendix

Table 25 Summary of Correlation Coefficients[1] Between Ontario Religious Bodies and Selected Indices of Social Class

Education[2]	Baptist	Anglican	Greek Orthodox	Jew	Presby-terian	Roman Catholic	United Church
No Education	-.09	-.29	.25	-.19	-.52	.52	-.42
Grades 1-4	-.33	-.42	.21	-.16	-.59	.59	-.40
Grades 5-8	.06	-.34	-.47	-.49	.17	-.01	.23
Grades 9-12	.19	.66	.26	.49	.27	-.43	.14
Grade 13 plus	.09	.55	.14	.53	.18	-.23	-.02
Occupation							
Labour	-.19	.06	.09	.15	-.41	.22	-.18
Other Primary	-.19	-.21	.31	-.10	-.46	.32	-.25
Service	-.12	.20	-.08	.11	-.05	-.05	.04
Transportation & Communication	-.11	.15	.30	-.03	-.27	.05	-.09
Agricultural	.05	-.39	-.46	-.37	.27	-.08	.35
Manufacturing & Mechanical	.18	.30	.33	.27	.17	-.17	-.16
Clerical	.10	.37	.35	.67	-.03	-.01	-.27
Commercial & Financial	.27	.42	.05	.62	.23	-.19	-.13
Proprietary & Managerial	-.20	.61	-.02	.41	.22	-.37	.09
Professional	-.08	.36	.19	.63	.01	.05	-.26

[1] .26 is significant at the .05% level for an N of 54.

[2] Education and Occupations are ranked in order from low to high.

See p. 17.

Table 26 - Correlation Coefficients Between Rurality Of Ontario Counties And Degree of Education

No Education	.30
Grades 1-4	.18
Grades 5-8	.48
Grades 9-12	-.60
Grade 13 plus	-.67

Table 27 - Correlation Coefficients Between Rurality Of Ontario Counties and Occupational Categories

Labor	.24
Other Primary	-.07
Service	-.10
Transportation-Communication	.00
Agriculture	.61
Manufacturing-Technological	-.64
Clerical	-.94
Commercial-Financial	-.58
Proprietary-Managerial	-.24
Professional	-.74

Table 28 - Correlation Coefficients Between Rurality Of Ontario Counties And Ontario Religious Groups

Baptist	.06
Anglican	-.19
Presbyterian	-.04
Jewish	-.52
United Church	.34
Roman Catholic	-.07
Greek Orthodox	-.43

Table 29 - Roman Catholic Counties by Ethnic Origins

Percent Distribution[1]

Ethnic Origin	Prescott	Russell	Glengarry	Sudbury	Cochrane
British Isles	15.8	16.9	40.6	35.4	32.3
French	82.9	81.9	56.8	40.7	44.4
Austrian	-[2]	-	-	.13	.13
Czechoslovakian	.01	.01	.04	.59	.84
Finnish	-	-	.01	.49	2.8
German	.16	.17	.25	2.1	1.4
Hungarian	-	.03	.07	.17	.10
Italian	.05	.05	.18	4.2	3.0
Jewish	.11	.02	.14	.19	.34
Netherlands	.32	.45	.10	.77	.95
Polish	.06	.04	.14	1.8	2.1
Russian	.01	.01	.04	.25	.66
Scandinavian	.05	.08	.19	.95	1.2
Ukrainian	.03	.06	.02	4.2	2.1

[1]In Tables 14 to 20, counties are ranked in terms of the proportion of the particular religious group within. In the above Table, Prescott has the highest proportion of Roman Catholics, Russell next etc.

[2]The "dash" means less than .01%.

Table 29 (cont.)

Ethnic Origin	Stormont	Nipissing	Carleton	Renfrew	Essex	PROVINCE
British Isles	40.7	40.0	60.1	53.0	52.0	64.7
French	48.6	47.4	29.2	15.7	21.8	10.0
Austrian	.03	.14	.12	.03	.23	.17
Czechoslovakian	.11	.08	.10	.11	1.5	.60
Finnish	.01	.37	.03	.09	.20	.61
German	.87	2.3	1.8	18.3	4.8	4.6
Hungarian	.14	.03	.07	.04	1.7	.59
Italian	.41	2.2	.94	.18	2.5	1.8
Jewish	.43	.28	1.6	.12	1.0	1.5
Netherlands	6.1	.72	.75	1.1	1.6	2.0
Polish	.26	1.5	.80	8.8	2.5	1.8
Russian	.03	.16	.27	.12	.79	.35
Scandinavian	.23	.81	.56	.25	.52	.78
Ukrainian	.09	.65	.72	.35	2.7	1.9

Table 30 - United Church Counties by Ethnic Origins.

Percent Distribution

	Durham	Prince Edward	Lennox Addington	Dundas	Dufferin	Northumberland
Ethnic Origin						
British Isles	89.0	81.2	80.8	67.5	92.1	85.7
French	1.7	3.1	3.6	9.2	.85	3.0
Austrian	.13	.02	.03	.03	.04	.11
Czechoslovakian	.32	.03	.01	.08	.07	.18
Finnish	.03	.03	.07	.03	.05	.04
German	.90	1.6	2.7	5.0	1.4	1.2
Hungarian	.23	.03	.05	.04	.08	.03
Italian	.12	.15	.12	.13	.17	.22
Jewish	.18	.68	.01	.18	.08	.07
Netherlands	2.9	7.8	8.9	15.6	2.8	4.6
Polish	.90	.17	.31	.13	.18	.43
Russian	.18	.11	.01	.05	.10	.08
Scandinavian	.42	.37	.29	.53	.34	.23
Ukrainian	1.3	.12	.07	.01	.24	.15

Table 30 (cont.)

