

ETHNICITY, AGING, AND SUPPORT
AMONG DUTCH CANADIANS

**ETHNICITY, AGING, AND SUPPORT AMONG DUTCH CANADIANS:
A STUDY OF COMMUNITY IN TWO GENERATIONS OF CATHOLICS AND
CALVINISTS**

By

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To Wytse, Deanna, Alida, William, John, Christopher, Micah, and Aleida C. Buesink-Lammers.

In memory of

John Buesink 1906-1982

Wiebe van Dijk 1909 - 1973

Dirkje van Dijk - van Baren 1908-1984

Amen, Father, on your planning.

Amen, for you'll see us through.

Amen, when the cross weighs heavy.

Amen, everything you do.

Sietze Buning, 1978

from "Last Visit in Three Voices"

Abstract

This study deals with intra-ethnic differences in social support and ethnic identity retention among first- and second-generation Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists. It builds on the author's 1990 MA thesis, which dealt with the experiences of 99 older Dutch immigrants. We are especially interested in how ethnicity and religion influence the establishment of community and the types of social support given to older parents. Different patterns of settlement were evident among Dutch immigrants who arrived after 1945 in Ontario. Archival material shows that the Calvinists established their own institutions, while Catholics tended to make use of existing institutions. Breton's model of institutional completeness and Driedger's conformity-pluralist model were used to explain assimilation patterns. We conducted a survey of elderly Dutch-Canadian immigrants (N=79) and their adult children (N=364) in order to determine patterns of social support and ethnic identity.

There were substantial variations between Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists in the extent of ethnic identity retention, levels of religiosity, and levels of institutional completeness. Institutional completeness was a more important indicator of ethnic identity retention than was the use of the Dutch language. The elderly Calvinist parents and their middle-aged children reported higher levels of ethnic identity retention and religiosity. Calvinists belonged to many ethnic and/or religious organizations. Dutch Catholics have assimilated more readily and have joined churches serving a variety of ethnic groups. They were much more likely to marry outside their faith and/or the Dutch group and they were more accepting of intermarriage. Catholics tended to have friends and workmates from all groups in Canadian society, while Calvinists associated with other Dutch Calvinists. While patterns of family support are similar, the Dutch-Calvinist community has provided retirement residences and nursing homes for about one-third of its older members. The Dutch-Catholic community has provided very little housing for its older members. This study contributes to the limited body of Canadian research on aging, religion, and ethnicity.

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Chapter 1

Overview of Thesis

1.1 Introduction

Sociologists and gerontologists have until recently paid relatively little attention to ethnic and religious differences in aging. Not only is the field of aging relatively new, but the issues relating to aging, religion, and ethnicity are very complex.¹ Because of the relative scarcity of Canadian research on the ethnic elderly (Chappell, 1988; Gerber, 1983; Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1983; Marshall, 1987; Ujimoto, 1987; Neugebauer-Visano, 1995), research which “examines some of the commonly accepted assumptions in the ethnic literature” (Penning and Chappell, 1987:158) is necessary on specific ethnic groups. Our research measures ethnic identity retention among two generations of Dutch immigrants belonging to two religious groups, Calvinists and Catholics.² Therefore, it helps fill a gap in the existing material on intra-ethnic and intergenerational differences in ethnic identity retention. A second focus of the study is the care given to elderly parents and how that care varies with religion and ethnicity. The analysis will explore the relative importance of religion and generation for ethnic identity retention and social support.

Ethnic groups are seldom homogeneous. Therefore, it is important to look at intra-ethnic

¹The first stage was the mapping out of general patterns in the population. The second stage involves looking at ethnicity in the Canadian context.

²A description of the three main religious groups in Dutch society is to be found in Chapter Two on pages 31-33.

as well as inter-ethnic differences (Disman and Disman, 1995:207). This must be done in order to avoid “a societal tendency to stereotype members of ethnic groups” (Disman, 1985:13). According to Disman, three major factors influence intra-ethnic differences. These are social class, degree of acculturation to the norms of the dominant culture, and regional cultural differences within the country of origin. The last two factors are especially important when one is exploring the differences between Dutch- Canadian Catholics and Calvinists. This study will focus on intra-ethnic differences in cultural and structural ethnic identity retention among first- and second-generation Dutch- Canadian Catholics and Calvinists.³ The second purpose of the thesis is to look at intra-ethnic differences in the social support given to elderly members. We will argue that religion is a major factor explaining ethnic identity retention and patterns of social support in the two groups.

Ethnicity and religion can be major factors in determining human behaviour (Driedger, 1989; Driedger and Chappell, 1987:42; Bond, et al., 1987,1989). An earlier study conducted by the author for her M.A. thesis has indicated that Dutch-Calvinist and Dutch-Catholic immigrants, who arrived after World War II, showed different patterns of settlement in Ontario (van Dijk, 1990:103). The former established many of their own institutions, giving them a higher level of institutional completeness (Breton, 1990, 1964), while the latter joined existing institutions of the dominant culture. The M.A. thesis explored the extent and nature of assimilation among first-generation Dutch Canadians (van Dijk, 1990). The extent of cultural and structural ethnic identity retention was taken as a measure of assimilation. Although there was little variation in cultural ethnic identity retention between the two groups, there were striking differences in the extent of structural identity retention. The Calvinists had far higher levels of structural identity retention than the Catholics. In addition, regression analysis indicated a relationship between patterns of assimilation and levels of social support. Structural ethnic identity retention affected the availability and the extent of use of social supports.

³Gordon divides assimilation into cultural (behavioural) and structural dimensions (1964:77). Cultural assimilation refers to an acceptance of the values, language, foods, and customs of the dominant culture. Structural assimilation means the integration into the economic, political, religious, educational, and social institutions of the society.

1.2 Objectives of the Research

This study focuses on first- and second-generation Dutch immigrants of Calvinist and Catholic backgrounds. Many of the second-generation immigrants in our study are, in fact, first-generation immigrants who came to Canada as children. Nearly one-half of the Catholic children and two-thirds of the Calvinist children had been born in Holland. However, to avoid confusion, the children of elderly first-generation immigrants are called second-generation immigrants, regardless of whether they came as children or were born in Canada.

The study has three major objectives. First, we examine how ethnic identity patterns vary by religious groups. In particular, we wish to establish the extent to which ethnic identity is retained, transmitted, and maintained within Dutch-Canadian Catholic and Calvinist groups. Second, we describe how ethnic identity retention varies by generation. We can document whether the second-generation Calvinists are actually maintaining the institutionally complete society established by their parents. Third, we examine how religion influences the amounts and the types of social support that are given to older parents in Catholic and Calvinist communities. In particular, our goal is to observe whether high levels of institutional completeness and high levels of religiosity influence the types of care provided to the elderly. Although there is a considerable amount of research on assimilation and on the provision of social support, very few studies explore the implications of religion within ethnic groups for patterns of parent care.

1.2.1 Hypotheses

We have three major hypotheses.

1. Religion is a major factor in determining intra-ethnic differences in ethnic identity retention. Dutch-Canadian Calvinists have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than Dutch-Canadian Catholics.

2. *Generation influences ethnic identity retention.* First-generation Dutch immigrants have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than second-generation Dutch Canadians.⁴
3. Religion is a major factor in determining intra-ethnic differences in social support provided to elderly members.

The first hypothesis will be confirmed if our study shows that the Dutch-Canadian Catholics have assimilated into the mainstream of Canadian life to a greater extent than the Dutch-Canadian Calvinists. We will also examine whether the higher levels of institutional completeness of Dutch-Canadian Calvinists are associated with higher levels of ethnic identity retention. It is important to note that the Calvinists built an institutionally complete society because of their religious commitments, not because they wished to retain their ethnic identity. However, as a result of this religious commitment, their levels of ethnic identity retention are higher than those of the Catholic comparison group. Therefore, we can surmise that, if the religiosity of Dutch-Canadian Calvinists is greater, then their levels of ethnic identity retention are higher than those of their Catholic counterparts. Our study may also confirm that the higher levels of exogamy among Dutch-Canadian Catholics are associated with lower rates of ethnic identity retention.

In connection with the second hypothesis, we will examine whether longer periods of residence in Canada are associated with lower levels of ethnic identity retention. We hypothesize that the older people were at the time of immigration, the higher will be their levels of ethnic identity retention. We also consider whether having greater numbers of close friends of the same ethnic group is associated with higher levels of ethnic identity retention. Is frequency of contact with relatives in the country of origin associated with higher levels of ethnic identity retention? With regard to the third hypothesis, we show that, because of higher levels of religiosity and higher levels of institutional completeness, Calvinists differ in the specific ways in which they provide care for their elderly. As we have noted in the 1990 study, second-generation Calvinists are more likely to built retirement

⁴However, younger Calvinists are maintaining high levels of institutional completeness.

and nursing homes for their elderly members.

1.3 Outline of Chapters

In Chapter One we review the purposes and objectives of the thesis. We describe the research methods used and explain the theoretical framework which informs this thesis. The concepts of self, negotiated order, and reference groups, all of which are used in the symbolic interactionist approach, are especially relevant when one is considering the formation and maintenance of new identities among immigrants. We also show that among Dutch immigrants individual choices and individual differences affected settlement patterns. These influences were just as important as those of the larger structures in society, for example, the immigration policies of the Canadian government and the attitudes of church officials. Breton's model of institutional completeness is useful in explaining why and how Calvinists and Catholics developed their specific settlement patterns in southern Ontario. Driedger's conformity-pluralist model helps us assess the degree to which the first generation of Dutch immigrants was assimilated. It also helps to explain the nature of the changes that are now taking place among members of the second and the third generations. In this chapter we also review some of the Canadian research on ethnic identity retention. The various measures used to study ethnic identity retention are examined.⁵ Finally, we review some of the literature on ethnic and religious variations in social support.

In Chapter Two we present historical material on Dutch immigration. Over the years 1945-1960, a substantial number of Dutch people, including many Calvinists and Catholics, emigrated from The Netherlands because of a combination of "push" and "pull" factors. For example, the devastation that took place during World War II, the overpopulation of the country, and its slow rate of industrialization following the war were important "push" factors. Canada's immigration

⁵Measures of ethnic identity have varied from study to study and researcher to researcher. However, they generally included measures of religiosity, endogamy, language knowledge and use, patterns of food consumption, patterns of celebration of ethnic customs, friendship and visiting patterns, participation in ethnic organizations, parochial school attendance, and the extent of institutional completeness of the community.

policy, which favoured Dutch farmers and farm labourers, was one important “pull” factor. A second important “pull” factor was the pattern of chain migration. To understand the behaviour of members of an ethnic group in a new country, one must be familiar with their background. In particular, it is necessary to find out whether differences between Dutch Calvinists and Catholics in Canada stem from their ideological and religious differences in The Netherlands. Therefore, in Chapter Two, we show how the pillarization (or the division into distinct segments) of Dutch society had a profound effect on the settlement patterns of Dutch immigrants in Canada.

A review of the literature on variations by religion in patterns of religiosity, patterns of institutional completeness, and patterns of social support is presented in Chapter Three. Our goal is to examine the extent to which religious variables affect intra-ethnic or intergenerational differences in ethnic identity retention. Therefore, special attention is paid to ethnic and intergenerational variations in religiosity. Very little has been written about the relationship between religion and ethnic identity retention. Our 1990 study has shown that religion is very important in the lives of the majority of our older respondents. However, we need to examine whether it is the religious beliefs, the patterns of religiosity, or other as yet unknown variables that determine the behaviours of first- and second-generation Catholics and Calvinists.

A second focus of this study is the examination of how religion influences the amounts and types of social support that are given to older parents in Catholic and Calvinist Dutch-Canadian communities. Therefore, Chapter Four deals with the issue of social support. The significance of demographic changes and changes in patterns of caregiving will be briefly examined, but the emphasis will be on inter- and intra-ethnic differences, and on the implications of intergenerational variations for social support. From these reviews, we hope to find out whether religion is an important factor in determining differences in patterns of social support in ethnic groups. This will help us determine whether religion could be a major factor in explaining intra-ethnic differences.

Chapter Five describes the types of research methods that were used. We explain the major concepts, definitions, and hypotheses. The selection of the samples, which is outlined briefly in

Section 1.4, is explained in greater detail in this chapter. We also consider such matters as the response rates and the development of the instruments. Finally, each of the major variables is described.

The demographic characteristics of the two groups are described in Chapter Six. We present both univariate and bivariate analyses. We considered the following characteristics: country of birth, age, gender, marital status, living arrangements, health, education, family income, and occupation. Levels of ethnic identity retention are compared. Cultural aspects of ethnic identity retention include such variables as the frequency of consumption of ethnic foods, the celebration of ethnic holidays and customs, and language use. When considering the structural aspects of ethnic identity retention, we focus on symbolic identity, religiosity, endogamy, and on institutional completeness.

In Chapter Seven, the results of our analyses of various measures of social support are presented. Both the availability of support, sometimes termed the structural aspect of support, and the actual provision of support, also called the functional or behavioural aspect of support, are described. Affectional support was also measured. Chapter Eight presents the results of factor analyses of religiosity, institutional completeness, cultural identity, and social support. Multivariate regression analyses of the effects of religion and generation on ethnic identity retention are also described in the second part of the chapter. A summary of the major findings is presented in Chapter Nine. Factors affecting intergenerational and intra-ethnic identity retention and social support are identified. Limitations of the research and suggestions for future research are also discussed in this last chapter.

1.4 Research Methods

The original sample of ninety-nine Dutch-Canadian elderly immigrants was obtained in 1990 when I was conducting research for my M.A. thesis.⁶ Our 1995 survey includes both the original sample and

⁶In 1990, fifty Calvinists were chosen randomly from a sampling frame of older Calvinist church members. The names came from membership lists of nineteen Calvinist churches in the greater Hamilton area (See Section 5.3.1).

also the middle-aged children of the original elderly Dutch-Canadian respondents.⁷ Our sampling procedures are described in greater detail in Chapter Five, Section 5.2.1. In 1995, five years after the 1990 survey, ninety-five of the original ninety-nine people who responded in 1990 were still living. They were sent questionnaires. Out of a possible total of 572 adult children acknowledged by their parents, 451 middle-aged children's names and addresses were obtained from the parents. In the 1995 sample, 219 of the children were of Catholic background and 232 of the children were of Calvinist background. Forty-seven of the elderly subjects in the 1995 sample were of Catholic background, and 48 were of Calvinist background. Seventy-nine parents and 364 children returned completed questionnaires.⁸ Among the middle-aged children for whom we had been given names and addresses, the response rate was 80 percent. Both the parents and the children tended to be very interested in the study and considered it to be important. However, one must remember that 572 children were acknowledged by the parents and 364 children are included in the survey.

We used a self-administered mailed questionnaire. The two questionnaires, designed specifically for parents and for children (Appendix A), consisted of five parts. The sections of the questionnaire are described in detail in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.4. The analysis was conducted in several stages. First, univariate analysis were carried out in order to summarize the data and describe the characteristics of the respondents. Second, bivariate analyses provided comparisons between parents

The final list included a total of 665 names. Forty-nine Catholics were chosen from a convenience sample of older Catholic church members, members of Dutch organizations, and residents of one Dutch-Catholic retirement home. It is interesting to note that both VandenHooonaard (1991), in his study of the Dutch in New Brunswick, and Lowensteyn (1986), in her study of the Dutch in Quebec, had to use a snowball technique in order to find the names of Dutch immigrants because there were no formal Dutch organizations with membership lists (VandenHooonaard, 1991:80). We received sixteen names of Catholic immigrants living in "Windmill Gardens", seventeen names of members of the Dutch Heritage Club, located in St. Catharines, and eighty-two names from Dr. F. Schryer, a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph. Dr. Schryer is of Roman Catholic background and has done extensive research among Dutch immigrants in Ontario. Fifty-two of the latter group of names were those of elderly Dutch parishioners from the St. Christopher's Church parish and Our Family parish in the small rural town of Forest. The sampling frame for the Catholics consisted of 134 names. Of the forty-nine Catholics who responded, thirteen were members of Catholic congregations, nine were members of the Dutch Heritage Club in St. Catharines, and six were residents of a Dutch-Catholic Retirement Home. Twenty-one additional responses came from informants in the Catholic community. The 1990 sample was stratified by ethnicity, religion, and age. The respondents were selected from both urban and rural areas in southern Ontario.

⁷In this study, data relating to both the parents and the adult children in the family will be analyzed. It is necessary to gather information from members of both the first and the second generations since members of each generation will tend to have different views because of their different positions and experiences (Bengtson and Kuyper, 1971; Bengtson and Cutler, 1976:148; Giarrusso, et al., 1995:227; Rossi, 1995:264; Marshall, 1995:277; Giarrusso, et al., 1995:289).

⁸Of the ninety-five who were re-contacted in 1995, seventy-nine responded. This means that 83% of them responded.

and children, Catholics and Calvinists, and men and women. Third, a factor analysis of the various measures of religiosity, ethnic identity retention, and social support was conducted. Fourth, regression analyses showed the effects of religion and generation on ethnic identity retention. Religiosity, level of institutional completeness, and extent of cultural ethnic identity were used as dependent variables. The independent variables were religious affiliation and generation, as well as the standard demographic variables.

1.5 Theoretical Issues

1.5.1 The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

This study of Dutch-Canadian immigrants and their patterns of settlement in a new country is informed by a Meadian symbolic interactionist perspective. This theory is thought to be appropriate for the following reasons. The concepts relating to the formation and maintenance of self and identity developed by Mead (1934) are especially relevant to the development of new identities among immigrants. The identity or self may be single or multiple depending on the number of reference groups to which the individual compares him or herself. "A man has as many different social selves as there are distinct groups of persons about whose opinion he cares" (Stone and Farberman, 1981:157). For the immigrant, the reference group may be the ethnic group in the country of origin, the dominant group in the new country, some combination of both, or even another ethnic group in the new country (Breton, 1990, 1964; Haas and Shaffir, 1985:31). In addition, the Meadian perspective acknowledges that the discipline of sociology is value laden. It examines the objective facts, as well as the subjective facts. In addition, it considers the influence of individuals on structures, and the influence of structures on individuals.

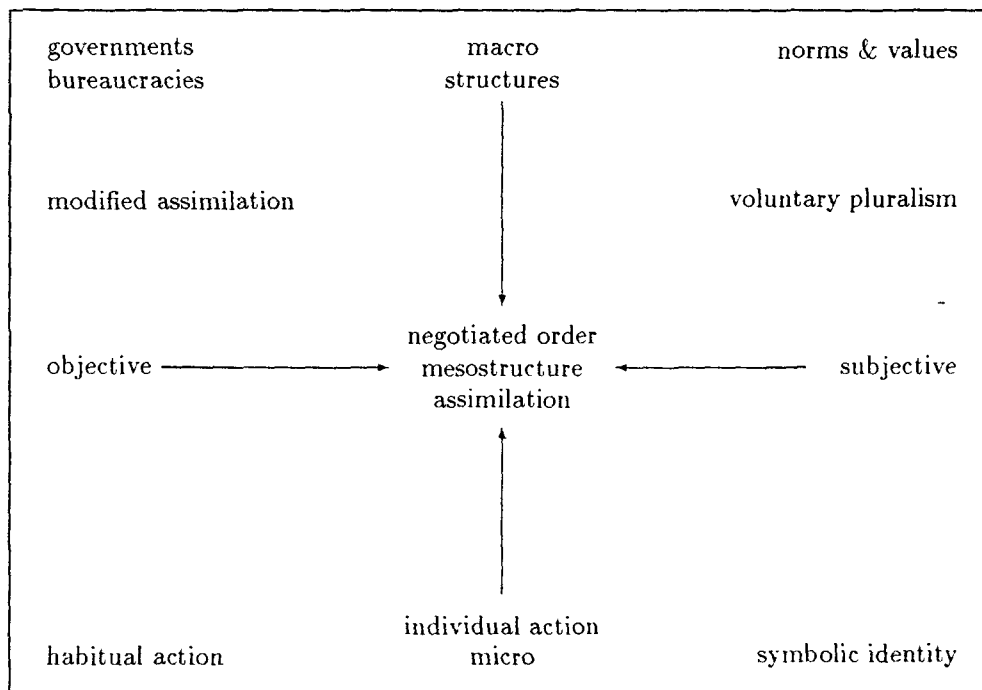
1.5.2 Theoretical Models Used to Explain the Settlement Patterns of Dutch Immigrants

Models can be used to provide a framework to explain events or the relationships between various factors. As was described earlier, two well established theoretical frameworks will be used. These are, first, Breton's (1990, 1964) *institutional completeness model*, and, second, Driedger's (1989) *conformity-pluralist model*. Breton's model is especially useful in explaining why and how Calvinists and Catholics developed their specific settlement patterns in southern Ontario. Driedger's model helps us assess the degree to which members of the first generation of Dutch immigrants have assimilated into Canadian society and the nature of the changes that are taking place among members of the second generation. The model presented in Figure 1.1 shows how we can examine events from a variety of perspectives. The use of several perspectives prevents us from developing distorted images of reality. It also shows us how social structures influence the everyday activities of individuals in society. Individuals do have some degree of choice over whether or not they will be dominated by these structures and over whether or not they will resist and change them.⁹ A coherent theoretical approach, such as the model presented in Figure 1.1, requires that attention be paid to individuals and to structures, and to subjective and to objective aspects of reality (Maines, 1982:275).

In applying the theoretical model in Figure 1.1 we will use concepts that are related to people's experiences of immigration. We see that, in order to analyze aspects of immigration at the individual subjective level, immigrants identify their own and their children's symbolic ethnic identities. They specify whether or not they think of themselves and their children as ethnic, as Canadian, or as ethnic-Canadian. Even though most immigrants hold Canadian citizenship, many continue to think of themselves as ethnic or as ethnic-Canadians. We can also analyze objective aspects of people's immigration experiences at the individual level. For example, one can document the numbers of ethnic organizations to which immigrants belong or the rates at which their children

⁹According to symbolic interactionist approach, every person, whether free or oppressed, can choose whether or not to change structures which are oppressive. When the structures are so coercive that change seems impossible, individuals are still free to change their attitudes towards these structures (Frankl, 1963:207).

Figure 1.1: Theoretical Approaches to Immigration – Micro-Level and Macro-Level Perspectives



marry outside their ethnic and religious groups. Aspects of cultural ethnic identity retention can be examined by considering the frequency with which members of groups eat ethnic foods, use the ethnic language, and observe ethnic customs and holidays. Attitudes towards these practices can also be explored.

Analyzing aspects of immigration at the structural level, we see that many patterns within North American society can be explained by the negotiations that have taken place (and are continually taking place) among the various ethnic and religious groups in the population. Hewitt considers three ways in which relationships have been negotiated among ethnic groups. He points out that, “In an ethnically and religiously diverse society like the United States, a negotiated order among such groups is a crucial aspect of the structure of the society” (Hewitt, 1976:212). In the first instance, new immigrants have generally assimilated into the Anglo-Saxon culture as soon as possible after

arrival. Second, the U.S.A. has tended to be seen as a melting pot, where a new culture has emerged from a mixture of immigrant cultures. The third, more pluralistic view sees no group as completely losing its culture. All are seen as contributing to a new American society. Each of the above can be seen as examples of negotiated orders between the newcomers and the groups already living in the society. In some cases, there is a greater emphasis on individuals and on their rights to retain certain aspects of their old cultures. However, in other cases, the emphasis is on structures and on the necessity to assimilate and to conform to already existing structures in the New World.

1.6 Ethnic Identity Retention

1.6.1 Theories Relating to Ethnic Identity

Although the concept of ethnic identity is an important one, the term is seldom clarified in the literature. From a subjective viewpoint, people identify themselves, or are identified by others, as belonging to specific groups (Isajiw, 1980, 1990). Subjective aspects of ethnic identity include the following: a knowledge of one's group's values, an acceptance of group obligations, and feelings of attachment to the culture of one's group. There are objective measures of ethnic identity which are based on observable behaviours. These may include the use of ethnic language, participation in ethnic organizations, the celebration of ethnic holidays and customs, and the consumption of ethnic foods (Breton, et al., 1990; Reitz, 1980:101-109). Isajiw (1980:80; 1990:49-91) lists some of the visible symbols of ethnic identity. When examining components of external identity, he includes such measures as frequent or occasional use of ethnic language, having close friends of one's own ethnic background, participating in ethnic group functions, reading ethnic newspapers, practising ethnic traditions, eating ethnic foods, and possessing articles associated with the culture of one's ethnic group. Isajiw lists the following as components of internal identity: the respondent's own definition of his/her identity and a knowledge of one's heritage, the respondent's feeling of obligation to employ group members in business ventures wherever possible, his/her feeling of obligation to

help group members get jobs, his/her sense of the importance of marrying within the group, and his/her feeling of obligation to support ethnic causes. A number of other sociologists have also developed measures of ethnic identity (Mackie and Brinkerhoff, 1984; Berry, et al., 1977; O'Bryan et al., 1976; Driedger, et al., 1987).

The importance placed on particular aspects of ethnicity varies from group to group and also from individual to individual. For example, a person or a group may retain many external components but few internal components of ethnic identity. There may be many combinations of the above. Of course, external components can be more easily measured than internal ones (Isajiw, 1990:37).

Ethnic identity is a fluid concept. It changes over time. And it can mean different things to different generations. For members of the first generation of immigrants, who tend to be very dependent on their own ethnic group, ethnic identity is closely tied to feelings about the country of origin. Members of the second generation sometimes need to know the ethnic language in order to communicate with the first generation. There is often some conflict between the first and second generations as ties with homelands are gradually replaced by ties with the adopted country. The third generation is free to choose to retain certain symbolic aspects of the ethnic identity. What often happens is that some members of the third generation yearn to discover more about their ethnic heritage, while others continue to assimilate (Reitz, 1980:43; Isajiw, 1990:38; Herberg, 1982:157).

Neither the assumption that ethnic identity disappears as members assimilate in the dominant culture, nor the assumption that societal structures determine the degree of assimilation is completely correct. Within a group, ethnic identity can be maintained while some integration and some acculturation to the dominant culture is taking place. Ethnicity is not the same as immigrant culture, which wanes in later generations (Rosenthal, 1986). Nor is it to be equated with minority status. Both the English and the French in Canada have ethnic identities, but they are not minorities. Neither is ethnicity to be associated with traditional families. For one Canadian researcher in the field, Rosenthal, it is "a shared sense of peoplehood that includes a body of shared cultural

meanings" (1986:20).

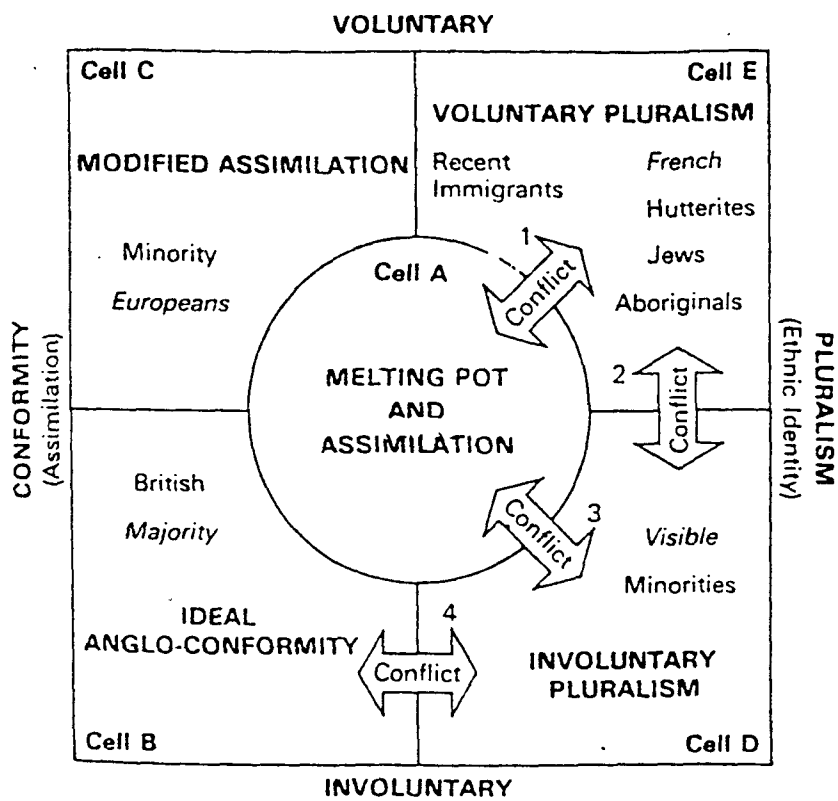
Gordon, an American sociologist who worked on ethnicity retention in the 1960's and 1970's, adopted a modified assimilation viewpoint that he explained in his book, Assimilation in American Life, published in 1964.¹⁰ He viewed assimilation as having both cultural and structural dimensions. Cultural assimilation refers to the acceptance of the new culture's values, dress, languages, foods, and customs. Structural assimilation refers to the integration into the economic, political, religious, educational, and social institutions of the society. According to Gordon, all groups undergo some cultural assimilation when they emigrate to a new country. When the group starts to assimilate structurally, especially when the rate of exogamy increases, the group is in danger of disappearing. This is because "marriage forms the last test of ethnic group cohesiveness" (Gordon, 1964:40). Two other American sociologists, Glazer and Moynihan (1963), advocate a modified pluralism. They point out that many ethnic groups do not want to assimilate. For example, many Jews wish to remain separate for religious reasons. Other groups wishing to maintain their own separate ethnic identities include Native people, French-Canadians, Japanese, Chinese, and Mennonites.

Contrary to popular beliefs, Canadians are not more tolerant of ethnic diversity than Americans. American and Canadian attitudes towards minority cultures are, in fact, quite similar (Breton and Reitz 1994:72; Palmer, 1991:461). In both Canada and the U.S.A., cultural pluralist theories have tended to replace assimilationist approaches. According to the former, groups which have retained their ethnic and/or religious identities are able to live together in peaceful co-existence. Assimilation implies that the members of the group lose their special characteristics and join the dominant (Anglo-Saxon) group or the "melting pot". Driedger proposes that, in reality, the actual behaviour of groups in post-war Canada falls somewhere between these two extremes (Driedger, 1989:48).

Driedger uses an assimilation-pluralist model in which both the voluntary and the involun-

¹⁰Gordon defined an ethnic group as "any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories" (Gordon, 1964:27).

Figure 2-2 A Conformity-Pluralist Conceptual Model



Reproduced with permission from L. Driedger, 1989 The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., Toronto, page 51.

tary actions of groups have been incorporated (Driedger, 1989:51). His model is given above. The centre of the model (Cell A, Melting Pot and Assimilation) represents the workplace, where all ethnic groups “must meet to make a living” (1989:50). Some assimilation takes place here. Cell B, Ideal Anglo-Conformity, represents the group, which, because of its political and economic power, holds a dominant status in the receiving country. Many immigrants strive to conform to the standards of this majority group. Cell C, Modified Assimilation, represents those groups which voluntarily give up some cultural and structural characteristics. Cell D, Involuntary Pluralism, represents those members of visible minorities who are forced to remain separate, and who are not accepted in the workplace. And Cell E, Voluntary Pluralism, represents those who, for whatever reasons, wish to remain separate and distinct.

In 1990, when we applied Driedger’s model to the situations of Dutch immigrants in Canada, it was clear that elderly Dutch-Canadian Calvinists must be placed in Cell E (van Dijk, 1990:127). The first-generation Calvinists voluntarily remained separate because of their strongly held distinctive religious values. They established their own separate organizations soon after their arrival in Canada. The elderly Dutch-Canadian Catholics are best represented by Cell C. These people have become culturally and structurally assimilated into the Canadian Catholic community, and have joined existing Catholic organizations. In Chapter Two, Section 3, we show how Driedger’s model can be applied to the situations of Dutch-Canadian immigrants in southern Ontario.

1.6.2 Research on Institutionally Complete Societies

The social organization of the communities into which immigrants are received is perhaps the most important factor in determining the extent of their absorption or assimilation (Breton, 1964:193-205).¹¹ The organizational styles of communities vary widely. There may be groups whose members form informal networks and friendship groups, or there may be groups in which formal organizations

¹¹Breton studied ethnic groups in Montreal in the late 1950’s. He found that the Greeks, Germans, French, Italians, and Ukrainians had high levels of institutional completeness, while the Danes, English, Portuguese, Swedes, and West Indians had low levels. However, Breton did not include ethnic schools and voluntary organizations in his study.

provide all the necessary services for their members.¹² The differences in organizational styles between ethnic communities may sometimes result from interactions with organizational styles of other groups. For example, when the Jews arrived in Montreal at the beginning of the twentieth century, they were not welcomed into either French or English society. This was one of the reasons why they established their own organizations (Rosenberg and Jedwah, 1992:274).

Immigrants may initially form relationships within their own ethnic groups, within the receiving society, within other ethnic groups, or within several different communities at the same time. Dutch-Canadian Catholics formed relationships both within the receiving society and within their own group. In contrast, Dutch Calvinists formed most of their relationships within their own particular religious and ethnic group (van Dijk, 1990:127). Many of the present day differences between the two groups appear to have resulted from the differences in the degree to which each has culturally and structurally assimilated. Complete cultural assimilation means the immigrant accepts the values, dress, language, food, and customs of the dominant culture. Full structural assimilation refers to the integration of the immigrant into the economic, political, religious, educational, and social institutions of the society into which he or she has moved (Gordon, 1964:71). Dutch-Canadian Catholic immigrants assimilated, both culturally and structurally, into the dominant culture. Dutch-Canadian Calvinists assimilated culturally, but not structurally, into Canadian society. They established their own organizations and developed an institutionally complete society (van Dijk, 1990:125).

Breton assesses the degree of institutional completeness using such measures as the numbers of churches, newspapers, and welfare organizations that a particular community or group maintains. When examining the histories of communities, it can be seen that the first formal organization that is set up by an ethnic group is of great importance in attracting members to the group. Subsequent organizations have a lesser impact. Usually it is the church that is of the greatest importance in

¹²The Italians in Montreal preferred informal networks, while the Greeks preferred a more formal community under the control of church members (Rosenberg and Jedwah, 1992:277).

maintaining relationships within the group. Newspapers are usually second in importance (Breton, 1964:201). Where there are high levels of institutional completeness, it is very likely that immigrants will be closely integrated within their groups. In fact, groups which are already highly organized tend to absorb immigrants of other religious denominations (Breton, 1964:193-205). The research by Breton and his colleagues (1990) on Toronto describes various contexts and preconditions for the development of institutionally complete groups.

Driedger and Church (1974) studied ethnic groups in Winnipeg using data from the 1961 census. They found that communities tend to spring up around the first institutions that are established. In the Jewish community in Winnipeg, new religious and cultural institutions were re-established after members moved to the suburbs. The move was caused in part by upward mobility (Ibid., p.43).¹³ Herberg (1989:213), another Canadian sociologist, argues that, in Canada, formal organizations have the most important influence on the survival of ethnic groups. Institutional completeness is more important in influencing ethnic group cohesion than, for example, language retention. Herberg defines institutional completeness as “the extent to which an ethnic group in a particular locale possesses organizations developed by or for members of that ethnoculture (Herberg, 1989:208).” Herberg identifies nine distinct institutions.¹⁴ They are as follows: religious, educational, economic, social and recreational, media, arts and cultural, health and social services, and political (Ibid., pp. 227-239). While ethnic culture is generally limited to primary relationships, formal organizations provide the means by which ethnic culture can be practised in public situations (Herberg, 1989:216). This has to happen for ethnic culture to survive. Ethnic organizations also help with the socialization of younger generations (Reitz, 1980:223; Herberg, 1989:214).¹⁵

Ishwaran, a sociologist at York University, argues that, although Canada is officially a

¹³This study is described in greater detail in Chapter Six, Section 6.5.4.

¹⁴He omits the institutions of the family and marriage.

¹⁵Herberg estimates that there are only two or three studies of institutional completeness in Canada. The first is Breton's (1964) study of ethnic groups in Montreal in the late 1950's. The second is the study of ethnic groups in Winnipeg conducted by Driedger and Church (1974). He includes Reitz'(1980) study of ethnic groups in five Canadian cities, even though it infers the existence of ethnic institutions on the basis of participation in and utilization of ethnic institutions (Herberg, 1989:215).

bilingual and multicultural society.¹⁶ ethnic groups are only allowed to practise their cultures at superficial levels.¹⁷ At deeper levels, they are dominated by Anglo-Canadian or Anglo-American culture (Ishwaran, 1980:15). Ishwaran rejects the notion that one culture should dominate other cultures in Canada. He makes the assumption that Canada really is a multicultural society. Multiculturalism is promoted through the values, the attitudes, and the behaviour patterns of various ethnic groups. The institution of the family helps members to maintain their ethnic identity. At the same time, the families help their members to integrate into a different culture. Furthermore, Ishwaran assumes that religion is an important influence in ethnic culture and in the retention of ethnic identity (Ishwaran, 1980:17).

1.7 Measures of Ethnic Identity Retention

Several Canadian sociologists have made comparisons between ethnic groups using quantitative measures of ethnic identity retention. We will review their findings briefly. Anderson (1972) conducted research over the years 1969-1971 on eighteen rural ethnic religious groups in northern Saskatchewan. One thousand interviews were carried out. He measured the regularity of church attendance, the extent of endogamy, the use of mother tongue, and the patterns of consumption of ethnic foods. Overall, levels of ethnic identity retention were very high in rural northern Saskatchewan. However, there were substantial variations between the groups. For example, the Hutterites had very high levels of ethnic identity retention, while the German Catholics had the lowest levels. It is of interest to note that, while the Ukrainian Catholics and Polish Catholics had very high scores, the French Catholics and the German Catholics had much lower scores. This may mean that for certain groups,

¹⁶In response to issues raised in the Royal Commission Report, tabled in the House of Commons on October 8, 1971, the government declared: "We believe that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity. Every ethnic group has the right to preserve and develop its own culture and values within the Canadian context. To say that we have two official languages is not to say that we have two official cultures, and no particular culture is more 'official' than another. A policy of multiculturalism must be a policy for all Canadians. The Government regards this as a heritage to treasure and believes that Canada would be poorer if we adopted assimilation programs forcing citizens to forsake and forget the culture they brought to us" (Government of Canada, 1975:iv-v).

¹⁷For example, the government only provides heritage language classes for an hour per week after school. Ethnic and cultural festivals take place once per year.

ethnicity is more salient, and for other groups religion is more salient (Driedger, 1989:148-150). Levels of church attendance were high among all groups. Attending church is clearly an established pattern in rural Saskatchewan. Although levels of ethnic identity retention were highest in the first generation, they remained high in subsequent generations (Driedger, 1989:150; Anderson and Driedger, 1980:166).

Driedger (1989:150) measured levels of ethnic identity retention among seven ethnic groups using a sample of one and a half thousand students attending the University of Manitoba in 1971. He developed his own Ethnic Cultural Identity Index. He developed six measures of behavioural identity factors. These were as follows: religious practice, endogamy, ethnic language use, participation in ethnic organizations, attendance at parochial schools, and friendship patterns. Religion, endogamy, and language use were the most important factors for all the groups. The French and the Jewish students scored highest on all the items. This means that they had tended to retain their ethnic identities. The Jewish students showed a very strong preference for endogamy. The Scandinavians scored the lowest on the Cultural Identity Index Scale and had assimilated the most. The retention of ethnic identity correlated closely with the degree of institutional completeness of the group (Driedger, 1989:151).

Another project used data from a 1971 census sub-sample that was originally part of a study of non-official languages conducted by the federal government. O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976) explored ethnic identity retention among people aged eighteen years and over in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver.¹⁸ In Canada in the early 1970's, Hungarians had the highest levels of identity retention, while Scandinavians had the lowest.¹⁹ Although the researchers measured such patterns as rates of church attendance, frequency of use of the ethnic language, fluency in the ethnic language, and levels of use of ethnic radio programming and newspapers, the

¹⁸ "The five cities in 1971 contain about one third of all Canadians of Northern and Eastern European origin, and about two thirds of all Canadians of Southern European and Chinese origin... . The sampled population [sampling frame] of groups of European origin was about 1,100,000, equally distributed over the three European regions of origin. The sampled population also included about fifty thousand Chinese" (Reitz, 1980:247). The sample of 2,433 included 151 Chinese, 638 Southern Europeans, 753 Eastern Europeans, and 891 Northern Europeans.

¹⁹ Many Hungarians were recent immigrants, having come to Canada after the revolution of 1956.

main focus was on language retention and on the impact of language retention on cultural retention. Frequent church attendance proved to be most closely associated with ethnic identity retention in all groups. The Dutch had the highest rates of church attendance. Attendance rates declined only slightly in the second and third generations. However, interest in ethnic radio programming and ethnic newspapers was extremely low among the Dutch. In all the groups, levels of ethnic language use were moderate in the first generations, but declined sharply in each succeeding generation. About two-thirds of the second generations and two-fifths of the third generations reported some knowledge of their ethnic languages.

In his book The Survival of Ethnic Groups (1980), Reitz documents the histories of ten ethnic groups in five Canadian cities. His main source of data was the aforementioned survey analyzed by O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976) as part of the study of non-official languages conducted by the federal government. Reitz pays particular attention to the significance of economic factors for ethnic group cohesion. He found strong correlations between symbolic ethnic identification and such factors as language retention, ingroup interaction, ethnic church affiliation, endogamy, and residence in an ethnic neighbourhood. Unfortunately, Reitz grouped the Germans, the Dutch, and the Scandinavians together under the label Northern Europeans. He noted that he did this for simplicity of analysis (personal communication, 1994). The Northern Europeans were grouped together on the basis of the similarities in their immigration histories, their preferred immigrant status, their general patterns of willingness to assimilate, and the fact that they all tended to come from similar backgrounds (Reitz, 1980:60-61).

Breton, Kalbach, Reitz, and Isajiw conducted a survey (N=2,338) of Toronto residents in 1978-1979. The 1981 census shows that, at that time, about 38 percent of the Toronto population had been born outside Canada. Using these data, Isajiw and Driedger developed a six-item Ethnic Cultural Identity Index (ECI) and also a Symbolic Ethnic Identity Index (SEI). The indicators used in the construction of the ECI are the following: use of ethnic language, endogamy, having the majority of one's friends of same ethnic group, use of ethnic media/newspapers, and frequent

consumption of ethnic foods. The Dutch were not included in the eight ethnic groups. West Indians, Chinese, and Jews had the highest levels of identity retention. Germans and Britons had the lowest. As in the other studies, substantial variations were found within all the groups. However, the authors did not differentiate between first-, second-, and third-generation immigrants. Because there are significant variations in ethnic identity retention within all the groups in these studies, there is a need to develop better, more sensitive, and more inclusive indicators of ethnic identity (Driedger 1989:153). Both subjective and objective measures are necessary. It is also necessary to control for generation and for the size of the ethnic community.

Herberg, in his book Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions, published in 1989, has explored the assimilation patterns of various ethnic groups in Canada using both census data and information provided by informants.²⁰ He deals with a wide range of indicators of ethnic identity retention. These include language retention, ethnic residential patterns, endogamy, the extent of religious monopoly, family size and fertility, and the level of institutional completeness of the community. Herberg finds institutional completeness to be one of the most important determinants of ethnic group cohesion. In Herberg's work, the variable most closely associated with ethnic cohesion was ethnic endogamy. The least closely associated was residential concentration. Again, there were substantial variations to be found within ethnic groups (1989:95).

1.8 Ethnic Identity Retention and the Care of Elderly Parents

1.8.1 Ethnic Variations in Social Support

Although much of the current research on aging has addressed issues relating to social support and family relations, there are as yet few Canadian studies that deal with the influence of ethnicity

²⁰To collect data relating to ethnic organizations, Herberg used a variety of qualitative methods. For example, he conducted interviews and made use of key informants in various communities.

on primary relationships (Neugebauer-Visano, 1995; Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1983; Penning and Chappell, 1987:158). This kind of research is important because “ethnic values and family relationships established early in the life cycle influence intergenerational relationships” (Woehrer, 1982:67). There is also very little research on the importance of religion in determining patterns of social support. It is clear that more research is needed on relationships between adult children and their elderly parents and on the provision of care within specific ethnic and religious communities. The following brief review of the literature documents some recent findings that suggest that there are, in fact, substantial differences between ethnic groups in patterns of care for the elderly.

Even though most older parents live close to one child and have frequent contact with their children and their siblings, ethnic differences in social networks are still apparent (Connidis, 1989:46; Synge, 1986). For example, recent immigrants tend to have smaller social networks because they left their extended families behind. In our 1990 sample of older Dutch-Canadian immigrants, about three-quarters of the respondents had no siblings in Canada. On the other hand, elderly Dutch immigrants had, on average, five to six children (van Dijk, 1990:87). Isajiw, studying mainstream Canadians and those of English, German, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian backgrounds, found a strong correlation between the informal interactions within ethnic groups and membership in the first, the second, or the third generation (1990:57). The first-generation immigrants had higher levels of informal interaction with one another than did the members of the third generation. Involvement in ethnic organizations declines with each generation (Isajiw, 1990:62; Reitz and Breton, 1994:59).²¹

Ethnic variations are also evident in patterns of exchanges of support. For example, American research shows that Italians, Mexicans, Jews, and Poles all tend to receive help from the family. Blacks are especially likely to receive help from both friends and family, while Scandinavians are likely to utilize help from organizations (Woehrer, 1978:332, 334). Among Native people, extended families often provide high levels of emotional, practical, and financial support to their elders. Older people

²¹In a later chapter we will show that this pattern does not hold for the Dutch-Canadian Calvinist group, where the first, second, and third generations are equally likely to be involved in Dutch-Canadian Calvinist organizations.

make up only 3.5 percent in a primarily youthful Native population (Statistics Canada, 1984:17), and elders continue to have high status in many Native communities (Vanderburgh, 1987:107).

Kastenbaum (1979) believes that, even though ethnicity may be suppressed earlier in life, it may re-emerge in old age. Ethnicity may also serve as a resource in old age. For example, some older people, freed from work, may find new roles and a sense of security within their ethnic groups (Myerhoff, 1980:235). However, Disman (1986), a Canadian researcher, conducting research in Toronto in the 1980's, did not find that a resurgence of ethnicity occurs. Her Toronto research, based on a sample of sixty Dutch and Polish immigrants, interviewed in 1986, showed that continuity in one's level of attachment to one's ethnicity was a more common pattern than was resurgence of ethnicity in old age (Disman, 1988). Twenty respondents in each group lived in Dutch or Polish retirement communities and ten lived in the community. From their life histories and from their self-identifications, Disman concluded that if ethnicity had been very important in earlier years, it would also be high in later years (Disman, 1984:19). Drawing on her research in Ontario in the 1980's, Disman sees the apparent resurgence of ethnic identity in later years as stemming from the situations in which people find themselves. It is common for members of the second generation of immigrants to show some loss of interest in the ethnic community. Members of the third generation sometimes feel the desire to know more about their ethnic roots (Reitz, 1980:129).

In addition to variations in levels of cohesion among immigrant groups, there are also variations in living arrangements and in patterns of intergenerational contact. Multigenerational households are not very common in Canada. Twenty percent of those aged 65 years and over and 15 percent of those aged 80 years and over live with one or more of their children (NACA, 1994:1). Some ethnic groups, for example, Native people, tend to have much higher rates of co-residence (Bienvenue and Havens, 1986:246). Woehrer, an American researcher, found that families of Scandinavians, Germans, and Dutch tend to live independently of one another. These groups had the lowest rates of weekly visits to family, and the highest rates of membership in organizations. In contrast, Italians tend to interact mainly with family members, and to have the highest rates of weekly

family visiting (Woehrer, 1982:71). For Black Americans, the extended family is also especially important (Seelbach and Sauer, 1977:493).

Penning and Chappell (1987) have examined informal networks among five ethnic groups. Because of their greater reliance on lineal authority patterns and their emphasis on the importance of the extended family, three of the groups, the French, the Ukrainians, and the Jewish, were classified as traditional. The British and German groups were classified as modern. The researchers looked at the availability of support, interaction patterns, levels of satisfaction, exchanges of help, and the existence of confidant relationships. Ethnicity was measured subjectively by asking about self-identification. The French and the Germans had more children than both the British and the Jewish people. They also had the greatest numbers of relatives living outside the household. About two-thirds of the older people in all groups saw one child at least once a week.²² No significant differences were found between the traditional (French) group and the modern (German) group in patterns of interaction with kin (Ibid., p.158). In addition, no differences were found in the levels of satisfaction with the frequency of interaction with relatives and friends. In contrast with the French, British, Jewish, and Germans, who saw daughters more often than sons, the Ukrainians saw sons more often than daughters (Ibid., p.155).

Bond and his colleagues (1987) conducted a small study (n=38) of intergenerational relations in a Mennonite community in rural Manitoba. Their findings suggest that more frequent participation in religious activities may be associated with greater willingness to provide care for parents. Frequent participation was also positively associated with having stronger beliefs and a preference for orthodoxy. Church groups and individual members of congregations are often very supportive of the elderly. Their religious beliefs support this commitment.²³

Up to seven and one-half percent of Canadians aged sixty-five and over live in institutions

²²“Care” and “interaction with elderly people” are separate issues. Only in the later stages of life do many elderly parents need much care.

²³Disman also found that the more institutionally complete the ethnic group, the more services it provided for its elderly (Disman, 1985:18).

(Forbes et al., 1987:37). However, research carried out in the U.S.A. suggests that one-quarter to two-fifths of the older population will spend some time in nursing homes (Brody, 1990:231). More research is necessary on ethnic and religious differences in older people's experiences with nursing homes and residential care (Disman and Disman, 1995). Maclean and Bonar (1983:33) found that loss of one's ethnic language and loss of familiar customs are very serious problems for those ethnic elderly who live in institutions of the dominant culture. Another serious problem is feeling abandoned by one's family. A person who belongs to an ethnic group where the family traditionally has cared for the elderly may feel shame because he or she has been institutionalized by his or her family. Support that is additional to family support is crucial for these people.

There is some evidence that not-for-profit institutions, such as those run by ethnic or church groups, provide excellent care (Moseley, 1994:386; Christian Labour Association of Canada Health Care Task Force, 1985, 1990:21). There is also evidence that family and community members stay highly involved in the care of older residents living in institutions run by ethnic or religious groups (Elliott, 1995:169; Netting, 1991:97; Hendel-Sebestyen, 1979:21, 22; Disman and Disman, 1995:208). For example, there are many familial, religious, and cultural ties between the Sephardic immigrant community and the residence that it has established in New York State for its older members.²⁴

1.9 Summary

In this chapter, we reviewed our goals and objectives. We have presented the hypotheses to be tested and discussed the methodologies used in our research. We have also explained how symbolic interactionist theory informs this thesis. Three theoretical models were presented. They were Breton's model dealing with institutional completeness, Driedger's model which helps to explain

²⁴Residents are happier if they experience a continuity in roles and status when they move from the community to the ethnic institution (Rowles, et al., 1996:188). This continuity has two beneficial effects. First, there is less likelihood of role loss. Second, closer ties between ethnic communities and ethnic homes are fostered because the children of residents tend to serve on governing bodies of the home, serve in administrative positions, are employed at the home, or work as volunteers there. Because of their financial and emotional involvement, the second generation has an obvious stake in such homes.

changes in ethnic identity over time, and a third model which helps us explain and integrate both micro-level and macro-level approaches to the study of assimilation. In the second half of Chapter One, we reviewed the Canadian research on ethnic identity retention, the measures used in this research, and some of the literature relating to ethnic variations in social support.

Because issues relating to religion and ethnicity are complex and multidimensional, it is important to study both intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic differences in the experiences of religious groups. Our study is important because it adds to the limited Canadian research on intra-ethnic and intergenerational differences in ethnic identity retention. It also contributes to the research on social support because it examines intra-ethnic differences in the provision of social support to elderly Dutch Canadians. Comparisons of levels of ethnic identity retention among first- and second-generation Dutch immigrants, as well as the examination of the differences between the Catholic and Calvinist subgroups, will show the extent of changes in ethnic conformity or pluralism. Differences between the two groups in people's approaches to the care of elderly parents will also be examined. Not only will our analysis of social support among the Dutch help in the organization and delivery of appropriate community health services for Dutch Canadians, but it will also help members of other ethnic and religious groups. A knowledge of the importance of cultural and religious differences can help the providers of care to work sensitively with their clients. It also allows us to identify barriers to the use of such services (Neugebauer-Visano, 1995:154-159; Doyle, 1995:170-183).

Chapter 2

Post-War Immigration and Settlement Patterns

2.1 Introduction

In order to understand the differences in patterns of settlement of Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists in Canada, we must become familiar with their different backgrounds. For that purpose we describe the historical situation in The Netherlands in this chapter. We examine the pillarization of Dutch society, and show how these pillars were transported to Canada. Three theoretical models are used to help explain the findings. First, we consider the importance of “push” and “pull” factors in migration. Second, we consider the significance of the level of institutional completeness of a society. Third, we draw on a model developed by Driedger in order to illustrate the conformity-pluralist continuum of assimilation. Strengths and limitations of different kinds of data as they interact with theory will be discussed. Material from various case studies will also be presented.

Although the Catholics and the Calvinists emigrated for similar reasons, there were some crucial differences in the factors influencing both their decisions to leave The Netherlands and their assimilation patterns in Canada. When they began to arrive in the early 1950's, the Catholics joined existing Catholic institutions, while the orthodox Calvinists, who had started to come a few years earlier, built a largely institutionally complete society. In this chapter, the immigrants describe in their own voices the factors which played a part in their leaving Holland. They also explain why one of the communities became largely institutionally complete.

A substantial number of the immigrants arriving in Canada during the period 1945 to 1960 came from The Netherlands (Appendix B). In fact, after World War II, Dutch immigrants to Canada were only exceeded by the British, the Germans, and the Italians (Palmer, 1991:455). Once in Canada, these Dutch immigrants quickly entered the subcultures from which they had come in Dutch society. Two of the Dutch immigrant communities that emerged in Canada were the Catholic and the orthodox Calvinist. The third group consisted of other Protestants, generally members of the Netherlands Reformed Church, the state church in Holland, who joined existing churches in Canada such as the United or Presbyterian churches. There was also a minority with no religious affiliation, and a few people of other religious groups, for example, Dutch Jews. In 1947, about four-tenths of the people living in Holland were Catholics, three-tenths were members of the Netherlands Reformed Church, one-tenth were Calvinists (Table 2.2).

The Catholic and Calvinist groups traditionally occupied different agricultural regions of The Netherlands (Appendix C). Catholics lived in Noord Holland, or below the Rhine, in Brabant and Limburg. Calvinists came from Zuid Holland, Zeeland, and from the northern provinces. The emigrants were predominantly the owners of small farms and farm labourers. Very few rich landowners of either group emigrated.¹ As will be described, money could not be legally taken out of The Netherlands in the years immediately after World War II. Emigrants came mainly from the propertyless or poorer segments of Dutch society. Because birth control was forbidden for religious reasons, both Calvinist and Catholic families were large.

There are a number of interesting parallels between the assimilation patterns of Dutch Catholics and Dutch Calvinists in the nineteenth century in the U.S.A. and in the twentieth century in Canada (Graumans, 1973:26). Lucas writes about their experiences of assimilation in North America, and, for example, describes the settlement of Dutch Catholics together with Dutch priests in the Green Bay area in Wisconsin in the middle of the nineteenth century (Lucas, 1955:217).

¹Of those Dutch people who came to Canada, 31% had agricultural backgrounds, while only 6% of those who went to Australia had agricultural backgrounds (Roholl, 1991:67). Wealthy merchants tended to be liberal Protestants, while small farmers and farm labourers tended to be orthodox Calvinists, or Catholics (Graumans, 1973:8).

Dutch Catholics have become part of the American Catholic Church and very little remains of their Dutch heritage. In contrast, earlier groups of Calvinists, people who arrived in the middle of the nineteenth century and settled in Michigan, Iowa, and Illinois, have remained quite distinct (Ibid., p.253, 330, 225; Kroes, 1991:219).² The contrasting experiences of Calvinist and Catholic Dutch in the U.S.A. often mirrors closely what has happened in Canada in the mid- to late twentieth century.