	Huron	Haliburton	Victoria	Ontario	PROVINCE
Ethnic Origin					
British Isles	79.9	88.5	92.9	81.1	64.7
French	3.6	3.3	2.3	2.7	10.0
Austrian	.08	-	.03	.28	.17
Czechoslovakian	.14	-	.05	.76	.60
Finnish	.02	.06	.02	.13	.61
German	11.4	.21	1.0	1.6	4.6
Hungarian	.05	.01	.04	.49	.59
Italian	.18	.08	.21	.44	1.8
Jewish	.05	.11	.06	.43	1.5
Netherlands	2.0	.26	1.8	2.1	2.0
Polish	.40	.01	.17	2.2	1.8
Russian	.05	-	.04	.39	.35
Scandinavian	.51	.06	.28	.48	.78
Ukrainian	.25	.18	.08	3.3	1.9

Table 31 - Greek Orthodox Counties by Ethnic Origins

Percent Distribution

Ethnic Origin	Rainy River	Thunder Bay	Essex	Lincoln	Ontario	York
British Isles	49.4	45.6	52.0	63.1	81.1	72.3
French	10.7	8.3	21.8	4.1	2.7	2.7
Austrian	.37	.27	.23	.32	.28	.22
Czechoslovakian	.32	2.3	1.5	1.1	.76	.58
Finnish	2.0	9.4	.20	.29	.13	.36
German	4.3	2.4	.48	7.1	1.6	1.8
Hungarian	.82	.25	1.7	.67	.49	.35
Italian	.96	4.2	2.5	1.8	.44	2.3
Jewish	.21	.31	1.0	.55	.43	5.0
Netherlands	1.7	.97	1.6	5.9	2.1	1.2
Polish	2.6	3.7	2.5	4.2	2.2	2.3
Russian	.62	.43	.79	.97	.39	.50
Scandinavian	10.3	4.9	.52	.70	.48	.59
Ukrainian	8.9	10.4	2.7	4.6	3.3	2.4

Table 31 (cont.)

Ethnic Origin	Wellington	Wentworth	Norfolk	Kenora	PROVINCE
British Isles	78.6	69.3	61.3	40.9	64.7
French	1.9	3.1	2.3	7.7	10.0
Austrian	.11	.29	.16	.34	.17
Czechoslovakian	.25	.88	1.0	.87	.60
Finnish	.03	.13	.03	1.5	.61
German	9.4	3.0	6.6	3.5	4.6
Hungarian	.22	1.3	4.8	.39	.59
Italian	3.0	3.7	.29	1.2	1.8
Jewish	.30	.92	.10	.23	1.5
Netherlands	1.9	1.9	5.9	1.2	2.0
Polish	1.0	3.5	2.2	4.3	1.8
Russian	.16	.44	.25	.52	.35
Scandinavian	.30	.66	.35	8.3	.78
Ukrainian	.49	2.6	3.5	6.7	1.9

Table 32 - Presbyterian Counties by Ethnic Origins

Percent Distribution

Ethnic Origin	Bruce	Wellington	Perth	Halton	Simcoe	Huron
British Isles	71.6	78.6	68.1	82.6	78.4	79.9
French	1.4	1.9	2.0	1.9	10.7	3.6
Austrian	.04	.11	.04	.12	.09	.08
Czechoslovakian	.13	.25	.04	.90	.36	.14
Finnish	.04	.03	.03	.10	.10	.02
German	22.2	9.4	24.9	2.6	1.6	11.4
Hungarian	-	.22	.09	.49	.17	.05
Italian	.10	3.0	.04	1.1	.49	.18
Jewish	.05	.30	.07	.11	.18	.05
Netherlands	1.2	1.9	1.6	2.5	2.5	2.0
Polish	.32	1.0	.33	1.6	.80	.40
Russian	.03	.16	.11	.24	.15	.05
Scandinavian	.22	.30	.39	.80	.47	.51
Ukrainian	.09	.49	.17	1.0	.69	.25

Table 32 (cont.)

	Grey	Dufferin	Victoria	Lambton	PROVINCE
Ethnic Origin					
British Isles	81.9	92.1	92.9	77.3	64.7
French	1.4	.85	2.3	6.6	10.0
Austrian	.05	.04	.03	.10	.17
Czechoslovakian	.05	.07	.05	1.1	.60
Finnish	.03	.05	.02	.14	.61
German	11.8	1.4	1.0	2.7	4.6
Hungarian	.02	.08	.04	.32	.59
Italian	.10	.17	.21	.29	1.8
Jewish	.10	.08	.06	.21	1.5
Netherlands	1.9	2.8	1.8	3.5	2.0
Polish	.26	.18	.17	.80	1.8
Russian	.07	.10	.04	.18	.35
Scandinavian	.29	.34	.28	.73	.78
Ukrainian	.12	.24	.08	.74	1.9

Table 33 - Jewish Counties by Ethnic Origins

Percent Distribution

Ethnic Origin	York	Kenora	Essex	Carleton	Wentworth	Lincoln
British Isles	72.3	40.9	52.0	60.1	69.3	63.1
French	2.7	7.7	21.8	29.2	3.1	4.1
Austrian	.22	.34	.23	.12	.29	.32
Czechoslovakian	.58	.87	1.5	.10	.88	1.1
Finnish	.36	1.5	.20	.03	.13	.29
German	1.8	3.5	4.8	1.8	3.0	7.1
Hungarian	.35	.39	1.7	.07	1.3	.67
Italian	2.3	1.2	2.5	.94	3.7	1.8
Jewish	5.0	2.3	1.0	1.6	.92	.55
Netherlands	1.2	1.2	1.6	.75	1.9	5.9
Polish	2.3	4.3	2.5	.80	3.5	4.2
Russian	.50	.52	.79	.27	.44	.97
Scandinavian	.59	8.3	.52	.56	.66	.70
Ukrainian	2.4	6.7	2.7	.72	2.6	4.6

Table 33 (cont.)