2.2 Historical Background

In order to understand the behaviour of an ethnic group in a new country, one must be familiar with the culture, values, and political structure of the society from which the group came. Therefore, a short historical overview of conditions in The Netherlands is necessary. In 1519, The Netherlands was inherited from the Hapsburg Empire and was united with Spain as part of a marital arrangement. The predominant religion was Catholicism. During the Reformation,³ the northern part was converted to Calvinism. The Calvinists, who were oppressed, fought for independence from Spain. Their struggle continued for eighty years (1568-1648) (McTaggart:1994:147).⁴ The war ended in 1579 with the Treaty of Utrecht when seven northern provinces established the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The southern provinces remained loyal to Spain.⁵ However, it was not until 1648 that the Dutch gained complete independence from Spain, and Protestantism became the state religion. From 1795 to 1814, all of The Netherlands was occupied by Napoleon and came under French rule.⁶ In 1814, the North and the South (Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg) were united by the Treaty of Paris and became the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. However, because of their long

² A description of the history of the two groups in the U.S.A. is to be found in Sections 2.6.1 and 2.6.2.

³ Martin Luther started the Reformation on October 31, 1517 when he nailed 95 theses to the door of the castle church in Wittenberg, Germany, advocating his new found belief in justification by faith, not works.

⁴ During that time, in 1571, the first Synod of Dordt of the largest Protestant Church in Holland, the Dutch Reformed Church, was convened. Much later, in 1816, King William I reorganized this church and renamed it the Netherlands Reformed Church.

⁵ This explains why Limburg and Brabant are now 85% Catholic (McTaggart, 1994:166).

⁶ In 1796 equal civil rights were given to all religions and Holland was no longer an officially Protestant country (McTaggart, 1994:150). However, the Catholics did not achieve complete equality until the late nineteenth century. In fact, since the sixteenth century Catholics were persecuted, and were not allowed to establish their own schools, had their property taken away, and had their press censored (Schreuder, 1991:204).

separation, the poor Catholics in the south, who were in the minority, sometimes resented the rich Protestant merchants in the north and were economically exploited by them (Schreuder, 1991:204; McTaggart, 1994:156). Increasingly, Catholics opposed Protestant rule in the nineteenth century. As a result, Belgium broke away to form the Kingdom of Belgium in 1830, and Luxembourg gained complete independence in 1867 (Shetter, 1971: 75-79, 140-141; Britannica, 1990:301,616; Graumans, 1973:5-10).⁷

The pillarization of Dutch society began to take place from 1878 to 1917. The term pillarization, "verzuiling", refers to the practice in The Netherlands of ideological and religious groups building their own organizations, which cut vertically across social classes to form distinct units. Three main segments existed in Dutch society. There was a Catholic segment, a Protestant segment, and a non-denominational segment.⁸ In the 1950's, 38 percent of the total Dutch population was Catholic, while 10 percent belonged to the orthodox Calvinist group. The remainder of the Dutch population belonged to the Reformed church (the state Protestant church) (31.1%), to other denominations (3.7%), or had no religious affiliation (17%) (Table 2.2).

Each of the three segments of society in The Netherlands was marked by institutional completeness. In an institutionally complete society, the group provides most of the services for its own members (Breton, 1964). Each group or pillar in Holland maintained parallel organizations, such as churches, schools, political parties, labour unions, and social organizations. They even maintained their own emigration societies (Roholl, 1991:59).⁹ This was made possible by the government, which

⁷The languages in Holland are Dutch and Flemish (Vlaams), and the languages in Belgium are Flemish and French. Flemish is very similar to Dutch (Lucas, 1955:2).

⁸The Protestant segment included a small orthodox Calvinist group (Gereformeerden) and a larger, more liberal Reformed group (Hervormden) (Ganzevoort, 1988:69). The orthodox Calvinists group is sometimes regarded as a separate pillar because of its prominence in Dutch society. The Dutch-Canadian Calvinists we studied came mainly from the former group of more orthodox Calvinists. The non-denominational or secular segment was divided into a liberal segment, which was largely composed of upper-class and upper-middle-class people, and a socialist segment, which was largely composed of lower-middle-class and lower-class people (Van Ginkel, 1982:68).

⁹Dutch emigration differed from that elsewhere in that, as early as 1846, with the organization of the Christian Association for Emigration, it was organized by churches and their specific emigration societies (Lucas, 1955:158). The Public Emigration Board (Algemene Emigratie Centrale) served liberal Protestants and those with no religious affiliation, the Catholic Central Emigration Foundation (Catholieke Centrale Emigratie Stichting) served Roman Catholics, and the Christian Emigration Board (Christelijke Emigratie Centrale) served orthodox Calvinists (Hofstede, 1964:82-86; Van Ginkel, 1982:36).

funded all organizations proportionately. As one would expect, there were disagreements between the government and the religious organizations. The former saw emigration primarily as an issue relating to employment. The latter wanted to provide spiritual and emotional guidance as well. As we describe later, the government's emigration attachés, of whom there were over thirty throughout the world, promoted the government perspective (Roholl, 1991:68). In their daily lives, the Catholic, Protestant, and non-denominational groups lived in isolation from one another. In fact, the motto of the Dutch Calvinists was "in isolation is our strength." Ganzevoort, a Dutch-Canadian historian, explains the situation: "This segregation cut across class and economic barriers and created a situation in which group members preferred to associate only with those who shared their ideology" (1988:69).

Pillarization of Dutch society developed in response to the desire of various religious groups in Holland to obtain government subsidies for their confessional schools and proportional representation in government (Shetter 1971:18-19; McTaggart, 1994:159-163). To achieve this goal, the Catholics and the Calvinists, from the late nineteenth century until 1946, formed a political alliance.¹⁰ As a result the first subsidies were provided to confessional schools in 1887 (Thurlings, 1979:82-83). By 1917, all schools were funded equally in proportion to their enrolments. As we have noted, during these years Holland saw the establishment of confessional political parties, confessional trade unions, confessional radio broadcasting, and a variety of other confessional organizations. By 1945, Dutch society was marked by religious pluralism and by vertical pillarization (Van Belle, 1989, 1991). In fact, pillarization even facilitated the establishment of a humanist pillar after the war. This Dutch movement was founded on ideological basis, in contrast with the anti-religious stance of the Canadian humanist movement. It was seen as a religious movement for the unchurched (McTaggart, 1994:124). For various reasons, the most important one being the evolution of a neutral welfare state in the 1960's and 1970's in Holland, a process of de-pillarization began in the 1960's.

¹⁰Between 1901 to 1905, and again between 1933 to 1939, the leader of this coalition served as prime minister (Van Ginkel, 1982:21). These two leaders were Abraham Kuyper and Hendrik Colyn.

Table 2.1: Preferences for Church-Sponsored Activities in Post-War Holland by Religious Denomination (in %).

Activities	Roman Catholic	Dutch Reformed	Christian Reformed
Elementary school	86	54	96
Youth groups	67	67	93
Broadcasting organ.	50	47	88
Political parties	35	36	80
Labour unions	41	33	79
Sports organizations	27	21	61

Source: Adapted from Goudsblom, J., God in Nederland, 1967:292
(Based on a survey of Dutch citizens).

As part of the process of de-pillarization process a merger of the state Protestant and the orthodox Calvinist churches has been in progress since the 1980's (Van Belle, 1991:317). The general decline in religion in many Dutch denominations may have been another contributing factor.¹¹

The practice of having parallel organizations for each religious group does not imply that the desire for church-sponsored organizations was equally strong among all the groups. Catholics and liberal Protestants were not as dedicated to this idea, as can be seen from Table 2.1 (adapted from a table from Goudsblom, J., 1967, God in Nederland, cited in Graumans, 1973:17). This table shows the percentages of each group in favour of church-sponsored activities. As one would expect, the Calvinists living in post-war Holland favoured not just schools based on Calvinist principles, but also youth groups¹², broadcasting, political parties, and labour unions based on Reformed Christian principles (Kits, 1991:342). Catholics favoured religious education, but both they and members of the state Protestant church were likely to favour having such organizations as political parties or sports clubs not organized by their churches.

Members of the various religious groups in The Netherlands have not emigrated to Canada at the same rate (Table 2.2; Appendix B). In fact, the percentage of Catholics among the emigrants to Canada (24.1%) is rather lower than the proportion of Catholics in the Dutch population

¹¹Holland experienced a sharp decline in church attendance after World War II. By the mid-1980's, about 45% of the Dutch population no longer had any church ties (McTaggart, 1994:166).

¹²Among Calvinists, youth groups played an important role in training young adults for their future roles in organizations (Van Belle, 1991:312)

Table 2.2: The Population of Holland and Post-War Emigration by Religion, 1948-1952 (in percentages)

Religion	Total population in 1947	Total Number of emigrants	% of emigrants to Canada*	% of total no. of emigrants (Column 2)**
Roman Catholic	38.5	27.9	24.1	38.4
Netherlands Reformed	31.1	26.8	25.3	41.8
Orthodox Calvinist	9.7	24.9	41.2	73.3
Other faiths	3.7	4.2	2.5	26.1
No church and unknown	17.0	16.2	6.9	18.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	

* Proportion of Dutch emigrants to Canada (by religion).

For example, between 1948 and 1952, Calvinists made up 41.2% of emigrants to Canada.

** Proportion of total number of emigrants from Holland (to all countries, Column 2) who went to Canada.

For example, three-quarters of all Orthodox Calvinists from Holland who emigrated, went to Canada.

Source: Adapted from Table 23, (Page 187) W. Petersen, Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement. University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1955.

as a whole (38.5%). In contrast, the percentage of Calvinists emigrating to all countries (24.9%), as well as to Canada (41.2%), is much higher than the proportion of Calvinists (9.7%) in the Dutch population according to the 1947 census. Since Calvinists, Catholics, and members of the Netherlands Reformed church emigrated in approximately equal numbers, a much greater proportion of the orthodox Calvinist population left Holland (Table 2.2). Between 1948 and 1952, Calvinists made up more than 40 percent of the sponsored emigrants to Canada, while the Catholics and the members of the Netherlands Reformed church each made up about 25 percent (Column 3, Table 2.2). In spite of the fact that priests were favouring other countries, nearly two-fifths (38.4%) of all Dutch-Catholic emigrants went to Canada (Table 2.2, Column 4). Seventy-three percent of all Dutch-Calvinist emigrants went to Canada.¹³ Catholics were more likely than Calvinists or members of the Dutch Reformed church to emigrate to Australia, New Zealand, and Brazil, partly because of the greater availability of Catholic schools in Australia and partly because of the support of the

¹³Table 2.2 shows that 41.8% of all emigrants from Holland who belonged to the Netherlands Reformed church, went to Canada. It shows that 26.1% of all emigrants who belonged to other faiths went to Canada. And 18.9% of all those emigrants with no religious affiliation went to Canada.

Table 2.3: Emigrant Departures by Religion and Country of Destination, 1948-1962 (in %)

Destinations	Roman Catholic	Dutch Reformed	Calvinist	Others	No Den.	Total People	Percent
Canada	30.7	25.7	30.6	3.3	10.0	143,300	(36%)
Australia	44.0	25.8	7.7	3.7	18.7	118,100	(30%)
New Zealand	47.0	25.0	8.3	3.5	16.2	21,900	(6%)
South Africa	20.7	35.7	16.7	5.2	21.5	29,600	(8%)
Brazil	48.7	19.7	13.7	2.2	15.0	4,400	(1%)
U.S.A.	24.0	28.0	13.3	8.8	18.8	71,900	(18%)
Total*	34.5	27.3	17.5	4.1	15.2	395,500	(99%)

* Total includes countries such as Argentina and Rhodesia.

Source: Adapted from Table 12, (Pages 96-97) B. Hofstede, Thwarted Exodus. Martinus Nyhoff, The Hague, 1964.

Catholic church for this choice of destination (Appendix B). This matter will be discussed in greater detail later in section 2.6.2.

As we can see from Table 2.3, adapted from a chart in Hofstede's book Thwarted Exodus (1964) on emigration from Holland (reproduced in Appendix B),¹⁴ the most popular destinations, in order of importance, were Canada, Australia, and the U.S.A.¹⁵ Some of those who came to Canada would probably have preferred to come to the U.S.A., but numbers allowed to enter were limited (Van Ginkel, 1982:14). As we have noted, a much greater proportion of Calvinists emigrated to Canada, mainly because of previously established congregations there. We presume that Dutch non-denominationalists readily assimilated into Canadian society.¹⁶ The large group of Dutch immigrants from the Dutch Reformed Church (Hervormde Kerk), which is the state church in The Netherlands, were initially advised by their church leaders to join the United Church upon their arrival in Canada.¹⁷

¹⁴One important feature of the chart from Hofstede (1964), reproduced in Appendix B, is the division of emigrant departures into time periods. This shows the later peaking of Catholic emigration.

¹⁵The relative importance of different countries can be seen from the last column, which shows the numbers of emigrants. Canada accepted about one-third, Australia and New Zealand another one-third, and the U.S.A. accepted about one-sixth of the total number of emigrants from Holland.

¹⁶In 1971, one-quarter to one-third of the Dutch in Canada had married people who were not of Dutch origin. This means that "outmarriage" was fairly common among all groups other than Calvinists (Richards, 1991:110, 116).

¹⁷The relationship between the orthodox Calvinist church and the Reformed state church is explained in greater detail in Section 2.6.1., and a diagram showing the relationships between the various churches in the Reformed tradition is given in Appendix I.

Many joined the United and Presbyterian churches, but some did not find this solution to be acceptable and joined various Reformed churches. The following incident illustrates this point. In the 1950's, a recently arrived Dutch woman immigrant living in Toronto, wrote to an official of the Reformed Church in Hamilton as follows:

On our arrival we discovered that all our relatives have joined the Christian Reformed Church: consequently, we are going with them to that church. In Holland they had told us that we would feel most at home in the Reformed Church because we are "Hervormd". However, we find the difference between the Reformed and Christian Reformed Church is not that great (Maple Leaf Reformed Church Papers, MU 9407).

Because the Calvinists were highly organized and eager to evangelize, they drew members from other segments of Dutch immigrant society (Van Ginkel, 1982:23; Ganzevoort, 1988:71). The Reformed Church in The Netherlands (Hervormde Kerk), the state church, encouraged its members to join United or Presbyterian churches in Canada. When some of the members did not feel at home there for various reasons, they joined Christian Reformed churches. In 1949, the Reformed Church of America established an immigration committee to help new immigrants set up Reformed churches in Canada. By 1960, 138 Christian Reformed Churches, 21 Reformed Churches, 22 Canadian Reformed Churches, and a few Protestant Reformed, Free Reformed, and Netherlands Reformed congregations had been formed in Canada. The latter two churches were conservative orthodox Protestant churches (Van Ginkel, 1982:30-31; Appendix I). Many who were members of the state Protestant church in Holland appear to have joined the United Church. In 1981, about one-quarter of those Canadians claiming Dutch background belonged to that church (Driedger and Chappell, 1987:43). For some, this did not prove to be suitable for a variety of reasons. Some, who had first joined mainstream Protestant churches on arrival in Canada, later joined the Christian Reformed Church.¹⁸ Mr.

¹⁸ Immediately after the war, the Netherlands Reformed Church, the state Protestant church in Holland, advised its members to join the United Church in Canada. Rev. Stam, who was sent to Canada to help the Reformed church members, did not want them "locked in nationalist groups". The Reformed Church in America disagreed with this policy, and sent a representative to Holland to have this policy changed. The effort was successful, and from then on Dutch emigrants were advised to join the Reformed Church on arrival. The United Church was listed as a second choice. In 1952, Rev. Pickup, a minister in the Presbyterian Church, attended the Synods of the Netherlands Reformed and Calvinist churches in Holland in order to emphasize the fact that his church was also interested in attracting and serving future Dutch emigrants (Petersen, 1955:189-190). Those members of the Hervormde Kerk, the state Protestant church, who emigrated to Australia were advised to join the Presbyterian Church.

Heersink, a former mayor of the city of Steenderen, who came to Canada in 1953 in order to organize the Reformed immigration movement, had the following to say about the advice to join the United Church. In his report to Holland written in 1953, he stated, "The decision of the Hervormde Kerk (Reformed Church, the state Protestant church in Holland) after the War to send its people to the United Church of Canada is now seen as an historic mistake." According to him, those immigrants who had belonged to the state Protestant church in Holland did not feel at home in the United Church because of "language difficulties, liberal preaching, lack of standards, lack of youth training, and a lack of willingness [of the United Church] to do the necessary immigration and social work." On the other hand, they did not feel completely at home in the Christian Reformed Church because they objected to a "too great emphasis on covenant theology and the resulting policy of isolation, Christian Reformed schools, labor unions, hospital organization(s), credit union(s), with a tendency to regard "Hervormd" (Reformed, or members of the state Protestant church) as second class" (Mr. Heersink, MU 9396).

Estimates of the numbers of immigrants who affiliated with mainstream Canadian churches vary depending on the sources used. Van Ginkel (1982:14) draws on the 1961 Canadian census. Twenty-five percent of the Dutch living in Canada reported that they were members of the United Church of Canada, 23 percent reported that they belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, 22 percent belonged to the Christian Reformed Church, and 30 percent belonged to other churches, or had no religious affiliation. It is interesting to note that the United Church had established close contact with the Hervormde Kerk (Reformed Church or state Protestant church) in Holland before the war. Dutch services had been offered in order to gain new members among "Hervormde" immigrants. After the war, the United Church did not continue these efforts. As a result, some of the "Hervormden" joined the Christian Reformed Church or the Reformed Church of America (Groenenberg, 1966:58; Van Ginkel, 1982:38). Driedger and Chappell (1987:43-44) used the 2 percent sub-sample of the 1981 census to document the religious affiliations of Canadians aged 65 and over

of various ethnic backgrounds (Appendix D).¹⁹ As one might have expected, the Dutch elderly were more likely to have moved between denominations than any other group. In 1981, about one-quarter (26.2%) belonged to other Protestant churches, which included the Reformed churches, 15 percent belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, 7.3 percent belonged to the Anglican Church, 4.6 percent were Baptists, 1.8 percent were Lutherans, 12.4 percent were Mennonites, 2.1 percent belonged to the Pentecostal Church, 5.0 percent were Presbyterians, 18.6 percent belonged to the United Church, and 0.2 percent were of the Jewish faith (Ibid., p.42). An additional 6.8 percent reported having no religious affiliation.²⁰

Some immigrants did not want to join ethnic churches because they wished to assimilate, and lose the stigma of being a foreigner. Some of these people became members of Presbyterian, Baptist, and United Church congregations (Appendix D). Many Protestants joined the United Church partly because it was a church for the middle classes, it preached a liberal theology, and its discipline was undemanding (Palmer, 1975:183). Because there are so many similarities between Canadians of British origin and Protestants from Northern Europe, intermarriage between the two groups is relatively easy.

2.3 Theoretical Perspectives

When exploring issues such as immigration, theory guides the sociologist in choosing the kinds of questions that should be asked and the kinds of documents that should be studied. Theory is also important in determining the choice of appropriate case studies and in the selection of relevant factors for inclusion in models (Kiser and Hechter, 1991:14). If theoretical models are used, they

¹⁹For comparison, we also show the population by selected religions having Dutch as mother tongue, for Canada and Ontario, using the 1991 census in Appendix D.

²⁰Gerber (1983:67) used a sub-sample of the 1971 census, which represented 1.3% of the Canadian population, to conduct research on those aged 65 and over in Ontario. Unfortunately, her sample of Dutch people was very small (N=88). Given the small size of the sample, we cannot expect accuracy. She reports that 11.4% of her sample belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, 34.1% to the United Church, 8.0% to the Anglican, 8.0% to the Presbyterian, 4.5% to the Baptist, 2.3% to the Lutheran, and 29.5% belonged to the "Other" category, which includes the Reformed churches. In addition, 2.3% had no religious affiliation.

Figure 2.1: Three Theoretical Frameworks Used in This Study

<u>Structural Preconditions</u>	<u>The Role of General Theory</u>	<u>Outcomes</u>
- economic and social factors in Canada and Holland - immigration policies - role of the church	- Push/Pull factors	- choice of country - time of emigration - number of immigrants
- strong rec'ving community - price of land - role of the church	- Institutional Completeness	- settlement patterns
- role of church/bishops - ideology	- Conformity-Pluralist Model	- assimilation or cultural pluralism

must not distort the reconstruction of the past. There is sometimes a tendency to focus on the model rather than on the historical event, or to select only those historical facts that fit the theory (Skocpol, 1984:366). The three theoretical frameworks which will be used to explain the Dutch Canadians' experiences of migration are shown in the accompanying diagram and explained below. In addition to the push/pull model, the theoretical models developed by Breton and Driedger provided the framework for this study. These theories link the structural conditions that caused the migration and the actual results of emigration.

Economic conditions, and Canadian immigration policies immediately after the war were the two main structural factors that determined the timing of Dutch emigration, the numbers of immigrants, and the choice of country. Poor economic conditions in Holland encouraged emigration.²¹ According to Dutch inheritance patterns, all children - male and female - generally received equal amounts. This meant that many farms had been subdivided into small parcels of land (Sas, 1957:39).²² Both "push" and "pull" factors determined Dutch migration patterns. The second

²¹ According to one source, one-third of the Dutch population considered emigration after the war (Roholl, 1991:60-62).

²² Many Dutch people from rural areas were land hungry. The Land Settlement Scheme, negotiated between the Canadian and Dutch governments, allowed 10,000 Dutch farmers and farm labourers to enter Canada in 1947 (VanderMey, 1983:51). The tendency of the Dutch priests to advise their parishioners to choose Australia as their country of destination delayed large-scale Catholic emigration to Canada by several years. In contrast, the active part played by the Christian Reformed Churches in the U.S.A. and Canada in obtaining sponsors for Calvinist emigrants and in

main factor that determined Dutch settlement patterns in Canada was the desire of the Calvinists to remain a cohesive group. They were helped by the fact that there was already a strong church community in Canada to receive newcomers.²³ Several new communities were established in areas in which the land was affordable. Because of their ideological and their religious beliefs, Dutch Calvinists soon undertook the building of their own Christian schools and other organizations (Appendix E).

A third factor affecting the settlement patterns of some Dutch immigrants was the distaste on the part of some Catholic bishops in English-speaking Canada for ethnic parishes.²⁴ These bishops wanted all Catholic immigrants from various ethnic backgrounds to assimilate and join existing Catholic parishes. They also wanted them to send their children to existing Catholic schools. It is probable that the stance of the bishops in English-speaking Canada was shaped in part by certain events in the history of the American Catholic Church in the nineteenth century. Two significant struggles over church government in the Catholic church took place in the U.S.A. at that time. The first was a struggle over "Trusteeism" (Herberg, 1956:153). In the first part of the nineteenth century, the large influx of Irish-Catholic immigrants²⁵ caused dissension between the existing French and German clergy and the new influx of Irish parishioners. The Irish demanded more Irish bishops and priests and more lay control over the running of their churches. Some of them wanted an Independent Catholic Church of America, free of all references to Rome (Ibid., p.154). In 1829, and again in 1852, the existing hierarchial structure was reaffirmed by various councils which met in Baltimore. As more Irish priests and bishops replaced the French and German clergy, the Irish gave up their demands for change. By 1890, the Catholic hierarchy had become almost entirely Irish.

receiving Dutch Calvinists greatly facilitated their coming. Members of the Christian Reformed Church Immigration Committee arranged for sponsors and met ships (Lucas, 1955:466).

²³For example, the Calvinist church community established immigration societies which arranged for the sponsorship of Calvinist immigrants. This attracted many Calvinists who joined small existing churches. The well established Dutch-Calvinist communities in Michigan also provided material help and personnel.

²⁴The Catholic Church in Quebec also played a role in discouraging the provision of pastoral care in the Dutch language. As a consequence, the Catholic Dutch Canadian Association discontinued its support for Dutch Catholics in Quebec (Lowensteyn, 1991:273).

²⁵Between 1820 and 1865, about 1,900,000 Irish came to the U.S.A. These immigrants were predominantly Catholic.

This set the stage for another crisis about church government.²⁶

Many of the immigrants arriving in the second half of the nineteenth century had difficulty feeling at home in the predominantly Irish parishes they found in the New World. They missed the familiar practices, languages, and companionship of the churches in their home countries. Led by a German Catholic merchant, Peter Gahensly,²⁷ leaders of various new ethnic groups petitioned the Pope in 1890 to establish dioceses in the U.S.A. along ethnic or cultural lines, rather than along geographical boundaries, as was the existing custom. They wanted a loose federation of semi-autonomous immigrant national churches. Both the Irish²⁸ and American bishops were against the plan, because they wanted a vigorous American Catholic church. Rome rejected the plan (Herberg, 1956:159; Meng, 1991:263). Subsequently, the Irish succeeded in making the Catholic church into a national American church.

Similarly in Canada, the diocesan system of Catholic churches was based on geographical areas rather than on the settlement patterns of ethnic groups (Mol, 1985:66). Mol notes two exceptions: the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Polish National Catholic Church.²⁹ Local dioceses and bishops tried to assimilate immigrants from various Catholic countries. for example, immigrants from Italy, Poland, and Lithuania, and to keep them under one hierarchial system. They did this by using episcopal tact, by stressing papal authority, by offering services to ethnic groups, and by providing religious education (Ibid., p.209). However, some bishops allowed a variety of ethnic parishes at the local level, if the numbers of immigrants warranted it. If the numbers of ethnic group members were smaller, bishops provided priests of different ethnicities in local parishes, encouraged ethnic social affairs, and offered masses in ethnic languages.³⁰

²⁶Because of the large number of Irish Catholics, many of whom had come during the famine migration of 1840's, Catholicism in Ontario had developed a distinctly Irish character by the 1860's (Perin, 1990:19; Darroch, 1993). In Quebec, of course, the church had a strong French-Canadian character (Perin, 1990:36).

²⁷Gahensly was concerned about the spiritual welfare of Catholic immigrants, and established the St. Raphael's Society in 1883 in order to provide better spiritual care for German people (Meng, 1991:246).

²⁸The Irish had strong feelings of reverence for the members of the clergy. This contributed to the development of a strong sense of authority among priests, enabling them to hold congregations made up of a variety of ethnic groups together (Herberg, 1956:162).

²⁹The latter church was first established in the U.S.A. as a protest. The founders pointed out that not enough attention was paid to ethnic groups (Mol, 1985:203).

³⁰The provision of masses in English kept members of the second generation in the church (Mol, 1985:203)

The personal views of local bishops were very important in determining how structures in various diocese developed (Hewitt, 1991:299). In his comparison of the work and policies of Bishop Remi De Roo in the Victoria diocese and Bishop Emmett Carter in the Toronto dioceses in 1989, Hewitt found that patterns in dioceses depended a great deal on the policies of the bishops. The bishops provided both the resources for the implementation of changes and the ideological positions to justify these changes (Ibid., p.322).

Mol found that the Dutch Catholics assimilated more easily and seemed less in need of ethnic parishes than Catholic immigrants from other European countries. He attributed this in part to the fact that they learned English in Holland. In addition, Catholics had been a persecuted minority in Holland. As a result, their Catholic identity was more important to them than their Dutch identity. In Holland, they had been more marginal in their communities, and this had resulted in weak ties with the nation and with their local communities (Mol, 1985:75).

In countries where Catholicism is a minority religion people's faith tends to be stronger than in countries where the Catholic Church is the state church (Mol, 1985:201). Abramson (1991:29) also found this to be true in his research on ethnic diversity within six Catholic groups in Europe and America. He studied French-Canadian, Irish, German, Polish, Italian, and Spanish-speaking people. He found that the differences between the groups were related to the levels of competition in their respective societies. This competition could be political, cultural, or linguistic. The greater the conflict between the religious groups in the society, the higher the level of religious involvement of the minority group. In countries where Catholicism was stronger, there were fewer Catholics per parish, greater numbers of priests serving parishioners, more organizations run by the church, greater parish involvement by church members, better developed parish systems, greater interest in parochial education, and a greater involvement in religious requirements of the church (Ibid., p.29). For example, the French Canadians were in constant conflict with the English Protestants. The French saw themselves as a minority in Canada and as a conquered nation. Similarly, many

of the Irish Catholics were poor, landless, and lived on uneasy terms with English Protestants.³¹ In contrast, the Italians had experienced no conflict or competition with other religious or groups in their home country. In Italy, the church and the state were one. Many Italians were somewhat indifferent and this resulted in relatively low levels of involvement in church matters (Abramson, 1991:15). In The Netherlands, there was a great deal of competition as there was a large Protestant group and also a large Catholic group. Therefore, the Dutch Catholics had a high level of religious involvement (Ibid., p.5).

The Anglophone bishops were pleased by the fact that Dutch-Catholic immigrants did not see the need for Dutch ethnic churches. Father Van Wezel was of the opinion that Dutch-Catholic immigrants could assimilate into Canadian Catholic churches because they knew the English language.³² However, Cardinal Leger of Montreal wanted Father Van Wezel to look after the spiritual needs of Dutch Catholics by establishing Dutch ethnic churches served by Dutch priests.³³ He could not understand that language and faith were not as closely intertwined for Dutch immigrants as they were for French Canadians in Quebec. Cardinal Leger told Cardinal McGuigan of Toronto that Father Van Wezel was sowing discord between the English and French bishops. The dispute between Cardinal Leger and Father Van Wezel was discussed at the International Emigration Congress in Assisi in the fall of 1957. When Father Van Wezel returned from the congress, he was notified the Bureau would be closed December 31, 1957 and that he himself would be moved (Van Wezel, 1979:32; Lowensteyn, 1991:269).³⁴

Let us now return to our discussion of theoretical approaches and methodology. To explain the differences in migration and settlement patterns, the following issues will be discussed.

³¹This portrait of the Irish may be a stereotypical myth (Darroch, 1993:4). Many Catholics came having sold small farms in Ireland and bought land in Ontario in the nineteenth century. They came not for themselves but to provide for their sons.

³²The fact that sponsoring agencies in Holland had insisted that emigrants learn English speeded the process of assimilation (Mol, 1985:75).

³³Father Van Wezel opened a bureau for Dutch immigrants because he wanted to help Dutch Catholics integrate into Canadian society.

³⁴The bureau was probably closed out of spite, because Father Van Wezel did not see eye to eye with various French-Canadian bishops. For example, Cardinal Leger had wanted to move the bureau to Quebec, but Father Van Wezel had refused to do so.

1. Between the years 1945 and 1960, Calvinists and Catholics migrated because of a combination of “push” factors at home and “pull” factors exerted by the receiving country.
2. The Calvinists built an institutionally complete society soon after their arrival in Canada in order to preserve their religious heritage.
3. The Catholics assimilated voluntarily into the dominant society by joining existing Catholic institutions.

Although models help to provide a framework for explaining the relationships among the various factors, “social reality contains an important subjective dimension that is revealed only through interpretive understanding” (*verstehen*) (Kiser and Hechter, 1991:11). A certain amount of “thick description”, which emphasizes the meanings of the historical event, is necessary in order to capture the feelings experienced by the immigrants as they made their own history. The immigrants should tell their own stories. The accuracy of their accounts can be determined by examining their material in conjunction with other documents relating to that era. The quotations chosen by the sociologist must be representative. The American historian E.K. Trimberger stressed the “necessity of dialogue with historical sources and subjects and with the interpretations of other historians” (Trimberger, 1984:228). In our study, the voices of Dutch-Canadian immigrants, the theoretical models, and the interpretations of other historians have been used in conjunction with one another in order to explain how the immigrants were influenced by the policies of the Canadian and the Dutch governments and by the policies of the Catholic and Calvinist churches. We also consider the extent to which they were able to forge their own destinies.

Sociologists who choose to study their own communities have affirmed that being a member of the community one is studying can be valuable³⁵ (Myerhoff, 1980:18; Lopata, 1993). In the case of this study, the author’s membership in the Dutch-Canadian Calvinist immigrant community

³⁵Myerhoff (1980) found the experience of studying her own society valuable because she could identify with her own Jewish people. Lopata (1993) revisits her Polish roots in her recent work on Polish Americans.

was useful in several ways. The researcher was already familiar with the language, culture, and experiences of Dutch Canadians. Documents relating to the post-war immigrants could be read in the original Dutch language. There are, of course, also disadvantages to studying one's own society. For example, there is the danger of taking familiar things for granted. There is also the danger of losing one's objectivity and idealizing one's community.³⁶ To avoid such pitfalls, one must strive for balance (Myerhoff, 1980:28). It is also helpful to have critics and informants who can alert one to one's own biases.

2.4 Methodological Issues

This research deals with both the individual immigrant and the group to which he or she belongs. Carr, the British historian, was very aware of the fact that individuals do not exist in isolation from groups (1987:52). In 1962, he wrote as follows:

the facts of history are indeed facts about individuals, but not about actions individuals performed in isolation, and not about the motives, real or imaginary, from which individuals suppose themselves to have acted. They are facts about the relations of individuals to one another in society and about the social forces which produce from the actions of individuals results often at variance with and sometimes opposite to, the results which they themselves intended.

The various relationships between individual choices and social forces are important in the following analysis.

Mills' "method of difference" (Skocpol, 1983:379) was used when comparing the two groups. When one uses the "method of difference", the cases to be contrasted are similar in many respects, but have one crucial difference. Although there were many similarities in the reasons for Catholic and Calvinist emigration, church policies did have some influence on people's final destinations, on the timing of emigration, and on the numbers of emigrants recruited. Before 1952, Catholic church leaders preferred that their members go to Australia, while Calvinist leaders had encouraged

³⁶No participant observer can be completely neutral or objective. One's views are shaped by one's environment and by one's background and upbringing.

members of their church to go to Canada as early as 1945.³⁷ Catholic church leaders felt that Australia had better Catholic schools and other Catholic services for immigrants. The presence of the Christian Reformed Church in America attracted Dutch Calvinists to Canada and the U.S.A., and few orthodox Calvinists emigrated to Australia where there were few Calvinist communities in existence.

2.4.1 Documents and Oral Histories

The records of an historical event must be collected, examined, and analyzed. However, sociologists have no control over what was and what was not recorded and over what actually survived through the years (Mariampolski and Hughes, 1978). Although immigrant women wrote many of the letters home to the old country (van Dijk, 1990:91), the majority of these letters are lost to us. The Dutch Collection in the Archives of Ontario in Toronto, assembled by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario and placed in the Archives in 1983, proved to be the most valuable source of primary documents.³⁸ One of the sources of primary documents was the Catholic Immigrant Services (CIS) Papers (Appendix F). This collection included the correspondence of Mr. Cremers, who served as the director of the Netherlands branch of the Catholic Immigrant Services. This organization was founded in 1956. Mr. Cremers' letters provide an overview of the work done by the Catholic priests and by the various organizations that served the Catholic immigrants in Canada and abroad. The work of the Toronto chapter of the Catholic Immigrant Services is described in the A. Garrels Papers, while documents outlining the work of the Canadian Netherlands Organization (CNO) in

³⁷ One reason why so many Calvinists went to Canada was Canada's preference for agriculturalists. It was also due to the fact that many Calvinists were farm labourers. In addition, the Christelijke Emigratie Centrale (Christian Emigration Board) made diligent efforts to assist and recruit Calvinist emigrants. In contrast, before 1950, the Katholieke Centrale Emigratie Stichting (Catholic Central Emigration Foundation) concentrated on recruiting Catholics to go to Australia (Appendix B). Some Calvinists did not want to go to Australia because immigrants were required to come in groups and to live in group camps for a period after their arrival in order to receive information about the new country (Van Ginkel, 1982:24, 34). There were no large Calvinist groups settled and able to help, as did Calvinist communities in Michigan and other parts of the U.S.A. And, of course, Canadian agriculture is quite similar to that in Northern Europe, while Australian agriculture is completely different.

³⁸ The donors' permissions were required in order to gain access to several documents. In the process of tracing the donors, it was discovered that three of them had died. In one case, the donor was untraceable. In these cases, permission was granted by the chief archivist, Mr. Santoro, after the unsuccessful search for the donors had been documented in writing.

Hamilton, another chapter of the same organization, are to be found in the Van Gendt Papers.

Another of the collections of primary documents in the Archives of Ontario provides an account of the founding of the Canadian Netherlands Immigration Council (CNIC) in 1953 by representatives of Catholic, Christian Reformed, and Reformed churches. This multi-faith organization was founded in order to help newcomers in a cooperative manner. However, the minutes of the meetings of this organization show that this joint effort was not always successful. The Canadian government did not like having to deal with several emigration societies. It preferred to deal only with one. In addition, the Canadian government sometimes felt that there was too much controversy as the groups encroached on each others' territories in order to recruit members (Ganzevoort, 1988:69). From the large numbers of documents in the Archives of Ontario documenting the beginnings of Christian Reformed churches and other Calvinist organizations in Ontario, the Rev. W. Renkema Papers and the Drayton Christian Reformed Church Papers were chosen as representative. Both of these collections describe the work of home missionaries and fieldmen (many of whom were recruited from and paid by Dutch Calvinist churches in the U.S.A.), the establishment of immigrant churches, and the meetings of immigration societies for the period from 1948 to 1955. The St. Willibrord Credit Union Papers document the establishment of a savings institution for Catholic immigrants in 1950. We can read the account written by Father Grootsholten, Director of the Catholic Immigration Centre in London, documenting what he described as the slow progress of Catholic settlement in Ontario.³⁹ He urged Catholics in Holland to contribute liberally to the St. Willibrord Credit Union in order to help Catholic immigrants.⁴⁰ Among the other documents in the Archives were the personal diaries of the immigrants and the minutes of the meetings of various organizations. For example, there were minutes of the meetings of the Dutch Burial Fund in Thunder Bay, the meetings of the Dutch-Canadian Culture Club in Chatham, and the meetings of the

³⁹As we note later on, the progress of Catholic settlement was not, in fact, slow. Many immigrants bought farms within three to four years of arrival in Canada (Sas, 1958:126).

⁴⁰Father Van Wezel went to Holland in order to raise eighty thousand guilders from Catholic sources so that the credit union could hire a full-time general manager to conduct its business (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:27). At that time, one dollar was worth about £3.65 (Buesink documents, 1951).

board of directors of the Christian School in Dundas. A transcript of an interview with Father Van Wezel, conducted by Van Stekelenburg in 1979, provided especially valuable information. Father Van Wezel was appointed Director of Immigration in the diocese of London in 1950 by Bishop Cody. He established the Central Bureau of Catholic Netherlands Immigration in Ottawa in 1952.

Various other documents relating to Dutch-Canadian immigrants were located in several other institutions. Redeemer College in Hamilton houses a collection of early immigrant newspapers and church papers documenting the beginnings, philosophies, and the motivations for the establishment of many Calvinist institutions and organizations.⁴¹ Unfortunately, no copies of Compass, the monthly produced from 1954 to 1969 for Catholic immigrants, could be found anywhere. Various newspapers available in the Hamilton Public Library described church news and the arrival of Dutch farmers in the Hamilton area. Most of the sources listed above were in the Dutch language. A complete list of the archival sources used is given in Appendix F.

Some accounts were written years after the writer's arrival in Canada. These may be less reliable. And people are, of course, selective in what they write and say. For example, because many of the diaries and letters were written for family members in Holland, the difficulties that immigrants encountered in the new country will often have been glossed over or omitted. In addition, some of the writers' experiences in the new country will have been misrepresented and even glorified. For example, one war bride did not write to her parents in Holland of her squalid living quarters in an isolated log cabin with a family of heavy drinkers. She did not want to worry her parents. When her parents emigrated a few years later, they were shocked to see how she lived. They felt so sorry for her that they immediately gave her all their furniture (Transcripts of the Dutch War Bride Papers, MU 9407). Many press reports were also biased. For example, in a letter to another Catholic official, Father Klok, from Granby, Quebec, wrote as follows:

The reports in Holland are often too optimistic. When in 1954 the economy was bad

⁴¹ There were gaps in the early immigrant newspaper holdings and a short open letter was written to the editor of the Christian Courier (formerly Calvinist Contact) to ask the readers for old copies. None were received.

here, I wrote an article about conditions in Canada but the KCES [Katholieke Centrale Emigratie Stichting] refused to print it in "de Emigrant." Jan Athuner said 'Father you are much too pessimistic' (CIS Papers MU 9429.1).⁴²

Evidence can be judged as being fairly reliable if the witness is able and willing to tell the truth, if he or she reports that truth accurately, and if the external sources that are available corroborate the evidence (Mariampolski and Hughes, 1978). In general, the value of the evidence "decreases in proportion to the distance in time or place of the event and the number of people through whom it has been transmitted" (Platt, 1981:41). Let us consider an example of how reliability can be assessed. The following incident took place in 1957. The Director of the Netherlands branch of the Catholic Immigrant Services, Mr. Cremers, and a Toronto priest, Father Lannoye, discussed a disagreement between Father Van Wezel and the Quebec delegates at the International Roman Catholic Migration Congress in Assisi. No other document describes this disagreement, although Father Hendriks, the Director of Immigration in the diocese of Kingston, did allude to it in a meeting with Mr. Cremers and Mr. Lanctot on October 23, 1957. In the course of that meeting, many grievances against Father Van Wezel were aired. However, the evidence for the disagreement appears to be reliable. Mr. Cremers' eyewitness account is written in his own handwriting, and this writing can be compared with other handwritten documents prepared by Mr. Cremers in the Catholic Immigrant Services Papers collection (MU. 9429.1). The document had the word "confidential" handwritten in the top corner, signifying that it was not written for a large audience.

Although the British historian A.J.P. Taylor has called oral life histories "the droolings of old men" (Hahn, 1988:42), they have, in fact, been used as valuable primary evidence.⁴³ Oral histories provide "information rooted in real social experiences" (Thompson, 1981:289). The theories that are generated from them must be grounded in the social reality of the individual's experiences (Charmaz, 1993). In addition, oral histories can bridge the silences in immigrant history and can illuminate certain kinds of immigrant experiences that are not recorded in historical documents. For example,

⁴²Only the English translations of the Dutch quotations are recorded.

⁴³Sociologists can generate their own evidence at any time, but "the one instance in which... historians can generate their evidence is when they engage in oral histories" (Goldthorpe, 1991:227).

newspapers rarely made mention of the harsh, exploitative conditions experienced by immigrants on farms in Canada. Such negative news items might have slowed the flow of immigrants. Immigrants' stories tell of sponsors who broke promises (Interviewee #16, RE Project), of immigrants who were forced to live in prison-like conditions (Duyvenvoorde, 1988), and of farmhands who were made to work very long hours (Interviewee #14, RE Project).

Most official documents contain no mention of the illegal activities of immigrants. However, immigrant oral histories do tell of "black" money being laundered through Swiss and Belgian banks (Interviewees #4; #12; #34, SWCU Project). "Black" money was brought to Canada illegally. After World War II, European countries had restricted the outflow of money so that they could re-build their economies.⁴⁴ This meant that Dutch immigrants arrived with very limited funds or brought money illegally to Canada. One immigrant, who arrived in 1948, returned to Holland in 1953 in order to sell his farm and send the money back to Canada through Swiss and Belgian banks (Interviewee #14, SWCU Project). Another immigrant, who arrived in 1953, waited for two years for the "black" money from the sale of his farm to be sent to him (Interviewee #34, SWCU Project). Father Van Wezel attributed the failure of Christian Reformed Credit Unions in part to the lack of "black" dollars (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:17).⁴⁵ Other stories tell of cash hidden behind paintings, (Interviewee #18, SWCU Project) or stuffed into the double bottom of a child's toy wheelbarrow (Interviewee #9, SWCU Project).

The most pronounced silence in the printed documents and newspaper reports is that of the

⁴⁴The Dutch government established currency export restrictions in order to keep money in the country. Early immigrants could take one hundred dollars per adult and fifty dollars per child out of the country. Pocket money to be used on the boat had to be paid in advance to the Holland America Line. In order to circumvent the currency restrictions and because they were unwilling to leave their money in Holland, many immigrants exchanged their money for goods. Below are some examples of the items they acquired: a pre-fabricated house (Interviewee #27, SWCU Project), a car and four electric motors (Buesink documents, 1951), six large oil paintings (Hamilton Library Special Collection), a sugar beet wagon, an incubator, a packer and a roller (Interviewee #34, SWCU Project), and the contents of a dry goods store (Interviewee #103, RE Project). In June 1954, the rules were changed and new immigrants could take four thousand guilders for each head of the household and two thousand guilders for each member. Immigrants who had lived in Canada for four years could transfer twenty-five thousand guilders, or import forty thousand guilders worth of Dutch goods for the purpose of acquiring a house, farm, or business. At that time, the Canadian dollar was worth between three and four guilders (*Calvinist Contact*, June, 1954).

⁴⁵Calvinist immigrants could sometimes get loans from Calvinist groups or from fellow church members in the U.S.A. (Swierenga Papers, Redeemer College Special Collection, and Lucas, 1955).

immigrant women and children. An outsider cannot write about the inner experiences of women (Pierson, 1991:89). A war bride who arrived in Calendar, northern Ontario, in 1946, tells of her part in the decision to emigrate, of the culture shock she experienced upon her arrival in Canada, and of her feelings of extreme loneliness (Interviewee #111). War brides often felt isolated because they had no Dutch community of compatriots with whom they could share their experiences (Rains, 1984; Hibbert, 1978).

The oral histories on which we draw in this chapter came from several sources. In 1986, thirty interviews with elderly Calvinists were conducted for a research project on the resurgence of ethnicity in later years headed by Dr. M. Disman, of the University of Toronto (RE Project).⁴⁶ In 1990, forty-five interviews with elderly and middle-aged people, mainly Catholics, were conducted by Dr. F. Schryer of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, at the University of Guelph, in the course of research on the history of the establishment of the St. Willibrord Credit Union in London, Ontario (SWCU Project).⁴⁷ The quantitative data used in this chapter came from the aforementioned survey carried out by the author in 1990, as part of the research for her M.A. thesis. As has been described, this research dealt with ethnic identity retention and social support among ninety nine Dutch-Canadian Calvinist and Catholic elderly. We examined the reasons for emigrating, patterns of sponsorship, religiosity, and the numbers and types of organizations established by the two ethnic groups. Both primary and secondary sources were used. The books dealing with emigration from Holland written by Petersen and Hofstede are important secondary sources, as is Lucas' book (1955) on the history of Dutch settlement in North America. These researchers have analyzed emigration statistics and they had access to primary sources in The Netherlands. Similarly, Lawrence's (1974) study of Canada's immigration policies was readily available.

⁴⁶Twenty of the interviews for Dr. Disman were conducted in 1986 by the author of this thesis. The interviews were semi-structured and explored informants' life histories. Fifteen of the interviewees were women. The interviewers were female. The study was funded by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (File No. 492-84-0007).

⁴⁷These interviews provided many details about early immigrant life and about the institutions built by the Catholic immigrants. Two of the forty-five interviewees were women. The interviewer was male.

2.5 “Push” and “Pull” Model

The “push” and “pull” approach allows us to analyze the factors that cause people to migrate. A combination of social, demographic, economic, political, psychological, and religious factors cause the emigrant to be “pushed” from his or her home country and attracted to a receiving country. In most cases, there are both “push” and “pull” factors. Other factors can counter these. For example, the drop in social status experienced in a receiving country may deter some from migrating. Canada’s seemingly classless society came as a pleasant surprise to one immigrant, Mrs. Dykstra. She was delighted when a farmer’s wife invited her (a farm labourer’s wife) over for tea (Norel, 1952). In contrast, a doctor’s wife was disappointed when she experienced a loss of status. Because of the many and varied factors that influence the decision to emigrate, it is neither possible nor necessary to find “complete explanations” (Tilly, 1984:80).

2.5.1 “Push” Factors

At no time in history were the “push” factors ever powerful enough to cause large numbers of the Dutch population to emigrate. There was no equivalent of the Irish emigration to North America in the mid-nineteenth century. There are several reasons why there was no emigration on this scale at any time from The Netherlands (Swierenga, 1983:1-34). One counter force was the prosperity of The Netherlands, with its fertile agricultural land and its colonies in the East Indies. Another was the high level of traditionalism found in the country.

Small groups sometimes did emigrate. For example, in the nineteenth century, two small groups of Calvinists emigrated to the U.S.A. because of “push” factors in the form of the liberalization of the state church in Holland. They felt that they were being persecuted for their orthodox religious commitments. Another contributing factor was the failure of the potato crop of 1846 because of disease which led to widespread hunger and poverty (Lucas, 1955:54). The two groups, which seceded from the State Church in The Netherlands in 1834 and in 1886, established religious

colonies in Pella, Iowa, under the leadership of Rev. Scholte, and in Holland, Michigan, under Rev. Van Raalte (Algra, 1966:179; Lucas, 1955:175). These two groups combined to form the Christian Reformed Church (CRC) in 1892. According to Rev. Boer, an American minister, this church played an important part in providing for the spiritual care of the Dutch immigrants coming into Canada (The Reformed Journal , July, 1951). For example, the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church of America donated \$150,000 to start churches in Canada after 1945, and the members of this church established several buildings and relief funds (Lucas, 1955:467; Van Ginkel, 1982, 41-44).

Shortly after the World War II, a significant number of Dutch people emigrated to Canada. In the opinion of one newspaper editor, for these emigrants “the push element was stronger than the pull element” (Calvinist Contact , Aug. 15, 1954). Their reasons for emigrating related not just to the desire to escape the aftermath of the war, but also to overpopulation in The Netherlands. In addition, many of the emigrants came from agricultural areas and had reservations about their children taking up industrial work. In Holland, among farmers and owners of small businesses, having to work for an employer for a wage indicated a fall in social status (Graumans, 1973:28). These problems were exacerbated by the traditionalism and ideologies of the strongly religious groups found in The Netherlands. For the Calvinists, another “push” factor may have been the decline in their political influence in the Dutch national government. From 1900 to 1945 a coalition party, including both Calvinists and Catholics, led by Abraham Kuyper, had been in power. However, after the war the Catholics formed a coalition with the Socialists. Not a single member of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (or the Calvinist party) was elected to parliament (Van Ginkel, 1982:70,116).

In 1945, people in The Netherlands faced an economy devastated by war and further threatened by the loss of the colonies in the East Indies. These colonies had accounted for one-sixth of the Dutch gross national product. In addition, large areas of precious farmland had been inundated by salt water when the retreating Germans bombed the dikes of polders.⁴⁸ An already severe housing

⁴⁸The Dutch government had reclaimed several tracts of low land from the sea in order to make more land available for the sons of large families. Agricultural practices also changed. For example, there was a shift from grain growing to the intensive cultivation of vegetables and flowers.

shortage had been exacerbated by the German bombing of cities. In addition, some citizens feared the rapid spread of communism would result in another world war.

Other problems in The Netherlands included the rise of inefficient bureaucracies, which slowed the process of rebuilding after the war. For example, the former owner of a dry goods store recounted that it took him five years to rebuild his store, which had washed away when the retreating Germans had flooded the Wieringermeer polder. By the time the store was open, he had lost interest, and in 1953, at age forty-two, he joined his sister in Ontario (Interviewee #103, RE Project). Another frustration for Dutch citizens was the continued rationing of food and clothing. In 1948, with rationing still in effect, participants in a Christelijke Emigratie Centrale (CEC) conference were asked to bring with them one ration coupon for meat and several for bread. They were also asked to make donations of butter and sandwich meats (DeWit, 1993:38).

Two serious problems were overpopulation and the slow rate of industrialization. Both problems were exacerbated by resistance to urbanization among some groups (Petersen, 1955:35). Because of the strongly organized religious groups in the country, large segments of the Dutch population were not in favour of urbanization. Opposition to birth control had resulted in a higher rate of population growth than in most other European countries. Both Calvinists and Catholics needed more space for their large families; twelve or more children were not uncommon. In addition, opposition by farmers to having their children work in factories had resulted in a relatively slow rate of industrialization. The Dutch writer on emigration, Hofstede (1964:71) does not agree with his colleague Petersen that "the sentiment for emigration" developed solely out of population pressure. He believes that the individual citizen's enthusiasm for emigration and the government's fear of overpopulation both contributed to a certain kind of state of mind in post-war Holland. At one time, as many as one-third had thought of emigrating (Graumans, 1973:28)

Dislike of factory work and urban life was common among certain segments of the Dutch population. This made it difficult for large numbers of people to be absorbed into the industrial work force in The Netherlands (Petersen, 1955:35). Some parents were reluctant to let their children work

in factories because they feared the social consequences, even though, out of sensitivity to traditional family values, new factories were often placed in villages and small towns. Instead of having their children work in factories, many Dutch farmers chose to emigrate in order to give their sons the chance to own their own farms. These anti-industrial sentiments were common among emigrants to Canada. In a series of articles in Calvinist Contact (No. 93, 94, 95) in 1954, Rev. Klaas Hart, a Dutch immigrant minister, warned the immigrants against the dangers of factory work. For example, Rev. Hart argued that the rigid routines associated with factory life kill the spirit and leave the proletariat open to manipulation by false leaders. In fact, he believed that industrialization had contributed to the rise of fascism in Germany. He argued that immigrants must work to prevent the rebirth of fascism.

In 1949, the Dutch government planned for the emigration of forty thousand people per year. At that time, the total population of The Netherlands was about twenty million (Swierenga, 1983:3). It was felt that this would help to alleviate population pressure and prevent the rise of a surplus labour force (Petersen, 1955:111). However, because of the repatriation of Dutch colonists over the years 1946 to 1950, more people entered The Netherlands than left. The goal was met only once, in 1952. The government's attempts to stimulate emigration by easing regulations and by increasing subsidies for the emigrants were equally unsuccessful because of the rapid industrialization that was beginning to take place in Holland. In 1957, in an attempt to increase the number of emigrants, the Canadian Netherlands Immigration Council started the Young Farmers' movement. They argued that "agricultural immigration from Holland was drastically declining mainly because of the rapid industrialization of that country" (CNIC Papers, MU. 9379.1). Under this new program, the sons of Dutch farmers worked on farms in Canada for one year and then returned to Holland. This program was a success in encouraging emigration. On their return to Holland, many of these young farmers applied to emigrate to Canada. According to the author's 1990 survey of ninety-nine older Dutch people who had emigrated soon after World War II, the most important reason was the hope of being able to provide a better future for one's children (van Dijk, 1990:69-70). The second most commonly

mentioned reason for leaving was the desire to own one's own business or farm. The respondents also said that they emigrated in order to escape poor economic conditions in The Netherlands.

2.5.2 "Pull" Factors

Although many Dutch immigrants were "pushed" from their home country, the attractions of Canada itself and Canada's immigration policy functioned as important "pull" factors. Canada was a favoured destination for the immigrants partly because of the close ties that had developed between Holland and Canada during the war. Canadian soldiers had liberated Holland and about seven thousand of them had married Dutch girls (Van Stekelenburg, 1983:69). Furthermore, the Dutch royal family had lived in Ottawa during the war.

Canadian immigration policies were changing and Canada was becoming a multicultural country. Between 1871 and 1971, the portion of the Canadian population that was neither British nor French rose from 8 percent to 26 percent (Palmer, 1975:1). This shift in the composition of the population caused some tensions. For example, in Quebec, there were tensions between English-speaking Protestants and French-speaking Catholics. Each group desired immigration policies that were favourable to them so that the group's power and status in Quebec would increase. Father Van Wezel explained that this was one reason why the Quebec government wanted Dutch Catholics to be sent to Quebec (Van Wezel Interview, 1979).⁴⁹ Since the Dutch had difficulty learning French⁵⁰ and did not feel at home in the Quebec environment, many of them quickly moved to southern Ontario (Den Boggenden, 1991). Sixty-one percent of those Dutch immigrants who came between 1947 and 1950 settled in Ontario, while only 7 percent settled in Quebec (Contact, 1950:15).

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, all immigrants were free to enter Canada.

⁴⁹Catholic priests in Holland did not encourage their parishioners to emigrate and work for farmers in Quebec because Catholics in Quebec were perceived to be more liberal (Lowensteyn, 1991:266; Ganzevoort, 1975:33). Catholics preferred Ontario as it had more opportunities (Lucas, 1955: 467). French-speaking Catholics from Belgium tended to settle in Quebec, and Dutch Catholics in Quebec tended to socialize with Belgians, Germans, and Swiss (Lowensteyn, 1986:85; 1991:268).

⁵⁰One must remember that many Dutch emigrants had taken English (not French) lessons in Holland in order to prepare themselves for life in Canada.

However, the push to settle the West contributed to the introduction of a selective immigration policy in 1896. Under this new system, agriculturalists were preferred. Over time, the policies became more restrictive and racist, excluding Chinese and other Asians. The Canadian government favoured immigrants from certain preferred countries (Ganzevoort, 1975:148-149).⁵¹ This meant that only those who were viewed as able to assimilate relatively easily were allowed to enter Canada (Hawkins, 1975:72).⁵²

Canada's post-war immigration policies were based upon the absorptive capacity of the Canadian economy and society (Whitaker, 1988:16). This meant that the numbers of immigrants accepted each year were adjusted to meet the economic needs of the country, as judged by unemployment figures (Peterson, 1975:33).⁵³ William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister, made the following statement:

It is of the utmost importance to relate immigration to absorptive capacity... . The objective of the government is to secure what new population we can absorb, but not to exceed that number. The figure that represents our absorptive capacity will clearly vary from year to year in response to economic conditions... .(May 1, 1947:pp. 2644-6)(MacKenzie King, 1975:58).

This policy tended to arouse conflict. Labour unions were sometimes opposed to increased immigration because they felt it would lead to higher rates of unemployment. In fact, the Canadian government presented Dutch immigrants to Canadians as farmers and small businessmen because they did not want to upset Canadian labour (Ganzevoort, 1988:42). The business community stated that it favoured increased immigration because immigration was associated with the creation of employment (Ibid.,p.33). Immigrants are often willing to work for lower wages than Canadian workers. However, it is important to remember that, no matter which policies were in place, the immigration

⁵¹Immigrants from preferred ethnic groups were, first, the British and French, second, the Northern Europeans, and, third, the other Europeans. They were allowed to sponsor a larger number of relatives (Marchand, 1975:67).

⁵²In 1947, the restrictions on Chinese were removed. In 1952, the New Immigration Act continued to exclude many nationalities. In 1962 and 1967, all references to race and ethnicity were eliminated. However, there was still a gap between policy and practice (Lawrence, 1974:75). Another change introduced in 1967 was the point system. The new system favoured skilled and well-educated immigrants (Marchand, 1975:63)

⁵³Often judgments about the capacity of the economy to absorb newcomers have been confused with judgments about where immigrants should come from (Porter, 1975:70.)

minister and his senior officials had almost complete control over who was allowed to enter Canada (Whitaker, 1988:17)

Canada's immigration policies encouraged the selection of immigrants by occupational group, ethnic origin, and family connection (Lawrence, 1974:75). Until 1962, immigrants from the Nordic countries were favoured because these immigrants were thought to assimilate better. Although the 1947 Immigration Act (P.C. 4849) favoured British and American citizens, Dutch farm labourers who could obtain sponsors in Canada were also welcome with their families (Appendix G). In 1950, an Order in Council (P.C. 2856) made it easier for those Dutch people already in Canada to bring their relatives over from Holland. From that time on, immigrants who were already in Canada could sponsor members of their extended families. Previously, they had been able to sponsor only spouses, parents, children, and siblings (Contact , 1950:11). The system of sponsorship meant that many immigrants came to live with relatives. This tended to encourage movement to urban areas (Marchand, 1975:67).

The differences between Catholics and Calvinists in patterns of sponsorship are interesting (van Dijk, 1990:68). In our sample, about two-thirds of the Dutch immigrants were sponsored by friends or relatives already in Canada (70% of the Calvinists and 60% of the Catholics).⁵⁴ The Catholics were more likely to be sponsored by relatives, while the Calvinists were rather more likely to be sponsored by non-relatives (38.5% and 20.6%). Church members and immigration societies helped find sponsors for many Calvinists (Lucas, 1955:466).⁵⁵ The Canadian Immigration Branch also provided sponsors for some Dutch immigrants.

Canada needed farm labourers to replace those young people who were moving to the cities. In contrast, The Netherlands had too many farming families and not enough land. In the spring of 1947, a program called The Netherlands-Canadian Settlement Scheme was agreed

⁵⁴About two-fifths of the Catholics and the Protestants had close relatives in country of destination (Hofstede, 1964:199). In Grauman's sample, 55% of Calvinists and 59% of Catholics had friends or relatives in Canada (1973:59)

⁵⁵One-quarter of the Protestants and one-tenth of the Catholics obtained housing through the church. One-fifth of the Protestants and fewer than 5% of the Catholics obtained employment through the church (Hofstede, 1964:199).

upon by the governments of the two countries (VanderMey, 1983:51). This agreement encouraged the emigration of farm labourers (Van Stekelenburg, 1985; Knowles, 1992:135). Under this plan, Dutch agriculturalists agreed to work on farms of Canadian sponsors for one year. A sponsor had to sign a document called a "garantie verklaring" (declaration of guarantee) (Appendix H), which guaranteed housing and work for the immigrant family for one year. If Canadian farmers needed help on their farms, they could apply to the Department of Mines and Services (which included the immigration branch) to become sponsors.⁵⁶ The applications were checked and then forwarded to Canadian immigration officers in Holland. In 1947, the Dutch authorities began to administer the program, because the offices of the Canadian immigration service had been closed down on account of the war. Dutch immigration officials were responsible for dealing with the requests and finding placements. In 1948, the Canadian authorities took over the administration of the program. Ten thousand agriculturalists and their families were allowed to come that year (VanderMey, 1983:51).⁵⁷ The sponsorship of groups was also possible. For example, the Dominion Sugar Company, based in Chatham, Ontario, arranged for groups of Dutch immigrants to work in the sugar beet fields (Ibid., p.56). Christian immigration societies, established in the late 1940's and early 1950's, helped find suitable sponsors for Dutch families wishing to emigrate.⁵⁸ The Christian Immigration Council for Eastern Canada, established in 1946 in order to help Calvinist immigrants and to ensure that they settled close to existing churches, was asked by Dr. Tuinman, the Dutch agricultural attaché responsible for all aspects of emigration, to help the Dutch government place immigrants on farms. The Council accepted the challenge because it gave Council members some control over the placement of members of their church. However, they specified a number of conditions. One of these was the

⁵⁶They could also apply to the Provincial Government offices or to certain offices of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railways.

⁵⁷The press release announcing the number of farm labourers for 1948 was worded as follows: "Owing to present exchange restrictions, these Dutch families will be unable at first to establish themselves on farms in Canada. They have agreed, however, to accept agricultural employment in all parts of the Dominion with farmers whose applications for their services have been approved and who will provide living accommodation... ." The minimum wage under the settlement was \$75 a month for married men and \$45 for single ones. Housing was provided free of charge (VanderMey, 1983:51).

⁵⁸After one year of sponsorship, people were free to move. However, if the sponsor was found to be unsuitable, the immigrant would often try to move before the year was over.

following:

That our own people (Christian Reformed and other orthodox groups) be placed around our churches or in new districts where it is possible to take care of their spiritual needs, and that the expense for settling of immigrants not from our churches must be carried by other sources (VanderMey, 1983:55).⁵⁹

According to the Settlement Scheme, specific sponsors were required for all agriculturalists. However, the reality was rather different. Not all immigrants had sponsors. There were several reasons for this. First, it was not always possible to find enough sponsors at short notice. Second, it took too long to process the applications, and immigrants needed time to arrange their affairs. Therefore, some immigrants were approved under a general sponsorship scheme, or were sponsored by the Immigration Branch. These people often did not know about their exact destinations in Canada until they arrived in Halifax (VanderMey, 1983:53).

In 1950, the Dutch government also began to provide incentives for families which wanted to emigrate. Subsidies were made available to those who did not have enough money to pay the fare and to ship their belongings.⁶⁰ Those who applied for subsidies were subject to a means test. The total costs of the trip across the Atlantic Ocean varied for each family, but the basic fare to the port of entry in Quebec stood at about one thousand Canadian dollars for a family of eight in 1950. The cost of shipping household goods and a car could amount to an additional one thousand to three thousand dollars (Buesink documents, 1951).⁶¹

A second important "pull" factor was the presence of other Dutch people in Canada. People followed their kin in a pattern of chain migration. Family and friends who had already emigrated

⁵⁹Council minutes of April 30, 1946, indicated dissatisfaction with past settlement practices. "Strong resentment is expressed against practices formerly followed by persons whose aim was to please the railroad companies more than the immigrants, with the result that settlers were placed far away from existing churches, which is detrimental to the spiritual welfare of the immigrants" (VanderMey, 1983:55).

⁶⁰In 1950, the Dutch government contributed \$2.5 million (in Canadian dollars) to subsidize the resettlement of 2,300 immigrants. By 1953, they increased this to \$27 million for 21,000 immigrants (Ganzevoort, 1988:93). In 1950, the Dutch government subsidized the unemployed or those in high areas of unemployment (Roholl, 1991:62, 72). In 1957, 87% of emigrants received subsidies, in 1958, 96% of emigrants, and in 1964, 64% of emigrants.

⁶¹The Canadian dollar was worth 3.65 guilders in the spring of 1951. Prior to 1950, some immigrants who had money paid the fares of other families who could not afford to emigrate, with the understanding that the money would eventually be repaid in Canada. This was one way of getting "black money" into Canada and of circumventing the exchange restrictions. However, some of these loans were never repaid and participants in these schemes were loathe to take legal action.

sponsored others and supported them upon arrival. In this way, large portions of certain Dutch villages were transplanted to Canada. For example, about one-tenth of the population of the Dutch village of Boekel (120 families) emigrated to Canada. They continued to stay in touch through an annual Boekel reunion (Interviewee #20, SWCU Project). The villagers of Chaam settled near the town of Forest, and became a "Little Brabant transplanted in Canada" (Interviewee #15, SWCU Project). A seminary student, who came to Canada in 1954 and studied with the Sacred Heart fathers for a year, made the following observations:

The Sacred Heart priests recruited many people from a certain region of Brabant where they had their main cloisters. That region where half villages sometimes emigrated had no development potential at that time. The farms had become too small. There were few Limburgers in the London area... I think that is because the economic situation in Limburg in the countryside was not so bad (Interviewee #28, SWCU Project).

Mr. Cremers, Director of The Netherlands branch of the Catholic Immigrant Services, gives an example of chain migration in his reports on the activities of Father Van Wezel:

The reasons there are 12,000 Dutch immigrants in the London Diocese are not those mentioned by Father Van Wezel but simply the fact that the first immigrants happened to arrive there and these sponsored the others, sponsoring being the only way of getting into this country at that time. For instance a brother of Father Hendrikx sponsored at least 50 people from his native region. Therefore nearly all the 12,000 are from Brabant and Limburg (CIS Papers, MU 9429.1).

The CNR and CPR railway companies conducted aggressive recruitment campaigns in Holland in order to bolster their Canadian business.⁶² For example, they sponsored trips for journalists and emigration officials so that they could write newspaper articles or novels about Canada and Dutch-Canadian settlers. In 1952, after such a trip, Norel, a Dutch author, wrote the historical novel titled Hollanders in Canada. The various emigration societies in Holland were able to distribute more accurate and less biased information about Canada to prospective immigrants (DeWit, 1993).

The "push" and "pull" factors described above affected both Catholic and Calvinist emigrants in similar ways. However, the attitudes and policies of the church leaders were significantly dif-

⁶²The memories of exploitative practices of some private recruitment agents in the 1920's and 1930's gave added importance to the work of church-sponsored emigration societies. These societies could ensure that potential immigrants were not misled, and that immigrants were not mistreated on arrival (Ganzevoort, 1988:13-15).

ferent. Calvinist church officials and the Christian Emigration Society in The Netherlands favoured Canada as a destination for their members because of the fact that organizations were already in place to serve emigrants. For example, the Christian Reformed Church in America sent salaried home missionaries from the U.S.A. to help recent immigrants find work and housing. In addition, fieldmen were appointed to help with this work.⁶³ As we have described, Catholic church officials and the Catholic Central Emigration Society discouraged Catholics from going to Canada because Canada was seen to be a largely Protestant country.⁶⁴ However, large numbers of Dutch Catholics emigrated to Canada even though there were few organizations and structures already in place to help them (See Table 2.2). They had to help themselves.

Calvinists drew directly on the Bible in order to justify their emigration. In Genesis 1:28, God told the people to "Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it." Calvinists believed that the whole world belonged to God, and that all aspects of life were religious. Therefore, it did not matter exactly where an individual lived so long as he or she preserved the faith and remained obedient to God's Word. In Norel's (1952) historical novel, Mrs. Dijkstra blessed her children when they moved to the West of Canada, because she knew that God would care for them there, just as He cared for those family members who remained in Ontario. Calvinists had no difficulty integrating their work ethic, their drive for success, and their commitments to their faith.

In spite of the fact that eventually nearly as many Catholics as Calvinists came to Canada, Catholic bishops, in the years immediately after the war, hesitated to send people to Canada. Canada was seen as a predominantly Protestant country where life was too materialistic, and where individuals could quickly lose their faith. "Catholic emigrants to the New World are seen as prodigal sons and daughters" (Van Stekelenburg, 1983:75). Church officials preferred that Dutch Catholics go to Australia, where Roman Catholic churches and schools were already well organized. Hofstede, a

⁶³ After the war, eight home missionaries worked among immigrants in Ontario. In addition, from 1952 to 1960, fifty Dutch ministers, most from Calvinist churches, came from Holland with the immigrants (Van Ginkel, 1982:56, 67). There were fewer than ten fieldmen working in Ontario. A fieldman was a lay person who was employed to give practical help to immigrants. Often he was a Dutch immigrant who had come to North America prior to World War II.

⁶⁴ After 1951, the policies of the Catholic clergy changed dramatically (Van Stekelenburg, 1996).

Dutch historian who has documented the post-war overseas migration from The Netherlands, wrote as follows: "The fact which arouses most confidence as far as immigration (to Australia) is concerned is the existence of an almost complete system of Catholic schools" (1964:125).

Catholic immigration officials and volunteers did, of course, work hard to safeguard the faith of the many Dutch Catholics who did emigrate to Canada. This effort is described in Mr. Cremers' letter of 19 May, 1960, to Mr. Van Gendt, the President of the Catholic Netherlands Organization in Hamilton. Mr. Cremers wrote:

The Canadian Officer in The Hague had directed Mr. Van Schie to come to Hamilton to work in the tobacco fields. This is not entirely without moral dangers and according to us he would fare better on the farm of a market gardener in Grand Bend... . Could you let us know where he settles? (Van Gendt Papers. MU 9423)

The need to provide spiritual care for Catholic immigrants was seen as being very important, especially if they were unmarried.⁶⁵

Although a rather greater number of Catholics chose to go to Australia, about one-quarter of Dutch emigrants to Canada were Catholic (Table 2.2; Petersen, 1955:187). In 1952, Monsignor Hanssen, was the first Dutch bishop appointed by the Vatican to specifically look after the interests of Catholics in Holland who were thinking of emigrating.⁶⁶ He advised them to go to Quebec (Hofstede, 1964:125). He suggested that, if they went to English-speaking Canada, they should live close to the Catholic churches and schools which existed in many localities. He believed that Dutch priests should accompany emigrants on the voyage to Canada and help them in the transition to a new country. In the early years, those Catholic immigrants who had not yet learned English needed

⁶⁵The Catholic clergy warned unmarried people about the danger of losing their souls in a new country. In a book titled *The Catholic Immigrant*, written in 1952 by several Catholic priests in order to provide guidance to Catholic immigrants, the priestly advice reads as follows: "As a general rule it is strongly recommended not to emigrate as a single person. For the single person the difficulties and dangers are too great." Some of the difficulties enumerated by the priests were the lack of moral support, the dangers of seeking diversions not fit for Catholics, the tendency to squander earnings, the limited chances of finding good Canadian Catholic girls endowed with the pioneering spirit and a willingness to save money. They also noted the scarcity of single Dutch girls in Canada and the great distances people had to travel to contact one another. Their advice was as follows: "Find a girl in The Netherlands first, then emigrate... . The single person must find contact with Catholic families in Canada as soon as possible in order to have reasonable and diverse enjoyment in his free time" (Dortmans, 1994:173).

⁶⁶Mr. Hanssen was the Coadjutor Bishop of Roermond. He was appointed by the Netherlands Episcopate to look after the special interests of Catholics in Holland who were thinking of emigrating to Canada and elsewhere. After his death in 1958, the Bishop of 'sHertogenbosch was appointed to this post (Hofstede, 1964:83; Petersen, 1955:187).

Dutch priests to hear their confessions. However, the Latin mass was familiar to all. In 1950, there were one hundred and four Dutch priests in Canada, but only six or seven of those worked primarily among immigrants. They had to serve other nationalities as well (Ganzevoort, 1988:97). Some of these men were not sent to work with immigrants but came as missionaries to Canadian parishes (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:20). At that time, there were about 60,000 Dutch Catholics in Canada (Van Stekelenburg, 1975:69). In 1950, there were sixty Canadian dioceses and each one had a director of immigration (Ganzevoort, 1988:70). These directors of immigration were in contact with the two private organizations that helped to find sponsors, the Immigration Committee of Canada of the Christian Reformed Church and the Social Action Department of the Catholic Immigration Aid Society.

2.6 Settlement Patterns

Just as the “push” and “pull” factors differed for the two immigrant groups, so did their settlement patterns. The Canadian government and its departments were interested in spreading the Dutch-Canadian immigrants out over a large area in order to prevent concentration. Before 1945, many Canadians saw rural bloc settlements and concentrations of immigrants in certain neighbourhoods in cities as hindering the process of assimilation. In the government, there were unofficial pressures towards assimilation. “There was no explicit federal policy concerning ethnic groups, although it was generally assumed that immigrants would eventually be assimilated into English- or French-Canadian society. Immigrants who were regarded as unassimilable were excluded” (Palmer, 1975:115). The federal government’s earlier encouragement of the settlement of Mennonites, Mormons, Doukhobors, and Hutterites in blocs in Western Canada was not so much an endorsement of cultural diversity as a practical way of getting immigrants to settle the prairies and to stay there. Since 1945, politicians have increasingly accepted the policy of cultural pluralism. This came about largely as a result of immigrants’ demands for greater recognition.

Whereas Calvinists churches have generally encouraged the pillarization of society, the Catholic churches have encouraged structural assimilation. For example, the ways in which religious services were conducted in large Catholic churches in the U.S.A. did not promote small group relationships or group activities (Gordon, 1964:200). In Canada, Roman Catholic churches, schools, and other organizations serve many Catholic immigrants from a variety of European countries. Van Stekelenburg, a Dutch historian who studied Catholic emigration to Canada, noted that not even one Dutch Catholic parish was ever established in Canada (1983:73). The Canadian bishops saw rapid assimilation as desirable where possible. Dutch Catholics generally knew English and mixed easily with Canadians. It is true that more than a hundred Dutch priests worked in Canada. However, only a few of them worked in areas where many Dutch-Catholic immigrants had settled. In this way, the Catholic church has served as a “powerful de-ethnicizing force” (Palmer, 1975:179).

Graumans (1973:79) compared the process of assimilation among Dutch-Catholic immigrants and immigrants who belonged to the Dutch Christian Reformed Church in southwestern Ontario in the early 1970's. His survey (N=227, 126 Calvinists and 101 Catholics) showed that those Dutch Catholics who were deeply committed to their faith joined greater numbers of Canadian Roman Catholic organizations than those Catholics who were less committed. Deeply committed Catholics also tended to use the English language more frequently. Fewer than one in ten of the Dutch Catholics said that they belonged to congregations made up largely of other Dutch Catholics (Ibid., p.69). In contrast, deeply committed Calvinist immigrants tended to join greater numbers of organizations based on Reformed Christian principles. They tended to use the English language less frequently. Graumans concluded that there was a direct relationship between religious commitment, patterns of assimilation, and ethnic identity retention.

Catholic church officials preferred that immigrants assimilate. VandenHoonard, a Canadian sociologist, wrote a book about Dutch immigrants titled The Silent Ethnicity (1991). He explains the situation: “The Canadian Catholic hierarchy always had to be on the alert both for the development of ethnic churches and for any resultant discord between French-speaking and English-speaking

church officials" (1991:54). Mr. Tuinman, the Dutch emigration attaché in Ottawa, also opposed any attempts to establish Dutch bloc settlements or to encourage the pillarization of Dutch Canadians in Canada. Since farmers from all over Canada could become sponsors if they needed farm labourers, sponsors lived in the West and Quebec as well as in Ontario. Naturally, the French-speaking farmers in Quebec preferred French-speaking labourers, such as people from Belgium (Lowesteyn, 1986:85).⁶⁷ Nevertheless, according to Father Van Wezel, "Catholics were sent to the West, where there were no Catholics, and Protestants were sent to Quebec where there were no Protestants" (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:23).⁶⁸ In response, Father Van Wezel and officials of the Dutch emigration societies fought for the partial integration of Dutch immigrants rather than complete assimilation. Father Van Wezel commented as follows: "Let them remain what they are, but let them integrate into the Canadian system" (Van Wezel Interview 1979:10). When the emigration societies of the Catholic, Reformed, and Christian Reformed churches united in order to establish the Canadian Netherlands Immigration Council in 1953, Father Van Wezel was happy to get some help in his fight for integration. As representatives of a large group of Dutch immigrants, they were more influential in opposing the views of Mr. Tuinman, the Dutch emigration attaché in Ottawa (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:23, 28). Although the Calvinists favoured integration, they wanted to live in groups in order to keep their religious identity. They were helped by the efforts of the many Christian immigration societies which had been established throughout the country. After one year of service in Canada, Mr. Heersink, who came to Canada in 1953 in order to organize the Reformed immigration movement, wrote as follows in a report on his work:

We now have an opportunity... to guide (incoming immigrants) to certain areas. Whereas formerly the government was convinced the immigrants must be scattered everywhere, they now ask our help to set them in areas, where we can give them spiritual care (CNIC Papers, MU 9396).

⁶⁷ There are several reasons why so few Dutch immigrants settled in Quebec. First, Dutch people find the English language easier to learn. Second, the French-Canadian way of life is more foreign to them. Third, the French-Canadians prefer French-speaking immigrants so that the balance between the French and the English in the province will not be upset. Fourth, there were no Calvinist churches in Quebec (Lowesteyn, 1986:4).

⁶⁸ As we have noted, between 1947 and 1950, 61% of all Dutch immigrants had settled in Ontario, whereas only 7% had settled in Quebec (Contact, 1950:15).

Calvinists and Catholics could now be organized by their respective churches so that they could live in groups and receive help. At the end of his three-month trip to Canada in 1951, Mr. Heersink commented on the placement of Calvinists as follows:

... the Christian Reformed Church, which is responsible for placing Christian Reformed and Free Reformed immigrants, has an agreement with the Canadian Government that members of these churches will be placed close to churches or members of their group. These churches and groups are growing in economically advantaged areas because of wise leaders and organizations... . In general the situation is this, the Reformed are placed in areas where the Christian Reformed don't want to go (CNIC Papers, MU 9396).

Immigrants who were sponsored by friends and relatives in Canada rather than by Canadian farmers or by church organizations were never affected as these immigrants simply travelled to their sponsors. In the next sections, various features of the settlement patterns of Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists will be considered. First, we discuss the areas in which the immigrants settled and their reasons for going there. Second, we describe the help they received. Third, we explore their reasons for building or not building institutions. Finally, we describe the range of institutions that were actually established.

2.6.1 Calvinist Patterns of Settlement

The Dutch Calvinists in Canada joined a church that originated in the U.S.A. in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the Dutch were not known for emigrating in large numbers until after World War II, at times smaller groups had come to North America. In fact, the Reformed Church of America was established as early as 1624 by a group of Dutch settlers brought out by the Dutch West India Company. They settled on Manhattan Island and along the Hudson River. In 1626, they founded Fort New Amsterdam (New York). When the Dutch territories in North America fell into English hands in 1664, the Reformed Church survived (Lucas, 1955:6-29; Finke, et al., 1996:215). For the first few years after their arrival, the Seceders and other Dutch Protestants who started to come to the Midwest in the mid-nineteenth century joined this Dutch Reformed Church that had

been started by the Dutch settlers on the East Coast.⁶⁹ These groups of Protestants⁷⁰ bought land on the frontier. The availability of fertile land was a prime consideration in determining where they established colonies.

The Seceders were a group of Dutch people who left the state Protestant church in 1834, because they viewed it as having become too liberal. These orthodox Calvinists (or Seceders) were unhappy with the extent of the control by the Dutch government over the Reformed Church, negotiated by William I after 1814. That tension, together with the effects of the spirit of Enlightenment which had greatly affected the churches, eventually led to the problems of the Secession of 1834, and the subsequent emigration of several thousand Seceders to the U.S.A. (Lucas, 1955: 42-45). This secession is commonly referred to as the "Afscheiding" (Secession). A large part of this group emigrated to the U.S.A.. Some went, under the leadership of Rev. Van Raalte, to Holland, Michigan, in 1846, while others went under the leadership of Rev. Scholte to Pella, Iowa, in 1847 (Lucas, 1955: 60, 150; Schoolland, 1974).⁷¹ For the first few years, these people were members of the Reformed Church in America. But tensions soon developed between the new immigrants and the established Dutch Reformed groups in the U.S.A.⁷² The Seceders then formed their own Holland Reformed Church in 1857. In 1886, another group of Dutch people seceded from the state Protestant church in Holland for similar reasons. This secession was known as the "Doleantie" (Sorrowing). The joining of these two groups in 1890 marked the beginning of the Christian Reformed Church in the U.S.A. (Brinks, 1986; Van Ginkel, 1982:170; Appendix I).⁷³ Doctrinal disputes within the Calvinist church

⁶⁹In the nineteenth century, poor migrants who could not afford the trip had their fare provided for by the churches in Holland (Lucas, 1955:54-60).

⁷⁰Some came not primarily for religious reasons but because of the hardships that followed the potato blight of 1845 (Lucas, 1955:54-60)

⁷¹Not all colonists were Seceders. Although only 1.4% of the Dutch population in 1849 was made up of Seceders, 35% of the 5,322 emigrants who left Holland in 1847 were Seceders (Stokvis, 1975:38). Eight hundred immigrants to the U.S.A., mostly farmers, came with Rev. Scholte. One hundred immigrants came with Rev. Van Raalte (Algra,1970:183).

⁷²Many of the same tensions between the new immigrants and the established Dutch Reformed groups which had, by the mid-nineteenth century, been in America for more than two hundred years, mirror the tensions that arose between American Calvinist churches and American ministers and the immigrants to Canada who arrived after 1945 from Holland.

⁷³Some immigrants from Holland resisted union with the Reformed Church of the East Coast. These Dutch people had been in the New World since the 1600's. Not only did the immigrants perceive this church to be lax, but they also disliked the fact that some members of the Reformed Church who lived on the East Coast of the U.S.A. had

have resulted in several groups of similar, but not identical, congregations (Lucas, 1955:155).⁷⁴

Those Dutch people who emigrated to the U.S.A. tended to settle in groups in certain towns and in certain states. For example, they settled in Zeeland and Holland, Western Michigan, in Rochester, New York State, in Chicago, Illinois, in Paterson, New Jersey, in Pella, Central Iowa, and in Orange City and Sioux Center, Northwestern Iowa (De Jong, 1975:221).⁷⁵ A few branches of Christian Reformed churches had been established in Canada in 1905, when it became fairly easy for church members to obtain land in Canada (VanderMey, 1983:302; Lucas, 1955:549). As has been described, after 1945, the Christian Reformed Church in the U.S.A. sent home missionaries to help the newly arrived Calvinist immigrants and to establish new churches in Canada (VanderMey, 1983:299-330).

The Christian Emigration Society in The Netherlands directed Calvinist immigrants to areas in which Calvinists were already settled. In the 1920's, the Christian Reformed Church in the U.S.A. had helped to establish churches in Hamilton (1925), Chatham (1926), Sarnia (1926), and Essex (1928). Some of the new immigrants went to these places. However, many more settled in small groups in rural areas in Ontario. For example, in 1953 Mr. Heersink, reporting on his work in Canada, wrote, "At Drayton a group from the province Drente was settled in an area of about twenty miles" (CNIC Papers, MU 9396). This group was organized by Classis Muskegon of the Christian Reformed Church into a congregation.⁷⁶ Under the farm sponsorship scheme, the whole

become Freemasons (Lucas, 1955:511-513).

⁷⁴In 1924, the Protestant Reformed Church split from the Christian Reformed Church. In 1950, a group of Dutch Calvinists started the Canadian Reformed Church in Canada. This was the equivalent of a church in Holland called the "Vrijgemaakt" Gereformeerde Kerken van Nederland (the Liberated Reformed Churches of the Netherlands), which had split from the Gereformeerde Kerken in 1944 because of a doctrinal dispute over common and covenantal grace. It has one sister church in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The Free Reformed Church was established in Canada by immigrants who belonged to two corresponding churches in Holland, the "Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk" (Christian Reformed Church) and the "Oude Gereformeerde Kerk" (Old Reformed Church). And the Netherlands Reformed Church was established by members of the "Gereformeerde Gemeente" (the Reformed Congregation). Both of the latter are small orthodox congregations. From the above discussion, we can see the complexity of the Calvinist churches in America. In North America there is a group of churches "in the Reformed tradition", some of which competed with one another to attract new immigrants to their congregations (Van Ginkel, 1982:30-34, 170; Appendix I).

⁷⁵In the Midwest, these settlements sprang from the colonies founded by groups of orthodox Calvinists. In the East, these settlements came from the early Dutch settlers on Manhattan and along the Hudson River (Lucas, 1955: 29, 68, 150). These Dutch enclaves remained distinct for many years (Kroes, 1991:222).

⁷⁶A classis functions as a presbytery. In order to form a congregation in the Christian Reformed Church, a group of people get together and elect a number of elders and deacons. A group of congregations in a geographic region forms

group was contracted to grow sugar beets for a canning factory for one year. The price of land also influenced the destinations of Calvinists. They went to regions where they could afford to buy farms.⁷⁷ Towns such as Cochrane and New Liskeard were chosen, because the land in these areas was relatively inexpensive.

Upon their arrival in Ontario, Calvinist immigrants found an infrastructure already in place. There were people there to welcome them. Fieldmen and home missionaries employed by the Christian Reformed Church in America helped immigrants find housing and work. The Americans, many of whom were living in nearby Michigan, also extended many forms of financial aid and other types of support to newly arrived immigrants. For example, churches in the U.S.A. lent money to help immigrants establish churches and schools.⁷⁸ Members of the Kalamazoo Christian Reformed Church, in Michigan, donated money for a vehicle to transport recent immigrants to church services in Aylmer. The Detroit Christian Reformed Church gave money for the same purpose (Rev. W. Renkema Papers, MU 9424.3). A Chicago businessman lent money to a Dunnville farmer for the purchase of a farm (the Swierenga Papers in the Redeemer College Special Collection). In addition, churches in the U.S.A. donated truckloads of clothing, several communion sets, and boxes full of hymn books. Members of the Strathroy East Christian Reformed Church still walk on the red floral carpeting received in the 1950's from a Christian Reformed Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan, which was renovating its church building.

Sociologists who study pillarization, the establishment of parallel organizations within a society, often neglect to look at the faiths and worldviews, or the ideologies, of the members of the

a classis. Each congregation sends two delegates to a classis, which normally meets twice a year. Two delegates from each classis attend the yearly meeting of Synod. Funds for missions and other programs sponsored by the church are gathered from the congregations. A certain quota was expected of each family and this amount is set yearly by Synod. In 1992, the quota was set at \$355.75 per family. In 1992, the Christian Reformed Church was composed of 46 classes and 981 congregations. There were 316,415 members in both Canada and the U.S.A. This total includes 12 classes, 256 congregations, and 90,619 members in Canada (Christian Reformed Yearbook, 1992:120-121).

⁷⁷In the 1950's, fieldmen of the Christian Reformed Church, who held salaried positions, paid by the church, organized trips to New Liskeard, Cochrane, Sault Ste. Marie, and Thunder Bay in order to show farmers less expensive farms.

⁷⁸In the years immediately following World War II, the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church of America sent one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to Canada to fund the establishment of churches (Lucas, 1955:467). One-quarter of the money was given as a gift, and three-quarters was in the form of a low-interest loan (Van Ginkel, 1982:43).

groups they are studying (Kennedy, 1993). In order to answer the question why the Calvinists started so many Christian organizations, one must examine the influence of their religion on their particular organizational style. The Calvinists felt that they could not serve God in existing mainstream public institutions. Many of them emigrated with the intention of making Canada more Christian (Kits, 1991:391). Therefore, they built their own institutions in obedience to God's Word.⁷⁹ By establishing their own organizations, they hoped to preserve their religious values and to transmit these to their children. Mr. Gritter, secretary of the Christian Labour Association, explains their outlook:

There are certain areas of life in which the spiritual, ethical and moral differences between the way of life of the world and that of a Christian are so pronounced, cut so deeply, that organization on a Christian basis is absolutely necessary (The Banner, Jan.5, 1951:29).

There were other areas of North American life, for instance, dress, language, food, and customs, which Calvinists could readily accept. In 1959, Rev. Van Kooten, an American minister of the Christian Reformed Church in Hamilton, published a book which provided advice to immigrants in his congregation on how to integrate into Canadian society (Van Kooten, 1959). He warned against complete segregation, and also against total assimilation. Van Kooten suggested that members should only change for the better, and that they should selflessly contribute to life in the new country.

In the late nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century, the Dutch theologian and statesman Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) took the lead in encouraging Calvinists to establish Christian organizations in The Netherlands. Since the Dutch-Calvinist immigrants followed this pattern when they arrived in Canada, Dutch-Canadian Calvinists are often called Kuyperian Calvinists. A reporter for Trouw (Faithful), a Christian daily newspaper in Holland, noted that the differences between American Calvinism and Kuyperian Calvinism caused tensions for those young immigrants whose views of the Christian life sometimes differed from those of the American

⁷⁹Kits (1991:342-345) describes the establishment of the Christian Labour Association and farmers' organizations in Canada.

ministers.⁸⁰ According to Smedes, an American professor at the Free University of Amsterdam, in the 1950's "the former are characterized by a tendency toward flight from the world, the latter by a conquest of it; the former by cultural negation, the latter by cultural exploitation" (Smedes in The Reformed Journal , 1952:16). Smedes argued that the two views were, in fact, complementary.

The first organizations which were established by Calvinist immigrants after their arrival in Ontario were local immigration societies (Rev. W. Renkema Papers, MU 9424.3; Drayton Christian Reformed Church Papers, MU 9445).⁸¹ Most churches had such societies. Their purpose was to provide information and to help immigrants settle. Another goal was to find sponsors for new immigrants in order to increase the numbers of Dutch people in the existing small settlements. By choosing their own sponsors, instead of having government officials assign sponsors to them, they could "watch out for bad farmers" (Minutes of Dec. 22, 1948 of the Aylmer immigration society). Because a majority of the members of these immigration societies also belonged to the church, matters pertaining to the church were often discussed and decided on at these meetings. Since not all church members belonged to the immigration society, this sometimes created problems. When someone in the Aylmer congregation complained about this, Rev. Gritter, the home missionary serving that church, agreed to make the local congregation aware in advance of any special church matters which were to be discussed at future immigration society meetings.

These immigration societies spawned a number of other institutions. In the first few years, Aylmer saw the establishment of a church, a Christian school society, a mutual aid society, a transportation committee, a hospital and sickness insurance scheme, a library, a Christian labour society, a Christian Farmers' Association, and a women's society (Helder, 1993). The establishment of the

⁸⁰ Van Ginkel, (1982:82) discusses the differences between American and Dutch ministers in detail in Chapter Three of her M.A. thesis. Between 1946 and 1960, fifty Dutch ministers from Holland and eighty-five American ministers worked with Canadian congregations (Ibid., pp. 166-168). She classifies the American ministers as pragmatic and the Dutch ministers, recruited from Holland, as more idealistic. American ministers favoured the American model of adaptation to American culture. People were expected to join existing institutions and to work within those institutions in order to make them more Christian. In contrast, Dutch ministers favoured setting up separate Christian institutions.

⁸¹ It is estimated that forty to fifty churches were established in Ontario during the 1950's (Peetoom, 1983:116-117; Christian Reformed Yearbook, 1992:120).

women's society met with some objections. Many women members could not afford the gasoline to attend two meetings a month. In Drayton, the men's and women's societies met on the same night because so many immigrant women could not drive cars (Calvinist Contact Nov.1951:13; Rev. W. Renkema Papers, MU 9424.3).

Second in importance to the establishment of churches was the establishment of Christian schools. They were the most numerous of Calvinists institutions. They were also the most important in maintaining the religious and ethnic identity of the Calvinists. Between 1946 and 1960, twenty-one Christian schools were established in Ontario.⁸² By 1980, sixty-nine Christian schools were operating in Ontario (Van Ginkel, 1982:148; Peetoom, 1983:116-117). In 1995, there were seventy-two Christian schools in Ontario, with a total enrolment of about twelve thousand students (personal communication, the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools, 1996).⁸³ There was, of course, a time lag between the establishment of churches and the establishment of Christian schools.⁸⁴ In Ontario, two schools were built within the first four years of establishment of a church, fourteen schools were built within five to nine years, twelve schools were built within ten to fourteen years, and eleven schools were built after fifteen years (Appendix E). When one considers the limited financial resources of the immigrants, Christian schools were established with remarkable speed (Peetoom, 1983:116, 117).⁸⁵

⁸²Thirty-three Christian schools were established in Canada, between 1946 and 1960.

⁸³The proportion of members of the second generation who do not belong to Christian Reformed churches varies. As the mission of Christian education is becoming better known outside Calvinist circles, the rates of attendance of children from other churches are increasing. For example, in 1990, two-fifths of the students at the Christian School in Burlington, Ontario, did not belong to the Christian Reformed church (van Dijk, 1990:14). In Calvin Christian School in Hamilton, Ontario, about one-sixth of the children (56 children, from 26 families, out of a total of 334 children, from 168 families) come from families that are not Dutch and not Christian Reformed (Calvin Christian School directory, 1995-1996).

⁸⁴The first priorities of the American ministers were the building of churches and parsonages. They encouraged the repayment of these mortgages as soon as possible, which is understandable since some of the money for churches and parsonages was borrowed from groups in the U.S.A. (Van Ginkel, 1982:42-44; Helder, 1993:137). For example, Aylmer constructed a new church in 1950 for about \$24,000. They received \$10,000 from the Christian Reformed Churches in the United States, of which \$2,500 did not have to be repaid (Helder, 1993:137). In contrast, the Dutch ministers' first priorities were the establishment of Christian schools and other Christian organizations. They desired to do this before church buildings were paid for and before money (quotas) had been raised for the upkeep of existing organizations.

⁸⁵Because all costs must be paid by parents and supporters, teachers in Christian schools receive lower salaries than their counterparts in the public school system. According to the 1995/96 recommended salary scale from the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools, fully certified elementary school teachers' salaries, in Ontario range from \$26,000, for a new teacher, to \$42,000, for a teacher with ten years experience. In comparison, elementary school teachers' salaries in Middlesex County, Ontario, range from \$29,000 for a new teacher to \$52,000 for a teacher with ten years of experience (Christian Courier, March 8, 1996:2). Tuition costs are high. For example, in 1995, in Hamilton, Ontario, tuition costs per year were \$5,800 for elementary school, and \$6,584 for high school. Education costs are explained in greater

These schools were not, in fact, parochial schools (or schools controlled by the church). Rather, they were schools controlled by the parents. The parents elected school boards.⁸⁶ Among Calvinists, the responsibility for educating children is seen as resting with the family. They established Christian schools partly to teach the Calvinist way of life (world-and-life view), and partly to protect their children from secular influences (Van Ginkel, 1982:149). Parents did not want their children educated in public schools because they were not religiously neutral. In 1952, an organization called the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools was established in order to help establish Christian schools, to develop Christian curricula, to promote good relations between boards and staff members, and to lobby on behalf of parents for limited government assistance (Ibid., p.151, personal communication with Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools, 1996).

Often the establishment of organizations by post-war immigrants was delayed because of the lack of finances or limited manpower. For example, in the 1950's Aylmer members discussed the establishment of a funeral fund, an organization to prevent swearing (since they considered cursing to be a national sin in Canada), a credit union, and a men's society. However, the founding of these was delayed because of financial constraints and insufficient support among members. In a letter to the editor of The Canadian Calvinist (January 1951), a reader expressed concern that there was not one single political party based on Christian principles in Canada. He suggested the organization of a Christian party, so that, when he received his Canadian citizenship in four or five years, he would have a party to support. In Holland, he would have voted for a Calvinist political party.

One of the measures of the degree of institutional completeness is the number of newspapers that a group maintains (Breton, 1964). After churches, newspapers often have the greatest effect in

detail in Section 6.5.2.3 in Chapter Six. Capital for schools and churches is raised through drives within the school and church communities. There is also a financial organization, the Christian Reformed Extension Fund, which collects savings and money set aside in registered retirement savings plans from people in these communities. This money is then lent to Christian Schools, Christian Reformed Churches, and other charitable organizations associated with the Christian Reformed Church for mortgages on land and buildings. The mortgage rate is usually one-quarter of one percent above the rate earned by the depositors. In 1995, the Fund had assets of twenty-five million dollars. The interest rate for depositors and for mortgages fluctuates and is set quarterly by a board of directors (Brochure of the Christian Reformed Extension Fund, January, 1996).

⁸⁶ This is not to say that the clergy did not play an important role in organizing school societies.

maintaining group cohesion. The Calvinist immigration societies voted to have the League of Immigration Societies, a Calvinist umbrella organization, control the major Dutch-Calvinist newspaper Calvinist Contact.⁸⁷ Society members sold subscriptions, chose the publication committee, and also helped to finance the paper. The minutes of the annual meeting of the society in November of 1952, state that “every society shall pay \$1 per member toward the capital costs of running the paper” (Rev. W. Renkema Papers, MU 9424.3). Other newspapers maintained by the Calvinist group were The Banner , The Wachter , Contact , The Canadian Calvinist , and The Reformed Journal .

2.6.2 Catholic Patterns of Settlement

Because Catholics tended to assimilate speedily and lose their identity, little is known about their settlement patterns before the mid-nineteenth century (Lucas, 1955:213).⁸⁸ Some Catholic priests from Holland became missionaries among the Indians. One of them, Father Van den Broek, returned to Holland from a mission trip, and, in 1847, led a group of 350 Catholics to the U.S.A. These people came predominantly from Noord-Brabant, Limburg, and Gelderland and established a colony in Little Chute, Wisconsin. Some of these people were skilled in the work of building dams and canals. In 1850, another 200 settlers from Brabant arrived in the Green Bay area (Ibid., pp. 217-220).⁸⁹ In contrast to the situation in Holland, where Catholics had been persecuted since the sixteenth century, and where they were not allowed to establish their own schools, in the U.S.A. Catholics could worship in freedom and educate their children in Catholic schools.⁹⁰ Catholic immigrants from Holland settled in small groups in other areas such as Rochester, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis (Lucas, 1955:444-445). In Chicago, a predominantly Dutch-Catholic parish, the St. Willibrord

⁸⁷This is a Holland Canadian weekly which started publication in 1951 and still continues. The Canadian Calvinist and Contact amalgamated in 1951 to become Calvinist Contact. The newspaper was intended for immigrants who belonged to the Christian Reformed Church . Publication in English, rather than Dutch, started in 1967. In 1993, the name was changed to Christian Courier. This newspaper had five thousand subscribers in 1995.

⁸⁸In the 1600's, a number of Flemish priests came to North America with groups of immigrants from Noord Brabant and Limburg (Lucas, 1955:3).

⁸⁹Dutch Catholics tended to mingle with other Catholic groups. In fact, Father Van den Broek preached in English, Dutch, German, and French.

⁹⁰Dutch Catholics who had experienced oppression in Holland tended to prefer well established churches in cities in the U.S.A., which they perceived to be safer than churches on the frontier (Schreuder, 1991:204).

parish, was organized in 1890's.⁹¹ Because the Catholic religion encouraged assimilation, there is little evidence of Dutch-Catholic settlements in the U.S.A. other than the ones in the Green Bay and Fox River areas (Lucas, 1955:458; Schreuder, 1991:200).⁹²

Dutch-Catholic settlement patterns in the U.S.A. were repeated in Canada a century later. In Canada, Dutch-Catholic immigrants did not usually form their own ethnic parishes, partly because of the resistance to such parishes by some of the bishops of the Catholic church, as we have described earlier.⁹³ Father Van Wezel (1954:144) describes the bishops' views as follows:

The Bishops and parish priests of Canada like to see large Dutch Catholic families settle in their rural parishes, knowing that they generally have strong faith in and loyalty to their Church's religious traditions. They do not need and do not like Dutch national parishes.⁹⁴

However, Catholics were free to settle wherever there was work. And Catholic churches and schools existed everywhere. Like the Calvinists, Catholics tended to go to places where they had relatives and friends who had come before or just after the war. The highest concentrations of Dutch Catholics were to be found in rural parts of southwestern Ontario, particularly in the counties of Middlesex, Lambton, Kent, and Elgin (Sas, 1958:186).

To boost the size of congregations in small dying rural parishes in the 1950's, large Dutch Catholic families were sometimes recruited by parish priests. Attendance rates at local Catholic schools also rose. An older son in a family of twelve children described the situation in Lucan:

There was an Irish parish here (Lucan) and it was dying out. So the pastor asked for us

⁹¹ Often Dutch priests led the way by finding good agricultural land at low prices (Lucas, 1955:445-458).

⁹² A Belgisch-Hollandsch Priesterbond (which changed its name to the Catholic Colonization Society of the U.S.A. in 1911) was formed to slow down the assimilation of Catholic immigrants. Its main function was to find suitable land for Catholic settlers from Belgium and Holland (Lucas, 1955:454).

⁹³ We suspect that there was one in London, Ont., as 8% of the Dutch Catholics surveyed by Graumans said that they belonged to an "ethnic" church (1973:69).

⁹⁴ Father Van Wezel explains the tendency to assimilate as follows: "For the Catholic it is a great advantage that there does not exist a special kind of Dutch Catholic Church in Canada. The universal Catholic Church remains their only spiritual home. Arriving in Canada, in our dioceses, they find the same Mother Church, the same priesthood and the same Catholic institutions. Therefore they do not have to band together in order to practise their religion. That is why they are scattered around all over Canada, and the percentage of their settling by province is in proportion with their ratio to the total Canadian population... . But they hate to live in groups or colonies, for pretty soon they realize that the Dutch living among Old Canadians develop their best qualities, whereas when living among their fellow-countrymen they retain all their old national bad habits" (Van Wezel, 1954:143). However, very rapid assimilation, which was required of Dutch Catholics, put a special strain on older people, especially those with limited education who had probably learned only a few words of English before leaving Holland.

to send half of our school-age children to a small country separate school and the other half to another school along highway 23, in order to be able to keep those schools open. A third school had already been shut down. There were no longer enough students in those schools—only 7 or 8 pupils—and you needed a minimum of ten (Interviewee #14, SWCU Project).

A father of eight children explained how a Catholic school could be established:

If there were more than three families in a three-mile radius, and enough circles touched, you could start a school board, even if only a temporary one. That is what we did here and Father Oostveen (a Dutch priest) helped us with that. We amalgamated to form the Watford separate school and initially it only had two rooms. Yes, about 95% of the children were children of Dutch immigrants... . We had sisters (Ursuline sisters from Chatham) come in to teach them, but they were Canadians (Interviewee #18, SWCU Project).

A man who grew up in a family of nine children remembered the influence of the parish council:

The way the Dutch arrived here had to do with the role played by three members of the Kinkora parish council, at a time when they only had twenty-eight children left in their school. They approached the parish priest and asked him to approach the bishop to ask for large Catholic immigrant families. They also offered to sponsor us That right away brought another twenty-five children into the school (Interviewee #34, SWCU Project).

However, it is important to remember that not every Catholic immigrant supported separate schools.⁹⁵

Mr. Cremers reported, “the greater part of the immigrants ignore the existence of Catholic School Boards. Meanwhile the Catholic School Board gets subscriptions from only twenty-five percent of the Catholic families in Toronto” (CIS Papers, MU. 9429.1).⁹⁶ Many Catholic immigrants settled in rural areas, partly because they wished to buy land and partly because they were encouraged to do so by the Catholic Church.

In 1950, as a Director for Immigration for London, Father Van Wezel was instrumental in attracting substantial numbers of Dutch-Catholic immigrants from all over Canada to the London

⁹⁵Lack of interest in Catholic schools was widespread among the general Catholic population also. A 1961 report by the Federation of Catholic Parent-Teacher Associations of Ontario, stated, “ We must do something to overcome the apathy of 49 percent of Catholics... .” (Ontario Secondary School Teachers Association (OSSTA) papers cited in Walker, 1986:228). In the early twentieth century, about one-quarter of the German-Catholic congregation of the church of St. Peter in Saskatchewan supported parochial schools (White, 1994:15).

⁹⁶In 1961, a separate school trustee in Toronto estimated that about two-fifths of Toronto Catholics sent their children to public schools (Walker, 1986:202).

area. Some of the best agricultural land in Canada is in this region. He was sensitive to the Catholic immigrants' needs, and organized social clubs for young adults and their parents so that they could meet other Dutch Catholics. He also sponsored newcomers in various parishes so that Dutch people could stay together (Van Wezel Interview, 1979). A neighbour of Father Van Wezel, a man who had emigrated in 1949 at the age of twenty-four, describes why immigrants moved to Ontario.

The reason so many people did not stay in the West is: first, they only had temporary employment there; second, they had a lot of teenage sons and daughters and they wanted them to have a chance to meet future spouses from other Dutch Catholic families... . Another reason they came here is that farms out West were too expensive, while here it was still possible to buy land if you were an immigrant (Interviewee #24).

Partly as a result of Father Van Wezel's efforts, 61 percent of all Dutch immigrants, who came to Canada between 1946 to 1950 settled in Ontario. Only 39 percent went to other provinces (Contact, 1950:15). Both Catholic and Calvinist immigrants tended to settle in rural areas in Ontario, partly because they came under a farm labour programme. In 1948, 54 percent of Dutch emigrants were farm people. These proportions decreased to 20 percent in 1952, 8 percent in 1958, and 5 percent in 1962 (Graumans, 1973:27). Partly because of a move from rural to urban areas, and partly because more of the emigrants came from urban areas in Holland in later years, 41 percent of the Dutch-Canadian population was living in urban areas in 1951. By 1961, the proportion had increased to 53 percent (Porter, 1965:75).⁹⁷

The price of land was, of course, an important factor in determining where the new immigrants settled. Few immigrants could afford to buy dairy or tobacco farms in southern Ontario (Sas, 1958:133). A small number moved to the East, because farms in the Maritimes were less expensive (VandenHoonard, 1991; VanDuyvenvoorden, 1988). The Sacred Heart Fathers bought a very inexpensive three-hundred and sixty acre farm near Delaware, Ontario, at a price of \$48,000, in order to start a seminary. *Father Van Wezel made the following comment:* :

⁹⁷ According to the census of 1951, 60% of Dutch Canadians lived on farms or in small towns (38% of the general Canadian population did so, at that time). By 1961, 44% of Dutch Canadians lived in rural areas (Groenberg, 1966:32). It is estimated that about one-third of the Dutch immigrants living in rural areas near London acquired land within a few years of their arrival.

In that time a farm was worth nothing. Because of the Depression all farms lost their worth. A lot of farmers just walked away from the farm because they could not eke out a living and they could not pay their debts. At this time in 1950 the results of the Depression which took place before the war can still be seen (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:3).

Not everyone agreed that farms in the London area were inexpensive. Mr. Cremers reported that:

Father McCormick was concerned about the establishment of the children of Dutch farmers. For them, the farms around London are too expensive. He sees a solution in bringing them to other regions, where prices are considerably lower, for instance the Maritimes and the Pembroke diocese (CIS Papers, MU 9429.1).

Father Grootsholten, the Director of the Catholic Immigration Centre in London, also worried about the high price of land and about how this would affect the spiritual condition of the Catholic immigrants. He wrote as follows in a letter to the St. Willibrord Credit Union:

Farmers came without money and cannot borrow enough from the Credit Union to make a downpayment. Therefore they buy cheaper farms farther away from the Catholic church and school which endangers their spiritual life. Protestants (who have more capital from the States)⁹⁸ bought the best farms close to church and school and drove out Catholic immigrants. When the farmers could bring along more capital they buy too early (St. Willibrord Credit Union Papers, MU 9410).

Families with large numbers of grown children were at an advantage because family members could pool their earnings and could raise enough money for downpayments on farms in one or two years (Ganzevoort, 1988:82,89; Sas, 1958:126).

Organizing the care (nazorg) of Dutch-Canadian Catholics proved to be a difficult task. The Social Action Department of the Catholic Immigration Aid Society was one organization that was helping to place and settle Catholic immigrants. In the 1950's members of this department were in frequent contact with the directors of immigration in each of the dioceses (Ganzevoort, 1988:70). Until 1954, there were no formal organizations in place to welcome Dutch-Catholic immigrants. The local bishop was responsible for the care of Catholic immigrants, but most of the help given to the new arrivals was provided by the parish priests. The bishop often appointed a director of

⁹⁸ Calvinist church members in the U.S.A. would provide loans at very reasonable rates to new immigrants in Canada in order to enable them to buy farms

immigration for the diocese. In 1950, there were sixty dioceses in Canada (Ibid., p. 70). Only three of the directors of immigration were Dutch. Several other dioceses had Dutch priests or Dutch layworkers. Father Van Wezel was instrumental in bringing over thirteen Dutch priests to serve as field workers with Dutch-Canadian Catholics (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:20). The Catholic Immigrant Services, which had a Dutch Branch, was organized in order to help recent arrivals (CIS Papers, MU 9430.12). However, these Catholic organizations were committed to helping Catholics of all nationalities, and their officials did not look favourably on organizations set up primarily to help Dutch Catholics.

Father Van Wezel's report comparing the reception of Catholic immigrants in Australia and in Canada angered both the Canadian government and the church authorities (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:20).⁹⁹ The Australian government received immigrants in camps, where they were taught the language, customs, social organizations, and business practices of the new country.¹⁰⁰ In Canada, Catholic immigrants were left to their own devices unless their sponsors or the church provided some kind of orientation. In 1952, at the urging of Bishop Cody, Father Van Wezel set up the Central Bureau of the Netherlands Catholic Immigration in Ottawa in order to sponsor Dutch-Catholic immigrants and help integrate them into Canadian society. He bought a house to be used as a hostel. He also helped immigrants by providing money and by finding jobs.

In certain areas there was some local help available for Catholic immigrants. The Catholic Netherlands Organization (CNO) in Hamilton was involved in the settlement and care of Catholic immigrants. In addition, several Dutch priests operated hostels in London, Windsor, Ottawa, and Toronto. The "Aid Society of the Catholic Church" also helped immigrants (Contact , 1950:15), and, as we have already mentioned, the Canadian Netherlands Immigration Council encouraged members of the Catholic, Christian Reformed, and Reformed churches to work together.

⁹⁹The deputy prime minister visited Father Van Wezel to complain.

¹⁰⁰While 31% of emigrants to Canada, from 1946-1962, were farm workers and agriculturalists, only 6% of emigrants to Australia were farm workers. This partly explains the low rate of emigration to Australia (Roholl, 1991:67). The corresponding numbers for the U.S.A. and New Zealand were 10% and 13%.