Ethnic Origin	Middlesex	Frontenac	Grenville	Waterloo	PROVINCE
British Isles	81.9	81.2	82.6	42.4	64.7
French	2.2	6.5	7.3	2.9	10.0
Austrian	.11	.06	.03	.32	.17
Czechoslovakian	.38	.17	.35	.47	.60
Finnish	.04	.11	.02	.05	.61
German	3.3	1.5	1.6	41.7	4.6
Hungarian	.58	.09	.04	.57	.59
Italian	.95	.29	.22	.43	1.8
Jewish	.45	.37	.32	.39	1.5
Netherlands	2.1	4.0	3.5	1.2	2.0
Polish	1.2	.79	.97	3.0	1.8
Russian	.29	.22	.10	.37	.35
Scandinavian	.76	.60	.58	.38	.78
Ukrainian	.63	.40	.53	1.2	1.9

Table 34 - Baptist Counties by Ethnic Origins

Percent Distribution

Ethnic Origin	Norfolk	Brant	Elgin	Haldimand	Oxford	Middlesex
British Isles	61.3	71.6	77.7	67.1	79.2	81.9
French	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.2	2.0	2.2
Austrian	.16	.14	.16	.19	.13	.11
Czechoslovakian	1.0	.32	.55	.43	.23	.38
Finnish	.03	.06	.12	.14	.05	.04
German	6.6	2.9	4.2	13.8	7.5	3.3
Hungarian	4.8	2.4	2.0	.78	1.3	.58
Italian	.29	1.0	.51	.71	.51	.95
Jewish	.10	.30	.15	.04	.14	.45
Netherlands	5.9	2.5	4.1	6.2	3.2	2.1
Polish	2.2	2.8	.90	.77	.88	1.2
Russian	.25	.23	.26	.36	.18	.29
Scandinavian	.35	.45	.55	.50	.37	.76
Ukrainian	3.5	1.7	.46	1.0	.50	.63

Table 34 (cont.)

	Kent	Muskoka	Grey	Victoria	PROVINCE
Ethnic Origin					
British Isles	65.3	82.4	81.9	92.9	64.7
French	12.1	6.1	1.4	2.3	10.0
Austrian	.10	.08	.05	.03	.17
Czechoslovakian	2.2	.28	.05	.05	.60
Finnish	.03	.34	.03	.02	.61
German	3.1	3.1	11.8	1.0	4.6
Hungarian	.59	.02	.02	.04	.59
Italian	.34	.99	.10	.21	1.8
Jewish	.21	.12	.10	.06	1.5
Netherlands	5.5	2.1	1.9	1.8	2.0
Polish	.87	.33	.26	.17	1.8
Russian	.15	.14	.07	.04	.35
Scandinavian	.40	1.2	.29	.28	.78
Ukrainian	.90	.42	.12	.08	1.9

Table 35 - Anglican Counties by Ethnic Origins

Percent Distribution

Ethnic Origin	Haliburton	Halton	Peel	York	Muskoka	Middlesex
British Isles	88.5	82.6	83.5	72.3	82.4	81.9
French	3.3	1.9	2.4	2.7	6.1	2.2
Austrian	-	.12	.17	.22	.08	.11
Czechoslovakian	-	.90	.24	.58	.28	.38
Finnish	.06	.10	.18	.36	.34	.04
German	.21	2.6	1.7	1.8	3.1	3.3
Hungarian	.01	.49	.10	.35	.02	.58
Italian	.08	1.1	1.5	2.3	.49	.95
Jewish	.11	.11	.06	5.0	.12	.45
Netherlands	.26	2.5	2.8	1.2	2.1	2.1
Polish	.01	1.6	1.3	2.3	.33	1.2
Russian	-	.24	.25	.50	.14	.29
Scandinavian	.06	.80	.86	.59	1.2	.76
Ukrainian	.18	1.0	1.2	2.4	.42	.63

Table 35 (cont.)

	Frontenac	Lanark	Leeds	Lincoln	PROVINCE
Ethnic Origin					
British Isles	81.2	89.8	86.3	63.1	64.7
French	6.5	4.4	6.4	4.1	10.0
Austrian	.06	.02	.05	.32	.17
Czechoslovakian	.17	.12	.05	1.1	.60
Finnish	.11	.01	.03	.29	.61
German	1.5	1.2	1.0	7.1	4.6
Hungarian	.09	.03	.03	.67	.59
Italian	.29	.41	.19	1.8	1.8
Jewish	.37	.32	.16	.55	1.5
Netherlands	4.0	1.2	3.1	5.9	2.0
Polish	.79	.40	.28	4.2	1.8
Russian	.22	.04	.07	.97	.35
Scandinavian	.60	.22	.43	.70	.78
Ukrainian	.40	.24	.21	4.6	1.9

Table 36- Percentage Distribution of Ontario Religious Bodies by County, 1951 [1]