Catholic immigrants did not see the need to establish parallel organizations to the degree the Calvinists did.¹⁰¹ Perhaps this was partly because the Catholic church had already provided schools and some social organizations and partly because the influence of religion was not as strong among Catholics.¹⁰² Catholics tend to divide life into the sacred and the secular. They tend to emphasize “nature”, or the bodily existence, over “grace”, or the spiritual existence (McBrien, 1980:153; Beinert and Fiorenza, 1995:501-506). This has led to a dualistic image of the person in relation to God. Grace is seen as being added on to nature, instead of looking at the individual as having both a bodily and spiritual existence which are inseparable. In practice, it means that Catholics tend to emphasize human freedoms, while Calvinists tend to be more cautious about human freedoms. Catholics regard natural things not as evil, to be shunned, but as good, to be enjoyed.¹⁰³ For example, many Catholics enjoy card playing, drinking, and dancing, common activities in the Dutch-Canadian social clubs that were established in many cities. However, many Calvinists shunned these Dutch-Canadian clubs because they disapproved of these activities. As we have pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, even when they still lived in Holland the Catholics did not want as many church-sponsored organizations as the orthodox Calvinists did. In the author’s 1990 survey of ninety-nine elderly Dutch-Canadian Calvinists and Catholics, ninety-eight percent of the Calvinists felt that religion influenced “most of their life”, while only fifty-four percent of the Catholics felt this to be the case (vanDijk, 1990:81). Research carried out in the early 1970’s shows that two-fifths of Dutch-Calvinist immigrants said that religion had come to mean more to them with emigration. Fewer than one-fifth of Dutch-Catholic immigrants felt this way (Graumans, 1973:85). Although the Dutch-Canadian Catholics did not see a need to establish numerous parallel organizations, they did build some. Given that most arrived with little capital and given that many wished to buy land or to establish

¹⁰¹ Although there were many exceptions, the author’s 1990 survey showed that Catholics generally lived in less cohesive communities. They did not have as close ties with other Dutch immigrants, fewer Dutch people lived in their neighbourhoods, and only one-fifth of the Catholics reported that most of their fellow parishioners were Dutch. In contrast, nine-tenths of the Calvinists reported that most of the members of their congregations were Dutch. However, twice as many Catholics as Calvinists made use of Dutch-Canadian credit unions (57.9% and 29.5%) (van Dijk, 1990:82).

¹⁰² Those Catholics who were strongly committed were active in the activities of the mainstream Catholic church.

¹⁰³ Sins that are committed in the enjoyment of things can be confessed, and one can be absolved of these sins.

businesses, having a credit union was very important to them.¹⁰⁴ Father Van Wezel organized the St. Willibrord Credit Union in 1950 in order to help farmers buy land. It was established jointly by Dutch and Flemish Roman Catholics (Ganzevoort, 1988:105).¹⁰⁵ The credit union served eleven counties and had branches in Arkona, Strathroy, Stratford, and Wyoming. The success of the credit union was due partly because of the existence of "black" money brought into Canada illegally from The Netherlands and entrusted to Father Van Wezel by his parishioners (Appendix J)(Van Wezel Interview:30; Dortmans, 1994:191). In addition, several social organizations were also established by the Catholics. In the London area, these included the St. Joseph's club, for married people, and the Taxandria club, for young people (Interviewee #15, #3, SWCU Project). Catholic immigrants were instrumental in building retirement homes in Arkona and Stratford, and a small school in Watford. As has been noted, they also established a seminary in the town of Delaware, near London, Ontario (Interviewee #46, SWCU Project; Van Wezel Interview, 1979).

The Catholics were less successful in maintaining their group cohesiveness through the publication of newspapers than the Calvinists. Father Otgeris De Vent, a Flemish priest in Blenheim, Ontario, started a monthly newspaper called Onder Ons (Among Us) in order to provide information for Dutch-Catholic immigrants. From 1954 to 1969, the Fathers of the Sacred Heart organized the publication of this periodical (Dortmans, 1994:184). However, it seems that some Catholic bishops objected to the publication of this paper because they wanted to prevent any centralization of power in the hands of Dutch Catholics (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:11,32; CIS Papers MU. 9429.1). Later, the Central Bureau in Ottawa became responsible for this newspaper, which was renamed Kompas (Compass).¹⁰⁶ Another newspaper read by many Catholic immigrants was De Nederlandse Courant.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴Since the 1890's, churches in Holland had established credit unions to help small farmers and others who could not obtain money from large banks (Ganzevoort, 1988:105).

¹⁰⁵St. Willibrord was born in England in 658 and raised in Ireland. He became a missionary and travelled to The Netherlands in 690 in order to work with the Frisians. He died in 739. He is popular among Dutch Catholics.

¹⁰⁶Unfortunately, no copies of this magazine could be found anywhere.

¹⁰⁷De Nederlandse Courant is published every two weeks for Dutch Canadians of all denominations. It has been published in both English and Dutch from 1955 to the present. In 1995, it had five and a half thousand subscribers.

The lack of cooperation between the Dutch Protestants and the Dutch Catholics in Canada prevented the development of a national Dutch community (VandenHoonard, 1991:18). Lowensteyn, in her study of Dutch immigrants in Quebec, provides evidence that Dutch people have not supported ethnic organizations. Lowensteyn lists several organizations established after 1948 by Dutch immigrants that have since disappeared (1986:118; 1991:273).¹⁰⁸ VandenHoonard, a Canadian of Dutch descent, and a member of the Department of Sociology at the University of New Brunswick, argues that, except for their involvement in credit unions, the Dutch as a whole have a low level of institutional completeness (1991:17). This argument is misleading because Calvinist immigrants behaved differently from the others.¹⁰⁹ This group has continued to maintain a high level of institutional completeness. VandenHoonard notes that the Dutch in New Brunswick are deeply religious, since about two-thirds of both the Dutch Catholics and the Dutch Calvinists participate actively in the work of their respective churches. Of those who are active, two-thirds said that their own lives were intertwined with those of their church communities (*Ibid.*, p. 55). Ganzevoort also discusses the divisions that are evident in the establishment and running of Dutch-Canadian clubs (1988:122). While most cities with Dutch immigrants have such clubs, they are mainly organized by non-Calvinists. Because activities promoted by Dutch clubs often focus on dances, card games, the consumption of alcohol, and theatrical productions, they are unacceptable to a large number of Dutch Calvinists. The same pattern was observed in the U.S.A. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Dutch Catholics danced, went to movies, played baseball, and drank in cafés, while Dutch Calvinists did not (Lucas, 1955, 576, 625).

¹⁰⁸ These are as follows: 1948 - Nederlandse Studiekering (dissolved by 1949), 1949 - Holland Canada Society (inactive by 1949), 1958 "Je Maintiendrai" Dutch Club (dissolved in 1958), 1960 - Netherlands-Canada Society (later dissolved), 1962 - Catholic Dutch-Canadian Association (dissolved in 1968), 1968 - Dutch-Canadians Association (formerly Catholic Dutch-Canadian Association) (dissolved in 1973), 1970 - Dutch-Canadian Committee (a national federation of Dutch-Canadian Organizations (dissolved after a few years)). Other Dutch organizations still operating are the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies, a scholarly organization established in 1971, and the Canada-Netherlands Chamber of Commerce established in 1978.

¹⁰⁹ VandenHoonard notes that 52% of the Dutch in New Brunswick are Catholic, whereas only 35% of the total Dutch population is Catholic. In contrast, only 29% of the Dutch in New Brunswick are Protestant, while 52% of the total Dutch population of Canada is Protestant (1991:54).

2.6.3 Driedger's Conformity-Pluralist Model

A conformity-pluralist model is useful in assessing the place that immigrant groups occupy in the receiving country. Since Driedger's model has already been described in detail (on pages 17-18 in Chapter 1, Section 1.6.1), only the important points will be summarized here. Driedger states that the actual behaviour of groups falls between the extremes of cultural pluralism and total assimilation (Driedger, 1989:48). He illustrates this concept by using an assimilation-pluralist model, in which both the voluntary and the involuntary actions of groups have been incorporated (Driedger, 1989:51, Fig 2.2). The five sections of the model represent assimilation, Anglo-conformity, modified assimilation, voluntary pluralism, and involuntary pluralism. It is important to be aware of the theoretical aspects of ethnic experiences and the complex relationship between class and ethnicity, and to recognize that the latter interact (Basok, 1994:150).

Driedger's model is certainly applicable to the situations of Dutch immigrants in Ontario. Calvinist immigrants clearly fall in Cell E. The first-generation Calvinists voluntarily remained separate because of their strongly held distinctive religious values. As we have described, they established their own separate organizations soon after their arrival in Ontario. The Dutch-Canadian Catholics are best represented by Cell C. These people have become culturally and structurally assimilated into the Canadian Catholic community and have joined existing Catholic organizations.

It was hypothesized earlier that Catholics voluntarily assimilated into the dominant society. However, after examining the historical evidence, it became clear that some Catholic immigrants did not assimilate entirely by their own choice. Some, who were sponsored by farmers rather than by relatives, were affected by the placement practices of government immigration officials. In addition, Catholic bishops sometimes discouraged Catholic immigrants from establishing their own ethnic parishes. Both Tuinman, the Dutch emigration attaché in Ottawa, and the Catholic church officials wanted to prevent the "pillarization" of Canadian society. According to several sources, Tuinman tried to break with this system, which he was said to have called "all the boxes

of the different religions” (Interviewee #18, SWCU Project; Van Wezel Interview, 1979:24). He also appears to have been successful in discouraging the establishment of additional credit unions for Dutch Catholics (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:27).¹¹⁰ On December 31, 1957, at the urging of French-Canadian Catholic church officials, the Central Bureau in Ottawa was closed (Ibid., p.31, 35; Lowensteyn, 1991:269). This organization had been set up specifically to help Dutch-Catholic immigrants. As a result of these policies, the Dutch-Canadian Catholic community found it hard to establish its own organizations. However, there was nothing to stop them founding social clubs, cultural groups, and sports clubs. In fact, the Heritage Society, to which some of our Catholic respondents belonged, is one such group.

2.7 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter we have reviewed the main historical events that affected the migration patterns of Dutch Canadians. After the World War II, the Dutch government saw the encouragement of emigration as a sensible measure. The country had been devastated by war. Overpopulation and unemployment were the most important reasons for the planned migration from The Netherlands. While government emigration organizations in Holland, were concerned with “employment”, the emigration societies established by the Catholic and Calvinist churches were concerned with the “whole person”. They viewed emigration not just as a practical matter, but also as a matter of moral and spiritual concern in which the motives and choices of individuals were important considerations (Roholl, 1991:73).

Three aspects of the experiences of Catholic and Calvinist immigrants have been discussed.

¹¹⁰The Dutch emigration attaché visited government officials in Ontario and informed them that the Dutch government did not want the St. Willibrord Credit Union to expand. Father Van Wezel immediately travelled to Holland to discuss the situation with the Dutch government. Even though the Dutch government officials agreed with his plans to expand the credit union to serve all communities in Ontario, those plans were never carried out (Van Wezel Interview, 1979:28). One wonders whether the Dutch government wanted to ensure that the money left in Dutch banks by emigrants to Canada (who had been prevented from taking their savings with them because of post-war currency restrictions) remained in Dutch banks for as long as possible. Many millions of dollars had been left behind in Holland.

We suggested that both Calvinists and Catholics emigrated because of a combination of “push” and “pull” factors. Although there were many “push” and “pull” factors, the role of the church and religion was very significant. The Farm Settlement Scheme and the fact that farmers wanted land for their children were also very important factors. However, Calvinists came to Canada partly because they were encouraged to do so by Christian Emigration Societies in Holland and also by the Christian Reformed Church of America. There were structures already in place to help them settle in groups. Until the early 1950’s, Catholics were discouraged by their priests from going to Canada. Those who came, often sponsored individually by relatives and friends, did not find organizations in place to help them. Consequently, Dutch-Canadian Catholic immigrants helped each other as much as possible. They joined existing Catholic churches and sent their children to Catholic schools in Ontario. However, they also established their own Dutch- Catholic social clubs and credit unions.

We also documented how the Calvinist immigrants built an institutionally complete society soon after their arrival in Canada in order to preserve their religious heritage. The Dutch-Canadian Calvinists were helped in their integration into Canadian society by the well organized Immigration Committee of the Christian Reformed Church, and also by a network of fieldmen and home missionaries, some of whom were sent by Dutch-Calvinist groups in the U.S.A. They set up formal religious, political, educational, and social organizations. These organizations run on Reformed Christian principles provided them with most of the necessary services. As the Canadian sociologist Herberg (1989:240) has noted, “of all the dimensions of ethno-cultural life in Canada, Institutional Completeness is the most critical affecting ethnic-group cohesion.”

We also described how the Catholics assimilated voluntarily into the Canadian society by joining existing Catholic institutions. In certain districts, they were not allowed to set up Dutch-Catholic parishes because the Catholic bishops discouraged the formation of ethnic parishes and the development of ethnic institutions. The most religious among them learned English quickly and soon joined mainstream Catholic organizations (Graumans, 1973:79). The Catholic immigrants were not compelled by their religious beliefs to live separately from people of the dominant culture. Probably

some Dutch Catholic immigrants did resist their church leaders and simply moved to places where they had Dutch-Catholic relatives or friends, or perhaps even changed their religious affiliation. Many Dutch-Catholic immigrants undoubtedly married people of non-Dutch backgrounds.¹¹¹ Some may have accepted the traditional Catholic view that the laity must support the positions of the bishops on religious, moral, and social issues (Herberg, 1956:160).

Over time, ethnic communities disappear as the process of integration continues (Breton, 1964). In the U.S.A. only a few of the Dutch-Catholic communities established in the nineteenth century still remain (Lucas, 1955:213-225). The Dutch-Catholic communities in Canada will probably also eventually disappear. Dutch-Calvinist communities in the U.S.A. have proved to be more enduring (Kroes, 1991). The influence of Dutch clergy in the Reformed churches in America has also persisted (Nemeth and Luidens, 1995:200). Whether the institutionally complete society established by the first-generation Calvinist immigrants will survive and continue to be maintained by the second-generation Calvinists will be discussed in Chapter Nine.

¹¹¹Richards' analysis of ethnicity and marriage patterns shows that, in 1971, in Canada, among those Dutch Canadians who had been born in Holland, one-quarter had spouses who were not of Dutch origin. Among those of Dutch origin who had been born in Canada, one-third had spouses who were not of Dutch origin (Richards, 1991:111; Appendix K).

Chapter 3

Religion, Aging and Ethnicity

3.1 Introduction

Sociologists have tended to neglect the subject of religion and ethnicity, even though ethnicity and religion are often closely intertwined (Richards, 1991:115).¹ Little has been written about the importance of religion for the retention of ethnic identity among the ethnic elderly in Canada (Driedger and Chappell, 1987:42; Neugebauer-Visano, 1995). The research on religion confirms that the majority of older people in North America consider religion to be very important in their own lives (Driedger and Chappell, 1987:46; Johnson, 1995:189; Holt and Dellmann-Jenkins, 1992:109). Religion continues to shape their attitudes and values (Koenig, 1994:30). Being religious is associated with maintaining a healthy lifestyle and with having high levels of social support² (Levin, 1994:9; Ferraro, and Koch, 1994:362; Walls, and Zarit, 1991:490). The issue of death and the losses that accompany aging cause anxiety for many people. Taking part in religious activity, for example, prayer, is often used as a coping mechanism during times of change (Holt and Dellmann-Jenkins, 1992:109; Maldonado, 1994:56; Koenig, 1995:161). Religion can provide an important source of comfort and reassurance (Wuthnow, 1991, 1988; Hendrickson, 1986; Gray and Moberg, 1977). It can also give

¹ They have also tended to ignore the influence of religion in the lives of the elderly (Moberg, 1996:264). In some ethnic groups, religion plays a major part in all areas of life. One example of such a group is the African-American community (Johnson, 1995:190). However, we must remember that the origin for this group is different. While in the South of the U.S.A. no black trade unions, credit unions, and cultural clubs were allowed, churches were because they were seen to be non-political organizations.

² The care provided by church communities may be important in ensuring continuity for those church members living in institutional settings (Netting, 1991:97; Elliott, 1995:169).

meaning to life and death (Marshall, 1980). Sometimes religious and doctrinal beliefs influence people's views on social issues (Driedger, 1974). For example, strong religious beliefs and high levels of church involvement may be associated with greater tolerance. These factors appear to have a moderating effect on ethnic prejudice (Billiet, 1995:224; Grandin and Brinkerhoff, 1991:43). There is some evidence that strong religious convictions can also lessen the burden of parent care because one feels that one is doing God's work (Bond Jr. et al., 1987).³ And having strong faith is positively associated with high scores on life satisfaction scales (Cox and Hammonds, 1988; Brinkerhoff and Mackie, 1993:130; Holt and Dellmann-Jenkins, 1992:108; Maxwell and Cockriel, 1995:54).

Sociologists tend to agree that there has been a general decline in religiosity over the course of the last half century (Bibby, 1993:10; 1987:17; Cheal, 1991:44; Markides, 1983:621; Blazer and Palmore, 1976:85; Wuthnow, 1988). Although the proportion of the Canadian population attending churches has dropped dramatically⁴, the pattern of religious affiliation is fairly stable. Children tend to support the same churches as their parents. A large number of Canadians, whether they are active or marginal church members, seek the services of the clergy for baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and funerals (Bibby, 1993:154; 1987:88).

Because religion is still of central importance in the lives of the majority of our elderly and middle-aged respondents, we review the relevant sociological research on religion in this chapter.⁵ Most of this research was done in the U.S.A. (Koenig, 1995). As we noted in Chapter One, our first hypothesis is that among Dutch Canadians religion is a major factor in explaining intra-ethnic differences in ethnic identity retention and social support. Therefore, in this chapter we focus on how religion and patterns of religiosity affect patterns of ethnic identity retention and patterns of social support. We also pay special attention to generational differences in religious beliefs and religious practices. The first part of the chapter provides a general review of the research on the importance

³Taking part in religious activities was associated with increased feelings of well-being among those caring for people suffering from Alzheimer's disease (Burgener, 1994:187).

⁴For example, in Canada the proportion of the population attending church once a week dropped from 65% in 1945 to 35% in the 1980's (Bibby, 1987:17). By 1990, it had fallen to 23% (Bibby, 1993:10).

⁵Since little has been written on intra-ethnic differences in patterns of religious behaviour, we have discussed some of the relevant research on inter-ethnic differences.

of religion. This will be followed by a review of some of the studies that deal with ethnic variations and the differences between the generations in religion. Finally, we will present some recent Ontario research that is relevant to our study.

3.2 The Importance of Religion in the Lives of the Elderly

Religion influences many aspects of people's lives. These range from views on social problems to ways of caring for elderly parents. The levels of respect and care given to the elderly in a society are directly determined by the values of that society. Sociologists have coined the term "moral economy". "Moral economies grounded in exchange value tend to devalue the old, who are excluded from most "productive" activity and whose contributions outside the labor market (for example, as caregivers and volunteers) tend to be discounted. In contrast, moral economies based on use value and concerned with structuring a society that maximizes the possibilities of a decent life for all, are seen to provide an important avenue to empowerment of the old" (Minkler and Estes, 1991:6).

Not only does society devalue its elderly, but the church is also sometimes guilty of the same behaviour (Barden, 1986; Holstege, 1985). Inappropriate social values, such as an emphasis on economic productivity, have been accepted by many churches. Instead, churches should focus on ministries that enhance the spirituality of the elderly and work to empower them (Johnson, 1995:204). This would help the elderly to accept their losses, and it would also increase the quality of their lives. Old age can be a time of purpose, and of witnessing to the Lord's goodness (Holstege, 1985:18).⁶

Bond and his colleagues (1987) studied the relationship between doctrinal beliefs and the ways in which families provided care to elderly parents in a rural Mennonite community in Manitoba.

⁶ The Christian Reformed Church (which a majority of Calvinist respondents attend) calls on its members to change their present practices. "The aged have been retired out of sight and out of mind, as if they have nothing to offer or to do... So that we may together keep God's command, we call on families, churches, and governments to protect the elderly from being pushed aside. We welcome laws which allow voluntary retirement and prohibit discrimination because of age. And we urge public institutions and churches to make their programs as open as possible to those who are a little disabled by their age" (Contemporary Testimony of the Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1985:50).

The study was small, with only 38 respondents. Two Mennonite Conferences (one conservative and one more liberal) and one Lutheran church were included in the study. To measure levels of religious commitment, the respondents were asked about their participation in church activities, and their patterns of attendance, Bible reading, prayer, and financial giving. Bond and his colleagues found that all three churches had similar teachings with regard to the care of elderly parents. All emphasized the importance of loving and helping others. The fifth commandment provided guidance: "Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee" (Exodus 20:12; Bond, et al., 1987:11). In the Mennonite communities, parent-child bonds were very strong, and children generally lived close to their parents. There were no differences between the three congregations in the extent to which caring was felt to be burdensome. However, those who reported taking part more frequently in religious practices also felt less burdened by caring for their parents. While Bond did measure religiosity by using a five-item scale, he did not indicate that he controlled for gender, and for level of care needed.⁷

While decreases in rates of participation in religious activities need not be associated with declines in religious faith (Moberg, 1968), earlier research has shown that religious activities and religious beliefs are both related to religious commitment. High levels of participation in religious activities tend to be associated with strong commitments to orthodoxy. In the aforementioned Manitoba study, the Lutheran children were somewhat less involved in religious practices than the Mennonite children. After reviewing the existing research, Johnson (1995:204) also found that greater religious commitment was associated with greater concern for others and more positive attitudes towards the care of older people. He found that certain religions had values that encouraged the attitude of caring.⁸

⁷In many cases, men feel less burdened than women, and if parents need only a little help, children have time to participate in church activities.

⁸Religious commitment has several kinds of consequences. It is associated with positive social relationships. Greater religious commitment also encourages altruism. Johnson and Mullins (1989:128) found that older people with high levels of involvement in the social aspects of religion were less lonely than people who were less involved. People with strong religious commitment experience a greater sense of happiness, are more optimistic, have greater concern for others, and feel more useful. They are also better able to handle stress associated with illness and health problems (Johnson, 1995:201-203).

In addition to influencing people's attitudes towards the care of parents, religious commitments also shape attitudes to other social issues. For example, Driedger (1974) explored how doctrinal beliefs influenced people's views on social issues. He came to the conclusion that the individual's degree of commitment to his/her beliefs, that is his/her level of doctrinal orthodoxy, rather than denominational differences, social class, or education, influenced opinions on social issues.

As noted above, religiosity influences a variety of issues and is multidimensional. It can be divided into five areas: experiential⁹, ideological, ritualistic, intellectual, and consequential (Glock, 1962; Moberg, 1965:84). How people act as a result of their beliefs is referred to as the consequential dimension of religiosity. For example, strong religious beliefs may encourage people to be of service to others or to the church. Summarizing the findings on each dimension from a variety of survey studies on religion, Moberg (1965:79) found that emotions and religious feelings were more intense among older people (experiential dimension).¹⁰ Elderly people tended to hold more conservative views than younger adults (ideological dimension) (Moberg, 1965:80; Gray and Moberg, 1962). For example, the belief in life after death was strong among the aged. The ritualistic dimension of religiosity included religious practices. Although rates of church attendance were somewhat lower among the very old, other practices, such as private prayer and Bible reading, were common among the older people (Gray and Moberg, 1977).¹¹ In addition, Moberg (1965:81) drew on the results of a number of social surveys to show that women tend to participate more in religious practices, while men participate more in non-church organizations. Those who belong to a church also tend to participate more frequently in other voluntary organizations.

High levels of orthodoxy of belief and high levels of religious activity are positively correlated with happiness or high levels of life satisfaction. This correlation is especially high among

⁹What Johnson (1995:196) calls the subjective aspect, is equivalent to what Glock calls the experiential dimension. It also deals with the importance of religion. The behavioural aspect, which is equivalent to Glock's ritual dimension, deals with levels of participation in religious life. Both measures are necessary because some groups do not have weekly services, while other groups focus more on the meaning of religion and are less concerned with frequent participation in religious activities.

¹⁰Since we do not have a fifty- to sixty-year longitudinal study, we must conclude that the old were more religious from youth.

¹¹In our 1995 study of Dutch-Canadian immigrants, tithing also was more common among the older people.

the elderly. It is highest among the very old (Blazer and Palmore, 1976:85¹²; Markides, 1983:621-624¹³; Brinkerhoff and Mackie, 1993:130; Moberg, 1965:84).¹⁴ Krause (1993:194) found that only subjective religiosity was associated with high levels of life satisfaction.¹⁵ In his models, he included organized religious activities such as church attendance, private religious activities, such as prayer, and subjective components of religion to measure levels of commitment and the importance of religion in the lives of the respondents as independent variables. Cox and Hammond (1988) have identified several reasons why church members tend to be happier, to be better adjusted, and to have higher levels of life satisfaction. First, religion gives meaning to life. Second, church members can act as substitute family members and provide support to the elderly. A third reason is that many churches integrate elderly people into communities by providing a variety of activities and also opportunities for volunteer work.

Gender, marital status, religious affiliation, and socio-economic status all affect levels of religious participation. Although the influence of socio-economic status on religious participation is slight¹⁶, it is stronger for males and for married people with young children (Mueller and Johnston, 1975:798). Generally, Catholics participate more frequently in religious activities than Protestants. In all religious groups, females generally participate more frequently than males. Also, more highly educated people who are married and have children participate more. These findings confirm that rates of participation are especially high when the parents are in the child-raising stage of the life

¹²Many of the correlations between religious activities and happiness, feelings of usefulness, and personal adjustment were moderately strong and statistically significant. The correlations were higher among older people.

¹³In 1976, the effects of church attendance, self-rated religiosity, and the practice of private prayer on life satisfaction scores showed that church attendance ($b=.510$) for Mexican Americans and church attendance ($b=.515$), self-rated religiosity ($b=1.854$), and the practice of private prayer ($b=1.582$) for Anglo-Americans had significant positive effects on their life satisfaction scores. In 1980, among Mexican Americans, church attendance ($b=.389$) and the practice of private prayer ($b=.928$), while among Anglo-Americans only church attendance ($b=.975$) had significant positive effects on life satisfaction scores.

¹⁴In a Chicago study of both Catholics and non-Catholics, respondents who reported they were very happy attended church most frequently. In another study, three-quarters of those Orthodox Jews, aged 65 and over, who were well adjusted were found to be intensely or fairly religious. Among those who were poorly and very poorly adjusted, only 35% were intensely or fairly religious.

¹⁵Krause used Canadian and American data from the World Values Survey ($N=709$), conducted between 1981 and 1983, to test several models. Life satisfaction was used as a dependent variable.

¹⁶Since the combined influence of the three indicators of socio-economic status (education, occupation, and income) only accounted for 1% of the total variance in religious participation, it is evident that socio-economic status is not a major determining factor and that other factors should be considered.

cycle (Wingrove and Alston, 1971:358).

Although church attendance is frequently used as a measure of religiosity, the findings relating to attendance patterns are often contradictory and difficult to interpret. Wingrove and Alston (1971:356) described four models that are sometimes used to explain patterns of church attendance. There is the traditional model, the stability model, the life cycle model, and the disengagement model.¹⁷ A variety of factors, such as poor health, lack of transportation, financial problems, and perhaps the general decline in religiosity since the 1960's, can all be seen as contributing to lower levels of church attendance in old age.¹⁸ However, religion becomes increasingly important for well-being in later years (Blazer and Palmore, 1976:85). When religious activities outside the home decline, the elderly still show high levels of religious activity in the home. For example, they pray more frequently than they did before, and they spend substantial amounts of time reading the Bible and watching religious programs on television or listening to them on the radio (Moberg, 1965:83; Cox and Hammond, 1988).

Wingrove and Alston conducted a survey of the literature on aging and church attendance and conducted cohort analysis of church attendance patterns (1971:357; 1974:324-331). They used data from the Gallup Poll 1939-1969. They found that each cohort had its own distinctive pattern of church attendance. For example, they found that all cohorts had their highest rates of church attendance during the 1950's. All cohorts experienced declines in attendance after 1965, regardless of age. The researchers also found similarities between cohorts. Females had higher attendance rates at all ages, and in each cohort. White-collar workers had higher attendance rates than blue-collar workers (Blazer and Palmore, 1976:83). Those who were born in the 1950's and 1960's were less orthodox in their beliefs (Cox and Hammoud, 1988:47). Wingrove and Alston (1971:358) concluded

¹⁷ In the traditional model, rates of church attendance are low during the early thirties, but increase as people get older. The stability model assumes that all groups are fairly constant in their attendance throughout the life cycle. The life cycle model suggests that attendance rates are higher during the child-rearing stage. Parents tend to feel that they must act as role models when there are children in the family. According to the disengagement model, rates of attendance are higher in youth, and then decline as people age.

¹⁸ Ainlay and his colleagues (1992:184-186) found that the extent of functional limitations is a better predictor of religious activity than is subjective or overall health. They found that there was a strong relationship between health and religiosity.

that, for all groups, the social environment and the mood of the times were the biggest influences on church attendance. Church attendance was also related to variations in voting behaviour and in the party identifications of church members.

As we know, there is a demand for the services of the church and its clergy at all times. A high percentage of people who are not active in their churches expect to use the services of the church and its clergy for rites of passage. For example, a 1985 survey of a large sample of Canadians (N=1,630), showed the demand to be very strong. Nine out of ten Canadians wanted baptisms, weddings, and funerals to be carried out in church (Bibby, 1993:154; 1987:89,94,97). There were no differences by region in Canada, by size of community, or by age.

3.3 Religion: Differences Between the Generations

Sociologists have noted that there may be a relationship between shifts in religious trends and the distinctive patterns of specific cohorts.¹⁹ Wuthnow (1976:863), an American sociologist, pointed out that differences in the experiences and in the behaviours of age cohorts may account for these changes. Wuthnow blamed the apparent decline in religiosity on the coming of age of the baby boom generation.²⁰ The Vietnam war, the resulting anti-establishment feelings, the sexual revolution, technological change, the expansion of higher education, greater affluence, and upward mobility all affected the younger generation. As members of the baby boom generation became young adults, this large group began to influence society. All this contributed to the dissatisfaction with the established religious practices. In turn, members of traditional churches were opposed to the alternative lifestyles and values adopted by some members of the younger generation. Wuthnow found intergenerational differences in religiosity to be greater after the 1960's (Wuthnow, 1976:856). However, Wuthnow

¹⁹Several changes are noteworthy. The decline in religiosity in the 1960's and the "death of God movement", were followed by the post-hippie "Jesus movement" (Bibby, 1993:65). In the last few decades, a further apparent decrease in the importance of religion has been accompanied by a charismatic movement and the rise of evangelical Christianity (Ibid., p. 69).

²⁰A generation is twenty to twenty-five years.

concludes that secularization is not inevitable and continuous, but that there may be reversals in religious trends. It is quite possible that the future generations will develop greater religious commitment.

Stressful events, such as wars and migrations, often result in religious change. Van Belle (1991) collected and analyzed the religious life histories of three generations of Dutch immigrants belonging to the various Reformed churches. These people all settled in Canada after World War II. He compared their life histories with those of their relatives in The Netherlands.²¹ Van Belle found that Dutch immigrants to Canada had changed less than their counterparts who had remained in The Netherlands (Ibid., 1991:308). There have been rapid declines in church attendance and religiosity in Holland since World War II (McTaggart, 1994:165). Nearly half of the Dutch population are not associated with a church (Eisenga and Felling, 1990:111). Rapid industrialization was partly responsible for this decline. Elderly immigrants had transplanted their religious heritage from The Netherlands to Canada with relatively few changes. Herberg (1982:157) describes this same phenomenon in her study of ethnic root behaviour patterns.

(T)here is a strong identification in the enclave with the original culture, but because the patterns are formed from the culture of the country of origin at the time of the major waves of emigration from that country, the immigrant arriving from the home country a decade or more later may find a situation of cultural lag; the changes which occurred during that decade in the home country have not occurred in the enclavic, Canadian one.

Some children of Dutch immigrants, who in the 1990's were middle-aged, had experienced more conflicts. They had juggled their loyalties between their new lives in Canada and the old religious beliefs of their parents. As a consequence, they lacked the joy and trust of the parents. As young adults, the children of immigrants had separated their religious identities from their Dutch ethnic identities. By so doing, they were able to integrate successfully into Canadian society. Nevertheless, many adult children are beginning to rediscover their ethnic roots (Van Belle, 1991).

²¹The two samples consisted of 38 Dutch Canadians and 34 Dutch respondents. In Canada, Van Belle interviewed 13 older people (aged 64-84), 14 middle-aged people (aged 40-57), and 11 young adults (aged 19-30). The sample in Holland included 10 elderly respondents (aged 63-87), 13 middle-aged people (aged 42-59), and 11 young adults (aged 19-30). For each group, a representative life history narrative was constructed.

Van Belle also believes that World War II was important in breaking down the traditional patterns of religious pluralism in The Netherlands.²² After 1945, a trend toward religious ecumenicalism developed (Kennedy, 1993:13-16). Some members of the older generation of Calvinists in the home country are quite well off financially, but they are no longer living in an institutionally complete society in terms of religion (Bryant, 1981:56). Some of these elderly people worry about the future of the Reformed churches. They and their children have lost the religious commitment that put God at the centre of their lives. Church members in The Netherlands are now emphasizing the social gospel and human responsibility, instead of trusting in the providence of God. Members of the third generation show less commitment to religion and to the institution of marriage. They are also less committed to their work (Van Belle, 1991:337). In summary, it is clear that, while the church in Holland has undergone many changes during the last fifty years, the Dutch in Canada adhere much more closely to the Reformed tradition than those in Holland.

3.4 Religion: Ethnic Variations

Although many ethnic minorities came to Canada seeking economic prosperity, a small number, which included the Mennonites, came to find religious freedom (Redekop, 1992; Coward and Kawamura, 1978). The patterns of settlement of the various ethnic groups ranged from dispersion and assimilation to total isolation. Groups which favoured isolation set up their own schools and other institutions in order to strengthen the religious and ethnic ties within the group. For example, the German Mennonites and Dutch Calvinists followed this pattern (Redekop, 1992:35; Bond, et al., 1987, 1989; VanGinkel, 1982). Not all ethnic groups are homogeneous, and intra-ethnic differences are to be expected. For example, Dutch immigrants have divided into three distinct groups in Canada. Dutch Catholics assimilated into the Canadian Catholic culture, Dutch Reformed and Dutch non-denominationalists assimilated into mainstream Canadian culture, and Dutch Calvin-

²²Two other reasons were the strong ecumenical sentiments brought about by the Nazi occupation, and the rise of the welfare state during the 1960's and 1970's (McTaggart, 1994:169).

ists retained their own culture. This does not mean that Calvinists rejected the Canadian culture. Rather, they wanted to be able to have some control over it, and to be able to modify or transform it to their liking (Kits, 1991:391; VanGinkel, 1982:163).

Religion and culture are closely intertwined in many parts of Canada and the U.S.A. For example, in Quebec religion and culture have sometimes been almost synonymous. In fact, Catholicism had been necessary for the retention of French-Canadian identity (Reimer, 1995:445; Beyer, 1993). However, in the last three decades, the influence of the church in Quebec society has been steadily declining. This decline was hastened by the industrialization and the secularization²³ of Quebec society, and by the Quiet Revolution. Some of the changes in the Roman Catholic church in the 1960's can be seen as resulting from people changing their allegiance from the church to the state. This is sometimes referred to as the Quiet Revolution. The Catholic church everywhere, but especially in Quebec, lost much of its influence. In Quebec, the rapid growth of the Catholic school system after World War II brought many teachers who were not nuns or who were not Catholic into the classroom. More money came from the provincial government. And with that money came controls. In 1964, the province took over many educational and welfare institutions. At the same time, the bishops in the churches were placing more emphasis on matters relating to social justice. These included such issues as government negotiations with regard to Native land claims, programs for economic reforms during recessions, and the effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement on employment (Hewitt, 1993:258, 261; 1991:299). However, the bishops were more deeply committed to concrete social action than the laity. Catholics began to ignore the teachings of the church, especially its teachings on moral issues such as birth control, abortion, and premarital sex (Beyer, 1993:140-142; Nock, 1993, 61). The general decline in the influence of the Catholic church was also furthered by the changes initiated by the Second Vatican Council. Following the Second Vatican

²³Secularization refers to the decline in the influence of religion. Beyer's model of secularization illustrates how this decline is evident in the following three ways. First, individuals become less religious. Second, religious institutions become weaker. Third, religion is removed from the domains of politics, economics, education, and the arts (Beyer, 1993:135).

Council in 1962-1965, the Roman Catholic Church instituted many changes in order to stay relevant in a rapidly changing society. These changes included the following: greater lay participation, less emphasis on the mediating authority of clergy, less hierarchy in decision making, and greater openness to the world outside the church. There was also a move to legitimize new movements in the church, for example, the charismatic and feminist movements. These changes were associated with sharp declines in church attendance, greater secularization, and the taking over by the provincial government of Quebec of many of the institutions formerly controlled by the church. The doctrines and the structures of the church remained the same (Beyer, 1993:143). In Quebec, the state took over educational, health, and welfare institutions during the 1960's. As we have noted, one other change that also took place during that time was a dramatic fall in church attendance.²⁴ In Quebec, Catholicism was becoming a civil religion²⁵ (Beyer, 1993:153; Reimer, 1995:445). Catholicism became just as much a matter of culture as of religion.²⁶

We have seen that religion was of central importance in the lives of many elderly Dutch immigrants (van Dijk, 1990:102). Let us now consider its importance in the lives of other immigrants. Research on elderly Ismaili who are recent immigrants to Canada has shown that religion continues to be important and gives meaning to their lives (Dossa, 1991:6).²⁷ In spite of many unsettling changes, each day they practiced familiar spiritual rituals. Naidoo (1981) studied a small sample of South

²⁴In 1965, 88% of French Canadians in Quebec attended church regularly. In 1975, only 46% of French Canadians attended church regularly. By contrast, 69% of Catholics outside Quebec attended mass regularly, in 1965. In 1975, this figure had dropped to 55% (Beyer, 1993:143).

²⁵In civil religion, authority that tends to be attributed to religious sources is now attributed to secular sources.

²⁶Similarly, in the U.S.A., civil religion is equated with the American way of life (Blumstock, 1993:175). It is meant to make the nation "a society as perfectly in accord with the will of God as man can make it, and a light to all nations" (Bellah, 1967:18). Political leaders in the U.S.A. are often seen as doing the Lord's work. The national anthem and the pledge of allegiance have become semi-religious symbols. As a result, the worship of God is sometimes confused with the worship of America.

²⁷These immigrants are Shi'a Muslims who migrated from East Africa. Dossa interviewed twenty-six Ismaili men and women, aged 65 and over, living in Calgary. Four thousand of the twenty-five thousand Ismailis in Canada live in Calgary. The interviews were conducted in their native language, "Gujerati". Traditionally, the elderly Ismailis lived with married sons (on whom they were materially dependent) while they attended to the spiritual dimensions to family life. In the first five years after arriving in Canada, 60% (of a sample of 150) lived with sons. Most arrived in the late 1970's or early 1980's. By 1987, only 20% lived with their sons. Respondents were older, and a few of them may have needed high levels of care and been institutionalized. Because of intergenerational conflicts and the children's adoption of Canadian patterns of living, the elderly tended to live with their peers in apartment complexes. They still lived in close proximity to their children, and tried to maintain the traditional pattern of interdependence with their families.

Asians in Toronto. She compared spiritual aspects of aging in India and Canada. People from the East see old age as providing an opportunity for spiritual growth. It is a time when one can benefit from wisdom and experience (Ujimoto, 1987:129).²⁸ Markides found that elderly Mexican-American men and women tend to be more religious than their Anglo-American counterparts.²⁹

Using the 1981 census, Kalbach and Richards (1990:181) examined the importance of ethno-religious identity for levels of assimilation and levels of socio-economic status. They found very few other studies that looked at the combination of influences of ethnic and religious differences on assimilation. These researchers found that first-generation immigrants who belonged to the Catholic church and second-generation immigrants who belonged to major Canadian churches were most likely to use English and least likely to use their mother tongues. Among most first-generation Europeans,³⁰ those with ethnic church affiliation tended to be less assimilated and to be of lower socio-economic status (Ibid., p. 194)³¹

Ishwaran (1980:6) argues that there is a strong relationship between religion and ethnic identity. First, there is a relationship between religious identities of ethnic groups and their geographic locations.³² Second, there seems to be a relationship between religious beliefs and fertility

²⁸ In contrast, the Western view emphasizes that old age is a period of decline. Old age and death tend to be feared. Naidoo concluded that elderly South Asians in Canada were respected by their families. They arranged their children's marriages and taught their culture to their grandchildren. Because the respect was based on their culture rather than on their religion, the high level of respect shown to the elderly South Asians in this study could be the result of their recent arrival. Many of these elderly people feared that, as they aged, they would become isolated from their children. The second generation of South Asians tended to place considerably less emphasis on the many rituals in their traditional religion, such as visits to gurus, temples, and mosques (Naidoo, 1981:84; Ujimoto, 1987:119).

²⁹ In an American longitudinal study of Mexican Americans and Anglo-Americans, variables such as church attendance, self-rated religiosity, frequency of private prayer, and life satisfaction were examined. Church attendance was a significant predictor of life satisfaction in both groups. Markides concluded that this was so because "the integrative [or social] function of religion, rather than its spiritual function, is more important for life satisfaction" (Markides, 1983:621-623). The first sample, contacted in 1976, consisted of 510 adults aged 60 and over living in South West San Antonio, Texas. Seventy percent of this sample were Mexican Americans and 30% were Anglo-Americans. The second sample, contacted in 1980, consisted of 338 adults. Another study of Mexican Americans showed that rates of church attendance and levels of religiosity were high (Maldonado, 1994:56-60).

³⁰ This was not true among the British, Germans, and Ukrainians.

³¹ Among first-generation Chinese, Indo-Pakistani, Black-Caribbean, Arab, and Asian groups, affiliation with an ethnic church was associated with lower levels of assimilation, lower levels of education, and lower levels of socio-economic status. For these groups, substantial differences were still evident in the second generations (Kalbach and Richards, 1990:198).

³² For example, French Canadians who live in Quebec and New Brunswick are mostly Catholic. British Canadians, who make up a large portion of the population in Newfoundland and British Columbia, tend to belong to Protestant churches, for example, to the Anglican or to the United churches. Other Protestant groups, such as the Mennonites, Doukhobours, Hutterites, and Mormons, tend to live in the prairie provinces.

patterns.³³ Third, there also seems to be a relationship between religious beliefs and the levels of institutional completeness of ethnic groups. Immigrant families derive their value systems from both their ethnic and their religious values.³⁴ Eventually, immigrants' views on such matters as preferred family size, gender divisions within the family, attitudes towards ethnic and religious intermarriages, and attitudes towards mobility will change.³⁵

In her study of Dutch-Calvinist immigrants who came to Canada between 1946 and 1960, Van Ginkel (1982:161-162) examines ethnicity in the Reformed tradition. She describes the tensions between isolation and assimilation created by the kind of religion practiced by the Calvinists. This tension is characterized in religious terms as being "in the world but not of the world". On the one hand, the church protected people's religious and ethnic identities, while, on the other hand, it encouraged them to integrate and to transform Canadian culture and Canadian society.³⁶

3.4.1 Problems Encountered in Research on Religion and Aging

Contradictory findings from research projects dealing with religion and aging are sometimes the result of different methods of data collection (Wingrove and Alston, 1971:357). For example, cross-sectional studies measure differences associated with age at specific moments in time, not differences related to the aging process. In addition, this method does not allow one to explore differences between generations or shifts that result from changes in society. Since most of the research has been carried out using cross-sectional studies, interpreting the results can be confusing. For example,

³³For example, Jews and Protestants have low rates of fertility. Native people have high birth rates, as do Roman Catholics, Mennonites, and Hutterites.

³⁴For example, we have research on Greek families (by Chimbos, 1980:27), on Polish families (by Radecki, 1980:43), on Japanese families (by Maykovich, 1980:66), on Italian families (by Sturino, 1980:102), on Mennonite families (by Anderson and Driedger, 1980:178), on Jewish families (by Rosenthal, 1993:344), and on Doukhobor families (*Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. XXVII, 1995).

³⁵For example, among Mennonites, there were significant differences between cohorts in the extent to which views on issues relating to women, politics and peace changed over the years between 1972 and 1989 (Kanagy and Driedger, 1996).

³⁶Because of their religious beliefs, Calvinists did not feel comfortable with the secular institutions and organizations of Canadian society. Therefore they established their own structures, based on the ones they had been accustomed to in The Netherlands. In this way, they continued to be influenced by Dutch religious practices and Dutch cultural patterns. In addition to the church, the Christian schools, established to teach the Reformed tradition to the next generation, also prevented total assimilation.

some studies show that older people are more religious. But why this is so is not explained. Is it because the elderly are nearer to death? Or is it because society has become increasingly secularized during the course of the last three decades?

Retrospective studies rely on the memories of the respondents. Therefore, these data may be unreliable. Longitudinal studies more accurately measure changes over time. However, longitudinal research is expensive to conduct and requires long-term commitments from both the researchers and the bodies which fund research. In addition, one needs to start with a large sample. Over time, there will be losses because of migration and mortality.

Another problem is the use of a variety of measures of religiosity. Multidimensional measures of religious commitment are needed (Levin, 1994:15; Chatters and Taylor, 1994:221). For example, there need to be both subjective and behavioural dimensions (Johnson, 1995:192). An alternative is to use the three following dimensions, organized religious activities, private religious activities, such as private prayer, and religious beliefs (Krause 1993:172). Unless they are using multidimensional concepts, those who conduct research on religiosity are frequently not measuring the same thing. Therefore, it is difficult to compare the kinds of measures that are used and the research findings. For example, church attendance is often taken as a convenient measure of religiosity. However, church attendance, or lack thereof, may sometimes be a better measure of the health or of the activity level of the person than of his or her religious commitment (Markides, 1983:621). Since it is very difficult to measure a person's feelings, it may be useful to have the respondent tell an interviewer what religion means to him or her, instead of having the researcher define the meaning of religion. Similarly, researchers must look at how ethnicity, socio-economic status, and generational differences influence religiosity and religious activity (Chatters, and Taylor, 1994:197). In their review of studies of African Americans, Chatters and Taylor identified differences in religious involvement by age, by gender, by marital status, by rural or urban residence, by socio-economic status, and by regions (Ibid., p. 205).

Careless sampling or the inappropriate labelling of groups can also cause problems. For ex-

ample, most American and Canadian research focuses on white middle-class Protestants or Catholics.³⁷ However, religious groups are seldom homogeneous. Also, some researchers sample the residents of institutions. It is likely that women living, for example, in religious nursing homes or retirement residences will show high levels of religiosity (Moberg, 1965:81). Another problem is that respondents tend to give socially desirable responses to questions on religion, because they wish to avoid negative reactions from interviewers.

3.5 Religious Practices of Calvinist Immigrants

Calvinists consider every aspect of life to be religious. Men and women are called to serve God. All callings or vocations are considered equally important, regardless of whether a person is a scientist, a janitor, or a housewife. For example, the routine activities of cooking, cleaning, and raising the children are seen as valuable because God is served through them. Women have a sense of dignity because each person is created equal in God's image. Until recently, only men could hold office as ministers and elders in Calvinist churches. As a result, most of those who studied at seminaries were men.³⁸ However, since education is valued highly for everyone, women are encouraged to seek to further their educations in more traditional areas, such as education and nursing.

In the aforementioned research project dealing with resurgence of ethnicity in later life among elderly Polish and Dutch-Calvinist people in Toronto in the 1980's (Disman, 1988)³⁹, some of the questions dealt with the importance of religion in the lives of the Calvinist elderly. When

³⁷Over the years 1921 to 1981, the proportion of Catholics in the Canadian population rose from 39% to 47%. Over approximately the same time period, the number of "mainstream" Protestants decreased from 50% to 32% of the population (Nock, 1993:51). In 1991, the religious composition of the Canadian population was as follows: 45% were Roman Catholic, 40% were Protestant, 5% belonged to other religions, and 10% had no religious affiliation (Bibby, 1993:79).

³⁸In 1984, the office of deacon was opened to women in the Christian Reformed Church. In 1990, the Synod voted in favour of opening all the offices in the church to men and women. This ruling has caused much dissension within the Christian Reformed Church, and, as a result, a number of congregations have left the denomination. This ruling has also resulted in a sharp increase in the number of women studying at Calvin Seminary in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

³⁹In 1986, thirty interviews were conducted with elderly Calvinist immigrants in order to study the resurgence of ethnicity. Thirty interviews were also conducted with elderly Polish immigrants.

the respondents were asked whether they would like to live their lives over again, most respondents replied in the negative. They felt comfortable with the idea of being old, and were satisfied with how they had lived their lives. Many women thought the question was silly, since one cannot re-live one's life. To the question, "If you could choose to be any age what age would you choose?", they responded that they were satisfied with being old and that any age has beautiful aspects. To the question, "What things are important to you?", they tended to respond, first, my religion, second, my family, and, third, my health. Church services were highlights of the week for most respondents. They were also asked, "What do you expect to happen as you grow older?" The responses showed that most of the respondents were not afraid of getting older. They had experienced God's nearness in the difficult transition to a new country, and they had a sure faith that He would continue to help them in the future, whatever it held in store for them. They were not preoccupied with the future.

Research carried out in the 1970's on the Dutch settlement in the Holland Marsh area shows the importance of religion in the lives of Dutch Canadians (Ishwaran and Chan, 1980:198).⁴⁰ In 1977 and 1978, interviews were conducted with members of twenty-five Dutch-Canadian families. These families were mainly of the Protestant religion, and worked as market gardeners. They lived in a self-contained community. They had their own churches, schools, recreation centre, newspaper, co-op society, and storage facility for fruit and vegetables. Most of the institutions in the community had a religious basis. The children's free time was taken up by church-sponsored activities in the form of age-graded clubs. They maintained close ties with Holland and many visited family in Holland every year (Ibid., pp. 213-216).

⁴⁰In the author's own 1990 study of ninety-nine elderly Dutch-Canadian immigrants, religion was the most important indicator of the differences in patterns of assimilation. There was a noticeable difference in how participants regarded the influence of religion on their lives (van Dijk, 1990:85-87). Ninety-eight percent of the Calvinists reported that religion influenced most of their lives, but only 53.5% of the Catholics reported this.

3.6 Summary

The findings that have been summarized here confirm that religion is very important in the lives of many elderly immigrants, even though it is difficult to find adequate objective measures to determine degrees of spirituality. Those older people who are affiliated with a religious denomination and who participate in a greater number of religious activities tend to be better adjusted and to have higher levels of life satisfaction. Religious beliefs can provide comfort, and supportive church communities can be sources of help as people experience the inevitable declines and losses that accompany aging (Hendrickson, 1986). Churches can also deliver services to the elderly. In addition, they provide older people with opportunities to serve others. We have examined briefly the diminished status of older people in the church. However, further research is needed in order to determine whether the aged choose to disengage from church offices and positions or whether this pattern of disengagement is forced upon them by the middle-aged generation.⁴¹ Religious beliefs certainly influence our views of older people. The value that is accorded to older people by society and by the church is manifested in the quality of care they receive in such settings as retirement residences and nursing homes. Although doctrinal beliefs relating to the care of elderly parents were very similar among denominations, Bond's research, based on a small sample of Mennonites and Lutherans in Manitoba, suggests that higher levels of participation in religious practices may be associated with feeling less burdened by caring for elderly relatives. A recent review of the research on religion and aging shows that those with higher levels of religious commitment tend to have greater concern for others (Johnson, 1995:202).

Our research shows that religion has influenced the assimilation patterns of first and second generations of Dutch Canadians. The second generation of Calvinists learned to separate their religious identities from their ethnic identities, and, as a result, integrated more easily into mainstream society. In general, research shows that the elderly have higher levels of religiosity, are more orthodox

⁴¹It is important to remember that, if the older people do not retire, then new offices and roles of responsibility will have to be created for those in their forties, fifties, and sixties.

in their beliefs, and participate more frequently in religious activities.

Chapter 4

Families, Aging, and Social Support

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we examined how religion affects ethnic identity retention. We now consider how religion and ethnicity affect the care given to elderly parents. Our third hypothesis is that religious affiliation is a major factor in determining intra-ethnic differences in the kinds of social support provided to elderly church members of Dutch descent. There has been very little research showing how primary relationships differ between or within ethnic groups. This chapter summarizes some of the recent research on intergenerational relations. The importance of ties between the generations, and how they vary by religion and by ethnicity, will be a major focus. We will begin by examining some of the most important findings relating to social support in the research literature. At the same time, we can see whether these findings apply to ethnic and religious groups.

The first part of this chapter discusses recent changes in demographic patterns, and shows how these changes have influenced the ways in which families care for their elderly relatives. The following sections will focus on relationships between older parents and their adult children. For example, both frequency of contact and types of exchanges will be examined. We then deal with issues relating to caregiving and caregivers. Some of the research on institutional living will also be considered. The final portion of the chapter reviews the theoretical approaches used in the study of intergenerational relations.

There is a pressing need for Canadian research on religion and aging.¹ In Chapter One, we discussed the religious and ethnic composition of the population of Canada aged 65 and over (Appendix D). The fact that there are so few gerontologists of, for example, Italian-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian, or other minority group origins partly explains the dearth of research in these areas. There are now a fair number of Canadian studies of post-war migration of the Dutch and their assimilation into North American society.² However, few of these studies have dealt with the interaction between ethnicity, religion, and patterns of social support. It is interesting to note that most of this literature deals with the Calvinist communities. This can be partly attributed to the special identity and the distinctive patterns of community life that the Calvinists transplanted from The Netherlands to Canada (Van Stekelenburg, 1983; van Dijk, 1990:18-27). The existence of Dutch-Calvinist colleges and universities has also been important.

Ethnicity influences patterns of aging in a variety of ways (Padgett, 1990:723-724; Rosenthal, 1993:349)³. On the one hand, ethnicity can be seen as a fluid resource which provides a sense of continuity for the elderly (Gelfand and Barresi, 1987; Kalish, 1986:16). On the other hand, ethnicity may be suppressed when the person is in the workforce, but may emerge once again in later life, enabling people to cope better with the stresses of aging (Kastenbaum, 1979). For example, a group of Jewish elderly in California used their sense of ethnicity and their ethnic community as a resource in old age (Myerhoff, 1980). The aforementioned 1986 Toronto study by Disman of elderly Dutch and Polish immigrants (N=80) supports the idea that ethnicity is situationally invoked, especially when there are changes in people's lives (Green, 1989:382). Disman found no evidence that there is

¹Not all of the research on the care of the elderly in the U.S.A. is easily generalizable to Canada. For example, there are differences between the two countries in medical and social policies. There are also some differences in demographic patterns. In Canada, the percentages of elderly in ethnic groups vary because of different birth rates and recent immigration patterns. Groups with high percentages of elderly are the Jewish (16%), the Polish (15%), and the Ukrainians (14%). Italian (7%), Chinese (7%), and Native people (3.5%) have very low percentages of elderly. The Dutch also have a relatively low percentage of elderly (7.5%) (Statistics Canada, 1990:14) (Appendix Q)

²Groenenberg, 1966; Graumans, 1973; Oosterman, et al., 1975; Ganzevoort, 1975, 1988; Ganzevoort and Boekelman, 1983; Ishwaran, 1977; Ishwaran and Chan, 1980; Plantinga, 1980; VanGinkel, 1982; Peetoom, 1983; Magee, 1983; Hofman, 1983; VanderMey, 1983, 1994; Gerber, 1983; Van Stekelenburg, 1983; Cassidy, 1983; Bolt, 1984; Van Brummelen, 1986; Disman, 1988; Rugers, 1988; Guldmond, 1988; VanBelle, 1989; Schryer, 1989, 1995; van Dijk, 1990; VandenHoonard, 1991; De Peuter, 1991; Breems, 1991; Dortmans, 1994.