County	Baptist	Anglican	Greek Orthodox	Jews	Presby-terian	Roman Catholic	United Church
Algoma	2.9	13.1	0.9	0.2	6.4	38.4	28.4
Brant	13.4	23.7	0.7	0.4	8.8	14.1	31.2
Bruce	4.6	9.6	0.1	-.1	20.4	17.2	36.1
Carleton	2.2	18.8	0.6	1.9	5.5	47.1	19.8
Cochrane	1.5	9.9	1.0	0.4	2.0	62.5	16.7
Dufferin	2.1	20.2	0.2	0.1	14.4	2.5	52.8
Dundas	2.1	8.4	0.1	0.2	12.3	11.9	53.5
Durham	2.5	21.3	0.6	0.2	8.7	5.7	56.2
Elgin	12.7	16.3	0.5	0.3	11.7	11.7	37.0
Essex	4.4	16.0	2.7	1.1	6.9	41.3	19.7
Frontenac	1.4	26.0	0.2	0.5	6.4	22.3	35.6
Glengarry	0.7	2.0	0.1	0.2	11.1	73.3	12.1
Grenville	0.9	23.0	0.1	0.5	12.1	16.7	41.9
Grey	6.3	11.5	0.1	0.2	14.7	7.1	42.8
Haldimand	11.7	16.4	0.5	-	10.5	8.8	33.6
Haliburton	5.9	31.2	-	0.1	3.0	4.4	47.0
Halton	3.6	30.0	0.6	0.2	17.5	10.6	33.2
Hastings	1.7	23.6	0.2	0.2	6.4	17.9	41.9
Huron	1.6	12.8	0.1	0.1	16.1	11.4	48.8
Kenora	2.6	24.9	1.4	0.2	4.4	25.2	26.3
Kent	7.8	12.7	0.6	0.2	8.8	27.2	34.7
Lambton	5.5	18.5	0.3	0.3	13.1	16.4	38.5
Lanark	3.3	25.6	0.1	0.3	12.3	17.6	37.2

1 - means less than .01%

County	Baptist	Anglican	Greek Orthodox	Jews	Presby-terian	Roman Catholic	United Church
Leeds	3.0	25.6	0.1	0.2	8.4	17.7	39.5
Lennox-Addington	0.8	19.2	0.1	-	2.2	12.3	54.3
Lincoln	3.9	25.3	1.9	0.8	9.2	19.8	24.6
Manitoulin	2.4	12.5	0.1	-	2.5	29.4	44.3
Middlesex	8.5	26.2	0.4	0.6	9.6	13.1	35.1
Muskoka	6.4	26.9	0.1	0.2	10.8	11.9	35.1
Nipissing	1.9	9.6	0.4	0.3	2.8	62.9	19.0
Norfolk	19.1	13.6	1.4	0.1	6.3	20.8	28.6
Northumberland	3.5	17.6	0.1	0.1	11.2	11.6	50.3
Ontario	4.6	19.1	1.7	0.5	9.0	13.8	45.2
Oxford	10.8	17.7	0.3	0.2	9.3	10.0	42.4
Parry Sound	3.6	14.4	0.1	-	8.4	19.8	43.6
Peel	4.7	27.3	0.5	0.1	11.8	12.5	38.2
Perth	3.0	14.2	0.1	0.1	17.7	10.7	28.9
Peterborough	4.8	19.9	0.1	0.4	8.2	21.1	38.7
Prescott	0.5	2.5	0.1	0.1	3.6	88.2	4.7
Prince Edward	2.4	20.9	0.1	0.1	5.2	7.3	55.2
Rainy River	3.5	11.9	4.0	0.2	7.0	25.2	27.8
Renfrew	3.1	10.4	0.2	0.1	6.2	42.6	20.2
Russell	1.3	4.1	0.1	-	0.8	84.9	8.0
Simcoe	4.7	21.2	0.3	0.2	16.4	20.2	31.8
Stormont	1.5	8.9	0.2	0.4	9.0	62.8	15.6
Sudbury	1.6	8.7	1.0	0.2	3.0	60.3	16.3

County	Baptist	Anglican	Greek Orthodox	Jews	Presbyterians	Roman Catholic	United Church
Thunder Bay	2.6	14.9	3.6	0.3	8.7	29.9	21.1
Timiskaming	3.4	12.4	1.0	0.4	5.6	41.3	27.6
Victoria	6.3	17.2	0.1	0.1	13.3	13.1	45.8
Waterloo	4.7	10.5	0.3	0.5	9.4	23.6	13.8
Welland	4.8	20.0	1.5	0.4	10.0	30.3	20.6
Wellington	4.3	15.6	0.2	0.4	18.4	18.6	33.5
Wentworth	5.0	24.9	1.5	1.2	12.1	21.0	26.0
York	4.7	27.3	1.6	5.7	10.4	16.4	27.0
The Province	4.6	20.4	1.1	1.9	9.5	24.8	28.7

Table 37 - Percentage Distribution of Those Not Attending School by Educational Attainment, Ontario Counties, 1951

County	No Education	Grades 1-4	5-8	9-12	13 plus
Algoma	7.2	9.9	41.6	33.6	7.7
Brant	4.5	3.0	45.9	37.7	8.9
Bruce	4.3	3.6	60.1	26.4	5.6
Carleton	4.3	3.4	29.6	45.3	17.4
Cochrane	8.8	13.4	43.6	26.5	7.7
Dufferin	3.7	3.3	58.5	28.2	6.2
Dundas	3.9	3.6	50.1	34.8	7.7
Durham	4.2	3.4	48.9	35.1	8.4
Elgin	4.0	3.6	45.3	37.2	10.0
Essex	4.7	5.1	42.3	37.3	10.6
Frontenac	3.9	4.3	39.9	38.4	13.5
Glengarry	8.0	10.3	54.3	22.5	4.8
Grenville	3.9	3.4	45.9	39.1	7.7
Grey	3.8	4.6	57.3	27.4	6.8
Haldimand	4.6	2.8	51.4	33.1	8.0
Haliburton	6.6	9.4	52.1	26.3	5.5
Halton	4.1	2.4	36.9	40.9	15.7
Hastings	5.2	5.5	44.7	35.7	9.0
Huron	3.8	2.1	52.8	33.1	8.2
Kenora	16.3	10.9	36.7	30.5	5.6
Kent	4.2	3.7	48.5	35.0	8.6
Lambton	4.2	3.3	46.8	36.0	9.6
Lanark	4.3	4.0	48.3	34.9	8.5