³Rosenthal points out that in doing research one must distinguish between ethnicity as culture, and the structural and behavioural dimensions of ethnicity (1993:348)

a resurgence of ethnicity in later life. If ethnicity was important to the person in middle age, it will probably continue to be important in later life.

4.2 Demographic Patterns

Shifts in how families care for elderly parents can, in part, be explained by recent demographic changes. Because of improved standards of living and advances in medical technology, people tend to live longer and remain healthier. Not until very late in people's lives is the provision of substantial amounts of help with personal care required (Miller, 1991:735; Rossi and Rossi, 1990:498). However, individuals in their eighties are quite likely to be in need of care. Using Canadian data collected in 1951 and 1978, Simmons-Tropea and her colleagues found that, among those aged 45 to 64, one person in five experiences some restriction because of chronic disease. This increases to two-fifths among those aged 65 to 74, and to one-half among those aged 75 and over. Among the latter, a higher proportion of women are limited in their activities (Simmons-Tropea, et al., 1987:417). Because rates of childlessness were high in the 1930's, some elderly people have no children to help them and may need more in the way of formal long-term care (Connidis and McMullin, 1994:523).⁴

The increased survival rate of the very old has sometimes been called the "rectangularization" of the life cycle curve (Forbes, 1987:118). Health and life expectancy are affected by ethnicity (Go, et al., 1995:324). There are two conflicting views on rectangularization (Simmons-Tropea, et al., 1987:400). On the one hand, it is thought that the proportion of very old people will increase and that these elderly will suffer from chronic diseases for only a short period at the end of their lives. Therefore, they will not need as much medical care. On the other hand, it is also possible that, as people live longer, they will suffer from chronic diseases for longer periods. Therefore, they will need more medical care. However, the link between mortality and morbidity is extremely complex.

Over the years 1951 to 1978, life expectancy increased 4.5 years for Canadian men and 7.5

⁴Childlessness does not seem to be associated with lower levels of social participation in later life among the well elderly (Connidis and McMullin, 1992:380).

years for Canadian women. Over the period 1951 to 1978, the number of years that people could expect to live while suffering from chronic diseases increased by 3.2 years for men, and by 6.1 years for women (Ibid., p.419). The years of disability-free life increased, on the average, by 1.3 years for men and by 1.4 years for women. One can expect that less than one-third of the increase in years of life will be free of chronic illnesses.⁵ The researchers conclude that the years of life that people gain will in many cases be spent suffering from long-term chronic illnesses (Ibid., p.420).

In Canada, approximately one-tenth of the population is now aged 65 or over.⁶ However, by the year 2030, about one-fifth of the Canadian population will be aged 65 or more (Denton and Spencer, 1995:174; Denton, et al., 1987:26). The proportion of those who are very old, aged 80 years and over, is increasing rapidly. In 1981, the proportion of the population aged 80 years and over constituted about one-fifth of the total older population. The projections are that, by the year 2001, this group will constitute about one-quarter of the older population (McDaniel and McKinnon, 1993:84; McDaniel, 1992a:62; 1986:43).⁷

Family structures have changed (Bengtson, et al., 1990; Brubaker, 1990:14; Farkas and Hogan, 1995). For example, those elderly people who were of childbearing age in the 1930's tended to have smaller families, while the parents of baby boomers, marrying in the affluent post-war years, tended to have larger families (Wolf, 1995:726; Connidis, 1989:10; Synge, 1986). However, most people do have children to care for them in old age (Uhlenberg and Cooney, 1990:619). Eighty percent of Canadians aged 65 and over have one or more children, and a similar number have at least one grandchild (Connidis, 1989:10, 12). However, one-quarter of elderly women have no living children. In addition to children, four-fifths of the elderly in Canada have at least one living sibling. Interactions and exchanges with siblings are generally less frequent than those with children

⁵The proportions of people with chronic diseases is growing in all age groups. Arthritis and rheumatism are common afflictions.

⁶The largest segment of this older population is made up of widowed women, living alone. This is true for a variety of reasons. Women have higher life expectancies, (78.7 years for women and 71.5 years for men, Statistics Canada, 1984:4). The life expectancies of some groups of ethnic elderly have not kept pace with that of the general population. For example, Natives, Blacks, Mexicans, and Inuit people have lower life expectancies.

⁷Between 1981 and 1991, the number of Canadians aged 85 and over increased by 31% (NACA, 1993, Aging Vignette, #1:1)

or grandchildren (Connidis, 1989:12; 1994:S314), and vary by ethnic group (Gold, 1990:741). It is interesting to note that, when the Dutch came to Canada after World War II, they came as nuclear families. Therefore, 73 percent of the older Dutch Canadians in our sample have no brothers or sisters living in Canada. While these elderly Dutch Canadians do not have the usual level of emotional support available from siblings (Scott, 1990:98), they do have large numbers of children to support them. On average, older Dutch Catholics in our sample had 6.2 children. Older Dutch Calvinists had, on average, 5.4 children (vanDijk, 1990:88).

4.2.1 Changes in Patterns of Care

The demographic changes discussed in the previous section determine the availability of caregivers, and affect the ways in which families provide care for their elderly relatives (McDaniel and McKinnon, 1993:85; Kaye and Applegate, 1990; Bond Jr., et al., 1987; Connidis, 1989:49). Because of the increase in the lifespan, elderly parents stay longer in their own homes. Because of government programs, they are usually financially independent. However, emotional support from family and friends is very important to them (Rosenthal, 1994). They also tend to need care over a much longer period of time as their illnesses become chronic (Forbes, et al., 1987:119). As we have noted, a rise in the numbers of those in their eighties, will mean a sharp rise in the need for caregivers.

A shift from the present long-term care system, which is institution-centred, to one that is community-based may mean that women will be expected to provide greater amounts of care than they have in the past (Bornstein, 1994:135). Most of those who provide care are women (Rosenthal, 1994:419; Kaden and McDaniel, 1990:21; McDaniel and McKinnon, 1993:95; Neysmith and Aronson, 1996:12). Rosenthal supports the idea that the responsibility for long-term care of older parents lies with the government. In many other countries, for example, in The Netherlands, there is already a high degree of public sector involvement in the care of the elderly (Hirdes, et al., 1994:499-509). When the responsibility for caring for parents is shifted from families to the public domain, the potential for tensions between the generations is greatly reduced.

The roles of middle-aged women have changed, as have their values. A certain proportion must now balance work and caregiving (Rosenthal, 1995:28; Neal, et al., 1993; Scharlach, 1994:378; Scharlach, et al., 1991:778; Matthews and Rosenthal, 1993:98; Gottlieb, et al., 1994:820; Marshall, 1995:S132).⁸ Consequently, they often have less time to devote to the care of their elderly parents.⁹ In Canada, 36 percent of all informal primary caregivers were employed. Nevertheless, 12 percent of employed middle-aged Canadians spent at least nine hours per week helping elderly relatives with basic activities of daily living (Rosenthal, 1994:420). Recent studies describe the stresses experienced by the so-called "sandwiched" generation, as some middle-aged children juggle commitments to careers, to children, to aging parents, and sometimes to frail grandparents (Kramer and Kipnis, 1995:345; Martin Matthews and Rosenthal, 1993; Brody, 1990; Bond and Coleman, 1990; Baines, et al., 1991; Stueve and O'Donnell, 1989). Even when elderly relatives are institutionalized, family members continue to provide care (Rosenthal and Dawson, 1991:316; Dawson and Rosenthal, 1996:245).¹⁰ It is important to keep in mind that the number of children who are serving as primary caregivers at any time is a minority (Matthews, 1988). Estimates of the percentages that are affected and not affected are discussed below in the section of this chapter dealing with caregiving and caregivers.

The nature of the caregiver group has changed. Older spouses and middle-aged children are responsible for most of the caregiving. Next to spouses, adult daughters provide most of the care (Guberman, et al., 1992:607; Connidis, 1989:48; Synge, 1986). In addition, the unmarried daughter has always been seen as being "available" to care (Brody, et al., 1995; 1992:58; 1994:S95). However, adult sons are emerging as an important group of caregivers, especially in situations where there

⁸Twelve percent of middle-aged people combining work and family responsibilities provided personal care, and 34% provided more general help (Rosenthal, 1995:28).

⁹Potential caregivers often have conflicting responsibilities. The present generation of caregivers is characterized by small numbers of children, high rates of employment among women, and high rates of geographic mobility (Stueve and O'Donnell, 1989:332).

¹⁰In comparison with other countries, Canada has a high rate of institutionalization. In 1976, the percentage of people aged 65 and over in institutional care on any one day in Canada was 8.4%. In England, in 1970-71, the proportion was 5.1%. And in the U.S.A., in 1973-77, the proportion was 6.3% (Schwenger and Gross, 1980:251). However, in Canada, between 1981 and 1991, the proportion of older people living in institutions decreased from 8% to 6.4%. The proportion of people aged 75 and over living in institutions rose from 82% to 85%. In 1991, 72% of the residents of institutions were women (NACA, 1993, Aging Vignette #12:1)

are no daughters available (Stoller, 1990:228; Kaye and Applegate, 1990:48).¹¹ Because many first-generation immigrants live far away from parents, they tend not to be involved in parent care. While they worry about the health of their parents, they must leave the day-to-day help to siblings who live close to parents (Marshall, Rosenthal, and Synge, 1982). They can also buy services for their parents if needed. And telephones enable those children who live far away to give more emotional support to parents than was possible in the past (Nydegger, 1983:27).

4.3 Older Parents and Adult Children - Frequency of Contact

Recent research findings of the last few decades all show that there is a great deal of interaction between the generations at all levels (Synge, 1986:2; Rosenthal, 1987:319; Connidis, 1989:45; Bond, et al., 1989:2; Chappell, 1992:16; Chipperfield, 1994:440; Rossi and Rossi, 1990:366). At all stages of life, people generally turn to the immediate family for support in times of crisis or for help in solving problems. Long-term help is not expected from friends, neighbours, and extended family (Connidis, 1989:44).

Although there is generally a higher level of contact between adjacent generations, the extent of face-to-face contact depends on geographic proximity. In her 1981 study, carried out in London, Ontario, Connidis found that three-quarters of the parents aged 65 or over had at least one child living within an hour's journey from them. Two-thirds of older parents saw one of their children at least once a week (Connidis, 1989:46). Generally, there tends to be more frequent contact with parents of the wives and more frequent conflict with parents of the husband. Daughters tend to visit more with their mothers, and elderly parents tend to move in with their married daughters.¹²

¹¹In the U.S.A., Kaye and Applegate conducted a survey of 161 support group leaders and male caregivers. Two-thirds of the males were older husbands providing care to spouses, 12% were providing care to mothers, and 6% were providing care to fathers. Sons who are primary caregivers are likely to be only children, or to have no sisters. Or they have sisters who live far from parents (Connidis, 1989:50).

¹²A larger proportion of separated, divorced, and never-married women tend to move into the parent's home. This is because these caregivers are less well off. Half of those daughters who had never married and who were now providing care to elderly parents were still living in the parental home (Brody, 1995:82-83).

As family size increases, contact with individual children decreases. In large families, members can choose the members with whom they want to have the most contact (Rossi and Rossi, 1990:495).

It is extremely difficult to measure the quality of relationships between elderly parents and middle-aged children (Talbot, 1990:601; Cohen, et al., 1994:378). Earlier patterns of reciprocal exchanges, especially in the area of affectional relationships, may be important in determining the quality of relationships in old age (Sussman, 1976:221). Among elderly mothers, giving more than one receives is associated with having difficult relationships with one's children (Talbot, 1990:602). The amount of face-to-face contact is also important in determining quality of contact. Moreover, parental expectations of contact with children are related to morale (Seelbach and Sauer, 1977:498).¹³

As was mentioned in Chapter One, people of Northern European origin tend to live independently of one another, while those of Southern, Central, and Eastern European backgrounds tend to interact mostly with family members (Woehrer, 1982:71).¹⁴ The latter prefer to live with children when widowed (Thomas and Wister, 1984:309; Clarke and Neidert, 1992:802).¹⁵ Although there were differences between "traditional" and "modern" families, families of both types exchanged help and support. There have been relatively few detailed studies of Anglo-Canadian families, although they make up the largest group in Canadian society (Rosenthal, 1983a).

Among Dutch-Canadian immigrants, there is a network of family support available to parents. Our 1990 study showed that elderly Dutch Catholics and Calvinists had, on average, four children living within one hour's journey from them. Children who lived further away had more letter and telephone contact with their parents.¹⁶ Generally, Dutch elders prefer not to live with their

¹³If parents had high expectations and expected frequent contact with their children, then morale tended to be low if children did not live up to these expectations. This was true for blacks, males, younger people, and those who were married. However, some older people tended to have low morale no matter what their expectations were. In this sample, all the respondents were of low socio-economic status. Three-quarters of them were black.

¹⁴Based on research carried out in the 1960's, frequency of weekly visiting with parents among various ethnic groups in the U.S.A. was as follows: 65% for Poles, 79% for Italians, 58% for Jewish, 49% for Irish, 48% for German Catholics, 44% for German Protestants, and 39% for Scandinavians. In contrast with other ethnic groups, the Irish visited their siblings as often as they visited their parents. The Scandinavians had the highest rates of membership in organizations (Woehrer, 1982:71-73).

¹⁵Living with someone is a more important predictor for caregiving than the relationship between the caregiver and the care receiver (Chappell, 1991:57).

¹⁶There was a gender difference in the extent to which adult children used the telephone to keep in contact with parents. Men tended to use the telephone less frequently than women. This was true also in the aforementioned 1980

children. This may be so partly because so many elderly Dutch Canadians are married (Driedger and Chappell, 1987:72). And, of course, as has just been noted, Northern Europeans tend to be different from Southern Europeans.¹⁷ In the next section, we discuss the research on ethnic groups and on the provision of various types of support to elderly parents. We also consider the extent to which the availability of relatives and friends translates into actual support.

4.3.1 Social Support: Variations by Ethnicity and Religion

Functional solidarity refers to the extent of the practical help exchanged between parents and children. Such exchanges generally involve emotional and social help (Bengtson and Schrader, 1982; Penning, 1995:S330). Exchanges in these areas need not be equal. And giving and receiving may not happen at the same time (Kart and Longino, 1987:239-251). It is very difficult to get complete information on the amounts of support received or provided by parents (Hirdes and Strain, 1995:S134) because most studies are limited to a specific respondent in a family. For example, the focus may be on the primary caregiver or on the older person. To gather complete information on all interactions and all types of help received, studies should include all family members across several generations. This will also allow for the gathering of information on the various perspectives of family members (Bengtson and Cutler, 1976:148).

Children provide most support to parents during times of crisis (Rosenthal, 1995:29).¹⁸ The level of support tends to increase as the parents' health declines.¹⁹ Sons tend to give help with the management of money, help with errands and household repairs, and advice, while daughters give more in the way of emotional support, practical help, and assistance with housework and personal care (Connidis, 1989:50; Rossi and Rossi, 1990:495). Over time, there is often a shift in the kind of

Hamilton study (Synge, 1986:2).

¹⁷In Canada, 20% of people aged 65 and over and 15% of people aged 80 and over live with one or more of their children (NACA, 1994:1)

¹⁸Rosenthal points out that when discussing "parent care" it is important to distinguish between (a) extensive helping and the provision of personal care and (b) the normal helping of those who are not truly dependent, that is done for any close family member as part of normal day-to-day exchange. Asking about average hours of help provided per week is sometimes not a good measure. For example, a crisis may arise when someone who is living alone falls ill. Yet this crisis may cease to exist when that person is institutionalized.

¹⁹As parents get older, children provide more help. Daughters give more help when their mothers are in mid-sixties, while sons give more help when their parents are in mid-seventies (Rossi and Rossi, 1990:498).

help needed by parents (Hansson and Carpenter, 1994:66-68). The kinds of networks used in times of need also change. While children tend to provide homes and care for their parents when they are ill, parents are more likely to provide homes for their children after marriage breakdowns (Brody, et al., 1995:82; Zheng, 1995:731).²⁰ The middle classes tend to provide more economic help, while working-class people tend to provide more services (Wenger, et al., 1991:41-82).

↳ Ethnic groups differ somewhat in the family support provided in later life (Gelfand, 1986:80; Rosenthal, 1993:351). For example, there are differences between Anglos, French, Germans, and Ukrainians in household composition and in family size, but not in the frequency of contact with children or in the amount of household assistance provided by spouses and children (Payne and Strain, 1990:105).²¹ The sources from which help is received and the types of exchanges also vary from ethnic group to ethnic group (Litwin, 1995:157, Woehrer, 1982). For example, Italians, Mexicans, Jews, and Poles tend to receive help from the family. In addition to relying heavily on their families, black Americans are more likely than others to receive help from friends (and from relatives who are not immediate family members, (Burton, et al., 1995:744)), while Scandinavians are especially likely to rely on organizations (Woehrer, 1982:73).²² A 1973 study of 110 Native Canadians and 2,410 non-Native Canadians in Manitoba showed that in Native communities extended families often provide high levels of emotional, functional, and financial support to their elderly.²³ A lower proportion of Natives (3%-16%) than non-Natives (20%-50%) receive help from formal sources, partly because many Natives live on small isolated reserves (Bienvenue and Haven, 1986:246). In 1990, fewer than one in ten of the elderly Dutch-Canadian parents reported receiving help from formal sources (vanDijk, 1990:110). Those who use little in the way of formal care often have dense

²⁰ In cases, where there is stigma associated with divorce, older women may prefer to present themselves as widowed, rather than as separated or divorced (Martin Matthews, 1987).

²¹ Jewish people tend to have greater contact with children than Anglos, and they tend to perceive greater emotional closeness among family members (Rosenthal, 1993:350).

²² Black churches can be important sources of support for their members (Walls and Zarit, 1991:493).

²³ Native elderly continue to hold a high status in their communities (Chipperfield and Havens, 1992:28), in spite of the fact that families often live in substandard housing and have inadequate access to health services. However, one must remember that Native people have a lower life expectancy, and constitute only a small proportion of a primarily youthful population. A much higher proportion of Natives (66%) than non-Natives (19%) live in multi-generational households (Bienvenue and Havens, 1986:245). Wall (1989:121) notes that the general trend in Europe is towards smaller households, and towards people living alone.

friendship networks and more frequent interaction with members of the network (Pilisuk and Froland, 1978:278). In all ethnic groups, elderly immigrants used the church as one important source of help in illness (Guttman, 1979:257).²⁴

Both socio-economic status and ethnic origin affect patterns of social support (Krause and Borawski, 1994:498). For example, Mexican-American families have more caregivers available than do Anglo-Americans (Talamates, et al., 1996:97). However, marital status and the number of children in the family are more important than socio-economic status in determining the living arrangements of widowed elderly black women (Choi, 1991:496).

Social support varies by religious affiliation and by the level of religious involvement. Frequent churchgoers tend to have more friends (Ellison and George, 1994:57), and many church congregations provide informal help to their elderly (Chatters and Taylor, 1994:210; Stanford, et al., 1990:240; Smith, 1993:125; Taylor, 1993:118; Kalish and Creedon, 1987:134). Because behaviour patterns are affected by religious practices and religious values, religion often determines the ways in which ethnic families provide for their elderly parents (Ishwaran, 1980:6).²⁵ For example, strong kinship ties are found in Greek-, Polish-, and Italian-Canadian families. Older parents often live and are cared for in the homes of their children (Chimbos, 1980:28; Radecki, 1980:56; Sturino, 1980:95). In Japanese-, or Korean-Canadian families, the religious systems of Confucianism and Buddhism stress the importance of familism and filial piety (Ujimoto, 1991:568; Maykovich, 1980:74; Sugiman, and Nishio, 1983:20; Sung, 1995:240).²⁶ In Canada, Calvinists provide church-sponsored accommodation for one-third of their elderly members. In contrast, Hutterites usually care for their elderly parents within their communal society. In fact, they have sometimes been known to refuse to accept

²⁴ In the early 1950's, some of the immigrant Reformed churches employed homemakers to help church families in need of homemaker services (Personal communication with a former homemaker). Today, many churches have hospitality committees, which organize volunteers to help church members in time of need. However, families, hospitals, and nursing homes look after people and churches no longer provide nursing care.

²⁵ All churches teach that children should honour and respect parents, and that they are morally obligated to care for aged parents. In some places the state also holds children responsible for the care of aged parents.

²⁶ Traditional Japanese family structures demanded that the loyalty of the married son to his parents took precedence over the loyalty to his wife. Children were expected to repay their parents for having given them life and for having cared for them when they were young. Parents expected to live with their children or close to them. It was considered shameful to place one's parents in a retirement residence or nursing home.

old age pensions because they perceive these payments to be a threat to their social structure (Peter, 1980:222).²⁷

4.4 Caregiving and Caregivers

Researchers vary in their estimates of the actual incidence of caregiving (Matthews, 1988).²⁸ The major contributions of older spouses, who tend to see their support as part of the normal exchange between spouses, always tend to be neglected (Silverstein and Litwak, 1993:263). The use of proper sampling techniques is extremely important. One of the most serious problems is that respondents from families in which there are serious illnesses tend to be left out. People are simply too tired or too busy to respond. Some researchers claim that the generalizations that are being made from studies using inadequate research techniques “are likely to have negative effects on both policy formulation and the social construction of intergenerational relationships” (Matthews, 1988:157).²⁹ Sampling procedures may be inadequate (Rosenthal, Matthews, and Marshall, 1989). To determine the amount of caregiving, the unit of analysis must shift from individual caregivers to families.³⁰ “Adult children rather than caregivers to frail parents are the appropriate population on which to focus if the incidence and prevalence of the involvement of adult children in parent care are to be ascertained” (Rosenthal, et al., 1989:224). At some stage in middle age, the care of an elderly parent may become a heavy responsibility for many women. Some are balancing their commitments to children, to husbands, to careers, and to the care of frail elderly parents. In a random sample of middle-aged women in a 1980 Hamilton, Ontario, study, Rosenthal and her colleagues (1989) found

²⁷The Doukhobors continued the Slavic tradition of having parents and grandparents living in or near the household (Mealing, 1980:183; *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. XXVII, 1995).

²⁸Different researchers look at different issues. Some study caregivers, while others study the care given by all children in a family. These different approaches lead some to think that the controversy over whether a stage of caregiving is or is not an expected part of the life cycle is irrelevant.

²⁹Matthews used a sample of fifty pairs of sisters in her study that explores how groups of middle-aged siblings meet the needs of their elderly parents. In each pair, one of the sisters was employed. She found that most parents were not a financial burden on caregivers. The children were able to meet their parents' needs without experiencing stress.

³⁰It is important to remember that caregiving is not shared. Research shows that there is usually one primary caregiver (Hansson and Carpenter, 1994:51).

that those in their early forties (aged 40 to 44) had the largest number of potentially competing commitments. They tended to have husbands, living parents, jobs, and children living at home. They also tended to have younger and healthier parents. Women in their fifties, who have fewer competing commitments because they were less likely to be in the workforce, were less likely to have living parents. About 25 percent of the middle-aged respondents in the Hamilton sample were providing, or had at one time provided, high levels of care.³¹ Providing long-term care meant having the parent live in with the child, providing daily assistance, or caring for the parent *during a terminal illness*. The authors concluded that a substantial group of people do have heavy responsibilities, at some stage in middle age. Another one-third may have to provide high levels of care in the future (Rosenthal, et al., 1989:255; Rosenthal, 1995:28). In summary, at any one time a minority of children are heavily involved in parent care, while the majority is never involved. Likewise, the possibility of taking on a heavy responsibility exists for many women who now do light helping.

In spite of major changes in women's work patterns, daughters remain the main providers of care to the elderly (Brody, 1990:15; Baines, et al., 1991:17).³² Women are socialized to care (Witt, 1994:65; Baines, et al., 1991). As a result, daughters tend to experience more stress (Mui, 1995:92; Smith, et al., 1991:15; Miller and Cafasso, 1992:498). The extent of caregiver burden appears to be similar among Black and White Americans (Young and Kahana, 1995:225). However, researchers tend to ignore the ethnic factor in studies of caregiver burden. New ways of measuring burden, that look at stress and caregiving in illness from the viewpoint of the ethnic families, are needed (Hernandez, 1991:271; George, 1994:7). The pressures of striving for higher standards of living, more education, and greater independence often exacerbate the stresses and burdens felt by women as they are caught between competing duties. In addition to these pressures, the growth of the frail elderly population means that the demand for parent care will increase. While the parents of the

³¹This is probably an underestimate, given that about one-third of the middle-aged Hamilton residents who were sampled refused to be interviewed. Some of them could well have been deeply involved in caring for elderly parents.

³²Canadian research shows that about nine-tenths of the assistance received by elderly parents comes from informal networks (Aronson, 1990:62; Connidis, 1989:49; Chipperfield, 1994:450; Chappell, 1992:33; Denton, 1992). This help is given mainly by wives and daughters (Aronson, 1990:62).

baby boom generation are well provided with children, members of the baby boom generation often have small families or no children at all.

4.4.1 Primary Caregivers

The factors that determine who becomes a primary caregiver include the following: gender,³³ proximity, being an only child, having few competing responsibilities, and having a compatible personality³⁴ (Conway-Turner and Karasik, 1993:112; Biegel, et al., 1991:31-33; Chappell, 1989:102-20). Often the primary caregiver is the wife (Chappell, 1992:34,35). The next most common caregiver is a daughter (Baum and Page, 1991:762). In our society, the day-to-day work of caring for the elderly is still widely believed to be women's responsibility (Brody, 1990:79; Matthews, 1995:318). Men generally spend less time looking after their parents.³⁵ If men provide care, they are helped more by their spouses (Matthews and Campbell, 1995:143). Siblings, daughters-in-law, and sons-in-law also provide care (Penrod, et al., 1994:489; Connidis, 1994:S314). However, if siblings fail to cooperate in providing sufficient help, conflicts can arise (Strawbridge and Wallhagen, 1991:770; Lerner, et al., 1991:746). There is some question as to whether working daughters and sons provide the same levels of care as non-working children. Stueve and O'Donnell (1989:349) found that, among women, employment is associated with lower levels of involvement in parent care. Full-time workers had less

³³There are distinct differences between men and women caregivers (Kaye and Applegate, 1990:9). Those men who care tend to be motivated by a sense of justice and obligation. They experience less stress than women caregivers. This seems to contradict the finding that caregivers who are motivated by a sense of caring experience less stress (Bond Jr. et al., 1987:14). Men caregivers do not obtain very many formal services for the recipients of their care, and then only if they can stay in control of the caregiving. Furthermore, men caregivers welcome more help from other family members. They also report asymmetrical exchanges in the caregiving relationship. The provision of personal care was the most stressful tasks reported by men. However, providing personal care may also be extremely stressful for women caregivers. It is extremely demanding and it signifies deteriorating health of the elderly parent.

³⁴An American study, in which 161 male caregivers and support group leaders were interviewed, showed that only a minority of males who were major providers were found to be specially nurturing and compassionate (Kaye and Applegate, 1990:121). It has been argued that men sometimes become more nurturing as they get older, while women sometimes become more aggressive as they age (Neugarten, 1968:284). It is not clear whether women have been socialized to be more nurturing or whether this is an inborn trait (Witt, 1994:65). Women have traditionally tended to be more involved in the care of infants and elderly people. Because two-thirds of women are now in the workforce, men may be being forced into caregiving roles

³⁵The 1982 Long-Term Care Survey, carried out in the U.S.A., focused on those who cared for disabled elderly people in need of help with the Activities of Daily Living. Thirteen percent of the caregivers were husbands and 8.5% were sons (Brody, 1990:35). Nearly three-quarters of all caregivers were women (23% were wives, 29% were daughters, and 20% were other relatives). Kaye and Applegate (1990:139) reported that, at the present time, about one-quarter of all caregivers (or about 1,750,000 people in the U.S.A.) are men. The majority of these male caregivers are husbands caring for their wives.

contact with their parents and often gave priority to their work. Women tended to move out of the labour force in order to look after children, but were less likely to do so for parents.

Parents may need care at any stage. However, as we have noted, it is more likely to be needed when they reach their late seventies and their eighties. There are no clear expectations. Emotional strain is the most severe problem associated with parent care (Brody, 1990:53). The heavier the care, the greater the strain. Caregivers tend to experience more stress if the recipient of care lives in with them. Women are more likely to experience high levels of stress than men.

Both the givers and receivers of care may sometimes have to set limits in order to protect certain aspects of their own lives and the lives of others close to them. For example, caregivers may decide not to share their houses with their elderly parents, and they may justify this setting of limits by emphasizing their own, their children's, or their husbands' needs. Meeting all the needs of a frail relative in one's home or in his/her home can be a full-time job. Care receivers may also set limits on the demands they make on their relatives.³⁶ And they may justify the setting of limits by saying that they do not want to be a burden on their children (Aronson, 1990:70).³⁷

There are a variety of stresses on the primary caregiver when an elderly family member is institutionalized (Rosenthal and Dawson, 1991:315; Chappell, 1990:41).³⁸ For example, it may take a long time to travel to the nursing home and there may be some loss of privacy during visits. Some interaction takes place in the presence of other residents or health care personnel. The burden of providing care generally decreases. However, this does depend to some extent on what the nursing staff expect of family members. Relatives of institutionalized elderly people are relieved of providing personal care, such as helping with bathing, feeding, and so on.³⁹ Relatives become links with the outside world (Disman and Disman, 1995:211) and can serve as advocates

³⁶The elderly may experience declines in power in old age (Blau, 1964:124), and, as a result, they may comply with their children's wishes (Matthews, 1979:124-128).

³⁷They may do this because they fear the humiliation of asking for too much, and not receiving. They may also want to ask for help only in crises when they really need it.

³⁸At any one time, only 4.6% of Americans, aged 65 and over, live in institutions. However, between 23% and 38% of those aged 65 and over will spend sometime in long-term care (Brody, 1990:231). The more people a parent has in his or her network, the less likely it is that he or she will be placed in an institution.

³⁹Providing personal care is quite different from "advocacy". The latter can also be done by letter.

on behalf of residents. However, this can sometimes be a source of conflict. Nursing home staff tend to view advocacy as interference. Many primary caregivers continue to provide a great deal of help and support after nursing home placement, and visit regularly (Duncan and Morgan, 1994:242; Gladstone, 1995:58; Bartlett, 1994:96; Zarit and Whitlatch, 1992:670). A 1988-1990 Toronto study of 69 wives of institutionalized men showed that wives experienced a stage of "quasi-widowhood". They experienced feelings of guilt, anger, sadness, resentment, and loneliness. But they also felt relief because the stress of day-to-day responsibilities of caring and nursing was over, and they felt that their husbands were receiving excellent care (Rosenthal and Dawson, 1991:315; Dawson and Rosenthal, 1996:245).

A review of several studies of long-term care facilities suggests that about one-half of the residents have families who visit at least once a week. About 85 percent receive visits at least once a month (Chappell, 1992:41). Again, daughters tend to experience greater stress than sons. People sometimes worry about poor care, about the negative attitudes of staff members, and about other aspects of the nursing-home environment. For example, some are upset by seeing their loved ones surrounded by so many confused, disabled, and frail elderly.

4.5 Intergenerational Relations: Theoretical Approaches

4.5.1 The Symbolic Interactionist Approach

Some roles or identities in society tend to be the same from generation to generation.⁴⁰ However, other roles or identities can change or disappear, as sometimes happens, for example, in ethnic cultures. Rosenthal notes that "ethnic culture is quite different from immigrant culture, since new meanings may have developed in response to post-immigration experiences" (1983a:11). Just as immigrants negotiate their identities in interacting with others, so the elderly negotiate their

⁴⁰Family relationships and role expectations established earlier on in families tend to remain the same over time (Whitbeck, et al., 1994:885; Rosenthal, 1985).

identities in interacting with others (Marshall, 1995:25). For some elderly individuals, the degree of control over interactions with others is very important. Older people sometimes cut themselves off from relationships with others, by denying they have certain needs or by doing without (Marshall, 1980:57). One's level of control is lower if one is in financial need, if one is in poor health, or if one is lonely.

4.5.2 The Potential for Conflict Between Generations

Although solidarity between generations is the usual pattern (McPherson, 1983:289), the issue of conflict cannot be ignored. This section deals with the special nature of conflict in immigrant families. The potential for conflict is present whenever generations interact. Conflict can be both beneficial and harmful. Sociologists have tended to neglect the ways in which structures shape intergenerational ties (Nydegger, 1983:30). We deal first with the role of conflict in the maintenance of ethnic identities, and, second, with the special nature of conflict in Dutch-Canadian families.

An emphasis on religious and ethnic identity can serve to protect ethnic families and reduce conflicts. Conflicts with the outside world can sometimes serve to increase levels of internal cohesion within ethnic families. For some, the family is a safe place for those who have experienced rejection and discrimination. In addition, conflict can sometimes serve as a focus for social interaction. It can also provide an impetus for change. For example, in the new country, members of the younger generation can teach new values to their immigrant parents.

When separate identities need to be maintained in ethnic groups, they are sometimes maintained through conflict. This is especially true in the case of religious identity. Differences between the culture of the ethnic group and the culture of the dominant group can be clearly defined through conflict (Driedger, 1989:48,56). For example, Mennonite communities tend to survive better when the society in the neighbouring area is hostile or indifferent than when the neighbours are overly friendly. For many immigrants, conflict arises when the values held by the family clash with the values held by the broader society. Intergenerational conflict in immigrant families is intensified

because of the sudden transition from one culture into another. Anxiety and stress are experienced by all the family members as the parents and the children adapt to a new environment. They try to balance the values and behaviours of the “old country” with those of the newly adopted country.

Conflicts are common in relationships between parents and children in immigrant families. We will illustrate this by examining the special nature of the tie between immigrant parent and Dutch-Canadian child. In her analysis of writings by post-war Dutch immigrants to Canada, De Peuter (1991) found that children often reject the values of the parents and conflicts between first- and second-generation immigrants are quite common (Cook, 1984, 1989). But immigrant children also share to some extent the identities and inheritances of their parents. Children communicate with and at times speak for their parents (De Peuter, 1991:166). Settling in a new country can be a traumatic experience, and children try to make sense out of the fragmented images passed on to them by their parents. Conflicts sometimes arise between the first-generation immigrants and their elderly parents. For example, many of the elderly parents who remained in The Netherlands simply did not understand their children’s desire to emigrate. Although ties and contacts were maintained through letter writing, and later through telephone contact, many Dutch immigrants to Canada never saw their parents again.

In immigrant families, conflicts sometimes arise between authoritarian fathers and children, who want more freedom. Immigrant families involved in family businesses or farming often depend heavily on the unpaid labour of children, and this can lead to discontent (Ishwaran and Chan, 1980:204). Mothers often tend to act as mediators. Conflicts also tend to arise over role changes. For example, immigrant mothers sometimes have to seek employment outside the home in order to augment their husbands’ earnings. Since husbands were traditionally the sole providers for their families, this sometimes causes discord. Likewise, conflicts arise over new values. When they go to school, the children of immigrants learn values of individualism and freedom. However, these values sometimes conflict with the traditional values they had learned at home (McPherson, 1983:58,336; Ishwaran and Chan, 1980:206; Ujimoto, 1987:116). For example, many Dutch-Canadian immigrant

families followed the traditional pattern of requiring children to contribute their earnings to the household. In Canada, in the affluent era following World War II, most adolescents were being allowed to keep their earnings. Conflicts between immigrant parents and their children over money were inevitable.

In Calvinist communities in Canada, if children engaged in behaviours which were in direct conflict with parental religious values, the parents felt angry and hurt. The children's indifference to their parents' concerns tended to be perceived as a rejection of the parents' religion. However, the children did not see the conflict as a religious one. Rather, they saw it as stemming from the overly strict and inflexible expectations of their parents (Larsen, 1978:262). The issues of dating, courtship, and marriage rituals were frequent sources of conflict (van Dijk, 1990:41). Intermarriage was strongly opposed. This opposition to intermarriage is not unexpected, since in pre-war Holland marriages between Orthodox Calvinists and members of the state Protestant church were not readily accepted. People were expected to marry within their own "pillar" of Dutch society (Van Belle, 1991: 312). Parents were more concerned with the religious than the ethnic backgrounds of their children's prospective spouses (Ganzevoort, 1988:105, 125). In spite of all the potential for conflict, parents and children who embrace the same faith appear to be able to resolve their differences within their shared religious framework. They are seldom, if ever, seen in formal counselling sessions (Larsen, 1978:263; van Dijk, 1990:109). They often have many sources of informal help and advice. A strong community can support its members.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined some of the research on intergenerational relations and social support. We have discussed changes in women's work patterns, changes in the ways in which families care for parents, and changes in demographic patterns. The growing numbers of frail elderly in the population will increasingly lead to pressures on social and health services. For example, in

Ontario there has been a recent shift from a long-term care policy that emphasized institutions to one that emphasizes community-based services. Such changes in policy raise certain concerns (Rosenthal, 1994:419-422; Neysmith and Aronson, 1996:12). For example, will women have to give even greater amounts of care than they have given in the past? Will the growth in the oldest segment of the population, combined with an increase in the numbers of women in paid employment, mean that there will be a shortage of caregivers? What happens when formal services are not sufficient to supplement informal care? Is the cost of providing long-term care for frail elderly people the responsibility of the government or is it the responsibility of the family? How will the services already provided by ethnic and religious communities fit into the new plans?

We have reviewed studies that explore how ethnicity and religion influence ties between the generations and how they affect such behaviour as frequency of contact and types of exchanges. However, as we noted earlier, there is very little written on this topic. We have seen that ethnicity influences whether the support comes from family, from friends, or from formal sources. And there is some limited evidence that religion may lessen the burden of parent care. We also described how, in some ethnic families, religion influences the ways in which children cared for elderly parents.

Chapter 5

Research Design

5.1 Introduction

In this thesis, we examine two groups of elderly Dutch immigrants and their middle-aged children. In the process, we also gain valuable insights into the lives of the third-generation Dutch immigrants. Our main focus is on ethnic identity retention among several generations of Dutch Catholics and Calvinists. A secondary focus is the examination of the amounts and types of social support that are given to older people in Dutch-Canadian communities. We explore the importance of religion and generation for ethnic identity retention and for the provision of social support.

At the beginning of this chapter, we examine the various dimensions of ethnic identity. We consider the internal, the external, the subjective, and the objective components. The formal and informal components of social support are also discussed. In the next section, we describe the objectives of this study and the hypotheses we propose to test. We then describe the sampling frame, the procedures for the selection of the sample, and the mailing of the questionnaires. The questionnaires for parents and children are described in the following section. Next, we list the major variables and discuss what they measured. Finally, we describe how the data were analyzed.

5.2 Concepts and Definitions

One of the main issues that is explored is ethnic identity retention. This is defined as the degree to which the respondent has or has not assimilated into the new society and also as the extent to which he/she has retained certain of his/her ethnic identity. It is important to remember that many of the concepts used in this study have both internal and external, and both subjective and objective components (George, 1994:6-7).¹ For example, endogamy is measured not just by ascertaining the ethnic and religious background of spouses and/or the number of children who married spouses of different faiths and different ethnic groups, but also by asking respondents about their attitudes towards those members of their families who married outside their faiths or outside their ethnic groups. In addition, respondents were also asked for their opinions on whether sending children to parochial schools increases or decreases rates of endogamy (Part 5, Q30, Q31, Appendix A).

Health, wealth, and social support all affect well-being in later life. They are also important factors in helping older people to maintain their independence (Marshall, et al., 1995:126, 127). Adequate social support fosters social integration, or the linking of the individual to society. This is to a great extent dependent on a person's social network. Having a strong social network is associated with enjoying a healthier way of life. It may foster a sense of control, and it may buffer one against stressful life events (Black, 1985). Not only can strong networks offer sources of informal support, but they can also provide people with easier access to formal support services (Chipperfield, 1994).²

Social support has several components (Gottlieb, 1991; Hirdes, and Strain, 1995).³ There are the formal supports offered by society to elderly parents, and there are also the informal supports provided by children, families, friends, and church communities. Measurement of the adequacy

¹Objective measures of well-being in studies of caregiver burden are just as important as subjective measures. Governments are not likely to implement policies on the basis of feelings alone. Subjective measures are, of course, more difficult to operationalize and measure than objective measures.

²Imbalances in exchanges of support are sometimes associated with low levels of self-esteem and low ratings of one's health status (Black, 1985; Dowd, 1980). Therefore, it is important to consider the issue of reciprocity in any study of social support.

³Social support must be seen as a process, in addition to being seen as a service (Gottlieb, 1992).

of these supports involves documenting the sizes of people's networks, the frequency of people's contacts, and the types of help that are provided to older respondents. The quality of the support is determined by evaluating how respondents feel about the giving and the receiving of care, and considering whether they have opportunities to reciprocate.

5.2.1 Hypotheses

As we have noted, the purpose of the thesis is to look at intra-ethnic differences in ethnic identity retention and social support. We also examine intergenerational differences in ethnic identity retention. In order to do so, the study has the following three major objectives. First, we examine how levels of ethnic identity retention vary by religious groups, in particular among Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists. We can also document the specific customs and values that tend to be retained and those that tend to be lost. Second, we describe how ethnic identity retention varies by generation. It is interesting to see whether the second-generation Calvinists are, in fact, maintaining the high levels of institutional completeness attained by their parents. Third, we examine how religion influences the amounts and types of social support that are given to older parents. We observe whether a high degree of institutional completeness influences the types of services that a community provides for its elderly members. We put forward the following hypotheses:

1. Religion is a major factor in determining intra-ethnic differences in ethnic identity retention. Dutch-Canadian Calvinists have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than Dutch-Canadian Catholics.
2. Generation also influences ethnic identity retention. First-generation Dutch immigrants have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than members of the second generation. However, the younger Calvinists continue to maintain high levels of institutional completeness.
3. Religion is a major factor in determining intra-ethnic differences in social support provided to elderly relatives in Dutch-Canadian communities.

The first hypothesis will be confirmed if we find that the Dutch-Canadian Catholics have assimilated to a greater degree than the Calvinists. The second hypothesis will be confirmed if the younger generations of Catholics and Calvinists have lower levels of cultural and structural ethnic identity retention. However, we expect that the Calvinists will have higher levels of structural ethnic identity retention than the Catholics. The third hypothesis will be confirmed if the amounts and types of services provided differ significantly between the two groups.

5.3 Research Design

We conducted a two-stage study of Dutch-Canadian immigrants. In the first stage in 1990, we surveyed ninety-nine elderly Dutch Catholics and Dutch Calvinists in order to describe their patterns of settlement in Ontario, and to document how ethnicity affected their support networks. In the second stage in 1995, we built on the previous study. We dealt with intra-ethnic differences in ethnic identity retention and considered how this influenced the types of communities each group established. We also examined how ethnicity and religion influenced the types of social support given to older parents. The 1995 respondents consisted of members of 90 families. Our survey included 79 elderly first-generation immigrants and 364 children of immigrants who are members of the second generation.

5.3.1 Sample Selection

As was described in Chapter One, in 1990 we conducted a study of ninety-nine elderly Dutch-Canadian immigrants.⁴ This was conducted for the author's M.A. thesis. This study formed the basis for the 1995 study, which consisted of the original ninety-nine elderly immigrants and their middle-aged children.⁵ The 1990 sample had consisted of fifty Calvinists and forty-nine Catholic

⁴Completed questionnaires were received from 51 Calvinists (of which 50 were used in the 1990 study) and 49 Catholics.

⁵Of the 100 (see footnote 4 on the previous page) who responded in 1990, 95 were re-contacted in 1995, and 79 responded. One of the original Calvinist respondents could not be located.

immigrants. In 1990, the respondents were aged sixty or over and were living independently in the community or in senior citizens' apartments in southwestern Ontario.

The sampling frame for the Calvinists in the 1990 study was obtained from the 1990 yearbook of the Christian Reformed churches in Hamilton and surrounding towns.⁶ The greater Hamilton area has both rural and urban populations of Dutch-Calvinist immigrants.⁷ Our goal was to select a representative sample. Informants in each church community were asked to identify fellow church members aged 65 years and older from their church lists.⁸ Membership lists of older members were also obtained from the two Canadian Reformed churches, the Free Reformed church, and the Reformed church in the Hamilton area.⁹ These names were added to the list from which the sample was drawn. The full list contained 665 names. Every tenth name was chosen, and the individual was sent a questionnaire. Husbands and wives were selected alternately from the list, but all the names of single persons were included.¹⁰ Fifteen of the 50 Calvinist respondents, or 30 percent, lived in seniors' housing built by the church community. In 1995, 18 of the 48 Calvinist respondents, or 38 percent, lived in such homes. This means that, over a period of five years, the proportion of elderly Calvinists living in seniors' accommodation built by the Calvinist community rose from 30 percent to 38 percent.

Because the first-generation Catholic immigrants had assimilated to a greater degree, it

⁶The yearbook gives names, addresses, and telephone numbers of all who belong.

⁷In 1990, the following Christian Reformed churches existed in the Hamilton area: Ancaster Christian Reformed Church, Fellowship Christian Reformed Church in Ancaster, First Christian Reformed Church in Brantford, Shalom Christian Reformed Church in Brantford, Burlington Christian Reformed Church, Faith Christian Reformed Church in Burlington, Calvin Christian Reformed Church in Dundas, Calvary Christian Reformed Church in Flamborough, First Christian Reformed Church in Hamilton, Immanuel Christian Reformed Church in Hamilton, Mount Hamilton Christian Reformed Church, Ebenezer Christian Reformed Church in Jarvis, Immanuel Christian Reformed Church in Simcoe, Bethel Christian Reformed Church in Waterdown, and Maranatha Christian Reformed Church in York. By 1995, the Hagersville Community Christian Reformed Church had been established. Two independent Christian Reformed Churches had been established, one in Hamilton and one in Sheffield. And the two churches in Brantford had amalgamated to become the Hope Christian Reformed Church. All the fifteen Christian Reformed Churches listed, but not the two independent churches, belong to Classis Hamilton. The evolution of the various branches of churches in the Reformed tradition is described in Chapter Two and is shown in diagram form in Appendix I.

⁸The researcher was secretary of the Hamilton District Christian High School for six years, and knew the community well enough to be able to choose reliable informants. However, using informants may be problematic. For examples, they may sometimes have excluded the names of people known to have terminal illnesses, known to be experiencing trauma, or known to be no longer active.

⁹Once again, informants identified the elderly on the list.

¹⁰In 1990, the reason why we obtained a few questionnaires from respondents who were under 65 years of age may have to do with the fact that some wives answered for their husbands. Or the informant may have assumed that both the wife and husband were aged 65 or over.

was rather more difficult to obtain a suitable sampling frame for these subjects. As a result, an unsystematic sample was selected.¹¹ The sampling frame included sixteen names of Catholic immigrants living in "Windmill Gardens", a Catholic seniors' apartment building for Dutch people in Stratford. Twelve of the residents were contacted.¹² Of the twelve, six responded. The sampling frame also included an edited list of seventeen Catholic members of the Dutch Heritage Club, located in St. Catherines, which was supplied by one of the informants.¹³ Nine of these club members were contacted, and all nine responded.¹⁴ A list of fifty-two elderly Dutch parishioners from the St. Christopher's Church parish and Our Family parish in Forest, Ontario, was obtained.¹⁵ Of the twenty-five parishioners who were sent questionnaires, thirteen responded.¹⁶ The remaining thirty names were supplied by Dr. Schryer, of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph. Dr. Schryer is a Dutch immigrant of Catholic background. Seventeen people on this list were contacted, and thirteen responded. Nineteen other names of elderly Catholics in the Hamilton area were supplied by informants in the course of preliminary research. All nineteen were sent questionnaires, and eight responded. The sampling frame for the Catholics consisted of 134 names. In 1990, seven of the forty-nine Catholic respondents, or 14 percent, lived in seniors' housing built for older Dutch-Canadian Catholics. In 1995, 6 of the 47 Catholic respondents, or 13 percent, lived in such housing.¹⁷

In the 1990 study, 143 questionnaires were sent out and ninety-nine were returned. This means that about seventy percent of those who were sent questionnaires responded. A sample of those who did not respond was contacted by telephone in order to find out why there had been no reply. In most cases, the researcher was told that the individual's own poor health or the poor

¹¹ Again, all those Catholics who were single were contacted. Among the married couples, husbands and wives were chosen alternately.

¹² The other four were spouses.

¹³ This list excluded all the elderly who were in Florida at the time. Although anyone of Dutch background can become a member of the Heritage Club, its members are predominantly Catholic.

¹⁴ Again, the remaining 8 were spouses.

¹⁵ These names were supplied by Dr. Frans Schryer of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph, Ontario.

¹⁶ Several addresses of members of this group were incorrect and therefore could not be used.

¹⁷ Two elderly Catholics lived in Calvinist housing for seniors, and two elderly Calvinists lived in Catholic housing for seniors.

health of his/her spouse was a factor.¹⁸

In the spring of 1991, the respondents in the initial study were contacted again and asked if they would be willing to send the researcher the names and addresses of all their children (Appendix L). Seventy-nine parents responded. Two parents indicated that they did not want their children to participate in a follow-up study. A number of parents sent partial lists of their children's names, omitting the names of those children who perhaps did not wish to participate, those children who were handicapped, those children who were experiencing traumatic events in their lives, and those children who, for various other reasons, could not participate or who did not wish to do so. In a few cases, the child's whereabouts was not known to the parent. One elderly Calvinist woman wrote, "Even I do not know the address of my child." At the outset, it was decided that, even if the names of children were known to the investigator, only those children whose names and addresses had been provided by their parents would be included in the study. If parents in the 1990 study had completed a questionnaire again in 1995, and if the names of their children had not been supplied in 1991, they were asked to send their children's names and addresses at this time (Appendix L). Seven parents responded to this request, and the names of their 60 children were added to the list. In total, the 1995 list provided us with the names of 451 children. Two hundred and nineteen of the children were of Catholic backgrounds, and 232 of the children were of Calvinist backgrounds. This means that out of a possible total of 572 adult children who had been acknowledged by their parents, a total of 451 children's names and addresses were obtained from the parents.¹⁹ Therefore, we were able to send questionnaires to 78 percent of the children. These children were known to be willing or were judged by their parents to be able to take part in the survey. About one-fifth of the total possible number of children were lost through their parents' unwillingness or inability to

¹⁸In hindsight it is unfortunate that these people were not interviewed. They would have provided interesting information on social support. The differences in social support within the two groups might have been more marked if these cases had been included. One must remember that, when one is old, poor health is always an acceptable excuse.

¹⁹There were 576 acknowledged children (vanDijk, 1990:88). We subtract the 6 children of the Calvinist who could not be located, and we add the two children of the Calvinist who was not included in the 1990 analysis, but was included in the 1995 analysis.

give their names and addresses. This means that certain kinds of children, for example, those who had married outside the group, those who had experienced divorce, and those who were not on good terms with their parents, were probably excluded in disproportionate numbers.

We learned, either through newspaper obituaries or directly through informants, that four of the widowed parents who lived alone had died since 1991. In addition, in those cases in which the original respondent had passed away but the spouse was still living, the spouse was asked to complete the questionnaire. Four questionnaires were completed by widowed spouses, rather than by the original respondents. Forty-seven of the elderly people in the 1995 sample were of Catholic backgrounds, and 48 were of Calvinist backgrounds.

5.3.2 Response Rates

In the 1995 follow-up survey, 79 parents out of a possible total of 95 of those who responded in 1990, and who were still alive and could be located, returned the questionnaire. This means that 83 percent of the elderly parents who were re-contacted returned questionnaires. Thirty-five of the elderly parents who responded had Catholic backgrounds, and 44 had Calvinist backgrounds. One of the Calvinists who did not reply was unable to fill out the questionnaire because of blindness, and one returned a questionnaire which could not be used. It was clear that this respondent was confused. Three hundred and sixty-four children out of a possible total of 451 returned completed questionnaires. This gave a response rate of 80 percent for those children whose names and addresses had been supplied by their parents. One hundred and sixty-nine of the children who responded had Catholic backgrounds, and 195 had Calvinist backgrounds. In addition to the children who were lost because of parents' inability or unwillingness to give the names of all their children, there was another loss through non-response to the mailed questionnaires. The 364 children who replied comprised 63 percent of the 572 children who were acknowledged by their parents. Therefore, 63 percent of the existing children were included in our survey. There were a number of children (n=54) who returned

Table 5.1: Summary Table of 1995 Sample

Sample	Total Number		Percentages
Existing number of children (According to parents)	n=572		100%
Children who rec'd questionnaires (Names supplied by parents)	n=451		78% (of 572)
Questionnaires completed by children	n=364		63% (of 572)
Number of parents alive in 1995	n=95	parents' replies n=79*	83% (of 95)
Number of children sent questionnaires	n=451	children's replies n=364**	80% (of 451)
Children who replied while parents did not reply	n=54	11 families***	

* Of the 16 parents who were alive in 1995, but did not respond, 7 had children who responded to the survey. In the other 9 cases, the parents did not respond. They also did not provide the addresses of their children. These 9 families were all Catholic families.

** This total includes the 54 children who returned questionnaires while their parents did not.

*** In 7 of these families the parents were still living. In 4 of these families the parents were no longer living.

questionnaires even though their parents did not.²⁰ These eleven families were divided as follows. In four, the parents had died. In the remaining seven, the parents were still alive, but had not completed and returned the questionnaire. From the responses of the children, or from the personal notes they included on the margins of their questionnaires we can deduce several reasons why their parents did not reply. Four parents had died, one was blind, and at least one suffered from severe confusion. No doubt ill health played a part in other cases. Another 9 parents and their children did not reply at all. All of these families were Catholic families.²¹

²⁰In 5 of these cases all the children responded (n=22). In the remaining 6 cases, 9 children did not respond, and 32 responded (n=41). Therefore, the children's response rate was over 85% in those families in which the parents did not respond, but in which some or all of the children did respond. In total, there were 16 parents alive in 1995 who did not respond. Seven of them, together with the 4 parents who died, had children who responded at the 86% rate. In addition, there were 9 families in which the parents did not provide the addresses of their children in 1991, and the parents also did not return the questionnaires in 1995. All 9 of these families were Catholic families. Fifty-five Catholic children were lost in this way.

²¹An unanticipated problem was the large number of children who had moved house since 1991. From the initial mailing, at least fifty questionnaires were returned to the researcher because the respondents had moved house since 1991. Some people had moved more than once. Letters were sent to the parents asking for the new addresses of those children who had moved. In a few cases, new addresses were supplied by siblings. Of the fifty-six children who had moved, thirty-two were Calvinists and twenty-four were Catholics.

In our analysis of ethnic identity retention, we draw on the responses of all 364 children, including the 25 children of the 4 parents who had died since 1990. In our analysis of social support, we analyze the responses of 339 children excluding the 25 children whose parents had died.

The questionnaires were mailed out in three waves. The first letter contained a questionnaire (Appendix A), a letter explaining the study (Appendix L), and a stamped addressed envelope for the return of the questionnaire. After approximately one month, a second letter was sent out reminding the respondents to return the questionnaire as soon as possible. They were also told that if they had misplaced the first one the researcher would supply a second copy (Appendix L). After another few weeks, a third letter was sent. This third mailing also included another questionnaire, another letter explaining the project (Appendix L), and another stamped addressed envelope for the return of the questionnaire. A final mailing to thank the respondents and to inform them of the major findings of the study took place in the spring of 1996.²² In a few cases, elderly respondents in the Hamilton area were contacted by telephone and asked whether they wanted new questionnaires. In several cases, a child helped an elderly parent fill in the questionnaire. Occasionally a wife filled in the questionnaire that had been addressed to her husband. Two elderly respondents and three middle-aged respondents did so.