County	No Education	Grades 1-4	5-8	9-12	13 plus
Leeds	4.2	2.9	45.9	37.9	9.1
Lennox-Addington	4.7	4.6	53.0	30.0	7.6
Lincoln	4.5	4.3	40.1	39.7	11.3
Manitoulin	8.3	13.4	52.2	21.9	4.2
Middlesex	3.4	2.6	39.3	41.4	13.2
Muskoka	5.5	7.2	45.1	33.8	8.3
Nipissing	9.6	10.1	42.7	29.0	8.5
Norfolk	4.7	4.1	54.5	29.9	6.8
Northumberland	4.8	4.4	51.8	31.1	7.8
Ontario	4.3	3.3	44.8	39.4	8.3
Oxford	4.1	3.1	49.9	34.9	8.0
Parry Sound	7.6	10.7	49.0	26.6	6.0
Peel	4.6	2.8	39.8	40.8	11.9
Perth	3.4	2.0	56.5	30.4	7.6
Peterborough	3.9	3.2	46.0	37.5	9.4
Prescott	8.0	8.4	57.0	22.1	4.4
Prince Edward	4.2	2.9	50.6	34.5	7.8
Rainy River	9.0	8.6	44.2	32.3	5.8
Renfrew	7.6	10.8	46.5	27.7	7.4
Russell	7.9	7.0	57.8	23.4	3.9
Simcoe	7.1	4.9	46.4	33.9	7.7
Stormont	6.2	7.5	49.2	30.0	7.0
Sudbury	7.6	10.8	43.3	30.8	7.5

County	No Education	Grades 1-4	5-8	9-12	13 plus
Thunder Bay	7.9	11.2	38.1	34.7	8.1
Timiskaming	7.6	9.3	44.2	30.4	8.5
Victoria	4.3	4.8	51.7	33.0	6.2
Waterloo	3.8	2.4	51.4	34.2	8.1
Welland	5.3	5.3	42.1	37.2	10.1
Wellington	3.5	2.5	48.0	36.5	9.6
Wentworth	3.9	3.8	39.2	42.5	10.6
York	3.5	3.4	34.2	44.5	14.3
The Province	4.7	4.7	41.4	38.3	10.9

Table 38 - Percentage Distribution of Occupations, Ontario Counties 1951 [1]

County	Proprietary & Managerial	Professional	Clerical	Agricultural	Other Primary	Manufacturing & Mechanical	Transportation & Communication	Commercial & Financial	Service	Labour
Algoma	6.6	3.9	3.9	6.4	7.7	24.9	13.0	2.4	4.8	18.1
Brant	9.1	4.4	7.3	12.6	0.2	34.8	7.1	5.8	4.5	6.8
Bruce	8.3	2.8	1.9	48.4	1.0	13.9	6.3	3.0	2.4	5.4
Carleton	12.6	11.4	14.2	6.9	0.2	11.5	8.2	6.3	15.3	5.7
Cochrane	6.4	4.4	3.6	6.9	30.0	15.8	9.2	2.8	4.8	9.0
Dufferin	7.6	3.0	1.4	59.2	0.4	6.5	6.1	3.0	2.2	4.7
Dundas	7.1	2.7	1.3	54.4	0.3	10.4	7.6	3.4	2.8	5.9
Durham	7.1	4.0	4.7	30.3	0.8	25.8	5.8	3.5	2.9	8.4
Elgin	8.0	3.0	3.5	30.5	0.9	14.8	12.0	4.1	10.9	5.8
Essex	9.2	4.7	8.0	9.5	0.3	34.1	7.9	4.8	5.2	8.6
Frontenac	7.8	6.6	4.3	13.6	0.6	17.8	7.8	4.5	19.2	8.9
Glengarry	6.8	2.2	1.2	56.7	1.3	7.4	6.9	2.6	2.2	6.3
Grenville	8.2	4.2	3.3	34.2	0.6	15.7	10.7	3.7	4.3	7.2
Grey	8.3	3.1	2.7	42.2	0.4	17.3	6.9	4.3	2.9	5.6
Haldimand	7.7	2.8	2.8	36.6	4.2	15.9	7.4	3.7	4.3	8.4
Haliburton	12.0	2.0	2.0	15.6	6.3	9.2	12.0	2.0	3.5	25.4
Halton	12.8	6.3	5.2	18.3	0.3	23.4	6.1	6.3	4.2	8.6
Hastings	9.1	4.0	4.1	18.2	1.6	16.8	10.9	4.5	13.4	9.8
Huron	7.5	2.4	1.6	45.0	0.4	8.2	5.5	2.8	16.6	4.6
Kenora	9.1	4.0	3.7	3.9	21.7	13.2	16.9	3.4	7.6	9.6
Kent	9.2	3.5	4.8	32.3	1.0	17.9	7.5	5.2	3.9	8.0

1 For males aged 14 and over

County	Proprietary & Managerial	Professional	Clerical	Agricultural	Other Primary	Manufacturing & Mechanical	Transportation & Communication	Commercial & Financial	Service	Labour
Lambton	8.4	6.5	4.2	23.2	0.3	22.2	8.6	3.5	3.9	8.7
Lanark	8.7	3.0	4.0	26.8	1.2	17.9	13.6	4.2	3.6	9.5
Leeds	9.6	3.7	4.4	27.5	0.5	18.8	9.9	4.7	6.1	7.2
Lennox-Addington	7.6	2.6	1.8	40.0	2.8	14.7	6.7	3.4	3.3	10.4
Lincoln	8.5	5.7	5.5	14.7	0.3	32.0	7.2	4.7	4.3	8.2
Manitoulin	7.7	2.4	1.3	36.8	12.5	6.8	11.1	2.0	4.4	7.8
Middlesex	10.6	5.8	7.2	15.0	0.1	20.1	8.9	7.6	8.4	7.1
Muskoka	13.4	3.6	3.0	9.8	2.5	14.0	14.1	4.1	6.7	15.1
Nipissing	9.6	3.8	5.3	10.5	5.1	14.0	16.5	4.5	6.0	13.6
Norfolk	7.8	2.4	2.3	50.1	2.3	10.4	5.6	4.1	2.8	5.1
Northumberland	9.6	3.0	2.2	37.9	0.6	15.9	7.3	4.1	4.0	8.0
Ontario	7.3	4.0	7.2	15.2	0.1	35.2	6.9	4.1	4.2	7.1
Oxford	9.2	3.2	4.1	32.8	0.3	22.4	6.8	4.9	3.8	6.1
Parry Sound	10.1	2.9	2.3	20.6	5.1	11.2	13.2	3.0	5.4	17.3
Peel	10.7	5.9	6.1	20.2	0.2	23.2	7.8	5.4	4.1	8.2
Perth	8.6	3.0	3.5	35.9	0.2	20.6	6.7	3.1	3.1	7.6
Peterborough	9.1	6.0	6.3	13.8	1.2	29.8	7.1	5.9	4.6	7.5
Prescott	6.3	3.5	1.7	43.5	0.8	8.7	5.5	3.5	2.5	15.4
Prince Edward	6.5	2.3	2.2	38.9	1.5	8.3	5.9	3.4	17.1	7.0
Rainy River	8.4	3.2	3.2	17.2	10.4	15.2	13.8	2.5	5.2	13.2
Renfrew	6.5	4.5	3.0	21.2	2.8	13.2	8.1	2.8	17.1	11.7

County	Proprietary & Managerial	Professional	Clerical	Agricultural	Other Primary	Manufacturing & Mechanical	Transportation & Communication	Commercial & Financial	Service	Labour
Russell	5.7	2.0	2.2	51.9	0.3	6.3	5.4	3.3	3.9	10.1
Simcoe	8.2	2.9	2.8	23.4	0.5	13.5	8.9	3.8	19.9	7.0
Stormont	7.9	4.5	3.8	17.7	0.2	26.7	8.1	4.7	4.7	13.6
Sudbury	5.7	4.3	3.3	4.2	26.9	17.6	10.7	2.8	5.3	9.3
Thunder Bay	7.4	3.9	5.7	4.4	15.2	17.5	16.0	3.6	5.9	11.9
Timiskaming	8.6	5.0	3.5	12.0	28.6	13.1	8.7	3.9	4.6	5.7
Victoria	9.5	3.4	2.7	34.6	0.9	14.8	10.0	4.5	4.2	7.6
Waterloo	10.1	4.4	7.0	9.5	0.1	38.4	6.2	6.1	4.0	6.9
Welland	9.4	5.3	5.2	4.9	0.4	33.4	8.8	3.8	5.3	14.2
Wellington	9.1	4.8	4.6	28.3	0.2	24.0	6.7	4.6	4.6	6.4
Wentworth	8.8	5.6	8.1	4.3	0.1	34.8	7.6	6.2	5.8	9.9
York	12.7	8.6	11.0	2.2	0.1	25.1	8.6	8.7	7.2	6.5
The Province	9.9	5.9	7.1	13.4	2.7	23.0	8.7	5.7	7.1	8.2

Table 39 - Occupations Included Under Each Occupational Category Used; Conversion To Social Class Index Using Blishen's Scale[1]

Proprietary-Managerial	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group[2]
Owners, managers, officials in:			
Mining, quarrying	2	67.9	741
Business service	2	69.5	3,110
Finance	2	67.7	6,496
Electricity, gas, water	2	64.7	936
Construction	2	63.8	10,472
Wholesale trade	2	63.5	14,241
Manufacturing	2	63.0	26,740
Government service	2	60.6	9,370
Transportation	2	60.1	6,700
Community Service	2	59.1	1,534
Insurance	2	58.2	6,496
Managers n.e.s.[3]	2	57.7	89
Retail Trade managers	2	57.0	47,684
Forestry	3	56.5	710
Communications	3	55.5	5,700
Recreation service	3	54.8	2,569

Total X (Blishen Score) times Y (number in group) - 8418738.5
Weighted Mean Score - 59.0

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[1]Blishen, Bernard, "The Construction and Use of an Occupational Class Scale", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 24 (November 1958).

[2]Refers to the number of Ontario Males in each occupation June, 1951.

[3]Not elsewhere specified

Table 39 (cont.)