When analyzing these data, it is important to keep in mind the fact that certain kinds of children, those who were handicapped, those who were ill, those who had personal problems, and those who did not get on well with their parents, were probably excluded in disproportionate numbers.²³ For example, it may be that some children who were excluded were stigmatized by divorce, or had quarrelled with their parents. One in five of all children were excluded by the parents. The parents had, of course, already shown commitment by completing questionnaires for the 1990 study. The high response rate may stem from the respondents' high levels of interest in the

²² Cheques covering the return postage accompanied all the letters to respondents in other countries. These countries included Australia, New Zealand, The Netherlands, the British West Indies, Saudi Arabia, and the U. S. A.

²³ Were another researcher to use this method of obtaining a sample, it would be useful to include a section asking parents about their reasons for excluding certain of their children.

subjects of immigration, ethnic identity retention, and parent care. Many respondents commented that they felt that the study was important. One man said, "I think the reason for emigration is very important to all of the above questions" (11400 elderly, Catholic male). Some respondents seemed happy to have been asked to participate. For example, one Catholic woman wrote, "This survey was very interesting and I appreciate having the opportunity to express my opinions" (13409 female, youngest of nine children). It may also be that some elderly people tend to feel obligated to respond to any mail they receive. One elderly respondent sent money instead of the names and addresses of her children, as we had requested. Of course, we returned her money.

In 1990, the questionnaire was also made available in Dutch. However, not one of the elderly respondents requested a copy in Dutch. And very few of the respondents filled out the Dutch version of the consent form.²⁴ Because of this, Dutch translations were not made available in the 1995 study. Several of the elderly respondents had problems with the length of the questionnaire or with the content of the questions. One complained, "Too many questions! Very hard to do" (22600 Calvinist female). Another wrote, "Ik kan niet alles begrijpen" (I cannot understand everything) (24800 Calvinist female).

5.3.3 The Questionnaire

As has been described, we used a self-administered mailed questionnaire. Given the large size of the sample, interviewing would have been too time-consuming. Most of the items in the questionnaire were closed-ended questions. This made the task of coding easier.

The two questionnaires were designed, one specifically for children and the other for parents (Appendix A). The five parts of the questionnaire are described below.

1. The first section was similar for both parents and children. It started with some straightforward questions designed to gather some fairly general demographic information about the

²⁴This shows the extent to which these older people had assimilated.

respondents. Although these questions may seem out of place so early, the questions on symbolic identity of self and parents or oldest child were placed right at the beginning of this section. It has been suggested that, when one uses this ordering, the results are more accurate than they would have been had the respondents already answered many questions about ethnic identity (Reitz, 1980:110).

2. The second section was also similar for both parents and children. The questions explored the ethnic identities of the respondents. They were also asked about their religious beliefs and practices.
3. The third section differed for parents and children. Where relevant, it explored the living arrangements of parents and parents-in-law. It also asked about the availability of social networks and about the kinds and amounts of help received or given.
4. The fourth section was, once again, the same for both parents and children. It dealt with more general issues. It included questions on health status, education, income, and occupation. This section ended with two open-ended questions designed to tap respondents' perceptions of the positive and negative aspects of belonging to Dutch-Canadian Catholic and Calvinist communities.
5. The final section consisted of thirty questions that explored attitudes. These were answered on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Questions dealt with such issues as symbolic ethnicity, religiosity, use of ethnic media, use of the Dutch language, endogamy, the role of the government in care of the elderly, choice of nursing homes, parochial education, institutional completeness in a community, and patterns of negotiating the sharing of the responsibility for providing care to older relatives within families.

5.3.4 Measures of Ethnic Identity and Social Support

The first two questions dealt with symbolic identity (Q1, Q2). The next nine questions (Q3 to Q11) provided us with demographic information, including gender, age, country of birth of the respondent and his/her spouse, citizenship, year of arrival in Canada of self and spouse, marital status, and numbers of children and grandchildren. Other questions, providing information about perceived health status, education, employment status of the respondent and his or her spouse, and income level, are to be found in section four of both the children's and the parents' questionnaires. Each of these independent variables may directly affect the major dependent variables, namely ethnic identity retention and social support, the outcomes of assimilation, and the patterns of eldercare.

Ethnic identity can be divided into, first, the more easily measured cultural components and, second, the harder to measure structural components. These both played a part in shaping respondents' attitudes, feelings, and practices. The next twenty-eight variables measured the external components of ethnic identity retention. Questions 12 to 14h measured respondents' levels of attachment to ethnic foods, holidays, and customs. Questions 15a to 19b explored the languages known and used by the respondents. Although the use of the language of the country of origin appears to be very important in the retention of ethnic identity for many ethnic groups (Driedger, 1989:155, 164, 180-182), the retention of the Dutch language was not very important for the two groups analyzed here. Part Five explored attitudes. Questions 18 and 4, in Part Five, compared the respondents' attitudes towards ethnic foods, customs, and language use.

Patterns of religiosity, patterns of endogamy, and the extent of institutional completeness are all important structural features. The questions that deal with patterns of religiosity (Q20 to Q26) provided information about the respondents' religious affiliations, and also about their church attendance and tithing patterns. The importance of religion in a person's life, and how religion affects many aspects, including the criteria used when choosing nursing homes for elderly parents, was shown in the responses to questions 5, 6, 9, 16, and 19 in Part Five. Endogamy was measured

objectively in questions 11 and 27, while questions 28, and questions 7, 30, and 31, in Part Five, gauged respondents' attitudes towards endogamy.

Judging by the reactions of the respondents, the most sensitive question was question 27. This question asked how many of the respondents' children have married members of the same ethnic group and the same religion and how many have married outside the group and outside the religion. Many respondents either did not answer this question or indicated a category without giving the exact numbers of children in each category. For example, if a person had eight children, and circled category one "same group and same religion," but did not indicate how many children had married spouses of the same group and same religion, the code 01 was given to this question. This was done even though the respondent did not circle any other category, and it was possible that all eight of the respondent's children may have been in the first category. It was clear that people felt very uncomfortable about this issue, and that there was a high level of underreporting of the extent of outmarriage. Thirty percent of the parents did not respond to the first part of question 27 and seventy percent did not respond to the second part. Sixty-six percent of the children did not respond to the first part and eighty-four percent did not respond to the second part of question 27. Not all children had offspring old enough to marry.

The extent of institutional completeness was measured using the next 45 variables (Q29a to Q39). Questions 29a to 33 were designed to elicit information about the extent of association with other Dutch people both inside and outside one's home. These questions also provided material on the extent of residential segregation and on whether respondents' closest friends were of the same ethnic group. Questions 34 to 36x and 37 to 39 measured levels of participation in ethnic and/or religious organizations and parochial education. Questions 59 and 60 asked about the workplaces of the respondents and their spouses. Respondents' feelings about institutional completeness were explored in Part 5, in questions 3, 11, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, and 8. Respondents' attitudes towards their own and their parents' and children's symbolic ethnic identities were probed in questions 1 and 2. These kinds of questions were also included in Part 5, questions 1, 2, 10, 17, and 20.

Section 3 of the questionnaire dealt with the informal social support network. Data were collected on the sizes of the respondents' networks (Q8, Q9), the respondents' levels of contact with their informal networks (questions 45a to 49, [42a to 45]²⁵), the hours of care given or received (questions 51, 52, [47]), and the types of assistance provided to parents and parents-in-law or received by older people from children (questions 50a-50j, [46a-46j]). The living arrangements of the parents (questions 40 to 44(7), [40 to 41(7)]) were also documented.

Questions 53a to 53f [48a to 48f] measured reciprocity and help exchanged between parents and children. The extent of emotional closeness between the generations was measured in question 54 [49]. Questions 55 and 56 [50-51] probed the actual use of formal social supports, while questions 28, 25, and 14, in Part 5, asked about respondents' attitudes towards informal and formal support services. Questions 15 and 24, in Part Five, explored attitudes towards living arrangements, while question 29, in Part Five, dealt with frequency of contact. The last two questions were designed to elicit comments on the positive and negative aspects of belonging to Dutch-Canadian Catholic or Calvinist communities.

Since this was a mailed questionnaire, a formal statement of consent was not required. If the respondent completed and returned the questionnaire, consent was implicit. The respondents were assured privacy and complete confidentiality with regard to any personal information given. They were assured that they could withdraw from the research project at any time. As one might expect, questions on income were perceived to be an invasion of privacy by several respondents. This is shown by some of the comments written on some questionnaires, "None of your business", "Personal question I care not to answer." Nevertheless, this question was included because of the importance of socioeconomic status and its probable relationship to ethnic identity retention and to the levels and types of support given to parents.

²⁵The first numbers refer to the questions on the children's questionnaire. The numbers in square brackets refer to the corresponding questions on the parents' questionnaire.

5.4 Some Limitations of the Research Design

Reliability and validity are important aspects of research design. Consistency of measurement over time is one aspect of the reliability of a study. Comparisons with the 1990 study, focussing on such key variables as levels of cultural ethnic identity, levels of endogamy, levels of religiosity, and levels of institutional completeness, show a consistency of measurement. A measure is valid if it does in fact measure what it is intended to measure. We conducted a pre-test, using members of the Dutch immigrant community.²⁶ Various colleagues were consulted in the course of the design of the research and the development of the questionnaire.²⁷ Some of the questions were adapted from other studies. For example, measures of ethnic identity, assimilation, and social support were drawn from various earlier studies (Appendix A). This enhances the construct or measurement validity since the questions have already been tested and results can be compared. In the social sciences, and in survey research in particular, the repeated use of questions is permitted and encouraged (Singleton et al, 1988: 275).

There were several problems with the research design. One related to sampling. The use of large samples enhances external validity. The sample of Calvinists will be fairly representative because of the large sampling frame. However, the loss of children through parents' unwillingness or inability to give names and addresses of about one-fifth of the children is a serious problem. The convenience sample of Catholics may be less representative, and this means the findings cannot be generalized to other populations.

Another problem was the use of a cross-sectional design. Establishing cause in a cross-sectional design is, of course, difficult. A longitudinal design would also have allowed us to look at social support (Gottlieb, 1992) and caregiver stress (George, 1990; Pearlin, et al., 1990) as processes.

²⁶ Questions which were ambiguous or which appeared to be unsuitable were changed or clarified. For example, some respondents had trouble with the term "ethnic" as used in "ethnic group". Examples were added in Q11 clarifying the meaning of the word "ethnic". The questionnaire was pre-tested using five people of the parent generation and six of the child generation.

²⁷ Dr. K. V. Ujimoto and Dr. Fr. Schryer, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph, Dr. J. Synge, Department of Sociology, McMaster University, and Dr. M. Denton, Department of Sociology/Gerontology, McMaster University were consulted.

The use of interviews, rather than mailed questionnaires, would also have enabled us to gather more information about such complex matters as caregiver stress.

5.5 Analysis

Univariate analyses, presented in Chapter Six, were carried out in order to describe the general patterns of ethnic identity retention. Bivariate analyses were used to compare the differences in patterns of ethnic identity retention between parents and children, Catholics and Calvinists, and males and females. Similarly, in Chapter Seven, univariate analyses were used to describe patterns of social support. And bivariate analyses were used in order to compare patterns of social support. In Chapter Eight, we present a multivariate regression analysis of the effects of religion and generation on ethnic identity retention. Measures of ethnic identity retention were developed for this regression analysis using exploratory factor analysis. They included religiosity, institutional completeness, and cultural identity. Other independent variables such as age, gender, income, health status, educational status, length of time since emigration, and marital status were used as control variables in the equation. Question 36, measuring the number of institutions established by each group, and question 27a, measuring the extent of endogamy in the groups, were also treated as control variables. The results of these analyses are presented in detail in Chapter Six, Seven, and Eight.

Since the material that was collected relates to individuals, the individual is generally taken as the unit of analysis in this study. However, we do sometimes use data that has been aggregated in order to compare the relationships between assimilation and social support, between first- and second-generation immigrants, between parents and children, and between Catholics and Calvinists. To measure the changes in ethnic identity retention between generations, it is necessary to gather information from members of both generations in order to allow for the differences in outlooks (Bengtson and Cutler, 1976:148; Bengtson and Kuyper, 1971; Giarrusso, 1995).

When examining the care given to elderly parents, it is important to look not just at how

much care is provided by the primary caregiver, but also at the variety of different types of care that are provided. It is also important to consider the total amount of support that is given by all the members of a family. To determine how deeply the children are involved in caregiving, the unit of analysis must shift from the individual caregivers to all the adult children who are involved in caring for elderly parents in a particular family (Rosenthal, et al., 1989).

Chapter 6

Intra-Ethnic and Generational Differences in Patterns of Ethnic Identity Retention

6.1 Introduction

Our analysis of the experiences of Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists reveals both similarities and differences in patterns of migration, ethnic identity retention, religiosity, and social support. Even within each group there are variations. These patterns are described in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight. In Chapter Six, the views of both groups on issues pertaining to immigration, religiosity, institutional completeness, endogamy, and parochial education are compared. The first part of the chapter deals with the immigration experiences of members of the older generation in the two groups. The next section describes the demographic characteristics of the respondents.¹ The next section deals with issues that relate to intra-group and intergenerational differences in patterns of ethnic identity retention. First, the cultural components, such as language use, consumption of ethnic food, and observance of customs, are described. Then, the structural components, such as symbolic ethnic identity, religiosity, endogamy, institutional completeness, schooling, and attitudes towards parochial education, are considered. Throughout the chapter, attitudes towards issues that promote cohesiveness among group members are analyzed.

Because we do not have a random sample, we are not able to use inferential statistics and we

¹These include the following: country of birth, age, gender, marital status, length of stay in Canada, living arrangements, health, education, family income, and occupation.

cannot generalize from the sample to the general population. We use the Odds Ratio and the Yules Q (or gamma) to show the strength of the relationships (Appendix M). The Odds Ratio is a ratio of the probability of an event occurring or not occurring. It is calculated by using cell frequencies in 2x2 tables (AD/BC). Yules Q is a measure of association for 2x2 tables, and ranges from -1 to +1. It can be calculated from the Odds Ratio (Yules Q = Odds Ratio-1/Odds Ratio+1). Since Yules Q is a special case of gamma used in 2x2 tables (Walsh, 1990:191, 196), we report the value of gamma in order to show the strength of relationships between variables. After all the variables had been recoded to fit the 2x2 format, they were analyzed by religion and by generation.

6.2 Immigration

We will begin by describing the immigration patterns of the elderly Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists in our survey (van Dijk, 1990;67-70). The average age at the time of arrival in Canada was similar for members of both groups. It was 32.4 years for the Catholics and 33.8 years for the Calvinists. The majority of the Dutch immigrants in our sample came to Canada in the early 1950's. About two-thirds of the Catholic and one-half of the Calvinist respondents arrived between 1951 and 1955. The elderly Calvinists came slightly earlier than the Catholics.² Two-fifths of the Calvinists and almost one-fifth of the Catholics came between the years 1945 and 1950. As has been described in Chapter Two, Catholic emigration to Canada peaked slightly later than Calvinist emigration. Almost one-half of the Catholics came from Noord Brabant, a predominantly Catholic region of Holland, while one-third of the Calvinists came from Zuid Holland. Another one-quarter of the Calvinists came from Friesland, a region with a large number of orthodox Calvinists (Appendix C).

✎ The reasons given for emigrating were similar for both groups. Over one-third came because they saw Canada as a land that promised a better future for their children. Just under one-third

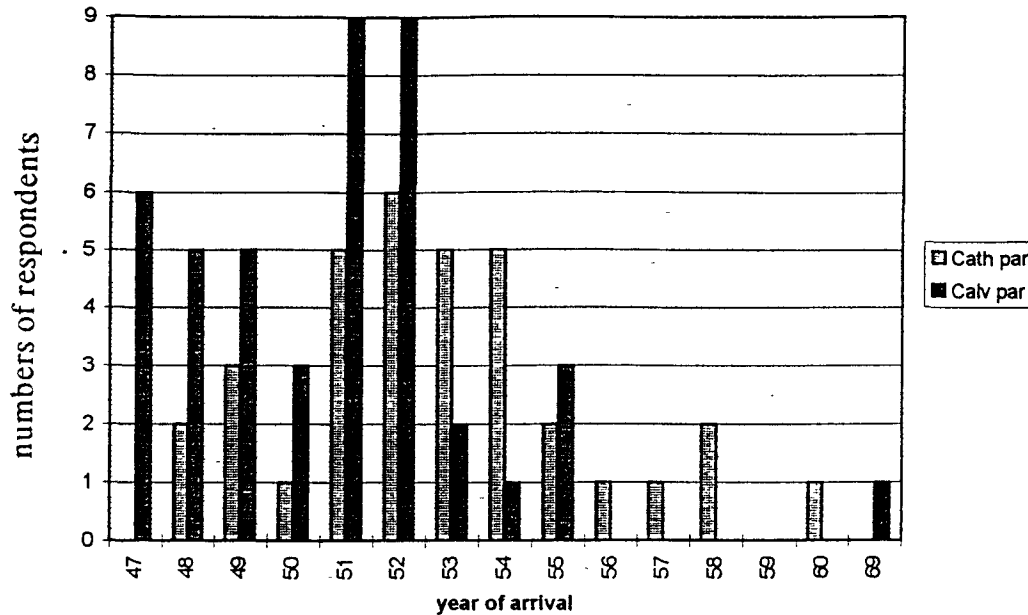
²For the Calvinists, the median date of entry to Canada was 1951. For the Catholics, the median date of entry to Canada was 1952 (van Dijk, 1990:68).

Table 6.1: Summary of Immigration Statistics (in %)

Variables	Total n=99	Catholic n=49	Calvinist n=50
Year of Arrival (Q1)			
mean	1952	1953	1951
SD	3.43	2.82	3.85
Age at Time of Emigration (Q51)			
mean	33.09	32.41	33.76
SD	9.10	10.90	6.94
Province of Residence in Holland (Q3)			
Friesland	14.3	2.1	26.0
Noord Brabant	22.4	45.8	0.0
Noord Holland	12.2	16.7	8.0
Zuid Holland	23.5	14.6	32.0
Overijssel	6.1	2.1	10.0
Citizenship (Q2)			
Canadian	89.9	91.8	88.0
Dutch	9.1	8.2	10.0
Friends/Relatives in Canada (Q4)			
yes	62.6	61.2	64.0
Sponsor (Q5)			
yes	65.3	60.4	70.0
Sponsor was a Relative	28.3	38.5	20.6
Reasons for Emigrating (Q6)			
future of children	37.4	38.8	36.0
desire for own business	29.3	28.6	30.0
economic problems	8.1	8.2	8.0

Table 4-1 reproduced from van Dijk, 1990:68.

Figure 6.1. Year of Arrival of Respondents



came because they hoped to establish their own businesses. Among both Catholics and Calvinists, about one-tenth said that they came to escape the serious economic problems they had experienced during and after the war. Religion was not mentioned as a factor in the people's decisions to emigrate. Most of the respondents had become Canadian citizens by 1990. Some of the older children in large families had remained in Holland when their parents emigrated. A very small number had moved back to Holland.³ For example, a Calvinist mother writes as follows about her daughter: "She is already twenty years in Holland. (She) was born here (in Canada), but went for a trip and found a mate" (24200). Practicality may be another reason for continuing to hold Dutch citizenship. One of the Calvinist children explains the situation. "We have had our Dutch nationality re-instated, as have our children. We think that some day it might come in handy. Our grandchildren... will also be able to obtain dual citizenship" (23903).⁴ With the European Union, a Canadian with

³ It is estimated that about 1% of the total number of Dutch immigrants to Canada moved back to The Netherlands (Oosterman, et al., 1975:98, Sas, 1957:148).

⁴ Immigrants with Dutch citizenship have claims to old age pensions from the governments of both The Netherlands

Dutch citizenship will have the right to work anywhere in the European Union, for example, in Germany, Italy, France, and Britain. A small number of respondents hold the citizenship of other countries. Most of these tend to hold American citizenship. Calvinist children tend to be more mobile. This is partly due to the fact that Calvinist children are quite likely to attend one of three Reformed denominational colleges in the U.S.A.⁵ Consequently, they sometimes marry Americans. One Catholic respondent had married an Australian, and one had married a New Zealander.

6.3 Demographic Patterns

Our two groups consist of members of 90 families. There are 79 elderly immigrant parents and 364 children of immigrants (Table 6.2). When subdivided further, this group consists of 35 Catholic and 44 Calvinist parents, and 169 Catholic and 195 Calvinist children. Most of the parents had been born in Holland. A few had been born in Germany or Belgium. Nearly one-half of the Catholic children and about two-thirds of the Calvinist children had been born in Holland.

6.3.1 Age

Age has a significant influence on income, education, health, marital status, and social support (Marshall, et al., 1995:10). Elderly individuals in this survey ranged in age from 65 to 94 years, while their children ranged in age from 28 to 71 years. Differentiating respondents by age is very important because there are, of course, large differences between 65 and 94 year-old parents and between 27 and 71 year-old children. For the purposes of our analysis, age groups are usually divided into ten year periods.

In 1995, the elderly respondents were mostly in their mid- to late seventies. The mean age of Calvinist parents is slightly higher than that of Catholic parents (77.0 years and 74.4 years). As

and Canada.

⁵These three colleges are Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan (4,400 students); Trinity Christian College in Chicago, Illinois (700-800 students); and Dordt College in Sioux Center, Iowa (1,200 students).

Table 6.2: Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists - Demographic Characteristics

Demographic Characteristics	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Age (Q4)				
mean	74.40	77.02	45.16	46.67
SD	7.61	5.72	10.41	8.49
25-34			14.3	7.2
35-44			41.1	35.9
45-54			20.8	36.9
55-64			19.6	17.4
65-74	60.0	35.7	4.2	2.6
75-84	31.4	52.4		
85+	8.6	11.9		
Gender (Q3)				
female	68.6	65.9	52.7	52.3
male	31.4	34.1	47.3	47.7
Marital Status (Q8)				
married	57.1	65.9	82.2	91.3
widowed	40.0	31.8	1.8	2.6
div/sep/single	2.9	2.3	16.0	6.1
Living Arrangements(Q44 [Q41])				
living alone	35.3	34.1		
with spouse	50.0	65.9		
with one other person	5.9	0.0		
other	8.8			
Self-Perceived Health (Q57 [Q52])				
excellent	29.4	22.7	54.5	52.1
good	52.9	52.3	39.4	42.8
fair	17.6	20.5	4.8	4.1
other		4.6	1.2	1.0
Education (Q58 [Q53])				
0-8 years	57.6	65.9	14.5	12.4
high school	6.1	27.3	30.1	34.7
cert or dipl	24.2	2.3	34.3	30.1
university	12.1	4.5	21.1	22.8
Family Income (Q61 [Q56])				
mean in \$	24,000	22,500	58,682	55,263
SD	10,058	11,023	27,680	22,914
Low (\$10-30,000)	85.7	84.1	24.0	21.6
Med (\$40-60,000)	14.3	15.9	35.7	49.7
High(\$70-100,000)			40.3	28.7

a result, the children of the Calvinists tend to be slightly older than the children of Catholics (mean age 46.7 years and mean age 45.2 years).⁶ It is clear that our elderly respondents are fairly old, and that they are not representative of the general Canadian population aged 65 and over.⁷ Similar numbers of Catholic and Calvinist respondents are over the age of 85.⁸

6.3.2 Gender

Men and women experience the transition to a new country in different ways. In our sample, women outnumber men in the older age groups. The older group surveyed in 1990 was made up of 33 males and 67 females. However, our sample included more very old people, who tend to be women. In addition, more females responded (53 females as opposed to only 26 males). In a few cases, wives filled in questionnaires addressed to their husbands, giving their own responses. Our 1995 sample included 26 elderly men and 53 elderly women. In the 1995 survey of the second generation, men and women are equally represented (47% men and 53% women).⁹

6.3.3 Marital Status

Marital status is strongly associated with health, income, gender, and social support.¹⁰ Fifty-seven percent of the older Catholics in our sample are married.¹¹ Among Calvinist parents, 66 percent are married. Forty percent of the elderly Catholics and 32 percent of the elderly Calvinists are widowed.

Slightly more Calvinist children than Catholic children report that they are married. How-

⁶The mean age of the elderly males in our sample is 75.4 years. The mean age of the elderly females it is 76.4 years.

⁷In 1986, 33.8% of the Canadian population aged 65 and over, were in the 65 to 69 age group, 27.4% were in the 70 to 74 age group, and 38.8% were aged 75 and over.

⁸In 1986, 10.7% of the Canadian population were aged 65 and over, and 2.1% of the population were aged 80 and over (Statistics Canada, 1990:14). In 1991, 12 % of the Canadian population were aged 65 and over (NACA, 1993, Aging Vignette#1:1).

⁹In 1990, 51% of people aged 45 to 64 were women (Statistics Canada, 1991:13).

¹⁰Individuals who are married tend to report being in better health than those who are divorced or widowed (Verbrugge, 1989:282-304). Married women aged 65 and over are likely to have higher family incomes than widows. In addition, a person who lives with a spouse has an important source of informal support.

¹¹Among Canadians aged 65 and over, 74 % of men and 40 % of women are married (NACA, 1993, Aging Vignette #1:1). In our sample, we find the same pattern. In the first generation, men are more likely than women to be married (OR 3.750, YQ .579).

ever, if the number of Catholic children who reported living in common-law relationships are added, the differences become negligible.¹² In our sample, the number of Catholic men who had entered the priesthood is very small. And only one Catholic woman reported that she had joined a religious order.

As one would expect, there are generational differences in the numbers of divorced or separated respondents. Members of the second generation, are more likely to be divorced (OR 5.856, YQ .708). And Catholics are more likely than Calvinists to be divorced (OR 4.405, YQ .630).¹³ The number of never married people among the older immigrant group was very small. The number of divorces appear to be rather low. The reasons for the low divorce rate may be the strong Biblical injunction against divorce taught in both the Catholic and Calvinist churches. However, the method of sample selection could be influencing our findings. The names of younger respondents were provided by parents, and some parents may have been reluctant to give the names of those of their children who were divorced or who were having marital problems.¹⁴ Among the parents in our 1995 sample, 19 percent of the men and 43 percent of the women were widowed.¹⁵

6.3.4 Living Arrangements

The differences in living arrangements reflect the differences in marital patterns reported in the previous section. As women age, they are more likely to live alone. In our 1995 survey, about one-half of the women and one-quarter of the men in the first generation lived alone.¹⁶ Seventy-three percent of the men and 52 percent of the women aged 65 and over were living with spouses.

¹² Calvinists are more likely than Catholics to be married (OR 1.883, YQ .306).

¹³ In the first generation, one of the Calvinist respondents was divorced. In the second generation, 8.9% of Catholic respondents and 5.1% of Calvinist respondents were divorced. In the general population, 6% of the older men, and 5% of the older women are separated or divorced (NACA, 1993, Aging Vignette #1:1).

¹⁴ One-fifth of all children in the second generation were acknowledged by parents, but their names and addresses were not provided for the survey.

¹⁵ Among Canadians aged 65 and over 13% of men and 47% of women are widowed (NACA, 1993, Aging Vignette #1:1).

¹⁶ Among Canadians aged 65 and over, 34% of the women and 14% of the men lived alone in 1991. This rises to 40% for women aged 75 and over (NACA, 1993, Vignette #12:1). In 1991, in the general population, almost twice as many men as women, aged 65 and over, lived with their spouses (78% and 42%) . Among those aged 80 and over, these percentages decreased to 68% for men, and 18% for women (NACA, 1994:1).

There are no pronounced differences between the numbers of Catholic and the numbers of Calvinist elderly respondents living alone (OR 0.948, YQ -.027). Several respondents reported that they had remarried. It would be interesting to find out whether second marriages are more common among Calvinist widows and widowers. One would expect this, given the strength of the Calvinist peer group. Relatively few of the respondents live in multi-generational families. In a few cases, parents live with children who are mentally or physically handicapped. Curiously, not one of the elderly Calvinists in our sample reported having children living at home in 1995. The 35 older Catholics in our sample are, on average, three years younger, and, because they have large families, their youngest children may not be married yet. Another contributory factor may be the Calvinist pattern of providing institutions for handicapped children and for children who cannot live on their own without supervision.¹⁷ Fewer than one in ten Dutch Canadians live in multi-generational households. Gerber (1983:66) found that only 8 percent of older Dutch Canadians, aged 65 and over, were living in households containing three or more people.¹⁸ Unfortunately, we did not collect equivalent information about the current living arrangements of the younger generation. They reported on the living arrangements of their parent(s) and parent(s)-in-law, but they were not asked to describe their own households. It is clear that both the older and the younger generations believe in "intimacy at a distance". When respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the question, "It usually works out quite well for a widowed parent to live with one of his/her children" (Part 5, Q24), only one-tenth of the elderly parents, and less than one-tenth of the children agreed. However, a substantial number were uncertain. For many, it was a hypothetical question. Their parents had not yet become widowed. There were no major differences between Catholics and Calvinists (OR 0.787, YQ - .119) or between members of the first and the second

¹⁷Examples of such homes operated by the Calvinist community in the Hamilton area are "Homestead" and "Christian Horizons". "Homestead" provides residential and support services for adults between 18 and 36 years of age with emotional and psychiatric difficulties. To do this, it operates a boarding home for seven ex-psychiatric patients. "Christian Horizons" operates seventy group homes in Ontario for people suffering from mental and physical handicaps. Seven of these homes are in the Hamilton area. Each group home houses, on average, five residents.

¹⁸In Canada, in 1991, 20% of those aged 65 and over, and 15% of those aged 80 and over lived in multi-generational households (NACA, 1994:1).

generations (OR 0.787, YQ -.119).

6.3.5 Health

Respondents were asked to assess their own health.¹⁹ Aside from the fact that it was easier to ask the single question, the subjective measure was chosen because research findings show that those who report higher measures of subjective health also have lower mortality rates and higher levels of morale and life satisfaction (Chipperfield, 1993:440; Marshall, et al., 1995:18). The single question asked about health was the following: "How would you rate your overall health at the present time?" The categories provided for responses were as follows: "excellent", "good", "fair", "poor", and "other" (Q57).

In 1995, the parents were fairly old. Yet, for a variety of reasons, they say they are relatively healthy. Perhaps this is not surprising given that a number of the older Catholics are well enough to belong to a Heritage Society. Therefore, they are the "joiners". A number of others lived in Dutch seniors' housing. The Calvinists are all church members. Because of the ways in which the samples were selected, and because of their way of life, the older Dutch Canadians in this sample are relatively healthy. The less healthy older Dutch Canadians were probably missed because they did not respond to the original 1990 survey. It is also possible that Dutch Canadians are culturally predisposed to regard themselves as being in excellent health. Middle-aged children are much more likely than their elderly parents to be in excellent health (54.5% and 52.1% of the children and only 29.4% and 22.7% of the parents, OR 5.230, YQ .679). However, overall the health status of the older Dutch Canadians in our sample is very good.²⁰

¹⁹ The way respondents feel about their health, even more than their actual health status, affects other variables. For example, in 1991, approximately 80% of Canadians aged 65 and over had one or more chronic health conditions. However, only 20% reported that they were limited in what they could do (NACA, 1993, Vignette #6:1). Physical, emotional, and social well-being may influence the amounts or types of care given to elderly parents by caregivers. For the purposes of this research, health is deemed to be a positive state of physical, emotional, and social well-being (Marshall, et al, 1995:5).

²⁰ However, we do not have a group that is representative of Dutch Canadians aged 65 and over. One study shows that 64% of Canadian elderly rate their health as good, very good, or excellent (NACA, 1993, Vignette, #6:1). In a recent Canadian study (Marshall, et al., 1995:23, 24), 45% of respondents aged between 65 to 74 report their health status as good, 21%, as excellent, and 34%, as fair or poor. With increasing age, both men and women are more likely

6.3.6 Education

Given their different status in Holland, one would have expected to find differences between the older Calvinists and the older Catholics in levels of education. However, by the second generation, these differences had largely disappeared. First-generation Catholics were much more likely to have secondary and post-secondary education.²¹ It is important to remember that greater numbers of Calvinist immigrants were poor farm labourers in Holland with very low levels of education, while Catholic immigrants were more likely to be farm owners (van Dijk, 1990:75). In Holland, working for wages was seen by some people as socially degrading. Therefore, there was an emphasis on establishing farms and small businesses (Graumans, 1973:28). Orthodox Calvinists tended to come from rural areas in Holland and to be small farmers and labourers.²² The first-generation immigrants received most of their education in Holland (van Dijk, 1990:74). They were asked to give the category which best described their highest educational attainments in terms of the Canadian system. First-generation Dutch immigrants tend to have lower levels of education than their Canadian counterparts²³ Fifty-eight percent of the Catholic parents and 66 percent of the Calvinist parents reported that they had less than nine years of schooling; 6.1 percent and 27.3 percent respectively had some high school or had completed high school; 24.2 percent and 2.3 percent had completed certificate or diploma programs at vocational and technical colleges, and 12.1 percent and 4.5 percent had some university education or had graduated from university.

Despite the educational advantage of Catholic parents, the educational attainments of the Catholic and Calvinist children are now very similar (OR 1.143, YQ .067). Also, the younger group

to describe their health as fair or poor. In the aforementioned study, by Marshall and colleagues, 16% of respondents aged 75 and over said that their health was excellent, 44% said that it was good, and 40% said that it was fair or poor. Older men were more likely to say that they were in good health than older women.

²¹The proportions having lower levels of education were greater among Calvinist parents than among Catholic parents (OR 8.105, YQ .780). Respondents were divided into the following two categories, those who had secondary education and those who had post-secondary education.

²²Hofstede (1964:132, 182) points out that the Calvinist community in Holland contains especially large numbers of farmers. Catholics in Holland were less likely to work in agriculture. Canada's immigration policies encouraged the entry of agricultural workers, especially farmer's sons who did not have a chance to own a farm in Holland.

²³In comparison, 27.2% of Canadians aged 65 and over have less than 9 years of education, 11% have completed high school, 12.2% have completed certificate or diploma programs, and 7.5% have graduated from university (Statistics Canada, 1991:24).

has more education than the parents.²⁴ In both generations, females were more likely than males to have lower levels of education²⁵

Calvinists place a great deal of emphasis on higher education. This is so because they tend to believe in the “cultural mandate” which stresses that they are to bring the world under their control, and to be good stewards of the resources that God gave them. They interpret this to mean they are to get to know all aspects of God’s creation so that they can manage it better. However, this does not mean that jobs that require higher education are more respected than jobs that require, for example, technical education. All jobs are seen as being equally honourable. All tasks are equally important, and all occupations are considered to be “callings”. In summary, it appears that Calvinist children have closed the gap in levels of education that was so apparent in the first generation.

6.3.7 Family Income

In this survey, the older Catholics and Calvinists have approximately similar incomes.²⁶ The mean income for older Catholics is \$24,000, and for older Calvinists it is \$22,500.²⁷ There is a marked difference between the family incomes of the older and younger generations. The parents are much more likely than the children to have family incomes under \$40,000 (OR 31.473, YQ .938).²⁸ Very

²⁴As one would expect, parents were far more likely than children not to have continued their education past high school (OR 4.860, YQ .659).

²⁵In 1991, relatively few people in the general population had just elementary school educations (3.6% of men and 3.8% of women). An equal number of men and women had completed high school (35% of men and 32.6% of women). Fewer men and women obtained certificates or diplomas. The proportions of men and women are similar (22.6% and 22.0%) (Statistics Canada, 1991:24).

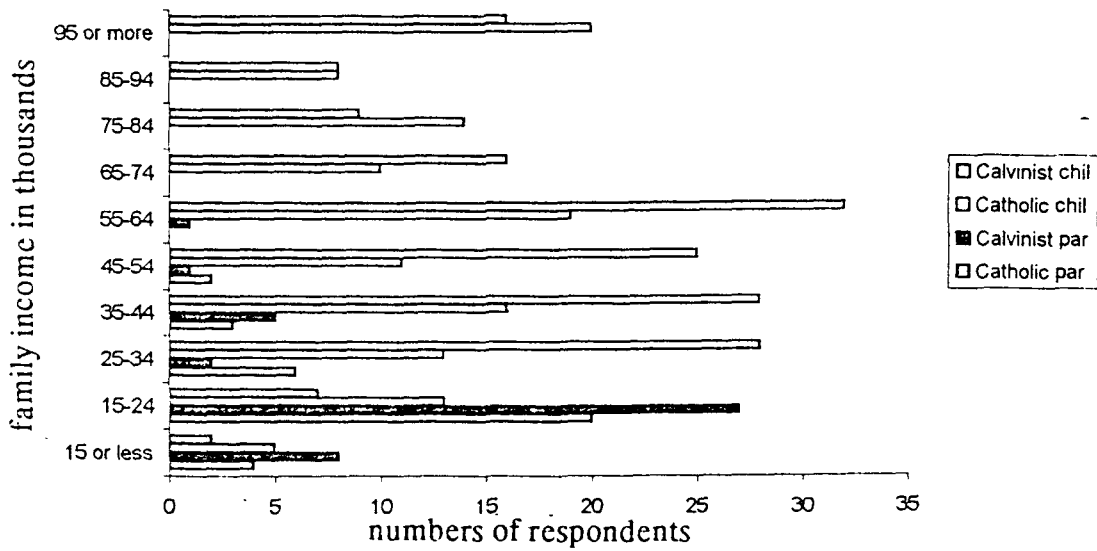
²⁶Income is another major determinant of health, independent living, and social support (Marshall, et al., 1995:32). Income is also influenced by gender, age, and ethnicity. Lower income and lower educational achievements tend to be associated with lower ratings of self-assessed health and higher mortality rates (Hirde and Forbes, 1992, 1993; Hirde, et al., 1986; cited in Marshall, et al., 1995:33). Individuals with higher incomes tend to have more control over their lives, and are, of course, able to purchase more goods and services. Income in old age depends on a great variety of factors, including previous occupational status, pension provisions, employment opportunities, and individual savings. Elderly women tend to have lower incomes because, in the past, they were expected to stay home to raise children. In addition, they were discriminated against in the work force. Many were also prevented from participating in pension programs because of their intermittent participation in the labour force. A third problem is that few employers ensured that widows would receive 60% of their husbands’ pensions, indexed, no matter how long they lived. These problems are especially severe, constituting a kind of triple jeopardy for elderly ethnic widowed women.

²⁷The differences between those who make less than \$40,000 or more than \$40,000 are not pronounced (OR 1.098, YQ .047).

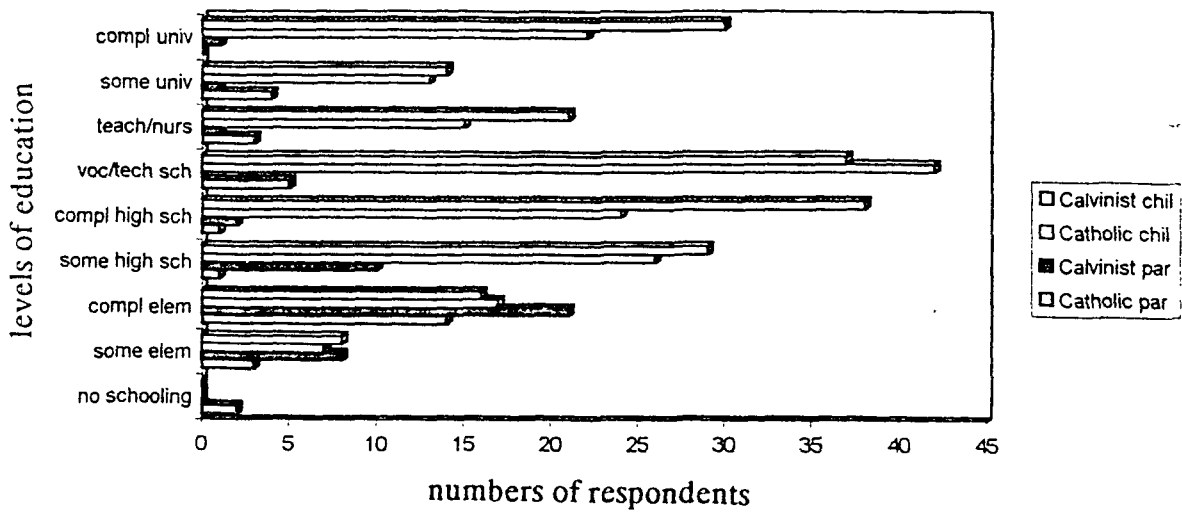
²⁸Statistics Canada (1990:28) reported that, in 1988, 30% of families with heads aged 65 and over had incomes between \$15,000 and \$24,999. Thirty-eight percent of households headed by Canadians aged 65 and over had incomes

Figure 6.2 and 6.3 Family Income Levels and Educational Levels of Respondents

Family Income Levels Among Respondents



Educational Levels of Respondents



few children have family incomes of less than \$15,000. These individuals tend to be single parents or unmarried women. Not one of the households of the parent generation reported an income over \$70,000. Differences between Catholics and Calvinists in first or second generations were also not marked.²⁹ Because many of the elderly Dutch-Canadian women we surveyed were never in the paid workforce, a substantial proportion of women received Guaranteed Income Supplements (41.8%, as compared with 21.1% of the men). A considerable number of these elderly women are completely dependent on state programs.³⁰

6.3.8 Occupations

Income is, of course, closely associated with occupational status and labour force status. Respondents were asked about current or former occupations. While only 3 percent of the elderly parents currently worked outside the home, about three-quarters of the children did so. Among the children, 62 percent of women and 85.3 percent of men worked outside the home. More Catholic children than Calvinist children worked full-time (85.8% and 73.6%), and the remainder worked part-time (14.2% and 26.4%). Among children, 60 percent of the women and 95 percent of men worked full-time.

below \$15,000. Twelve percent had incomes of \$45,000 or more, as compared with 37.3% among those aged 55 to 64. In 1985, the average total family income among men aged 65 to 69 years was \$20,485, while the total family income among women in the same age group was \$10,917. Among those aged 70 and over, the average total household income was \$15,658 for men, and \$11,147 for women (Statistics Canada, 1990:26).

²⁹ People are often reluctant to respond to questions on income. In our study, 14 percent of the respondents did not respond. Sixty-four respondents, out of a possible 443, did not answer this question. This means 14.4% of the respondents did not answer the questions on income. In Marshall's study (1995:131), only 65% of the respondents answered the questions on income. Several respondents indicated that their financial matters were private matters. We can, therefore, assume that some of the incomes, particularly the higher ones, are underreported.

The 1995 survey did not ask about the sources of the respondents' incomes. However, the 1990 survey showed that most of the retirement income of Dutch Canadians was from government sources. This is in keeping with the general pattern among the Canadian population. Most older men and women receive income from government programs, while the younger men and women receive most of their income from work (Marshall, et al., 1995:60). As men age, their incomes decrease at a much faster rate than the incomes of women. Women's incomes may, in fact, increase when they become eligible to receive Old Age Security (OAS) and Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS). This phenomenon is also common in low-income immigrant families. Earlier in life, these families were always struggling to meet their basic needs. When these people retire and receive Old Age Security, they feel rich. For the first time, many have steady incomes.

³⁰ For the same reason, fewer women received income from the Canada Pension Plan (69.1%, as compared to 89.5% of men). Only a small number of females qualified for Employer Pensions (10.9%, as compared to 36.8% among the males) (van Dijk, 1990:72). In 1990, 39% of Canadian women and 33% of Canadian men aged 65 and over received some Guaranteed Income Supplement (NACA, Aging Vignette #4:1, 1993). This is because many older women have had very low incomes throughout their working lives. In our sample, females were more likely than males to live in households with incomes of under \$40,000 (OR 1.925, YQ .316).

Table 6.3: Occupations

Occupational and Labour Force Status	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Main Occupation (Q59e [Q54e])				
	n=12	n=17	n=134	n=166
professional	8.3	11.8	15.8	24.1
management	8.3		7.2	6.6
skilled	25.0	35.3	50.4	41.0
unskilled	58.3	52.9	26.6	28.3
Spouse's Main Occupation (Q60e [Q55e])				
	n=7	n=10	n=116	n=139
professional	14.3	10.0	15.5	18.0
management			6.9	5.0
skilled	57.1	40.0	52.6	50.4
unskilled	28.6	50.0	25.0	26.6
Children Only				
	Female		Male	
(Q59e)	n=144		n=161	
professional	27.8		13.7	
management	2.1		11.2	
skilled	38.2		51.6	
unskilled	31.9		23.6	
	Female		Male	
(Q60e)	n=154		n=101	
professional	11.7		24.8	
management	8.4		2.0	
skilled	57.8		41.6	
unskilled	22.1		31.7	
	Catholic Children		Calvinist Children	
Working Outside the Home (Q59a)	n=164		n=193	
yes	72.0		74.1	
no	28.0		25.9	
Full-time or Part-time (Q59b)				
	n=113		n=144	
full-time	85.8		73.6	
part-time	14.2		26.4	
Do You Consider Yourself to Be (Q59g)				
	n=42		n=45	
retired	28.6		11.1	
full-time homemaker	50.0		71.1	
other	21.4		17.8	

Table 6.3: (continued) Occupations

	female	male
Working Outside the Home (Q59a)	n=187	n=170
yes	62.0	85.3
no	38.0	14.7
Full-time or Part-time (Q59b)	n=116	n=141
full-time	59.5	95.0
part-time	40.5	5.0
Do You Consider Yourself to Be (Q59g)	n=72	n=15
retired	12.5	53.3
full-time homemaker	73.6	0.0
other	13.9	46.7

Most of the older parents in the two groups said that they were retired (89.7% of Catholic parents and 92.5% of Calvinist parents). Nearly one-third of the Catholic children (28.6%) and one-tenth of the Calvinist children (11.1%) were retired. This is surprising as we have seen that the Catholic children in our sample were younger than the Calvinist children.

One-half of the Catholic daughters (50.0%) and two-thirds of the Calvinist daughters (71.1%) were full-time homemakers. Nearly three-quarters (73.6%) of the seventy-two women who answered this question reported that they were full-time homemakers. Since only approximately one-third (35%) of the parents gave their earlier occupations, we will confine our comparisons of work patterns to the children and to any differences between sons and daughters.³¹ There were only slight differences between Calvinists and Catholics. Calvinist children were slightly more likely than Catholic children to work as professionals (24.1% and 15.8%). However, these differences were not pro-

³¹ Respondents' current or former occupations were coded using the 1981 socio-economic index for occupations in Canada (Blishen, et al., 1987:474-483). The four categories we used were based on the socio-economic classifications of occupations by Pineo, Porter, and McRoberts, (1977:100-101.) The sixteen categories they used were collapsed to four as follows: the professional category included self-employed professionals, employed professionals, upper-level management, and semi-professionals. The management category included technicians, those in middle management, supervisors, and foremen. Skilled occupations included skilled clerical, sales, and service work, skilled crafts and trades, and farming. The unskilled category included semi-skilled and unskilled workers, those in clerical, sales, and service work, semi-skilled and unskilled crafts and trades, unskilled labourers, and farm labourers.

nounced. Similar numbers in each group worked as managers (7.2% of Catholic children and 6.6% of Calvinist children), and as unskilled labourers (26.6% of Catholics and 28.3% of Calvinists). Catholic children were slightly more likely than Calvinist children to work in skilled jobs (50.4% and 41%). Interestingly, daughters were twice as likely as sons to work as professionals (27.8% and 13.7%). However, sons were more likely to work as managers (11.2% and 2.1%). As is to be expected, more sons than daughters work in skilled jobs (51.6% and 38.2%), and rather more daughters than sons work in unskilled jobs (31.9% and 23.6%). Very few of the first-generation immigrants said that they currently or formerly worked as farmers. Even though some of the Dutch came under a farm settlement program, many had moved to other work after a few years (Reitz, 1980:151) (Appendix N).³²

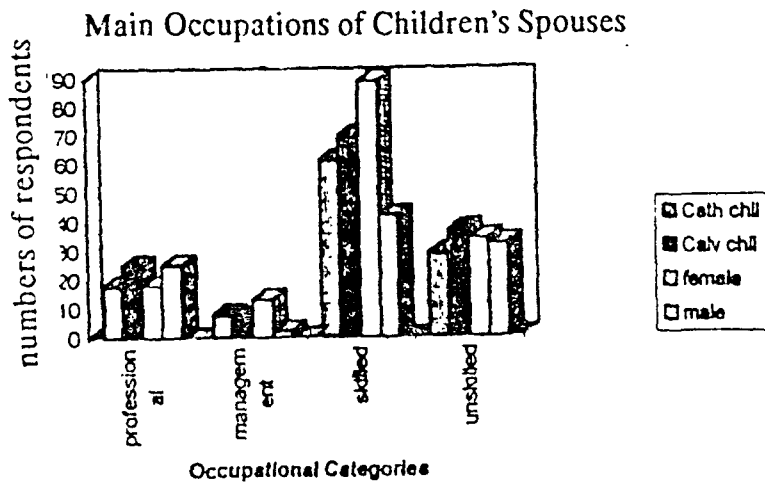
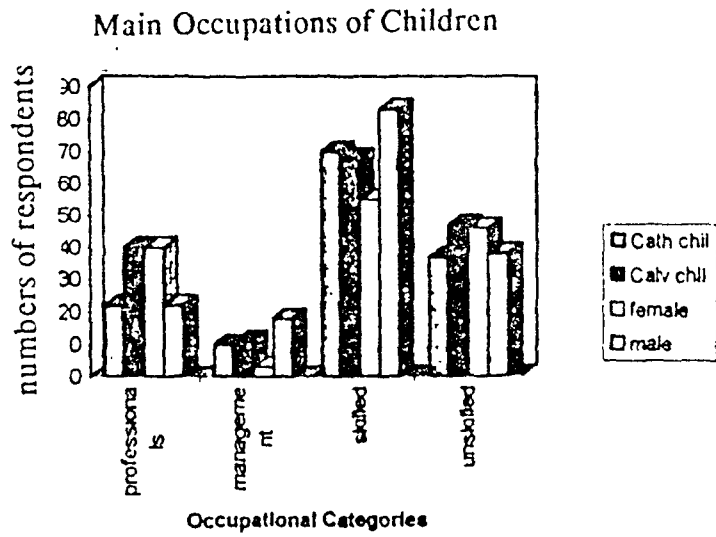
6.4 Ethnic Cohesion

Ethnicity and ethnic identity are complex concepts. People's very understandings of these concepts may vary depending on the experiences of the members of each particular group, and between the generations. Therefore, the nature of ethnic group cohesion is different in each group. In addition, its nature varies over time and between generations. Cohesion is difficult to measure, because every group has its own specific cultural or structural features. And, of course, cultural assimilation can take place without structural assimilation. However, Reitz found that, when a group maintains one feature, it usually maintains others as well (Reitz, 1980:119). For most groups, cultural aspects of ethnic identity begin to change as soon as the immigrants arrive in the new country and are exposed to new customs. The structural aspects tend to be more enduring.

While language retention used to be an important measure of group cohesion, it is now no

³²Twenty-five percent of the Catholic parents and 11.8% of the Calvinist parents said they worked as farmers. Among the children, 16.5% of Catholics and 6.0% of Calvinists said that they are farmers. Among the 364 children, 9% of women and 12.4% of men report they are farmers, 12.5% of women and 53.3% of men are retired, 73.6% of women are full-time homemakers, and 1.4% of women and 13.3% of men are unemployed. Not one man identified himself as a full-time homemaker.

Figure 6.4 and 6.5 Main Occupations of Children and of Children's Spouses



longer of great importance in many ethnic groups as a means of promoting ethnic-group cohesion (Herberg, 1989:301). However, as we describe later on in this chapter, institutional completeness, residential concentration, religious monopoly, and endogamy remain important. According to Herberg (1989:240), of all the factors affecting ethnic groups in Canada, institutional completeness is the most important in determining ethnic-group cohesion. Herberg concludes that:

Canada's ethnic communities have gone through a transition from survival based on the heritage tongue during the immigrant transplantation phase (as Isajiw called it) or the immigrant-urban enclave (as Driedger perceived it), to enter the post-immigrant, post-enclavic period in which ethnic-group survival is founded in the development and expansion of a very elaborated set of formal ethnic institutions, in short, communities based on institutional completeness (Herberg, 1989:302).

In the following sections, we consider the extent to which Herberg's observations apply to two Dutch groups in Ontario. We will begin by examining the cultural and the structural aspects of ethnic identity in the two groups.

6.4.1 Ethnic Identity Retention - Cultural Components

The process of cultural assimilation starts immediately upon arrival in the new country. Since culture relates to the collective experience of a group, it is difficult to tell whether a change in ethnic culture over time is caused by cultural assimilation or by the coming into being of a distinctive new group experience in North America. Likewise, cultural change may be affected by the experiences of subsequent generations. In addition, upward economic mobility may lead to cultural changes. These changes are often mistaken for cultural assimilation (Reitz, 1980:108). Then again, what appear to be cultural differences between groups, or cultural changes over time in a specific ethnic group, may, in fact, be related to the various stages in the lifecycle of the groups.³³ Cohesiveness in groups can be maintained without the survival of ethnic culture.

³³A group may contain large numbers of recent immigrants or it may be well established. Cultural changes may be caused by different historical experiences, different economic positions, and different cultural characteristics of the group. Reitz observed differences between the groups in his study. He found that members of the third generation had a definite tendency to renew their interest in ethnic identity. This often took the form of an interest in ethnic culture. However, he did not find that people revived personal relationships with other members of the group (Reitz, 1980:132).

The next section deals with responses to questions that were designed to gather information about the extent to which Dutch Canadians have integrated into Canadian society and now follow Canadian cultural patterns. We consider patterns of use of both the English and the Dutch languages (Q15), and respondents' levels of proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing the two languages (Q16, Q17). We also consider patterns of consumption of ethnic foods (Q12), celebration of ethnic holidays (Q13), and the extent to which respondents maintained Dutch customs (Q14). Questions about dress were omitted, because Dutch and Canadian styles of dress are fairly similar. The analysis will examine intra-ethnic and intergenerational differences in cultural patterns.

6.4.2 Language Use

O'Bryan and his colleagues (1975:46) identified five indicators of language retention. These were as follows: knowledge of the language, frequency of its use in speaking to others, frequency of reading ethnic newspapers, listening to ethnic radio programs, and the importance placed on children retaining the language. All of these indicators were used in our study. Until recently, language retention was widely considered to be a major indicator of ethnic group cohesion. However, as we have already explained, some Canadian researchers now believe that, institutional completeness has become more significant than language retention (Herberg, 1989:302). It is evident that ethnic language retention is not very important for Dutch Canadians. They learn English very quickly. In fact, Northern European groups tend to have the lowest language retention rates in Canada (Driedger, 1989:80) and the Dutch are more like the Germans than the Italians (Isajiw, 1990:54).

Other Canadian research has shown that language retention is strongly related to high levels of ethnic identification and frequent social interaction within a group. It is also strongly related to endogamy and to ethnic church affiliation. However, it is only weakly related to residential segregation (Reitz, 1980:117). Reitz found that knowledge of the mother tongue is most common among members of the immigrant generation (78.9%). It is rarely forgotten by those who came as adults (Ibid., p. 137). However, only about one-half of those immigrants who came as children know

their mother tongue well. It is most quickly lost by members of the second generation (16.2%). But members of the second generation often need to have some knowledge of their mother tongue in order to communicate with older members of their group. Very few members of the third generation know the language of their grandparents (Reitz, 1989:131).³⁴

In The Netherlands, schoolchildren learn English at an early age in school, and many people are bilingual. The low levels of language retention among the Dutch Canadians are also reflected in the attitudes of immigrants towards the Dutch language. One study of Dutch immigrants showed that only one-quarter thought that keeping the mother tongue was desirable (O'Bryan, et al., 1975, 93).³⁵

We found that relatively few parents speak Dutch to their children. However, in addition to the 12 percent of parents who generally speak Dutch to their children, an additional 18 percent of Catholic parents speak both Dutch and English to their children. Given this fact, it is not surprising to find that twice as many Catholic children say they speak Dutch to their parents (32.9%) as Catholic parents say they speak Dutch to their children (12.1%). The majority of children speak nothing but English to their parents. Only a few children speak both Dutch (or a Dutch dialect, such as Frisian) and English.