Professional	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group
Accountants-auditors	2	61.8	12,997
Agricultural n.e.s.	2	64.8	714
Architects	1	73.2	723
Artists, commercial	2	56.0	1,634
Art teachers	2	57.6	213
Authors editors journalists	2	63.4	2,450
Brothers, nuns	5	46.1	145
Chemists, metallurgists	2	65.8	3,630
Clergy, priests	2	61.0	5,047
Dentists	1	82.5	1,935
Dieticians	2	67.0	1
Draughtmen, designers	3	56.0	6,358
Engineers, Chemical	1	77.8	1,357
Civil	1	75.0	2,655
Electrical	1	75.2	3,545
Mechanical	2	72.6	4,928
Mining	1	77.4	845
Judges, magistrates	1	90.0	191
Lab technicians	3	54.3	4,372
Lawyers	1	78.8	3,281
Librarians	2	62.0	117
Musicians, music teachers	3	53.7	1,401
Nurses	3	52.2	115
Osteopaths, chiropractors	2	67.3	373
Photographers	3	51.8	1,277

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group
Physicians, surgeons	1	81.2	5,038
Professors, principals	2	72.0	1,242
Religious workers	5	48.0	394
Social welfare workers	2	57.0	587
Statisticians	2	68.8	294
Surveyors	3	55.0	1,541
School teachers	2	62.2	8,856
Veterinarians	2	69.8	576
Other professional	2	64.0	5,294

Total XY - 5503727

Weighted Mean for Professional Category - 65.4

Clerical

Bookkeeper, cashier	4	51.2	11,085
Office clerks	5	50.2	60,918
Shipping, receiving clerks	5	47.0	21,272
Stenographers, typists	3	52.0	1,753

Total XY - 5017775.6

Weighted Mean for Clerical Category - 49.3

Agriculture

Farmers, stock raisers	5	49.2	131,006

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group
Farm managers, foremen	5	45.2	1,248
Farm labor	7	37.5	54,428

Weighted mean for Agriculture category - 45.7

Manufacturing - Mechanical

Bakers	6	43.8	3,406
Butchers	6	43.3	4,948
Butter, cheese makers	5	45.4	1,004
Fish canners, curers, packers	7	36.2	48
Meat canners, curers, packers	5	45.2	696
Millers flour, grain	6	44.2	1,058
Liquors, beverages	5	46.0	1,497
Tobacco products	6	44.2	95
Rubber shoe makers	6	43.8	459
Tire, tube builders	5	48.1	3,281
Vulcanizers	5	46.0	813
Furriers	5	46.2	1,195
Leather cutters	6	43.5	1,082
Glove makers	6	42.7	59
Harness, saddle makers	6	42.0	132
Machine operators, shoe	6	42.2	1,840
Shoemakers, repairers	7	40.2	1,666
Tanners	6	43.5	268
Textile inspectors, menders	5	45.1	189

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group
Bleachers, dyers	6	44.4	687
Carders, drawing frame tenders	6	42.3	679
Finishers, calenders	6	43.6	648
Knitters	5	46.3	1,243
Loom fixers, card grinders	5	45.5	537
Spinners, twisters	6	43.3	1,187
Weavers	6	43.8	1,414
Winders warpers reelers beamers	6	42.8	502
Wearing apparel examiners	5	45.6	128
Cutters	6	43.5	1,552
Designers	5	47.2	217
Hat, cap makers	6	44.4	521
Milleners	5	47.8	35
Sewers, machine operators	6	43.2	2,241
Tailors	6	44.0	2,275
Wood inspectors, graders scalers	5	46.3	1,104
Box, basket, case makers	5	46.1	347
Cabinet, furniture makers	5	45.5	3,015
Coopers	6	42.2	270
Finishers, polishers	6	43.6	1,773
Sawyers	7	41.2	2,431
Upholsterers	5	46.3	2,650
Wood turners	6	43.1	2,802

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group
Paper box, bag, envelope Makers	7	41.3	1,854
Paper makers	5	50.4	2,056
Bookbinders	5	48.6	539
Compositors, typesetters	5	50.4	6,691
Photoengravers, lithographers	3	54.0	1,499
Pressmen, platesetters	5	49.8	2,652
Metals inspectors	5	50.4	7,262
Assemblers electrical	5	48.1	6,944
Blacksmiths	6	44.0	2,779
Boilermakers platers	5	47.3	1,437
Coremakers	5	46.0	1,458
Electroplaters	5	46.8	1,189
Engravers	4	51.4	443
Filers, grinders, sharpeners	5	46.4	4,743
Fitters, assemblers	5	47.2	11,534
Furnacemen heaters	5	46.2	4,961
Heat treaters, annealers	5	47.6	607
Jewellers, watchmakers	5	48.2	1,562
Machine operators, metals	5	46.5	20,276
Machinists	5	49.6	16,097
Mechanics, airplane	5	50.1	775
autos	5	45.6	22,835
railroad shop	5	47.2	3,165
n.e.s.	5	47.2	24,303

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group
Millrights	5	48.0	3,701
Moulders	6	45.0	5,312
Patternmakers	5	50.4	1,247
Polishers, buffers	5	45.8	2,684
Potmen	6	44.8	29
Radio Repairmen	4	50.8	1,900
Riveters heaters	6	43.4	722
Rolling mill men	5	49.4	1,170
Sheet metal, tinsmiths	5	47.1	6,159
Tool die makers	4	51.6	7,571
Welders, frame cutters	5	47.2	11,539
Wire drawers, makers, weavers	5	46.9	1,069
Brick, tile makers	6	44.6	483
Kiln burners	6	44.6	604
Stone cutters, dressers	6	43.4	559
Paint, varnish makers	5	46.4	563
Petroleum refiners	4	51.6	613
Sulphite cookers digersters	5	49.0	304
Dental mechanics	5	49.1	461
Labelers, stampers	5	45.3	610
Opticians, lens grinders	5	48.2	468
Photographic occupations n. e. s.	5	49.2	466