As is to be expected, one-half of the members of the older generation are likely to speak Dutch to their spouses. Very few children speak Dutch to their spouses. Those who do are likely to be the older children, who were themselves born in Holland. Many parents speak Dutch to their siblings (54%).³⁶ This is to be expected, because nearly three-quarters of the parents have all of their siblings in Holland (van Dijk, 1990:88). However, many Dutch citizens are familiar with the

³⁴One Canadian study of Dutch immigrants in the 1970's showed that, surprisingly, one-fifth of these Dutch people had no knowledge whatsoever of Dutch. This may be because some immigrants came to Canada by way of a third country, for example, the U.S.A. Some immigrants came as very young children. Some may have been illiterate. It is also possible that conditions in the country of origin were responsible (O'Bryan, et al., 1975).

³⁵Low levels of language retention do not necessarily mean that support for language retention is weakening. Reitz (1980:94) found opposition to language retention to be minimal. Reitz and Breton (1994) found similar sharp declines in ethnic language retention when comparing studies carried out in Canada and the U.S.A.

³⁶Parents are much more likely than children to speak Dutch when talking with their siblings (OR 38.431, YQ .949).

Table 6.4: Cultural Components of Ethnic Identity Retention

Cultural Components	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Language Use (Q15)				
Child to Parent-Dutch				
Parent to Child-Dutch	12.1	23.3	32.9	23.3
Child to Parent-English				
Parent to Child-English	69.7	69.8	59.1	71.4
Child to Parent-Dutch/English				
Parent to Child-Dutch/English	18.2	7.0	7.9	5.3
Spouse-Dutch	47.6	48.5	3.8	1.6
Spouse-English	33.3	36.4	90.0	96.2
Spouse-Dutch/English	19.0	15.2	6.3	2.2
Sibling-Dutch	53.8	54.3	3.0	
Sibling-English	30.8	37.1	92.2	97.9
Sibling-Dutch/English	15.4	8.6	4.8	2.1
Children-Dutch	6.9	5.0	2.6	.5
Children-English	89.7	92.5	94.2	99.5
Children-Dutch/English	3.4	2.5	3.2	
Friends-Dutch	22.6	29.7	1.8	1.0
Friends-English	38.7	43.2	93.3	98.4
Friends-Dutch/English	38.7	27.0	4.9	0.5
Church Service-English	96.6	90.7	98.1	99.5
Church Service-Dutch/English	3.4	9.3	1.9	0.5
Language Use (Q16)				
speak English well	94.1	88.1	99.4	100.0
speak English not very well	5.8	11.9	0.6	
read English well	97.0	95.1	99.4	100.0
read English not very well	2.9	4.9	0.6	
write English well	81.8	78.0	96.9	97.4
write English not very well	18.2	21.9	3.0	2.6
speak Dutch well	100.0	100.0	59.3	61.3
speak Dutch not very well			40.7	38.7
read Dutch well	100.0	100.0	33.8	40.7
read Dutch not very well			66.3	59.3
write Dutch well	100.0	100.0	24.1	24.2
write Dutch not very well			75.9	75.8

Table 6.4: (continued) Cultural Components of Ethnic Identity Retention

Cultural Components	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Children Learn or Continue to Use Dutch (Q4, Pt.5)	A 61.5 D 30.7 U 7.7	45.7 42.8 11.4	59.1 25.9 14.9	64.6 22.7 12.7
Frequency with Which Ethnic (Q18) Newspapers are Read				
2-7 times a week	34.4	56.1	4.8	35.2
2-12 times a year	59.4	39.0	28.3	31.1
yearly or less	6.3	4.8	66.9	33.6
Ethnic Food (Q12)				
high	43.8	37.2	18.7	27.9
med	46.9	51.2	56.6	60.1
low	9.4	11.7	24.6	11.9
Seniors Live Where Dutch Food Is Served (Q18, Pt.5)				
A	35.7	77.5	44.0	70.1
D	28.6	15.0	23.6	8.1
U	35.7	7.5	32.2	21.9
Ethnic Holidays (Q13)				
most or some	21.9	7.7	6.0	5.2
very few or none	78.1	92.3	94.0	94.8
Active Participation in Dutch Customs (Q14)				
none	14.3	4.5	25.4	7.2
1-2	34.3	6.8	54.4	25.6
3-5	45.7	84.1	19.5	63.1
6-8	5.7	4.5	.6	4.1

English language because it is taught at all levels in the schools. A few members of the second generation speak Dutch with their siblings. Those people have siblings living in Holland. Almost all of the parents and grandparents speak English to members of the third generation. However, many parents have friends within their own immigrant group who are more comfortable using the Dutch language. Elderly parents use either Dutch, or a mixture of Dutch and English, when conversing with their friends. Two-fifths of them use English only. Nearly all of the respondents report using the English language for church services. A few of the parents indicate that both Dutch and English are used. Some Calvinist churches provide services in the Dutch language at least once a month. For example, churches in Hamilton and in Strathroy do so. Services in the Dutch language are also conducted on a regular basis in most Calvinist retirement and nursing homes.

Although children are more likely than parents to say that they speak, read, and write English very well, a surprisingly large number of elderly parents say that they speak and read English very or fairly well. One older man writes that he speaks English very well, but with an Oost Brabant accent. Many immigrants started taking English lessons while still in Holland. They do not feel a need to speak Dutch in order to retain their ethnic identity. Parents have not insisted that their children use the Dutch language, and only a few members of the second generation have taught their children the Dutch language. Both children and parents think that it is important for their children to learn or to continue to use Dutch. The Catholic respondents are slightly better at speaking and writing English, but the differences are not pronounced. This is to be expected. First, this group had more education in Holland, and, second, it has integrated more fully into Canadian life. It is also possible that, because a greater number of the older Calvinists live in segregated Dutch senior citizens' housing, they have reverted to the Dutch language in later life.

When comparing the two generations, it is clear that the parents are more likely to be bilingual. All of the parents say that they read and write Dutch well. Just over one-half of the children speak Dutch very well or fairly well (59.3% and 61.3%), and fewer than that say that they read (33.8% and 40.7%) or write (24.1% and 24.2%) Dutch well.

As one would expect, elderly immigrants read more periodicals and newspapers produced by and for their ethnic or religious groups than do their children. One-third of Catholic parents and 56.1 percent of Calvinist parents read ethnic newspapers two to seven times a week. One-third of Calvinist children, but only 4.8 percent of Catholic children read ethnic newspapers that often.³⁷ However, one must remember that some of the papers read by Calvinist respondents and judged by them to be ethnic newspapers will be church newspapers. Newspapers such as the Catholic Register and Catholic Digest, which are popular among Catholics, do not count as ethnic newspapers.

There are also distinct differences in what is read by the two groups. The most popular newspapers among the Catholic respondents are The Windmill Herald, published in Vancouver, and the De Nederlandse Courant³⁸, published in Hamilton. These newspapers are also read by a number of Calvinist parents and their children. The Christian weekly newspaper Christian Courier (formerly called Calvinist Contact), which is published in St. Catharines, Ontario, is popular among Canadian Calvinists. It is read by about one-half of the Calvinist parents and by about one-third of the children.³⁹ The weekly church paper The Banner, which is published by the Christian Reformed Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan, is also popular. Calvinist children are more likely than their parents to read The Banner (64.0% and 31.3%). Some children say they read Dutch papers only when they visit their parents. The women's magazines Libelle and Margriet are those most often mentioned in this context. Both are non-denominational women's magazines published in Holland. A wide range of other newspapers and magazines were mentioned by Catholics and Calvinists.⁴⁰

³⁷Parents are much more likely than children to read ethnic newspapers once a month or more frequently (OR 16.678, YQ .887). Calvinist respondents are more likely than Catholic respondents to read ethnic papers once a month or more frequently (OR 4.523, YQ .638). (Ganzevoort, (1988:119) describes the two exclusively Dutch newspapers, De Nederlandse Courant and the Hollandse Krant, and the two bilingual newspapers, The Windmill Herald and Hollandia News that are read by both Catholics and Calvinists. He discusses the church magazines and newspapers available to the Calvinists. For the secular segment of the Dutch-Canadian community, news of club events, projects, and social occasions are listed in the DUCA Post, which is published by a large Dutch credit union in Toronto. In the mid-1980's it had a circulation of 5,000.

³⁸This newspaper is a Dutch-Canadian biweekly. In 1995, it had a circulation of 5,500 subscribers out of approximately 400,000 Dutch Canadians in Canada. It calls itself Canada's oldest Dutch language newspaper.

³⁹In 1995, the Christian Courier had 5,000 subscribers.

⁴⁰Among Catholics, the most frequently read newspapers are the following (given in order of importance): The Windmill Herald, The Nederlandse Courant, Libelle, Margriet, De Krant, and The Catholic Register. Other newspapers that were mentioned were The Catholic Digest, Brabandt Courant, Biddend Nazareth, Het Katholiek Nieuwsblad, Het Nederlandse Dagblad, De Hollands Krant, Knights of Columbus Magazine, De Kanaat Alkmaar, and Trouw.

6.4.3 Ethnic Foods

Most immigrants continue to eat traditional ethnic foods. The exact pattern varies from group to group.⁴¹ As one would expect, Calvinists are more likely than Catholics to eat traditional Dutch foods.⁴² The generational difference in the frequency of consumption of ethnic foods is not pronounced.⁴³ Driedger (1989) found that the consumption of ethnic foods was ranked high among all of the groups in his study. This held regardless of whether the respondents were first-, second- or third-generation Canadians. In her study of first-generation Bangladeshi immigrants in Toronto (N=80), Yasmin (1982) also reported that practically all of them (98.7%) regularly ate Bengali food. In contrast, the majority of Dutch Canadians do not eat Dutch food regularly. Dutch cuisine is, in fact, fairly similar to Canadian cuisine.

In our sample, a return to the cooking and eating of ethnic food in old age in the parent generation does not seem to be common. One might have expected that, with time during retirement, people might have tended to cook traditional dishes more frequently. In 1995, rates for ethnic food consumption were similar to those of 1990 for the parent groups (van Dijk, 1990:78). Whether or not one eats Dutch foods may reflect a mix of changing circumstances. It may be situational. Some respondents have moved into Dutch complexes. For example, residents of Dutch nursing homes often have little choice with regard to the menu. However, more and more nursing homes have residents' councils which exercise some control over what foods are served. It may be that, because of declining health, some will have ceased cooking. And some older people living on their own may resort to pre-cooked meals.

Among the Calvinists, the most frequently read newspapers are the following (given in order of importance): The Banner, Christian Courier (formerly Calvinist Contact), The Windmill Herald, Christian Renewal, Margriet, The Outlook, De Krant, and The Nederlandse Courant. Other newspapers that were mentioned were Pioneer, Church Herald, Today, Daily Bread, Christian Home and School, Decision, Focus on the Family, Clarion, Reformed Perspective, Standard Bearer, and Observer.

⁴¹ In the consumption of traditional ethnic foods, the observance of ethnic customs, and the possession of ethnic articles, the Dutch people are more like the English and the Germans than like the Italians or the Jewish people (Isajiw, 1990:68).

⁴² The differences between Catholics and Calvinists are substantial. Calvinists are more likely than Catholics to eat traditional Dutch food about once a month or more often (OR 2.250, YQ .385).

⁴³ Parents are more likely than children to eat Dutch foods about once a month or more often (OR 1.999, YQ .333).

As has been mentioned, it is difficult to compare the extent of cultural assimilation in groups because some groups retain one feature of their culture, while other groups emphasize other features. Gans observed that, "in all European ethnic groups, traditional foods and cooking methods are retained long after other aspects of the immigrant culture are given up" (Gans, 1962:33). Similarly, Reitz (1980:103) found that food is especially important among Italians. This is not necessarily because Italians prefer Italian cuisine over North American cooking. Rather, it has more to do with the association between food, strong family structures, and the traditional domestic status of Italian women. However, it is clear that, although the Dutch have been in Canada for many years, the eating of ethnic food has never been a very important aspect of ethnic identity retention in this group. Calvinist parents and children (77.5% and 70.1%) are more likely than Catholic parents and children (35.7% and 44.0%) to think that it is important that older members of their ethnic group live in residences where Dutch food is served and where other Dutch customs are observed.⁴⁴

6.4.4 Observing Ethnic Holidays

Very few respondents keep up the custom of observing ethnic holidays.⁴⁵ The most important holiday celebrated is St. Nicholas Day, which falls on December, 5. This holiday is marked by gift giving, often accompanied by poems composed by family members and by friends. People eat special sweets and hold family get-togethers. In 1990, only a small proportion of older immigrants reported that they wore Dutch costumes occasionally. For example, a few farmers sometimes wore "klompen" (wooden shoes) on their farms. Therefore, questions about dress were not included in the 1995 survey.

⁴⁴Calvinist respondents are more likely than Catholic respondents to think this is an important issue (OR 4.677, YQ .648). Over one-third of the Catholic parents and just under one-third of the Catholic children were uncertain. Differences between generations are not marked (OR .754, YQ -.140).

⁴⁵About one-fifth of Catholic parents, 7.7% of Calvinist parents, 6.0% of Catholic children and 5.2% of Calvinist children do so. Parents are more likely than children to observe most or some ethnic holidays (OR 2.779, YQ .470).

6.4.5 Observing Ethnic Customs

More than three-quarters of the Catholic respondents and almost all of the Calvinist respondents still keep up some Dutch customs. A number of respondents did not complete this question.⁴⁶ Overall, Calvinist parents are most likely to keep up Dutch customs, while Catholic children are least likely to keep up Dutch customs (84.1% of Calvinist parents keep up from three to five customs, and 25.4% of Catholic children participate in none. See Table 6.3.). The younger generation does not keep up as many Dutch customs as the older generation does.

One of the respondents asked whether the customs to which the questions refer are customs adhered to by everyone in the Dutch population, or by Dutch-Canadian post-war immigrants only. Immigrants bring their ethnic customs from their country of origin. However, after many years (fifty years in this case) the customs in both countries have changed. Those who stayed and those who left have changed. Economic factors also affect a group's culture. Therefore, this survey shows only those customs observed by Dutch-Canadian immigrants.

There are great variations in the extent to which Dutch customs are observed. For example, more Calvinist parents and children eat "oliebollen" (a Dutch donut) than Catholic parents and children (OR 4.024, YQ .602). Oliebollen are eaten on a variety of celebratory occasions. Many Calvinists eat them to celebrate the passing of the old year and the coming of the new year. Some respondents report having them on their birthdays. Brabanders often eat oliebolle the day before Lent (Dortmans, 1994).

The custom of eating a "broodmaaltijd" (supper of sandwiches) is common among members of the first generation. Some eat it at noon. Two-thirds of the parents and one-quarter of the children observe this custom.⁴⁷ No doubt the second generation has adopted Canadian cuisine.

The eating of peppermints in church is clearly a Calvinist habit. Calvinists are far more

⁴⁶ Between one-tenth and one-fifth of the respondents did not fill out the first seven parts of Q14, and one-half could not think of other Dutch customs they observed.

⁴⁷ OR 5.699, YQ .701.

likely than Catholics to observe this custom (OR 50.644, YQ .961).⁴⁸ It has been carried over from The Netherlands, where the habit is tolerated in the Reformed churches. The origin of this custom is unknown. Eating anything in church is not acceptable in much of North America. Few Catholics eat peppermints in church. One Catholic parent writes, "That's a no no."

Another almost exclusively Calvinist custom is reading the Bible at mealtimes.⁴⁹ Ninety-eight percent of Calvinist parents and 77.8 percent of Calvinist children observe this custom, but very few Catholics do so. Some respondents saw this as a Christian custom, rather than a Dutch custom.

Generational differences are apparent in the number of immigrants who express an interest in the Dutch royal family. The parent generation is more likely than the children to express an interest (74.5% and 19.1%)⁵⁰ There are clear differences between Calvinists and Catholics in the next interest we consider. Catholic parents and children are more likely than their Calvinist counterparts to cheer for Dutch soccer teams.⁵¹ Overall, the level of interest in Dutch politics is fairly low. More parents than children noted other customs they observed.⁵² Many involved Dutch celebrations, Dutch food, Dutch customs, and Dutch cultural activities.⁵³

⁴⁸Eighty-five percent of Calvinist parents and 78.4% of Calvinist children observe this custom. In contrast, only 3.4% of Catholic parents and 13.7% of Catholic children do so.

⁴⁹Calvinist respondents are far more likely than Catholic respondents to read the Bible at mealtimes (OR 140.209, YQ .986).

⁵⁰OR 12.165, YQ .848 (74.5% and 19.1%).

⁵¹OR .348, YQ -.483 (20% and 50.6%).

⁵²OR 5.623, YQ .698 (31.7% and 23.9%).

⁵³The following Dutch customs and traditions were listed most often by respondents.

Dutch food, Dutch cheese, oudejaarskoeken, speculaas, taai-taai, boterletter, chocolate animals during the Christmas season, chocolate letters, eating croquets on Christmas eve, soup and buns for Sunday lunch, Dutch cooking, baked treats, shopping at the Dutch store.

Dutch celebrations, exchanging gifts on December 5, opening presents on Christmas eve, celebrating birthdays and Liberation Day with cakes.

Dutch cultural activities, achievements in the arts, Dutch music, paintings, history, Dutch trade connections, Dutch magazines, Dutch scholarship, Dutch religious life, encouraging one's children to take an interest in their Dutch heritage.

Dutch customs, removing shoes at the door, calling washcloth "doekje", hanging Dutch curtains, using Delft Blue china, growing tulips inside or outside the house, displaying Dutch ornaments, spoonracks, and embroidered pictures on the walls.

6.5 Structural Components of Ethnic Identity Retention

Structural assimilation refers to how immigrants fit into Canadian life. We examine the implications of assimilation for social relationships, such as marriage and friendship patterns and patterns of affiliation with organizations. We also see how immigrants participate in civic affairs and political life (Gordon, 1964:40). If immigrants choose not to assimilate structurally, they tend to form their own separate societies.

This study will look at symbolic ethnic identity, religiosity, endogamy, institutional completeness, and parochial education as important structural components of the ethnic identity. We focus on both intra-ethnic and intergenerational differences. The subjective and objective aspects of each of these components will be described in greater detail. For example, measures of religiosity include objective measures, such as frequency of church attendance, frequency of participation in church activities, and tithing practices, as well as subjective measures that probe the extent to which respondents' lives are influenced by religion. To ascertain the rate of endogamy objectively, we asked respondents how many of their children had married spouses of the same ethnic group and of the same religion. The extent of parental approval or disapproval when children marry outside the ethnic or religious group is used as a subjective measure. The extent of institutional completeness of each group is used as an objective measure. This is done by identifying the numbers of ethnic/religious organizations established and supported by each group, by the participation rates in ethnic organizations, by the extent of residential segregation of group members, by the numbers of closest friends of same ethnic group, and by group members' levels of involvement with parochial schools. Institutional completeness is used as a subjective measure by asking about the respondents' views on these issues.

Table 6.5: Symbolic Ethnic Identity

Symbolic Ethnic Identity	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Symbolic Identity of Self (Q1)				
Dutch	2.9	9.5	2.4	3.7
Dutch/Canadian	73.5	78.6	61.1	52.9
Canadian	23.5	11.9	34.1	37.7
Symbolic Identity of Parent or Oldest Child (Q2)				
Dutch	5.9	2.4	46.4	38.9
Dutch/Canadian	44.1	54.8	48.8	58.0
Canadian	50.0	38.1	4.2	2.6
Ethnicity Is of Central Importance (Q1, Pt.5)				
A	20.0	45.2	6.9	9.9
D	64.0	35.5	70.6	80.7
U	16.0	19.4	22.5	9.4
Seldom Base Decisions on Ethnicity (Q2, Pt.5)				
A	64.0	37.9	77.6	68.0
D	24.0	48.2	16.6	26.7
U	12.0	13.8	5.8	5.2
(Grand)Children Are Canadians other (Q10, Pt.5)				
A	93.3	95.3	86.8	86.8
	6.6	4.8	13.2	13.1
Ethnic Char of Nursing Home Is Important (Q17, Pt.5)				
A	26.9	73.7	39.6	77.4
D	50.0	10.5	38.9	12.1
U	23.1	15.8	21.5	10.5
Prefer Dutch-Can. in Nursing Home (Q20, Pt.5)				
A	38.4	79.3	55.8	79.0
D	34.6	6.9	27.2	10.0
U	26.9	13.8	16.9	11.1

6.5.1 Symbolic Ethnic Identity

Symbolic ethnic identity is subjective. It refers to the individual's sense of belonging to a group or community. In fact, a person's feelings of belonging depend more on how he or she defines a situation than on his or her actual level of participation in the community. From a symbolic interactionist perspective, human beings often interact more in terms of how they think of themselves or others than in terms of what they actually are. Acting on the basis of their definition of the situation, what people believe to be real tends to become real in its consequences (Manis and Meltzer, 1967:315-321). For the immigrant, this means that assimilation, or assuming a new identity, involves taking on the identity of others in the new country, and learning "an alternate point of view from which to define the situation" (Haas and Shaffir, 1978:131). The immigrant is likely to replace one reference group, that of the country of origin, with another, that of the new country.

Respondents were asked how they defined themselves in terms of ethnic group membership. They were asked, "How do you usually think of yourself: as Dutch, or Dutch-Canadian, or Canadian-Dutch, or Canadian, no particular group, or other?" Most of the elderly respondents have made some progress in the transition from one reference group to another, and now think of themselves as Dutch Canadians.⁵⁴ However, as one would expect, more parents than children think of themselves as Dutch or as Dutch Canadians (OR 2.920, YQ .490). Similar numbers of Catholics and Calvinists think of themselves as Canadians (OR 1.123, YQ .058). In comparison, Reitz found that in his study (1980:110) two-thirds of his sample identified themselves with the ethnic groups from which they originated. One-third said they were simply Canadian.⁵⁵

⁵⁴The differences between the two religious groups are not great (73.5% and 78.6%, OR 1.123, YQ .058).

⁵⁵Among the Dutch in Reitz' study (1980:110), 13% said they were Canadians of Dutch descent, while 36% said they were simply Canadian. This analysis of census data collected in five Canadian cities in 1971 (Reitz, 1980:110) involved ten of the largest ethnic origin groups (other than English or French) in Canada at that time (N=1,150,000). One-fifth of the sample identified with a minority ethnic group. About one-half (45%) used a hyphenated term when describing symbolic identity. Another one-third said they were simply "Canadian" (Reitz, 1980:247; O'Bryan, 1975). Age and generation had similar effects on ethnic identification (Reitz, 1980:138). Identification diminishes over time, especially in the second and the third generations. As one would expect, informal ties with family and friends were maintained over a much longer time (Ibid., p.138). The importance of ethnic origin to the Dutch immigrants is at the Northern European level. For example, only 29% of the English and 19% of the German respondents find their ethnic origin to be extremely or very important. In contrast, 70% of the Portuguese, 67% of the Jewish, and 66% of the West Indian respondents find it extremely or very important (Kalbach, 1990:114).

As is to be expected, very few of the children see themselves as Dutch, and the majority said that they were Dutch Canadians, Canadians of Dutch descent, or Canadian children of Dutch parents. One respondent said that he was “both Canadian and Dutch at different times, never hyphenated”.

Interestingly, children of both religious groups tend to see their parents as Dutch.⁵⁶ There may be several reasons for this. Obviously, first-generation immigrants are more closely associated with the country of origin. Also, children tend to maximize differences between generations, while parents tend to minimize them (Bengtson and Kuypers, 1971:258; Giarrusso, et al.,1995:228). Thirdly, second-generation children are sometimes in conflict with the values of their ethnic group because of the socialization they have received in the new society (Reitz, 1980:128). Even though only 3 percent of the Catholic parents think of themselves as Dutch, 46 percent of Catholic children think of their parents as Dutch. Similarly, only 10 percent of Calvinist parents see themselves as Dutch, while 39 percent of their children view them as Dutch. Very few children think of their parents simply as Canadians (4.2% and 2.6%). About half of the children identify their parents as being Dutch Canadians (48.8% and 58.0%).

How parents think of their children’s identities, and how children think of their own identities are surprisingly similar among the Calvinists. Two percent of the parents see their children as Dutch, 55 percent identify their children as Dutch Canadians, and 38 percent report that their children are Canadians. Four percent of Calvinist children see themselves as Dutch, 53 percent see themselves as Dutch Canadians, and 38 percent see themselves as Canadians. Among Catholics, 6 percent of the parents see their children as Dutch, 44 percent identify their children as Dutch Canadians, and 50 percent report that their children are Canadians. In comparison, 2 percent of Catholic children see themselves as Dutch, 61 percent see themselves as Dutch Canadians, and 34 percent see themselves as Canadian. We must conclude that parents and children have differing perceptions of parents’

⁵⁶When children reported the ethnic identity of their parents, Calvinist children were more likely than Catholic children to think of their parents as Dutch or Dutch-Canadian (OR 1.324, YQ .139).

ethnicity.

Although ethnic identity is not of central importance in the lives of most of the elderly respondents, more elderly Calvinists than elderly Catholics say that it is important (45.2% and 20.0%).⁵⁷ Parents are more likely than children to think that ethnicity is very important in their lives. Only 6.9 percent of Catholic children and 9.9 percent of Calvinist children think that ethnicity is important.⁵⁸ More Catholics than Calvinists say that they seldom base important decisions on ethnicity.⁵⁹ Fewer children than parents seldom base important decisions on ethnicity. Members of all four groups identify the children in the third generation simply as Canadians.

Reitz and Breton (1994:50) found variations by generation in the subjective importance of ethnicity. In their Toronto study, carried out in 1979, almost two-fifths of the first generation (37%), one-half of the second generation (49%), and three-quarters of the third or later generations felt that their ethnic backgrounds were of little or no importance (Breton, et al., 1990:75). They also found that ethnic identity varies with generation and socio-economic status (Reitz, 1980; O'Bryan, et al., 1975). Moreover, there was a strong correlation between symbolic ethnic identity and language retention. Over one-half of those who think of themselves as Canadians still know their ethnic language (O'Bryan, 1975:97).

Religion and ethnicity are very closely interconnected for many ethnic groups. This is true for Jewish people, and for the Québécois, Mennonites, Native people, and Dutch Calvinists. Richards (1991:10) suggests that it is "pointless to treat religion and ethnicity as separate and independent variables when in fact they are intertwined and inseparable." Others agree, but go further and find religious identity to be more important. Richards notes that the "tendency to treat ethnicity and religion as separate variables is evident in analysis of religious trends in general and in

⁵⁷ Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to agree that ethnicity was important in their lives (OR 2.250, YQ .385). Nearly one-fifth of the Calvinist parents and nearly one-fifth of the Catholic children were uncertain.

⁵⁸ Parents are much more likely than children to agree that ethnicity is very important in their lives (OR 6.286 YQ .726). Twenty percent of the Catholic parents and 45% of the Calvinist parents agree, while only 6.9% and 9.9% of the children agree.

⁵⁹ Sixty-four percent of Catholic parents and 77.6% of Catholic children say that they do not base decisions on ethnicity. Thirty-eight percent of Calvinist parents and 68.0% of Calvinist children do not (See Table 6.4).

writings of researchers⁶⁰ who have argued that religious identification is replacing ethnic identity” (Ibid., p. 10). In fact, religion may be an important source of intra-ethnic group differences. As we described in Chapter Two, Dutch Calvinists establish separate institutions because they want Christian institutions, not because they want ethnic institutions.⁶¹ On average, elderly Catholic respondents supported 14 percent of the eighteen types of Dutch-Canadian institutions listed in the author’s 1990 survey, while elderly Calvinist respondents supported 44.6 percent. These institutions ranged from credit unions to political organizations. Credit unions were used more by Catholic than Calvinist respondents.⁶² Dutch Catholics tend to be members of more organizations that are not Dutch (van Dijk, 1990:85, Graumans, 1973:70.). On average, the elderly Calvinists in our sample, when surveyed in 1990, said that they belonged to 3.2 ethnic organizations, while Catholics belonged to 1.5 such organizations. Many more Catholics than Calvinists participated in other kinds of organizations that were not run by and for Dutch Canadians (63.3% and 26.1%) (van Dijk, 1990:85.) Therefore, it is not surprising to find that our Calvinist respondents are much more likely than our Catholic respondents (73.7% and 26.9% of parents and 77.4% and 39.6% of children) to agree that ethnic character is an important factor when choosing a nursing home for an elderly relative (OR 7.734, YQ .771).⁶³ Differences between the generations are not pronounced (OR .810, YQ -.105). When respondents were asked about their priorities when choosing nursing homes for older relatives, about four-fifths of Calvinist parents and Calvinist children said that they prefer nursing homes where most residents are Dutch Canadians (79.3% and 79.0%). Only about two-fifths of Catholic parents and one-half of Catholic children prefer nursing homes where most residents are

⁶⁰Richards includes Herberg (1989) in this group.

⁶¹However, because religion and ethnicity are inseparable for the Dutch Calvinists, the ethnic factor is also of greater salience for them (van Dijk, 1990:115).

⁶²Graumans (1973:68) conducted a survey (N=227) of Dutch Catholics in the London area and Dutch Calvinists in the Hamilton area in the early 1970’s. He listed the percentages of Calvinists and Catholics who had access to organizations provided by their respective churches (elementary education, 86% and 74%, secondary education, 82% and 33%, media, 44% and 22%, service clubs, 20% and 31%, welfare agencies, 15% and 20%, youth clubs, 64% and 46%, credit unions, 33% and 75%, labour unions, 56% and 0%, and recreational clubs, 34% and 32%). Catholic organizations tended to be less developed. With the exception of credit unions and some social clubs, Catholic organizations were not ethnic in nature.

⁶³However, a greater number of Catholic parents (23.1%) and Catholic children (21.5%) were uncertain. Only 15.8% of Calvinist parents and 10.5% of Calvinist children were uncertain.

Dutch Canadians. Calvinists are more likely than Catholics to consider the Dutch backgrounds of the other residents in a nursing home to be an important factor (OR 4.474, YQ .634). Again, generational differences are not pronounced (OR .775, YQ -.126).⁶⁴

6.5.2 Religiosity

6.5.2.1 Religious Affiliation of Self and Spouse

As has been noted, religion and ethnicity are often closely intertwined (Driedger and Chappell, 1987:42; Richards, 1991:10). And religiosity may well be the most important factor in explaining the differences in the assimilation patterns of the two groups in this study. All of the Calvinist parents and 94 percent of the Catholic parents report having the same religious affiliation in 1995 as in 1990. One Catholic parent became a Calvinist,⁶⁵ and one reports having no religious affiliation. Although a greater number of children remain Catholic than remain Calvinist (83.8% and 76.8%), a slightly greater number of Catholic children than Calvinist children claim to have no religious affiliation (10.8% and 5.7%). A greater number of second-generation Calvinists than Catholics changed their religious affiliation (17.0% and 5.4%).⁶⁶ Respondents often mention the subtle differences between religious denominations. For example, one respondent states, "Before we became Christians, we were Calvinists."

Most of the first-generation Catholics and Calvinists had married spouses of the same religion (96.6% and 97.7%). However, this was not the case in the second generation. Sixty-two percent of Catholic children had married spouses of the Catholic faith, and 70 percent of Calvinist children had married spouses of the Calvinist faith.⁶⁷ Some spouses ceased to be active church members

⁶⁴ About one-quarter of the Catholic parents were uncertain.

⁶⁵ She said that she found that Calvinist churches looked after their older parishioners better.

⁶⁶ The religious affiliations listed in the order most frequently reported by Catholic and Calvinist children who changed denominations are as follows: Baptist Fellowship, United, Presbyterian, Pentecostal Full Gospel, Evangelical, Mennonite, Christian Brethren, Episcopalian, New Covenant Congregational, Church of the Cross, Jehovah Witness, Anglican, Humanist, Anabaptist, Methodist, and Protestant.

⁶⁷ The denominations to which the spouses of Catholic and Calvinist children who had married outside their faith belong are listed below. They are listed in order of importance. Anglican, United, Presbyterian, Mennonite, Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, Baptist, Pentecostal, Protestant, Evangelical, Anabaptist, Orthodox, Jehovah's Witness, and Church of Christ.

Table 6.6: Measures of Religiosity

Measures of Religiosity	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Religious Affiliation of Self (Q20)				
Calvinist	2.9	100		76.8
Catholic	94.1		83.8	.5
other			5.4	17.0
no religion	2.9		10.8	5.7
Religious Affiliation of Spouse (Q21)				
Calvinist		97.7	1.3	70.5
Catholic	96.6		62.1	5.8
other		2.3	21.6	16.3
no religion	3.4		14.4	7.4
Church Attendance (Q22)				
2-7 times a week	81.8	100.0	55.1	79.8
2-12 times a year	9.1		31.5	13.9
yearly or less	9.1		13.3	6.1
Church Attendance of Oldest Child (Q26)				
weekly or more	61.3	84.6	41.4	75.2
monthly or less	38.7	15.4	58.5	24.8
Other Church Activities(Q23)				
2-7 times a week	10.3	29.3	7.9	40.8
2-12 times a year	58.6	53.6	47.8	43.4
yearly or less	31.0	17.1	44.2	15.7
Tithing (Q25)				
10% or more	8.3	48.6	5.6	24.9
6-9%	20.8	35.1	10.6	34.5
2-5%	54.2	13.5	26.1	25.4
1% or less	16.7	2.7	57.0	15.3
Religion Is of Central Importance (Q5, Pt.5)				
A	80.0	100.0	47.5	84.9
D	03.3		38.8	9.4
U	16.7		13.8	5.7
Seldom Base Decisions on Religion (Q6, Pt.5)				
A	24.0	30.5	42.2	11.5
D	64.0	66.7	50.3	86.0
U	12.0	2.8	7.5	2.6

Table 6.6: (continued) Measures of Religiosity

Measures of Religiosity	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Distance Is More Impor than Rel Char of Nursing Hm (Q16, Pt.5)	A 70.4 D 14.8 U 14.8	33.4 54.5 12.1	67.2 16.8 16.1	16.4 64.8 18.7
Religious Char of Nurs Home Is More Important than Price (Q19, Pt.5)	A 42.3 D 46.1 U 11.5	83.3 8.3 8.3	25.2 44.3 30.5	71.2 15.4 13.3
Changes in My Church Are Not Necessary (Q9, Pt.5)	A 15.3 D 61.5 U 23.0	58.8 17.6 23.5	14.2 56.5 29.3	29.5 50.6 20.0

after a number of years of marriage. For example, one respondent tells how her spouse “went to church first, but after seven years no more.”

6.5.2.2 Weekly Church Attendance

Frequency of church attendance is one indicator of religious commitment. In our study, there are distinct differences between Catholics and Calvinists in patterns of church attendance. Calvinists, of both generations, attend church more frequently than Catholics. All Calvinists of the first generation and 80 percent of those in the second generation attend church weekly.⁶⁸ In comparison, 82 percent of the Catholic parents and 55 percent of the Catholic children attend church from two to seven times a week. Twice as many Catholic children as Calvinist children attend church from two to twelve times a year (31.5% and 13.9%). A higher proportion of Catholic children than Calvinist children report that they seldom or never go to church (13.3% and 6.1%). In summary, Calvinists

⁶⁸In Canada in 1988, 41.6% of those aged 65 and over attended church at least once per week. About 14.8% reported that they had a religion but that they never attended church, and 6.2% stated that they had no religion (Statistics Canada, 1990:55).

are more likely than Catholics to attend church at least once a month (OR 7.560, YQ .766).⁶⁹ As expected, participation in ethnic functions, including ethnic church attendance, decreases from one generation to the next. Parents are more likely than children to attend church at least once a month (OR 5.575, YQ .696). Whether this is because of age or whether it is because of historical changes is not clear. This topic requires further research. As has been noted in Chapter Three, there has been a general decline in religiosity since the 1940's. Differences in religiosity continue to be evident in the second and third generations. The Calvinists report higher rates of church attendance for the oldest child in the family in both generations.⁷⁰ It is important to recognize the decline in church attendance between the second and the third generations (OR 1.625, YQ .238).

When we consider the other kinds of church activities in which respondents take part, the differences between the generations and between the religious groups follow the same pattern. Rates of participation in church activities other than church services may be underreported, because not all such activities necessarily take place in a church. For example, one respondent comments, "Many of my activities take place in private homes, though (they are) related to church - such as Mr. and Mrs. Club every three weeks and Bible Study bi-weekly" (Respondent 24103). Calvinist parents and children are more likely than Catholic parents and children to report weekly attendance at other kinds of church activities (OR 5.211, YQ .678).⁷¹ Elderly parishioners often decrease their levels of involvement in church activities for a variety of reasons. For example, they or their spouses may experience health problems and there may be difficulties with transportation. The fact that groups often meet in the evenings may be another problem. Many churches have not planned well for the involvement of elderly parishioners. In the U.S.A. in the 1970's, only 2 percent of church offices were held by people over the age of 65 (Gray and Moberg, 1977:57). In our study, there were only slight

⁶⁹The study conducted by O'Bryan in 1971, showed that the Dutch had the highest proportion (32.3%) attending church twice a week or more during childhood. Almost one-half of the Dutch attended church once a week (O'Bryan, 1975:215).

⁷⁰Weekly church attendance on the part of one's oldest son or daughter was reported by 85% of Calvinist parents, by 61% of Catholic parents, by 75% of Calvinist children, and by 41% of Catholic children (OR 4.246, YQ .619)

⁷¹Twenty-nine percent of Calvinist parents and 40.8% of Calvinist children reported weekly attendance at other kinds of church activities. For Catholic parents, the proportion was 10.3%. For Catholic children, the proportion was 7.9%.

differences between the generations in rates of participation in other kinds of church activities (OR 1.183, YQ .083).⁷²

There are distinct differences in the kinds of church activities in which the two groups of respondents participate during the week. Calvinists are more likely to attend Bible study groups. Parents are twice as likely to attend such groups as children (45.2% and 25.0%). However, Catholics are more likely to participate in service groups, such as the Knights of Columbus, the St Vincent De Paul Society, Dutch-Catholic credit unions, and the Catholic Women's League. Again, parents attend such groups rather more often than their children (35.0% and 23.2%). A relatively large number of Catholic women attend meetings of the Catholic Women's League (53.8% of first-generation women and 30.4% of second-generation women). Catholic children were more likely to attend church-related events which are social in nature.⁷³

6.5.2.3 Tithing

The practice of giving one-tenth of one's income appears to be less well established in the Catholic community. Research in Canada has shown that Catholic immigrants were often unwilling to make large financial contributions to the church. They came from countries where the state supported religion and the Catholic church, with its long history, was usually a wealthy institution (Mol, 1985:200). One of the few ways open to Catholics who wish to influence church policy is to stop making contributions (Greeley, 1990: 6, 11). In 1960, Catholics contributed 2.2 percent of their income to the church. In 1990, this had decreased to 1.1 percent of their income. In our study, fewer

⁷²About twice as many Catholic parents as Calvinist parents (31.0% and 17.1%), and about three times as many Catholic children as Calvinist children (44.2% and 15.7%) report that they seldom or never participate in other kinds of church activities.

⁷³The following are the kinds of church activities (other than church services) in which Catholics and Calvinists participate (Q24): baptisms, weddings, funerals, social events, scripture reader, usher, sports club, choirs, bazaars, fundraisers, concerts, board of trustees, youth group leader, "Cadets", dramas, bingos, picnics, dances, women's group meetings, seniors' groups, stewardship committees, music and worship committees, vacation Bible schools, story hours, "Coffee Break", pastoral care worker, marriage preparation seminars, hospitality groups, children's play church, card parties, family communion breakfasts, men's breakfast missions committee, girls' clubs, "Busy Bees", "Beginnings" meetings, "Friendship" groups, prayer meetings, Christmas concerts.

than one-tenth of Catholics give one-tenth of their income to the church.⁷⁴ On the other hand, most Calvinists were raised by parents who have served as models of sacrificial giving. Calvinists are much more likely than Catholics to give 6 percent, or more, of their incomes to the church (OR 9.740, YQ .814).⁷⁵ Parents are more likely than children to give at this level (OR 2.452, YQ .424). Among Calvinists, the decline may be explained in part by the fact that the second generation has had to shoulder the high cost of paying for Christian education for their children.

Many Calvinist institutions must be paid for by voluntary donations. Let us consider one such institution, the Christian school. Christian day schools in Ontario do not receive any government funding. Catholic day schools, on the other hand, have been fully funded since 1984. In the 1994-95 school year, the cost of tuition at Calvin Christian School in Hamilton stood at \$5,800 per family,⁷⁶ or \$4,800 if the parent also had children in a Christian high school. For the same year, the cost of attending Hamilton District Christian High School was \$6,584 a year per family, or \$5,420 a year if the parent also had children in a Christian elementary school. If a parent has children in Christian schools at all three levels, which is not such a rare occurrence, the costs of education escalate. In 1994-95, tuition costs at Redeemer College, a Christian post-secondary institution, stood at \$10,000 per year. In addition to these tuition costs, members are called upon to contribute to capital costs and debt reduction drives, which are held about twice a year by each of these institutions. And, of course, these parents also pay property taxes for the support of the public and separate school systems. Some of our respondents indicated on their questionnaires that they were not including tuition costs in their tithing figures.

⁷⁴ Among the Catholic children, 57% give less than 1%, while among the Calvinist children, 15.3% give less than 1%. Slightly over one-half (54.2%) of the Catholic parents give between 2 and 5% of their incomes.

⁷⁵ One-half of the Calvinist parents give 10%, or more, of their incomes to the church, while one-quarter of their children do so. When the two highest categories of giving are combined, 29% of Catholic parents and 84% of Calvinist parents give more than 6% of their incomes to the church. In the second generation, these percentages decrease to 16% among Catholics and 59% among Calvinists.

⁷⁶ Note that a flat fee is asked of each family, regardless of the number of children attending.

6.5.2.4 Differences in Religious Beliefs

Differences in attitudes and beliefs follow the by now somewhat familiar pattern. When religiosity is measured objectively, Calvinist parents and children report higher levels of religiosity. When religiosity is measured subjectively, the differences remain. All of the Calvinist parents and 85 percent of their children consider religion to be of central importance in their lives. However, four-fifths of the Catholic parents (80.0%) and fewer than one-half of the Catholic children (47.5%) consider religion to be that important. More Calvinist children than Calvinist parents base important decisions on their religion (86.0% and 66.7%). However, this issue is also important for Catholic parents and Catholic children (64.0% and 50.3%).⁷⁷ Differences between the generations are not pronounced.

Religion is not the most important factor to be considered when Catholics choose nursing homes for elderly relatives (See Table 6.6). Catholics are much more likely than Calvinists to say that the distance of the home from family is more important than the religious character of the nursing home (OR 15.079, YQ .876).⁷⁸ On the other hand, Calvinists are much more likely than Catholics to consider the religious character of a nursing home to be more important than the price (OR 10.725, YQ .829). However, nearly one-third of the Catholic children were uncertain, as compared with only 13.3% of Calvinist children.

It is clear that there are differences between the two groups in attitudes towards the changes that have taken place in their churches in recent years. More Catholics and more of the younger respondents (OR 2.597, YQ .444) accept the changes in their respective churches. About two-thirds of the elderly Catholics (61.5%) and over one-half of the younger respondents accept the changes.

⁷⁷ Calvinist are much more likely than Catholics to consider religion to be of central importance in their lives (OR 28.709, YQ .933). Parents are far more likely than children to feel this way (OR 21.667, YQ .912). More Calvinists than Catholics base important decisions on their religion (OR 0.186, YQ -.686). This means that Catholics are more likely than Calvinists to seldom base decisions on religion (OR 5.374 YQ .686).

⁷⁸ First- and second-generation Catholics say that the distance from family is more important than the religious character of the home (70.4% and 67.2%). Two-fifths of Catholic parents and children report that the price is more important than the religious character of the home (46.1% and 44.3%). However, Calvinist parents and children report that the religious character is more important than the price (83.3% and 71.2%).

Many elderly Calvinists (58.8%) find the changes problematic.⁷⁹

As one would expect, religious identity appears to be much more salient than ethnic identity, and declines only slightly in successive generations (Driedger, 1989:153). Although Calvinists have assimilated in such areas as language, cuisine, and customs, it is clear that their sense of religious identity remains strong and has not declined much in the second generation.

6.5.3 Endogamy

Rates of intermarriage are often used as indicators of the extent of assimilation. This is partly due to the fact that intermarriage implies that some assimilation has already taken place, and that, as a consequence, ethnic ties have weakened. Cultural assimilation tends to happen first. This is then followed by structural assimilation. As an indicator of assimilation, intermarriage is an important factor in the breakdown of ethnic group cohesiveness (Gordon, 1964:40). Although many people view intermarriage negatively, because it weakens the ties of ethnic groups, it can sometimes be positive for one of the groups. Sometimes both partners join one group (Reitz, 1980:104).⁸⁰

Individuals who belong to a religious group are less likely to marry outside their religious than outside their ethnic group (Richards, 1991:24).⁸¹ Even if marrying people outside the ethnic group is against the group's norms, it is approved of more readily than marriage with members of another religion. In the course of her research on intermarriage in Canada between 1871 and 1971, Richards found that, intermarriage between races is least frequent (Appendix K). Intermarriage between religious groups happens more often, and intermarriage between ethnic groups happens most frequently (Richards, 1991:24).⁸²

⁷⁹Calvinists are more likely than Catholics to find the changes problematic (OR 2.992, YQ .499). However, 66 respondents out of a total of 443 did not answer this question. This could mean that many respondents were uncertain about the meaning of the question or felt ambivalent about these changes.

⁸⁰Churches sometimes gain converts through intermarriage (Bibby, 1990:30). This can only happen if people of no religious affiliation start joining. Otherwise, what one church gains, another loses.

⁸¹Richards undertook a detailed comparative analysis of ethno-religious intermarriage patterns in Canada in the years of 1871 and 1971. She used the 1871 and 1971 censuses, and presents data relating to the English, Irish, Scottish, French, German, Italian, Dutch, Polish, Scandinavian, and Ukrainian groups (Ibid., p.4).

⁸²The data from our 1995 survey, presented in Table 6.6, show that 3.4% of elderly Catholics married spouses with no religious affiliation and 2.3% of elderly Calvinists married spouses of other religions. However, as one would expect,

Table 6.7: Measures of Endogamy

Measures of Endogamy	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Country of Birth of Spouse (Q10a)				
Holland	96.8	100	32.9	49.2
Canada			60.9	42.9
other	3.2		6.2	7.9
Ethnicity of Spouse (Q11)				
Dutch	80.0	100	40.9	73.8
Canadian	13.3		31.5	15.8
other	6.6		27.5	10.4
Children who Married Spouses of (Q27)				
(a) same grp, same rel Number of Children (328)	11.3 37	43.3 142	9.8 32	35.7 117
(b) same grp, dif rel Number of Children (30)	36.7 11	36.7 11	20.0 6	6.7 2
(c) dif grp, same rel Number of Children (103)	33.9 35	10.7 11	35.9 37	19.4 20
(d) dif grp, dif rel Number of Children (145)	27.4 40	14.4 20	28.8 42	29.5 43
Prefer Child Marry Spouse (Q28)				
non-Dutch, same rel	87.0	96.2	76.0	94.8
no preference	13.0		19.2	4.1
other		3.8	4.8	1.2
Not Important Whether Future Spouse Is of Same Ethnicity (Q7, Pt.5)				
A	48.1	33.3	75.8	49.7
D	37.0	50.0	14.7	39.3
U	14.8	16.7	9.6	11.0
Parochial Education Influences Endogamy Rates (Q30, Pt.5)				
A	56.7	87.8	34.0	62.6
D	26.6	2.4	33.4	18.4
U	16.7	9.8	32.7	18.9
Intermarriage and Church Membership (Q31, Pt.5)				
			A 27.8	35.8
			D 43.1	40.1
			U 29.1	24.1

Rates of intermarriage depend on various cultural and demographic factors which can either encourage or inhibit intermarriage (Reitz, 1980:102; O'Bryan, et al., 1975:20; Reitz and Breton, 1994:89; Goldstein and Segall, 1985:64; Isajiw, 1990:81; Stevens, 1985:73; Stevens and Swicegood, 1987:74; Richards, 1991:22). How group members, parents, and churches view intermarriage is of great importance. The intensity of the religious convictions of members of the group are also important. For example, the Dutch orthodox groups strongly discouraged intermarriage (O'Bryan, et al., 1975:20). Rates of endogamy also depend on sex ratios and on the sizes of the groups (Richards, 1991:22). If the group is very small, members may not have the opportunity to meet people of their own kind within the group. The location of the group is another factor. Groups in urban areas have relatively high rates of intermarriage. Similarly, groups which originally settled in rural areas tend to have relatively high rates of endogamy (O'Bryan, 1975:20; Swierenga, 1991:413). Other factors that determine rates of intermarriage are the degree of similarity between groups and the opportunities of social contact between them (Ibid., p.20). Opportunities for social contact between groups have been greater in Canada than in the U.S.A. In addition, the differences in the standards of living of the various ethnic groups are less pronounced in Canada than they are in the U.S.A. (Reitz and Breton, 1994:89). Endogamy is strongly associated with language retention and with high rates of interaction within the group. If the size of the group that speaks the mother tongue is large, then endogamy will be more likely. Persons whose parents intermarried are themselves more likely to intermarry. It is important to remember that all these factors are interdependent.⁸³

rates of endogamy were far higher in the second generation. Middle-aged Catholic respondents were rather more likely than middle-aged Calvinist respondents to have married spouses of other religions (21.6% and 16.3%) or spouses who had no religious affiliation (14.4% and 7.4%).

⁸³ Intermarriage is inversely associated with ethnic identity retention. Research on Jewish people and French Canadians in Winnipeg showed that being of mixed parentage was related to low salience of ethnicity, low rates of observance of traditional customs, low rates of membership in organizations, and low rates of ingroup marriage (Goldstein and Segall, 1985:64). In other words, children with mixed parentage were more likely to say that they are simply Canadian. They were also more likely to agree that ethnicity is not important. They were also less likely to marry within group. Fewer such children observe ethnic customs, and belong to ethnic clubs. Frideres and his colleagues (1971) likewise, saw less salience of Jewish ethnic identity among children in families with one Jewish and one non-Jewish parent. Stevens (1985) found that intermarriage was associated with ethnic language retention. She found higher rates of language retention when rates of ethnic endogamy were high. Children of two foreign-born parents were the most likely to learn parents' language. Children of one foreign-born parent were less likely to learn the language, while children of two native-born parents were least likely to learn the language of their forebears. Therefore, whether a child's parents share a mother tongue is the most important factor in determining language retention. The relative size

Calvinists and Catholics alike base their resistance to intermarriage with those who are not Christians on Biblical grounds.⁸⁴ The Apostle Paul writes, "Do not be yoked together with unbelievers" (2 Corinthians 6:14). For this reason, parents are more concerned about the religious backgrounds than about the ethnic backgrounds of their children's prospective spouses. We see that all the Calvinist parents and most of the Catholic parents (96.8%) married Dutch spouses.⁸⁵ Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to have married spouses who were born in Holland (OR 2.499, YQ .428).⁸⁶ More second-generation Catholics than Calvinists (60.9% and 42.9%) married people who had been born in Canada.⁸⁷

The rate of intermarriage is higher among Dutch-Canadian Catholics in the second generation.⁸⁸ Two-fifths of the second-generation Catholics married people who were Dutch.⁸⁹ Three-fifths (62%) of the second-generation Catholics married Catholics (Table 6.6). It may be easier for Catholics to find Catholic spouses. About one-half of the Ontario population is Catholic (Nock, 1993:51; Bibby, 1993:79), while only 2.5 percent of the Ontario population is Dutch (Gerber, 1983:67). Only about

of the group speaking the language and the rate of linguistic assimilation are also strongly associated with the rate of endogamy (Stevens and Swicegood, 1987:76). Generational status also determines rates of endogamy. First-generation immigrants are more likely to marry within their own group (Stevens and Swicegood, 1987; Reitz, 1980:131; Richards, 1991). Reitz (1980:132) found the rate of exogamy to be 22% among those who emigrated as adults, 59% among those who emigrated as children, 69% among members of the second generation, and 85% among members of the third generation.

Race was the first and religion was the second greatest barrier to intermarriage (Richards, 1991:24). Congregations made up of one single ethnic group had low rates of intermarriage, while congregations that included many ethnic cultures had high rates of intermarriage. But ethnicity and religion must be considered together when discussing the subject of intermarriage. When religion is also considered, the rates of ethnic endogamy are higher. This is partly due to fact that "ethno-religious groups clearly represent more culturally cohesive groupings of the population than do the more general ethnic groups commonly used in intermarriage research" (Richards, 1991:115). When the multidimensional components of ethnicity were used "the combination of ethnic origin and the dominant ethnic religion had a slight dampening effect on levels of ethnic exogamy for husbands in both centuries because ethno-religious combinations can identify the more culturally cohesive groups within the broader, more ambiguous groupings based on ethnic origin alone" (Ibid., p.119).

⁸⁴Some are also opposed to marriages with people who belong to other churches, for example, United Church members or Presbyterians. In such cases, parents may not agree with the teachings of these churches, or they may perceive those churches to be liberal in their theologies. They may fear that the children will lose their faith.

⁸⁵There is an apparent discrepancy in the answers to Q11. The fact that 13.3% of the Catholic parents say they married Canadian spouses may be due to a misunderstanding of the meaning of the term ethnicity of spouse. A parent may be reporting the present citizenship of his/her spouse, not the country of origin of his/her spouse.

⁸⁶A greater number of Calvinist than Catholic children married spouses who had been born in Holland (49.2% and 32.9%).

⁸⁷The countries of birth of the foreign-born spouses of second-generation respondents, listed in order of most frequently reported country, are as follows: U.S.A., England, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Germany, Northern Ireland, Poland, and Australia.

⁸⁸The rate of endogamy among Dutch Canadians, which had stood at 42 percent in 1951, had risen to 55 percent by 1961 (Ganzevoort and Boekelman, 1983:ix).

⁸⁹Only about one-tenth (11.3%) married Dutch Catholics, and about one-third (36.7%) married people of Dutch descent who were not Catholics (Table 6.7).

one-third of those who are Dutch are Calvinists. Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to marry people of Dutch descent (OR 6.883, YQ .746). It is important to note that 49 percent of Calvinist children married people who had been born in Holland, and that, overall, 74 percent married people of Dutch descent. Only about one-half as many Catholic children as Calvinist children married people of Dutch descent (41% and 74%). One-third (31.5%) of the spouses of the Catholic children were “Canadians” and one-quarter (27.5%) belonged to other ethnic groups.⁹⁰ Sixteen percent of the Calvinist children married “Canadians”. One in ten married a member of another ethnic group. As one would expect, parents were more likely than children to have married people of Dutch descent (OR 5.913, YQ .711). We can conclude that children were more likely than parents to have married outside their ethnic group, but that fewer Calvinist children married outside their ethnic group.⁹¹

Respondents were asked to indicate how many of their children had married Dutch people who were also of the same religion, and how many had married people of other ethnic groups and of other religions. Again, the rates of intermarriage are higher among the Catholics than they are among the Calvinists. As we have noted in Chapter Six, this question was the most sensitive one in the whole questionnaire. The extent of exogamy is probably underreported. Given this problem, all the figures given here must be treated as estimates. Several respondents became very upset when they reached this question. Some indicated that the researcher should mind her own business, and not expect them to “air dirty linen in public”. To interpret the answers to question 27, the total number of children who married people of the same ethnic group and of the same religion are added together. Then the percentage for each group is worked out. For example, the total number of children who married people of the same ethnic group and of the same religion is 328. Catholic parents reported 37 children, or 11 percent of these children, while Catholic children reported 32 children, or 10 percent. Calvinist parents reported 142 children, or 43 percent of these children,

⁹⁰ According to the census of 1971, this is the normal pattern for Dutch people in Canada. One-quarter to one-third of all Dutch married people who were not of Dutch descent (Richards, 1991:110). The same proportions of Dutch Catholics married people who were not of Dutch descent (Ibid., p.116).