Weighted Mean for Manufacturing - Mechanical category - 47.5

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group
Transportation - Communication			
Foremen	4	50.7	2,549
Inspectors	5	49.4	2,452
Ticket agents stn.	3	54.3	1,769
Air pilots (civil)	2	65.0	344
Baggagemen, expressmen	5	49.4	672
Railway brakemen	4	51.1	3,789
Bus drivers	5	47.6	3,522
Captains mates, chauffers	4	50.7	866
Taxi drivers	6	43.3	5,299
Conductors	6	44.2	2,596
Dispatchers	2	58.5	341
Engineering officers	5	49.4	630
Firemen - ship	6	42.4	366
Lockkeepers, canalmen	6	43.1	800
Locomotive engineers	3	54.0	3,506
Longshoremen, stevedores	7	41.2	460
Messengers	7	40.2	3,453
St. railway operators	5	48.8	2,648
Seamen, sailors	6	42.1	1,273
Sectionmen, trackmen	7	41.4	8,755
Switchmen, signalmen	5	48.2	1,630
Teamsters	6	43.4	4,169
Truck drivers	6	43.6	53,334
Communications foremen	2	58.1	496

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in Group
Inspectors	3	55.0	107
Linemen, servicemen	5	49.4	8,725
Postmen	5	45.9	3,468
Radio announcers	3	56.4	310
Radio operators	3	54.0	564
Telegraph operators	4	51.6	1,769
Telephone operators	5	48.2	344

Weighted Mean for Transportation - Communication categories = 45.6

Commercial - Financial

Foremen	4	50.6	2,368
Advertising agents	3	56.6	722
Auctioneers	5	49.3	101
Brokers agents, appraisers	3	56.0	1,193
Canvassers, demonstraters	5	48.2	1,441
Collectors	5	49.1	264
Commercial travellers	3	56.7	21,652
Hawkers, pedlers	7	39.3	1,100
Inspectors, graders n.e.s.	5	49.2	871
Newsboys	7	38.7	717
Packers, wrappers	6	43.6	4,167
Purchasing agents, buyers	3	54.8	3,580
Sales clerks	5	47.2	26,368
Service stn. attendants	6	44.4	3,663
Window decorators, dressers	4	51.6	789

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in Group
Insurance agents	2	58.2	7,367
Real Estate agents	2	57.0	4,004
Stock, bond brokers	2	70.9	1,594

Weighted Mean for Commercial - Financial categories - 51.8

Service

Barbers, hairdressers	6	43.6	5,074
Bootblacks	7	36.8	204
Charworkers, cleaners	7	37.4	3,032
Cooks	7	41.8	5,649
Elevator operators	6	42.5	1,615
Guides	7	37.8	1,101
Hotel, cafe workers n.e.s.	7	38.8	3,791
Janitors	7	41.6	12,611
Cleaners, dyers	6	42.4	3,839
Practical nurses	6	45.0	2,273
Porters	6	44.2	1,890
Undertakers	4	51.3	1,056
Waiters	6	43.2	7,018
Firemen	5	49.8	3,284
Guards, watchmen n.e.s.	6	42.8	9,659
Officers, armed forces	2	65.1	4,569
Other ranks, armed forces	5	46.8	23,439
Policemen, detectives	5	50.2	6,796

Table 39 (cont.)

	Class	Blishen Score	Number in group
Actors, showmen, sportsmen	3	52.1	634
Movie projectionists	4	50.8	749
Ushers	7	40.1	413
Weighted Mean for Service categories - 45.2			
Labor			
Laborers n.e.s.	7	40.8	117,697
Weighted Mean for Labor - 40.8			
Other Primary			
Fishermen	7	36.9	1,674
Hunters, trappers	7	32.0	314
Logging foremen	5	45.4	698
Forest rangers cruisers	6	43.2	1,351
Timbermen	6	44.7	14,196
Mining foremen	3	52.8	1,934
Mine labor	6	43.1	4,588
Millmen	5	47.2	1,357
Miners	5	45.4	9,341
Prospectors	6	44.7	392
Quarriers, drillers	5	46.6	1,117
Mine timbermen	5	45.4	880
Weighted Mean for Other Primary categories - 44.7			

Table 40 - Percentage Rurality In Ontario Counties, 1951

County			
Algoma	41.5	Leeds	56.5
Brant	42.3	Lennox-Addington	80.0
Bruce	68.8	Lincoln	42.0
Carleton	9.7	Manitoulin	88.0
Cochrane	14.0	Middlesex	22.8
Dufferin	69.8	Muskoka	63.5
Dundas	66.5	Nipissing	45.7
Durham	60.0	Norfolk	56.5
Elgin	57.0	Northumberland	59.0
Essex	18.1	Ontario	34.0
Frontenac	37.8	Oxford	50.2
Glengarry	87.0	Parry Sound	80.1
Grenville	60.0	Peel	52.0
Grey	57.5	Perth	43.0
Haldimand	67.0	Peterborough	32.2
Haliburton	100.0	Prescott	66.0
Halton	40.0	Prince Edward	77.0
Hastings	47.5	Rainy River	57.5
Huron	70.0	Renfrew	56.0
Kenora	58.2	Russell	80.0
Kent	51.5	Simcoe	54.0
Lambton	43.0	Stormont	42.7
Lanark	41.5	Sudbury	37.0

Table 40 (cont.)

County	
Thunder Bay	29.6
Timiskaming	41.0
Victoria	55.5
Waterloo	25.2
Welland	26.4
Wellington	42.5
Wentworth	5.9
York	3.6
Province	29.2

Table 41 - Ranking Of Occupational Categories Based On Weighted Means Obtained in Table 39 Ranking From Low To High

1.	Labor	- 40.8
2.	Other Primary	- 44.7
3.	Service	- 45.2
4.	Transportation and Communication	- 45.6
5.	Agriculture	- 45.7
6.	Manufacturing and Technological	- 47.5
7.	Clerical	- 49.3
8.	Commercial and Financial	- 51.8
9.	Proprietary and Managerial	- 59.0
10.	Professional	- 65.4

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