⁹¹ The ethnic backgrounds of spouses who were neither “Canadians” nor of Dutch descent, listed according to the most frequently reported groups, are as follows (Q11): German, English, Irish, Ukrainian, Italian, Scottish, French-Canadian, Hungarian, American, Polish, Belgian, Australian, Czechoslovakian, and Welsh.

while Calvinist children reported 117 children, or 36 percent. We estimate that Calvinist children are about four times as likely to marry people of the same group and also of the same religion than are the Catholic children.

Among both the Catholics and the Calvinists, members of the first generation indicate that approximately one-third of their children (36.7% and 36.7%) married people of the same ethnic group but of a different religion. As one would expect the number of second-generation respondents who indicate that their children married people of the same ethnic group but of a different religion is much smaller (20.0% and 6.7%). However, we must be cautious in our analysis because numbers are low and many of the children in the third generation are too young to marry. The total number of children (30) who married people of Dutch descent but of different religions was the lowest of the four categories. Some of the Calvinist children in this group are probably people who married people who belonged to other Dutch-Canadian Reformed groups. For many Calvinists, having a child marry someone from another Dutch-Canadian Reformed denomination would be viewed as if the child were marrying outside the religion. We suspect that there is some intermarriage within the different Reformed communities, but that there is less mixing with groups which do not belong to the Reformed denomination (van Dijk, 1990:101).

A substantial number of children (145) married spouses of different ethnicities and different religions. Fourteen percent of the children who married spouses of different ethnicities and different religions were second-generation Calvinists, and 30 percent of this group were third-generation Calvinists. In comparison with the Calvinist group, 27 percent of children in this category were second-generation Catholics, and 29 percent were third-generation Catholics.

One hundred and three children married spouses of different ethnic backgrounds, but of the same religion. Only 11 percent of children who married in this group are second-generation Calvinists, while another 19 percent of the children in this group are third-generation Calvinists. Catholic parents and children report larger numbers of offspring following this pattern (33.9% and 35.9%). The percentages for the Catholics tend to be higher because they include those children who

Table 6.8: Estimated Rates of Endogamy

	Dutch Same Religion	Dutch Different Religion	Non-Dutch Same Religion	Non-Dutch Different Religion
Second-Generation Spouses	n=179	n=22	n=46	n=60
Third-Generation Spouses	n=149	n=8	n=57	n=85

marry people who belong to ethnic groups which are traditionally Catholic, for example, Italians and Portuguese. When we want to determine how many Catholics married fellow Catholics or how many Calvinists married fellow Calvinists we combine the number of children in (a) and (c). Four hundred and thirty-one children married people of the same religion. Seventeen percent of this group are second-generation Catholics (72/431) and 16 percent are third-generation Catholics (69/431). Thirty-six percent of this group are second-generation Calvinists (153/431) and 32 percent are third-generation Calvinists (137/431).⁹²

In Canada, Calvinist children tend to have a narrower field of choice of marriage partners, because only a few ethnic groups adhere to the Calvinist faith. For example, there are the Scottish Presbyterians and members of churches in the Dutch Reformed tradition. Although it is difficult to calculate rates of intermarriage accurately because we know that there was considerable underreporting on the part of respondents, the overall pattern is clear. Catholic respondents have considerably higher rates of intermarriage (both outside their faith and outside their ethnic group) than Calvinist respondents.⁹³

Respondents were also asked to state their preferences with regard to someone close to them, for example, a child, marrying either a person of Dutch background who was not of their religion, or a person who was not of Dutch background, but who shared their religion. Almost all

⁹²The total number of spouses (N=179) in the second-generation who married Dutch persons of the same religion are shown in Table 6.8. We added the number of Catholic and Calvinist spouses in Table 6.7 Q27 (a) to arrive at this number.

⁹³Schreuder (1989:10), who studied rates of intermarriage among Dutch Catholics and Protestants in Wisconsin, 1850-1905, found much higher rates of intermarriage among Catholics than among Protestants in all generations (32% and 8%). See also Swierenga, (1991:413).

the Calvinists in both generations (96.2% and 94.8%) stated that they would prefer to see a child marry a person who was not of Dutch background but who belonged to the same religious group, rather than a person of Dutch background who belonged to a different religion. Catholics had fewer objections to children intermarrying (OR 2.292, YQ .393). Thirteen percent of Catholic parents and 19 percent of Catholic children indicate they have no objections to their children marrying people who are neither Catholic nor of Dutch background. Some of the reasons given are as follows. They say that they have no preference or that the issue is not important. Their children can marry people who make them happy. It is up to their children to choose their own marriage partners. The differences between the two religious groups and between the generations are *not pronounced*. However, a marked generational difference is evident in the responses to the question on ethnicity of future spouses. Children are more likely than parents to say that the ethnicity of a future spouse is not an important issue (OR 2.374, YQ .407). And Catholics are more likely than Calvinists to say that the ethnicity of a future spouse is not important (OR 3.868, YQ .589).⁹⁴

A large number of Calvinist parents and their children agree that a young person who has been educated in parochial schools is more likely to marry someone of his or her own religious background (87.8% and 62.6%). In comparison, only 57 percent of Catholic parents and 34 percent of Catholic children agree.⁹⁵ The second-generation respondents are divided in their opinions on whether or not it is difficult to join the new spouse's church, when marriage partners are from different church backgrounds.⁹⁶ We conclude that, not only are Dutch Catholics more likely to marry outside their faith and outside their ethnic group, but they are also more accepting of intermarriage than Calvinists.

⁹⁴ Three-quarters of the Catholic children say that the ethnicity of a future spouse is not an important issue. Almost one-half of Catholic parents and Calvinist children agree (48.1% and 49.7%). However, having a child choose a spouse of the same ethnic background is important to 50% of Calvinist parents. A substantial number of Catholic parents and Calvinist children also thought that the ethnicity of a spouse was an important issue (37.0% and 39.3%).

⁹⁵ Calvinists are much more likely than Catholics to agree with this statement (OR 4.758, YQ .653). Parents are more likely than children to do so (OR 2.962, YQ .495). However, 32.7% of Catholic children and 18.9% of Calvinist children were uncertain.

⁹⁶ About one-quarter of the children were uncertain.

Table 6.9: Measures of Institutional Completeness

Measures of Institutional Completeness	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Numbers of Institutions (Q36)				
Supported by Group.				
none	37.1	18.2	72.2	35.9
1-6	62.9	45.5	26.6	24.1
7-12		20.5	.6	16.4
13-23		15.9	.6	23.6
Parochial Education of Self (Q37)				
all/most of education	88.2	85.3	63.0	51.3
very little/none	11.7	14.6	37.1	48.7
Parochial Education of Child (Q38)				
all/most of education	78.2	59.0	57.7	55.8
very little/none	21.9	41.0	42.2	44.2
Percent of Church Memb Dutch (Q31)				
half/all	36.7	97.6	31.7	73.7
less than half	63.4	2.4	68.3	26.3
Percent of Dutch in Neighbrhd (Q32)				
most/some	48.5	58.1	36.9	36.2
very few/none	51.6	41.9	63.1	63.9
Closest Friends (Q33)				
0 frnds sa grp, sa rel	28.6	25.0	59.2	35.4
1 frnd sa grp, sa rel	25.7	18.2	24.9	13.8
2 frnds sa grp, sa rel	14.3	13.6	7.1	16.4
3 frnds sa grp, sa rel	31.4	43.2	8.9	34.4
(1+2+3)same grp, same rel	71.4	75.0	40.9	64.6
(1+2+3)same grp, dif rel	22.8	6.8	8.9	9.7
0 frnds same grp, dif rel	77.1	93.2	91.1	90.3
(1+2+3)dif grp, same rel	22.9		57.5	20.5
0 frnds dif grp, same rel	77.1	100.0	42.6	79.5
(1+2+3)dif grp, dif rel	28.6	6.8	55.0	44.1
0 frnds dif grp, dif rel	71.4	93.2	45.0	55.9
Visits in Home (daily/weekly/monthly=dwm) (Q29)				
(dwm) same grp, same rel	79.9	97.2	57.6	70.9
other	20.0	2.7	42.3	29.2
(dwm) same grp, dif rel	62.5	47.8	34.8	18.0
other	37.5	52.1	65.2	82.0
(dwm) dif grp, same rel	61.5	30.0	53.4	35.1
other	38.4	70.0	36.6	64.8
(dwm) dif grp, dif rel	37.5	27.3	78.0	46.0
other	62.5	72.7	22.0	53.9

Table 6.9: (continued) Measures of Institutional Completeness

Measures of Institutional Completeness	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Visits Outside Home (Q30)				
(dwm) same grp, same rel	64.6	82.9	45.1	60.8
other	35.5	17.1	54.8	39.2
(dwm) same grp, dif rel	27.2	17.7	28.6	16.1
other	72.7	82.3	71.5	83.9
(dwm) dif grp, same rel	36.4	37.5	58.6	30.5
other	63.6	62.5	31.3	69.5
(dwm) dif grp, dif rel	48.0	31.6	68.5	44.2
other	52.0	68.4	31.6	55.8
Workplace of Self (Q59)				
same grp, same rel		42.9	8.6	23.4
dif grp, dif rel	100.0	42.9	83.6	71.5
other		14.3	7.8	5.1
Workplace of Spouse (Q60)				
same grp, same rel		12.5	3.9	21.1
dif grp, dif rel	87.5	62.5	82.5	72.9
other	12.5	25.0	13.6	6.1
Parochial Education Is a Most Important Gift (Q21, Pt.5)				
A	86.2	97.5	57.6	75.9
D	03.4		25.0	12.8
U	10.3	2.5	17.3	11.2
Parochial Schools Not as Good as Public Schools (Q22, Pt.5)				
A	04.2	14.7	12.7	10.3
D	91.7	73.5	46.1	76.3
U	04.2	11.8	41.1	13.4
Expose Young People to a Variety of Ideas (Q27, Pt.5)				
A	88.5	75.7	89.7	65.8
D	07.7	12.1	5.8	24.7
U	03.8	12.1	4.5	9.5
Dutch Radio/T.V. Is not Important (Q3, Pt.5)				
A	32.1	50.0	33.5	36.0
D	35.7	31.2	36.1	28.7
U	32.1	18.8	30.4	35.4
Church Cares for Seniors Well (Q11, Pt.5)				
A	48.1	92.7	40.1	77.9
D	25.9		17.7	3.3
U	25.9	7.3	42.2	18.8
Original Organizations not Suitable for Young People (Q26, Pt.5)				
A	31.8	21.9	39.1	23.4
D	18.1	59.4	9.1	40.8
U	50.0	18.8	51.9	35.8

Table 6.9: (continued) Measures of Institutional Completeness

Measures of Institutional Completeness	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Cath & Cal Are Able to Work Together on Issues Such as ProLife (Q8, Pt.5)	A 96.5 D 00.0 U 03.6	92.5 7.5	65.2 5.9 28.9	84.7 3.1 12.1
Ethnic Friends Seldom Become Good Friends (Q23, Pt.5)	A 21.5 D 71.5 U 07.1	29.4 50.0 20.6	7.1 85.8 7.1	25.5 67.0 7.4

6.5.4 Institutional Completeness

As was described in Chapter One, the social organization of the communities in which recent immigrants find themselves is one of the most important factors affecting their assimilation (Breton, 1965:193-205). It determines whether or not the immigrants will tend to form relationships with others of their own ethnic group, with members of another ethnic group, or with members of several communities. The social organization of ethnic groups also determines the number of institutions that are established. However, the range of types of institutions is more important than the actual number of institutions. The number and diversity of institutions determines how much of the social interaction takes place within the group. If a group is institutionally complete, then all of the interactions between members can take place within the group. If all of the needs of the members can be satisfied within the group, then the boundaries of the group are established and group members tend to stay together.⁹⁷

Unless the community is of a reasonable size, it cannot become institutionally complete. To establish and maintain religious, educational, and welfare institutions there must be adequate group support for these institutions (Breton, 1964:193-205). For example, as we saw in Chapter Two, Dutch-Calvinist immigrants could not always establish all the institutions they wished because they

⁹⁷Driedger and Church (1974:32) explained the function of the original institutions in this way: "Those groups that support their institutions tend to use their original institutions as their reference base, fearing to move too far away from their lifeline."

did not have sufficient manpower. Driedger and Church (1974:34) estimate that, if an ethnic group constitutes about one-quarter of the total population of a census tract, then that group will be able to establish and support new institutions. However, members who do not belong to the ethnic group can also help maintain ethnic and religious organizations (Herberg, 1989:211). For example, some Presbyterians, Baptists, and other evangelicals are sending their children to the Christian Schools established by Dutch immigrants.⁹⁸ Herberg notices a continued growth in ethnic organizations in recent years as the second generation maintains the institutions established by the first generation and adds to them. Some kinds of institutions are no longer needed. For example, services provided by the state have, in many instances, replaced those previously provided by the early mutual aid societies.⁹⁹ Some organizations have evolved to better suit the needs of the next generation. For example, Dutch-Canadian credit unions tend to have several generations of customers from the same families. However, children also shift their loyalties to other organizations (VandenHoonard, 1991:17).

There is a reciprocal, rather than a causal or hierarchical, relationship between residential segregation and institutional completeness (Driedger and Church, 1974:43). Communities tend to spring up around the first institutions that are established, generally churches and schools. At a later stage in the history of the group, there tends to be a movement to the suburbs. This migration is due in part to upward mobility (Ibid., p. 43). Another factor is a group's displacement by the arrival of more recent waves of new immigrants in the inner city.

As has been described, Dutch-Canadian Catholics formed more relationships within the receiving society, and fewer within their own group. On the other hand, the Dutch-Canadian Calvinists formed most of their relationships within their own ethnic group. Three-quarters of the elderly Calvinists, as compared with 28.6 percent of the elderly Catholics, reported a high level of institutional completeness for their group when this was investigated five years ago (van Dijk, 1990:103).

⁹⁸ More detailed information is given in Chapter Two, Section 2.6.1.

⁹⁹ In the 1960's, various churches in the Reformed tradition in St.Catharines provided home-care services to church members.

Catholics do not view all institutions as religious. They tend to view matters pertaining to the church as “sacred” and matters pertaining to the world as “profane” (Berger, 1967:123). Outside the church they feel free to participate in more “secular” activities, for example, card playing or drinking. As was described in Chapter Two, Section 2.2, in post-war Holland, Orthodox Calvinists favoured organizations based on Christian perspectives in most areas of life. For example, most Calvinists wanted labour unions, youth clubs, broadcasting stations, and sports clubs based on Calvinist beliefs. The Catholics and those Protestants who belonged to the Netherlands state church were satisfied with less involvement by the church (1973:16, 17).¹⁰⁰ Those Dutch Catholics who emigrated to North America had many resources available to them in Catholic society (Appendix O). The parish priest often became a confidant to the immigrants (Greeley, 1990:149). Most Catholics had regular contact with a priest. Hearing confessions, sermons, teaching, instructing children in the faith, and counselling were all part of a priest’s responsibility. The neighbourhood parish and the school were also important resources. The parish was often a network of religious, educational, familial, social and political contacts and relationships, while the Catholic school helped to integrate young people into the parish community (Ibid., pp. 155, 173). The levels of support of parochial education, the ethnicity of fellow church members, the extent of residential segregation, the extent of visiting and maintenance of friendships with members of the same group, the ethnic backgrounds of fellow workers, and the numbers of organizations and clubs started by ethnic group are all important indicators of the level of institutional completeness of a group. Each one of these will be discussed briefly in the following sections.

6.5.4.1 Organizations and Clubs

Members of the first generation are much more aware of the range of institutions established by their ethnic and church group. As one would expect, Calvinist parents (81.9%) identified the greatest

¹⁰⁰Some Catholics do live in a Catholic world. They may use Catholic hospitals, patronize Catholic credit unions, send their children to Catholic schools, place their elderly relatives in Catholic nursing homes, and spend their vacations at Catholic retreats.

number of institutions, followed by Calvinist children (64.1%) (See Table 6.9). Sixty-three percent of elderly Catholics and 27 percent of their children could identify one to six institutions associated with their group. About one-quarter of the Calvinist children (24%) could identify from thirteen to twenty-three institutions that were supported by their group.¹⁰¹ Among both Catholics and Calvinists, more children than parents indicated that none of the twenty-three types of institutions listed in the questionnaire were supported by their group.¹⁰²

Over two-thirds of Catholic parents (71.9%) belonged to Catholic clubs or organizations. Fewer than one-third of their children (28.9%) belonged to such organizations. This decline probably reflects a general pattern in Catholic congregations.¹⁰³ Of those who answered this question, more elderly Catholic women than younger Catholic women said they belonged to the Catholic Women's League (53.8% and 30.4%). Many of the Calvinist parents belonged to social clubs for seniors or to Bible study groups. The highest proportion of Calvinist children (30.6%) belonging to any one organization belonged to Christian high school associations.

While groups such as Jewish people, Ukrainians, Poles, and Italians established national "umbrella" organizations to coordinate the activities of all the different types of organizations they had established (Palmer, 1975:160), the Dutch have never had any such "umbrella" organizations

¹⁰¹ Parents were more likely than children to be able to identify ethnic and/or religious associations, clubs or organizations which were started by Dutch-Canadian Calvinists or by Dutch-Canadian Catholics (OR 3.083, YQ .510). And Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to be aware of or belong to such organizations. In fact, a large number (72.2%) of second-generation Catholics were not aware of any institutions which were supported by their group.

¹⁰² Among those respondents who were members of clubs, over three-quarters said that they attended either most or some of the meetings. In general, they said that most or some of their fellow club members were Dutch Canadians. The more common organizations to which Catholic respondents indicated they belonged are the following: Holy Family Foundation, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Women's League, Hamilton Holland Club, Dutch Credit Union, Dutch Card Club, Dutch Woodenshoe Dancers, Golden Agers Bus Tour, Cursilio, German Club, Lioness, Eucharistic Ministers', Lay Minister, Holy Angel Parish, Dutch Marine Veterans, Dutch Canadian Club, CAANS (Center for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies), Square Dance Club, Parish Council, Youth group leader, Sisters of St. Joseph, YMCA, Card Club, Optimist Club, United Sisters, St. Vincent De Paul, Lay Readers at Mass, Jr. Liturgy Group, Humanist Club, and AX Cularie. The more common organizations to which Calvinist respondents indicated they belonged are the following: Bible study club, Christian Farmers' Association, Christian Heritage Party, Christian High School Society, United Church Women, Christian Courier Board member, Coffee Break, Frisian Drama Club, Singles Club (Alleenstaanden), Hockey Club, Curling Club, Soccer Club, Professional Association, Dutch Credit Union, CAANS (Center for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies), Church choir, Youth group leader, Singles Club, Concordia Club, Prayer Group, Christian Business Club, ProLife, Right to Life, Beginnings, Community Living, World Vision, Missions, Education Committee, Ladies Society, Christian Women Club of Canada, Hope for Abused, Institute for Christian Studies, Powerhouse Youth Ministries, Couples Club, Redeemer College, Horticultural Garden Club, Wellingstone Tenant Association, and the Dutch-Canadian Legion.

¹⁰³ Children were much more likely than their parents not to belong to organizations or clubs of the group (OR .349, YQ -.482). The differences between religious groups was not pronounced.

representing all Dutch Canadians (Schryer, forthcoming).¹⁰⁴ In fact, the former Dutch-Canadian Alliance of Credit Unions may have been one of the few organizations of this type. Schryer¹⁰⁵ does not consider the religious organizations set up by Calvinists to be ethnic organizations. He is correct in that Calvinists do not consider their religious organizations to be ethnic organizations. However, organizations established by the Calvinists are generally considered to be Dutch by mainstream “Canadians”. As was explained in Chapter Two, this came about because of the fragmentation of Dutch society and the historical pattern of establishing parallel institutions. Rates of participation in Dutch ethnic institutions have varied over time. In the late 1960’s, the rate was high. An estimated 50,000 Dutch Canadians in Ontario, out of a total of about 60,000, belonged to Dutch- Canadian credit unions and/or Dutch social and cultural clubs. By the late 1980’s, the number had dwindled to 2,000. This represents only 3 percent of approximately 60,000 first- generation Dutch immigrants who have come to Ontario since 1945. If all the religious institutions established by Calvinists are counted in as well, the number of Dutch Canadians participating in ethnic organizations is estimated to stand at 65,000. This means that out of the total of about 200,000 Dutch Canadians in Ontario in the early 1990’s about one-third of Dutch Canadians participate in ethnic organizations (Schryer, forthcoming).

6.5.4.2 Parochial Education

Parochial school attendance represents a different kind of measure of institutional completeness for the Calvinists than for the Catholics. This is because Catholic schools in Ontario operate within the publicly funded system. Since 1984, Catholic secondary schools have been fully funded. Parents who send their children to parochial schools are committed to an educational system where the values in

¹⁰⁴ Committees representing all Dutch Canadians have been set up for specific purposes. For example, when Queen Beatrix visited Hamilton in 1989, Dutch Canadians from all three groups formed a committee to organize a reception. Fundraising projects to commemorate the liberation of The Netherlands by establishing a Netherlands Liberation Memorial Theatre, as part of the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa, and by building an authentic Dutch windmill in Ottawa are seen as involving all Dutch Canadians. In addition, a Netherlands Bazaar Committee in Toronto organizes a yearly bazaar in order to help those Dutch immigrants who find themselves in extreme financial difficulties.

¹⁰⁵ Dr. Frans Schryer, a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph, conducted extensive interviews with Dutch Canadians in Ontario. He is in the process of publishing his findings in a book entitled Religion, Class and Dutch Ethnicity, Wilfred-Laurier Press.

which they believe are taught and reinforced. Not only do Catholic and Calvinist schools provide both religious instruction, and instruction in academic subjects, but they also teach all academic courses from a Christian viewpoint.

Some Calvinist respondents objected to the use of the term parochial schools for church school. One respondent writes, "(The) name parochial schools may confuse some people. Calvinists have taken pride in establishing independent parentally-controlled schools, rather than church-controlled parochial schools" (Respondent 23703). Not all Christian schools are church schools. For example, the seventy-two Christian schools, which the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools helped to establish over the years, are all currently controlled by the parents. They are operated and run by Boards of Directors elected by and from the parents.

There is also some confusion with regard to who actually runs Catholic schools. While the roles of clergy and laity in the running of the schools are not easily determined, the editors of The Canadian Register are of the opinion that "unquestionably, Bishops and parish priests do, on occasion, 'dictate' to the boards and exercise the veto" (Walker, 1986:131-133). However, under provincial law the right to establish and run separate schools belongs to the Roman Catholic ratepayers (Ibid., p. 131). They, in turn, elect school boards to manage the schools. However, in the past, the clergy often acted as liaisons with the government, giving their opinions on issues relating to separate school legislation. The influence of the clergy was also strong because of financial ties. For example, school sites and buildings often belong to the church, and are leased from the church or donated by the church to Catholic school boards. Father Priester, a Hamilton priest who served as a member of the first secretariat of the English Catholic Education Association of Ontario, which was established in 1943, warned the Oshawa School Board against such ties. He told them, "The School Board should act on its own. I know there should be cooperation with the church re sites and schools but it should not infringe on the autonomy of the Board" (Ibid., p. 140). In addition to government grants, parishes also directly subsidized schools. As school grants from the provincial government increased, these schools became less dependent on subsidies from parishes, and the

control of the clergy diminished (Ibid., pp. 137, 141). Separate schools were also greatly helped by the large number of nuns and brothers who taught for very little money.

In our 1995 study, Catholic respondents were more likely than Calvinist respondents to have received all or most of their education in parochial schools (OR 3.389, YQ .544).¹⁰⁶ Substantial generational differences were also evident. Parents were more likely than children to have received a parochial education (OR 2.533, YQ .434). Of the four groups, Catholic parents were most likely to send their children to parochial schools.¹⁰⁷ Of the Catholic parents who gave reasons for not sending their children, two-thirds said parochial schools were not locally available. The remaining parents had different kinds of reasons. They said that the schools were too far away, that the schools cost too much, or that they were simply not interested in sending their children. Bishops and clergy had a firm belief in the importance of Catholic education. They emphasized that where separate schools exist, devout Catholics do not send their children to public schools. Only among those living a great distance from a separate school was the public school an acceptable option. If parents were granted permission to send their children to public schools for financial reasons,¹⁰⁸ they had to arrange for their children's religious instruction with their priest. In spite of these recommendations, it is estimated that in 1961 about two-fifths of the Catholic children in Toronto attended public schools (Walker, 1986:202).

In our survey, Catholic children were less likely to have sent or be sending their offspring to parochial schools than were their parents (57.7% and 78.2%). And they gave different kinds of reasons for not doing so. One-third said they were not interested, one-fifth said that the schools existed but were too far away, and one-eighth said that parochial schools were not available in their area. The issue of cost was not relevant for this group.

¹⁰⁶More Catholic parents than Catholic children had received all or most of their education in parochial schools (88.2% and 63.0%). Among the Calvinists, 85.3% of the parents and 51.3% of the children received parochial education.

¹⁰⁷Over three-quarters of the Catholic parents (78.2%) and about one-half of the Catholic children (57.7%) report that their children received all or most of their education in parochial schools. Fifty-nine percent of the Calvinist parents and 55.8% of the Calvinist children report the same.

¹⁰⁸In the late 1940's, Catholics, in Ontario, had to pay higher tax rates in order to send their children to parochial schools (Walker, 1986:202).

Most of the elderly Calvinists (85%) had been educated in Christian schools, but only half of their children (51.3%) had attended Christian schools either all or most of the time (See Table 6.9). There were several reasons for this drop in rates of attendance at Christian schools. First, costs were not a factor for the parent generation. Because of the traditional pillarization of Dutch society, Christian schools were fully funded by the government. Second, when immigrants first arrived in Canada, there were very few Christian schools (Appendix E).¹⁰⁹ Therefore, the older children did not have the opportunity to attend Christian schools. Third, when the Calvinist communities in Canada started establishing Christian schools, some parents could not afford the high cost of tuition. These three reasons help to explain why only 59 percent of elderly Calvinists had sent their children to Christian schools for all or most of their education.¹¹⁰ Again, a variety of reasons were given by the elderly Calvinists for not sending their children to Christian schools. About half of them said that Christian schools were not available. The second most common reason, cited by one-fifth, was high costs. Fourteen percent said that these schools were too far away, and 9 percent claimed they were not interested in sending their children. Nine percent cited other reasons for not sending them. Some respondents felt very strongly that it should be the parents', not the teachers' responsibility, to teach moral and religious beliefs to children. Some disagreed with the very idea of separate education. Some respondents had wanted certain programs that were not offered in parochial schools. For example, some wanted French immersion programs for their children. And some were dissatisfied with a particular school or with a particular method of teaching.

Slightly more than one-half of the second-generation Calvinists sent their children to Christian schools (55.8%) (See Table 6.9). The reasons given for not sending one's children were rather different from those given by the first-generation parents. Only 9 percent said that schools were not available, 12 percent said that schools were too far away, 25 percent said that they were not interested, and 13 percent cited other reasons. However, the most common response, given by two-fifths

¹⁰⁹ Information on Christian schools is to be found in Chapter Two, Section 2.6.1.

¹¹⁰ There was only a slight drop in the number of Calvinist children (55.8%) who sent, or are presently sending, their own children to Christian schools.

of the respondents (40.0%), was that these schools cost too much.

6.5.4.3 The Ethnicity of Fellow Church Members

Churches are usually the first and the most important organizations to be established by new immigrant groups (Breton, 1964:193-205). In Canada, immigrants tend to affiliate with ethnic churches. An ethnic church is a church in which more than half of the members are from the same ethnic group. Even when groups have lived many years in Canada, there does not seem to be sharp decreases in the proportions of members belonging to ethnic churches. Research conducted in the 1970's showed that two-thirds of those immigrants who came as adults and who have lived in Canada for up to seven years belong to an ethnic church (Reitz, 1980:137). Among those immigrants who have lived in Canada for twenty years or more, about one-half belong to an ethnic church. Among those immigrants who came as children, but who were raised in Canada, about one in four belongs to an ethnic church. O'Bryan (1976) found the Dutch and Scandinavians to be the least likely to attend churches of their own ethnic group. The Dutch were also the least likely to use the Dutch language for any of their services. Two-thirds of the Dutch were Protestant and one-fifth were Catholic. In 1971, almost one-quarter of Dutch immigrants attended churches where the proportion of Dutch church members ranged from one-half to all or almost all of the congregation (O'Bryan, et al., 1975: 142).

Dutch-Canadian churches in the Calvinist tradition exhibit similar patterns. Today, many of these congregations include large numbers of Dutch immigrants (See Table 6.9). In our study, Calvinists were much more likely than Catholics to say that Dutch people made up one-half or more of the congregations of the churches they attended (OR 12.166, YQ .848). Most of the Calvinist parents (97.6%) and 73.7 percent of the Calvinist children said this was the case. In comparison, only 36.7 percent of the Catholic parents and 31.7 percent of the Catholic children said that one-half to all of the members of their congregations were of Dutch background. A survey of Dutch Catholics in London, Ontario, in the early 1970's showed that only 8 percent of them belonged to largely Dutch congregations (Graumans, 1973:69). Dutch Catholics attended Catholic churches serving many

ethnic groups. However, as more of the Reformed immigrant churches become community churches, their congregations are changing. Already, three-quarters of the younger generation (73.7%) say that one-half or more of the members of the churches they attend are Dutch Canadians.

6.5.4.4 Residential Segregation

A tendency to live close to one another is another distinguishing feature of institutionally complete societies. However, according to Reitz (1980:117), it is one of the least important indicators of ethnic group cohesion. Groups can exist without residential segregation.¹¹¹ Usually members of a particular ethnic group will settle close to their churches and schools, because those tend to be the first institutions that are established. Reitz showed that residential segregation was not very important for the Northern Europeans.¹¹² Only 1.7 percent of his sample of Northern Europeans lived in neighbourhoods where most residents were of the same ethnic origin (Ibid., p. 222). Overall, about one-half of adult immigrants lived in segregated neighbourhoods during their first seven years in Canada (Ibid., p. 137). After twenty years, only slightly more than one-quarter remained in such neighbourhoods. There was not a rapid decline with each generation. When one considers people of all ages raised in Canada, one finds that about one-quarter live in ethnic neighbourhoods. The movement of members of ethnic groups into communities of the dominant group is a sign of structural assimilation.

While patterns of residential segregation were similar for Catholic and Calvinist respondents, the differences were in the expected direction (See Table 6.9). Because of the method of sample selection, we focus on the residential patterns of the second generation.¹¹³ The relatively low numbers

¹¹¹Reitz (1980:15) defines residence in an ethnic neighbourhood in the following manner. A respondent was said to be living in such a neighbourhood if he/she lived in a segregated ethnic community, that is a neighbourhood in which most residents were of the same group.

¹¹²Dutch people follow a Northern European pattern. They do not live in highly segregated neighbourhoods, as do Italians, Chinese, Jews, and Blacks (Kalbach, 1990:94-98)

¹¹³About half of the parents lived in neighbourhoods where most or some of the neighbours were Dutch. The first-generation Calvinist immigrants often chose to live close to churches and schools in order to keep transportation costs in check and to reduce the time taken up with transporting their children to Christian schools and to the weekly church programs (such as, catechism, Calvinettes, and Cadets). Because of the way in which the sample of first-generation Catholics was selected, their residential patterns may well not be representative of those of older Dutch Canadians. For example, living in a Dutch complex was a criterion for selection for some Catholics.

of Calvinists living in neighbourhoods with other Dutch Calvinists may indicate that members of the younger generation have moved out to the suburbs. About one-third of the children lived in neighbourhoods where some or most of the neighbours were Dutch.¹¹⁴ In the case of Dutch-Canadian Calvinists, residential segregation does not appear to be important for maintaining ethnic solidarity (Lieberson 1970:213-235). Our findings are similar to those of Driedger and Church (1974:31) who studied the residential patterns of Jewish people in Winnipeg. It is quite possible to move to the suburbs and to continue to maintain an ethnic community.

6.5.4.5 Friendship Patterns

Ethnic identification is one aspect of group membership. A second aspect is the interaction that takes place within the ethnic group (Reitz, 1980:111). There can be peripheral members, who identify with the group, but who do not interact with members. There can also be "latent" members, who do not identify with the group, but who do interact with members. Interaction within the group and group identification are related to one another. People with larger numbers of friends belonging to the same group are more likely to have strong feelings of identification with their ethnic group (Ibid., p. 112). High levels of interaction within the group are also strongly associated with high levels of endogamy, frequent use of the ethnic language, residential segregation, and ethnic church affiliation. In the 1976 sample of immigrants studied by Reitz (1980:112), one-third were completely absorbed in the ethnic group, while one-third had all of their ties outside the group. The other one-third maintained ties both within and outside the group.¹¹⁵ Three-quarters said that at least one of their three closest friends belonged to their own ethnic group. However, only 38 percent said that all three of their closest friends belonged to their own ethnic group (Ibid., p. 112).

¹¹⁴Fifty-eight percent of Calvinists and 48.5% of Catholics lived in areas in which some or most of their neighbours were Dutch Canadians. But only one-third of the younger generation said that some or most of their neighbours were Dutch Canadians (36.9% of Catholics and 36.2% of Calvinists). Parents were more likely than children to say that some or most of their neighbours were Dutch Canadians (OR 2.041, YQ .342).

¹¹⁵Of the 38% who only had friends within the ethnic group, only 18% identified themselves as belonging exclusively to the group. Similarly, of the 36% who labeled themselves as being outside the group, only 12% had all their social ties outside the group network.

In our study, respondents were asked about the religious and ethnic backgrounds of three of their closest friends (See Table 6.9).¹¹⁶ They were also asked how often they visited with group members (other than family) or with friends outside the group. These meetings could take place inside their own homes or in the homes of their friends. Or they could take place in restaurants, coffee shops, or movie theatres.

First, we consider the friendship patterns of those respondents who have friends of the same ethnic group but of a different religion. Catholic parents had the greatest number of Dutch friends of different religions (22.8%). It is very interesting to note that the great majority of the other three groups (over nine-tenths) indicated they had no Dutch friends of different religions.¹¹⁷ This means that there has been very little contact between Dutch Catholics, Dutch Calvinists, and people of Dutch background belonging to other churches, for example, to the United Church. Calvinists were more likely to have no Dutch friends of other religions.¹¹⁸

Let us now consider the friendship patterns of those whose close friends are both of the same ethnic group and the same religion. Forty-three percent of Calvinist parents and 34 percent of Calvinist children said that their three closest friends were all Dutch-Canadian Calvinists. Among the Catholics, 31 percent of the parents and 9 percent of the children said their three closest friends were all Dutch Catholics.¹¹⁹ In contrast, 59 percent of Catholic children and 29 percent of Catholic parents, and 35 percent of Calvinist children and 25 percent of Calvinist parents had no friends in this group.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶The numbers of closest friends were computed by counting all the friends of the same group and the same religion, by using the COUNT command. Each of the categories could have from 0 to 3 friends in them.

¹¹⁷There were no pronounced differences between Catholics and Calvinists, or between members of the first and second generations.

¹¹⁸In his survey of Dutch-Canadian immigrants in the London and Hamilton area (N=227), Graumans (1973:70) found that Calvinists had slightly more contact with other Dutch immigrants (77% and 66%), while Catholics had slightly more contact with other Canadians (4% and 11%). Both the Calvinist and Catholic immigrants, who had been in Canada for between 15 and 25 years, had numerous ties with other immigrants, but few with Canadians.

¹¹⁹Catholics were less likely than Calvinists to have friends in this group (OR .320, YQ -.515). Parents were less likely than children to have no friends in this group (OR .418, YQ -.411).

¹²⁰Schryer, a Dutch-Canadian anthropologist of Catholic background, a member of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph, describes the friendship patterns of Dutch immigrants in his forthcoming book, *Religion, Class and Dutch Ethnicity*: "Older Dutch-Canadian couples often start interacting more and more with fellow Dutch Canadians of similar background after retirement, despite years of dealing with non-Dutch employers, customers or neighbours. Although well integrated into other aspects of Canadian society, they are not

It is interesting to note that, with the exception of Catholic children, a high proportion of all the groups, have no friends of different ethnic backgrounds but of the same religion. Among the Catholic children, 31 percent said that they had one such friend, 17 percent said that they had two such friends, and only 9 percent said that they had three such friends.¹²¹ Generational differences were again evident. Many of the older Catholic and Calvinist parents had no friends of different ethnic backgrounds and different religions (71.4% and 93.2%). In the second generation, fewer Catholics than Calvinists had no friends of different ethnic backgrounds and different religions (45.0% and 55.9%). When we added together the numbers who had one or more friends in this category, 55 percent of the Catholic children and 44 percent of the Calvinist children had one, two, or three such friends. In contrast, only 29 percent of Catholic parents and 6.8 percent of Calvinist parents had one, two, or three friends of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.¹²² No one in the parent generation had all three close friends of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Generally, we can conclude that Calvinists maintain most of their close friendships with other Dutch Calvinists, while Catholics are more likely to have friends among all the groups in Canadian society. This finding provides further evidence of the high level of institutional completeness of the Calvinist community.

Differences between the groups were also evident in their attitudes towards friends of different ethnic backgrounds. For example, most Catholic parents and Catholic children strongly disagreed or disagreed with the following statement "My friends who were of a different ethnic background seldom have become good friends" (71.5% and 85.8%). In contrast, nearly one-third of older Calvinists (29.4%), and about one-quarter of younger Calvinists (25.5%) agreed with this statement.¹²³

as likely to have intimate friends with Canadian families who have already been in Canada for generations. In numerous interviews, Dutch Canadians, who are adamant about being Canadian rather than "Dutch", have confided that those with whom they socialize on a regular basis, are other Dutch immigrants. This is as true for Catholics or people who have no specific religious affiliation as for Calvinists. When non-Dutch friends are mentioned, they are likely to be other European immigrants (e.g. Germans or Italians) rather than native-born Canadians" (excerpt from *Religion, Class and Dutch Ethnicity*, Schryer, forthcoming).

¹²¹ Calvinists were more likely than Catholics (OR 10.997, YQ .833), and parents were more likely than children (OR 5.356, YQ .685) to have no friends of different ethnic backgrounds, but of the same religion.

¹²² Parents were more likely than children to have no friends of different ethnic and religious backgrounds (OR 4.912, YQ .662). Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to have no friends of different ethnic and religious backgrounds (OR 2.366, YQ .406).

¹²³ Calvinists were much more likely than Catholics to agree with this observation (OR 4.767, YQ .653). However, it is important to note that 20.6% of the Calvinist parents were uncertain.

6.5.4.6 Visiting Patterns

The extent of social interaction within the ethnic group is another important aspect of ethnic group cohesion (Reitz, 1980:111-113). It can be measured by documenting the frequency members visit with others of their own ethnic group and by considering the extent to which members confine their close friendships to their own group. Research shows that although first-generation immigrants tend to visit more frequently with members of their own group and of their own religion, many also visit with members of other ethnic groups. Almost two-thirds of the 1971 sample studied by Reitz maintained close ties with members of their own ethnic group, but many of those also have ties outside their ethnic group (Ibid., p. 111). In most ethnic groups the rates of participation in social events outside the ethnic group increased in successive generations (Isajiw, 1990:63). The Northern Europeans (which included the Dutch) had the lowest levels of interaction within the group, the lowest levels of ethnic identification, the lowest levels of endogamy, the lowest levels of residential segregation, and the lowest rates of affiliation with ethnic churches. Their patterns were compared with those of the Eastern Europeans, the Southern Europeans, and the Chinese. The Eastern Europeans had the highest rates of ethnic language retention (Reitz, 1980:119). As one would expect, the Northern Europeans tend to form the least cohesive groups. As a result, these individual groups tend to have a very low profile in Canadian life.¹²⁴ This fact prompted VandenHoonard (1990) to call the Dutch in Canada “the silent ethnicity.”

In our study, there were marked differences in respondents’ visiting patterns, both in the home and outside the home. Elderly Calvinists were more likely than elderly Catholics to visit once a month or more frequently with other Dutch Canadians belonging to the same religion (97.2% and 79.9%).¹²⁵ In the second generation, more Calvinists than Catholics visited with Dutch friends of the

¹²⁴It is relatively easy for members of Northern European groups to function as “mainstream” politicians, businessmen, artists, academics, and so on.

¹²⁵Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to have daily, weekly, or monthly visits with other Dutch Canadians of their own religion (OR 3.739, YQ .578). There were also marked differences between the generations. The older generation was more likely than the younger generation to visit with Dutch Canadians of their own religion (OR 4.640, YQ .645).

same religion (70.9% and 57.6%). Of all the groups, Catholics and children visited most frequently with people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.¹²⁶ Of the four groups, the children of Catholics (78.0%) visited most frequently with people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Among both the Catholics (78.0% and 37.5%) and the Calvinists (46.0% and 27.3%) almost twice as many children as parents, visited with such people. First-generation Calvinists were three times as likely as second-generation Calvinists (47.8% and 18%) to visit Dutch friends of different religions.¹²⁷ And first-generation Catholics were twice as likely to do so as second-generation Catholics (62.5% and 34.8%).

Respondents' patterns of visiting with friends outside the home showed the same kinds of variations. More Calvinist parents than Calvinist children reported visiting at least once a month with Dutch-Canadian Calvinist friends (82.9% and 60.8%).¹²⁸ Here again, of all the groups, Catholic children reported the highest rate (68.5%) of visiting with people of different origins and different religions. Catholic children also had the highest rate (58.6%) of visiting with Catholic friends who belonged to other ethnic groups.¹²⁹ The number of respondents who visited Dutch-Canadian friends of a different religious background was small. Catholics and members of the parent generation were more likely to do so. In summary, it appears that Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to visit with friends of the same group and same religion. This was the case regardless of whether the visits took place inside the home or outside the home. Similar numbers of first-generation Catholics as first-generation Calvinists visited with others of their own religion but of different ethnic backgrounds (36.4% and 37.5%). It is clear that there are important differences in the friendship patterns of

¹²⁶ Parents were less likely than children to visit with members of this group (OR .292, YQ -.548). And Calvinists were less likely to do so than Catholics (OR .276, YQ -.567).

¹²⁷ Visiting in the home with Dutch people of different backgrounds was also more common among the members of the first generation (OR 3.479, YQ .553). In both generations, fewer Calvinists than Catholics followed this pattern (OR .434, YQ -.394). Calvinists were less likely than Catholics to visit friends of different ethnic, but of the same religious backgrounds (OR .258, YQ -.590). Slightly more younger than older respondents did so.

¹²⁸ Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to visit daily, weekly, or monthly with Dutch-Canadian friends of the same religion (OR 3.014, YQ .502). Parents were more likely than children to do so (OR 2.480, YQ .425).

¹²⁹ Over three-fifths of the elderly Catholics visited at least once a month with other Dutch Catholics, and about two-fifths visited that frequently with other Catholics who were not of Dutch origin. In comparison, over four-fifths of the first-generation Calvinists visited at least once a month with other Dutch Calvinists, and about two-fifths visited that frequently with other Calvinists who were not of Dutch origin.

Catholics and Calvinists. These were evident among members of both the first and the second generations.

6.5.4.7 Ethnicity and the Workplace

Driedger (1989:50) observes that most members of ethnic groups are forced to assimilate in the workplace. Most people must work for a living. However, our survey shows that there were marked variations in the kinds of ethnic mixes found in the respondents' workplaces. Ethnic groups which are more cohesive tend to have higher proportions of their members working with others of the same ethnic background and the same religion.¹³⁰ One-quarter of the Calvinist children (23.4%) worked with other Dutch Calvinists. In contrast, very few of the Catholic children (8.6%) worked with other Dutch Catholics.¹³¹ The same pattern was evident in the workplaces of their spouses.¹³² About three-quarters of Calvinist and Catholic children worked with people of different ethnic and different religious backgrounds (71.5% and 83.6%). Again, the same pattern was evident in the workplaces of their spouses (72.9% and 82.5%).¹³³

Calvinists who own businesses tend to feel that they are obligated to provide jobs to members of their own ethnic and religious group. For example, one owner of a large nursery garden indicated that one-half of his workforce was made up of Dutch-Canadian Calvinists, and that the other half of his workforce was also Calvinist, but of a different ethnic group (Respondent 21403). Many students in Christian schools find summer jobs with employers who are also members of their church. This pattern of patronage is also common in Catholic circles. For example, a commissioner serving on the Hope Commission, a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into and report on the educational

¹³⁰ Italian and Jewish respondents of first, second, and third generations have ethnic co-workers, ethnic supervisors, and ethnic customers, while German respondents do not (Reitz, 1990:186, 174).

¹³¹ In addition, very few Catholic children said that they worked with other Catholics. Most (83.6%) reported that they worked with people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

¹³² Twenty-one percent of spouses of the Calvinist children worked with other Dutch Calvinists, while only 3.9% of spouses of the Catholic children worked with other Dutch Catholics.

¹³³ Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to work with other Dutch Canadians of the same religion (OR 4.382, YQ .628). Parents and children were equally likely to have worked or be working with other Dutch Canadians of the same religion (OR 1.488, YQ .196). The same pattern was apparent in the workplaces of the respondents' spouses. The spouses of Calvinists were more likely than the spouses of Catholics to work with Dutch Canadians of their own religion (OR 7.595, YQ .767). Again, the differences between the generations were not pronounced.

system in Ontario, charged that “there is a general feeling that Roman Catholics tend to adhere to their own business associates” (Walker, 1986:28). Later, the charge was denied by a lawyer representing the Catholics on the Commission.

6.5.4.8 Attitudes towards Institutional Completeness

This section deals with the feelings of respondents regarding the various institutions that promote cohesiveness among members of groups. These include parochial schools, Dutch media, ethnic organizations, and religious/ethnic community organizations. There were substantial differences between the groups in their attitudes and feelings with regard to these institutions (See Table 6.9). For example, most members of the first generation agreed that a parochial education is one of the most important gifts that one can give to one’s children (97.5% of the Calvinists and 86.2% of the Catholics).¹³⁴ Fewer Catholic children than Calvinist children agreed (57.6% and 75.9%).¹³⁵ With the exception of second-generation Catholics, most of the respondents strongly disagreed or disagreed with the idea that standards in the parochial educational system do not measure up to those in the public school system (91.7% of Catholic parents, 73.5% of Calvinist parents, 46.1% of Catholic children, and 76.3% of Calvinist children disagreed). However, it is important to remember that 41.1% of the Catholic children were uncertain about this matter. Also, the differences between Catholics and Calvinists and the differences between the generations were not substantial. It is interesting to find that nearly half of the Catholic children believed that the standards in Catholic schools are not equivalent to those in the public school system. This may explain why so many of them were sending their own children to public schools (See Table 6.9).

Catholics were rather more likely than Calvinists to agree with the statement that it is important to expose a young person to a wide variety of people and circumstances, so that he/she can make up his/her own minds about important issues in life (88.5% and 75.7% among parents and

¹³⁴Seventeen percent of the Catholic children were uncertain.

¹³⁵Members of the first generation were far more likely than members of the second generation to agree with this statement (OR 17.379, YQ .891). The differences between Catholics and Calvinists were also marked. Calvinists were more likely to agree (OR 3.727, YQ. 577).

89.7% and 65.8% among children). One Calvinist emphasized that this exposure should have limits and should never be value free.

Not one of the respondents held strong opinions about the importance of the Dutch media in the process of assimilation. There are few Dutch-Canadian radio or television programs.¹³⁶ Radio Nederland does produce some programs in Holland which are then re-broadcast. These are paid for by the Dutch government as part of its service to Dutch communities abroad (Ganzevoort, 1988:120). The general consensus of the respondents was that Dutch radio and television programs are not of much importance in keeping the Dutch community together. This is perhaps to be expected. In Holland, even broadcasting time was "pillarized" and assigned on the basis of religion (Graumans, 1973:13).¹³⁷

A high proportion of the elderly Calvinists (92.7%) agreed that their church looked after its older members very well. Only half as many (48.1%) elderly Catholics could say the same. Twice as many Calvinist children as Catholic children were satisfied with how their church looked after its elderly members (77.9% and 40.1%). Substantial numbers of Catholics said that they were uncertain.¹³⁸

Many of the respondents were not sure whether the organizations of their ethnic groups encouraged the participation of younger people. However, more than one-half of the older Calvinists (59.4%) thought that their organizations were quite suitable for the younger people in their group. But only 18.1 percent of the older Catholics were of this opinion. Among members of the second generation, the proportions were 9.1 percent among Catholics and 40.8 percent among Calvinists.¹³⁹ Most respondents (96.5%, 92.5%, 65.2%, and 84.7%) agreed that in certain areas, such as ProLife,

¹³⁶ Zingend Geloven is a weekly radio program of Dutch psalms and hymns, produced in Toronto for the Dutch Reformed community.

¹³⁷ However, about one-third of the respondents were uncertain about this issue.

¹³⁸ One-quarter of the Catholic parents and two-fifths of the Catholic children were uncertain about this issue. Calvinists were much more likely than Catholics to agree that their church looked after its older members very well (OR 19.315, YQ .902). The differences between the generations were not pronounced.

¹³⁹ Catholics were much less likely than Calvinists to think that the organizations supported by Dutch Catholics were suitable for the younger people in their group (OR .134, YQ -.764).

Catholics and Calvinists could work together (OR 2.948, YQ .493).¹⁴⁰

When asked to list the positive aspects of belonging to a Dutch-Canadian community, many Calvinists mentioned the patterns of mutual support, caring, and help they experienced within the group. Others talked of the importance of sharing a common background, values, interests, faith, and of all working together for common causes. One of the Calvinist children wrote, "There is a bond and security in belonging to a certain group in joy or sorrow in life's various experiences. You know you can count on them to be there for you, to understand and help if needed" (Respondent 24103). Some Dutch Catholics questioned whether a Dutch-Catholic community really existed. In fact, some said that they were fully integrated into Canadian society. For example, one second-generation Catholic wrote, "We do not belong to a Dutch-Canadian Catholic community, but [we] do belong to a Canadian Catholic community. Does a Dutch-Canadian Catholic community exist?" (Respondent 14203).

Catholic respondents were more likely to be critical. When asked about the negative aspects of belonging to a Dutch-Canadian community, they sometimes saw it as being cliquish, gossipy, narrow-minded, closed to outside influences, and tending to limit relationships, experiences, and opportunities. Some talked of there being a "ghetto mentality", and of the shutting out of other groups. One Catholic wrote, "I think if you move to Canada, you must blend in their customs and ways, mainly language. If you can't let go of your background, then I suggest you should stay in your own country to maintain your desire to be whatever ethnic group you are" (Respondent 14610). Another Catholic stated, "We came to Canada to become proud Canadians, and assimilate into society as our parents did" (Respondent 11309). Another preferred to be regarded as "fully Canadian, fully integrated" (Respondent 10301). A few of the Dutch Calvinists did not feel at home in an institutionally complete society. For example, one second-generation immigrant wrote, "I don't belong to the (Calvinist) community" (Respondent 24014). Another remarked, "I find this ethnic and religious affiliation fixation narrow-minded and unpleasant, and divisive to the wholeness

¹⁴⁰Over one-quarter of the Catholic children were not certain

and wellbeing of Canada” (Respondent 21303). A third immigrant commented, “Not all religious organizations are as hard to be accepted in as Dutch Calvinists” (Respondent 20205).

6.6 Summary

We have explored certain aspects of the lives of Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists and we have contrasted the views and the experiences of members of the first and the second generations. Let us now summarize the most important findings. Although the first-generation Catholics had been rather better situated in Holland and had received more formal education than the Calvinists, these differences had disappeared in the second generation.

As one would expect, Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to eat Dutch foods and to read the Bible at mealtimes. However, Catholics were more likely to cheer for Dutch soccer teams. There were a number of generational differences. Parents were more likely than children to observe ethnic holidays and to express an interest in the Dutch royal family. Parents were also more likely to be bilingual. They were also more likely to read Dutch newspapers. Although the differences between the religious groups in people’s feelings with regard to symbolic identity were not great, the differences between the generations were pronounced. More parents than children thought of themselves as Dutch or as Dutch Canadians. However, it is interesting to note that children tended to see their parents as Dutch. Ethnic identity was more important for Calvinists and for members of the first generation.

Calvinists reported higher levels of religiosity, regardless of whether religiosity was measured objectively or subjectively. Calvinists were more likely to attend church, and members of the first generation were more likely to do so than members of the second generation. Calvinists and members of the parent generation were also more likely to tithe. More parents than children thought religion to be of central importance in their lives.

As one would expect, Catholics had far higher rates of intermarriage. They were more likely

to marry outside the Catholic faith and outside the Dutch group. They were also more accepting of intermarriage. Catholics were more likely to have attended parochial schools, and they were also more likely to send their children to parochial schools. Calvinists were much more likely to attend churches with other people of Dutch descent. Although Calvinists were more likely to have close Dutch-Canadian friends of the same religion, members of the second generation and Catholics were more likely to have friends of different ethnic backgrounds and of different religions.¹⁴¹ Calvinists and members of the older generation were also more likely to visit with Dutch Canadians of their own religion. In the workplace, Calvinists were more likely to work with other Dutch Canadians of the same religion. As one would expect, Dutch-Catholic respondents, especially members of the second generation, were not very aware of the various clubs or organizations established by Dutch Catholics following their arrival in Canada.¹⁴² Only a few of them belonged to such organizations. These organizations were probably important to the Catholic parents during the time of transition to a new life in Canada, but they were less important to the next generation which grew up in Canada. Among both Calvinists and Catholics, members of the first generation were more likely to agree that parochial education is valuable, and that standards were equivalent to those in public schools. Finally, Calvinists were more likely to be satisfied with how their church provides for its older members. In the next chapter, we will examine both the differences and similarities in the types of social support given to the elderly by each group.

¹⁴¹About three-quarters (71.4%) of Catholic parents had at least one Catholic friend of Dutch background. Nearly one-quarter (22.9%) had at least one Catholic friend of a different ethnic background. Two-fifths (40.9%) of the Catholic children had at least one Catholic friend of Dutch background. Over one-half (57.5%) had at least one Catholic friend of a different ethnic background (Q33).

¹⁴²The Dutch Catholics had "only one or two truly ethnic organizations" in the 1970's (Graumans, 1973:69).

Chapter 7

Intra-Ethnic Variations in Patterns of Social Support

7.1 Introduction

We now consider the social support given to the elderly in Dutch-Canadian Catholic and Calvinist communities. We are especially interested in how ethnicity and religion affect social support. The elderly parents in our survey are quite healthy and very independent. They do not receive a great deal of help from their children, nor do they provide much help to their children. Intensive help patterns are rare because this sample excluded any seriously ill, recently bereaved, or confused elderly parents. Formal services, specifically home help services, are seldom used by either Calvinists or Catholics, except in cases of serious illnesses.¹ First, we discuss sizes of networks and frequency of contact. Next, we examine the living arrangements of elderly Catholics and Calvinists and the availability of ethnic and/or religious seniors' complexes and nursing homes. Finally, we discuss the types of assistance provided and the frequency of exchanges.²

¹Research carried out in 1984 in Winnipeg showed that only 15% of elderly people living in the community used formal services. Eighty percent of those receiving formal services also receive informal care. Ninety-four percent of those receiving any help received informal support (Chappell, 1992:51, 55). Chipperfield (1994:439) also used data from Manitoba. Her 1971 sample consisted of 1,155 men and 1,357 women, and her 1983 sample consisted of 525 men and 954 women. In 1971, 91% of the men and 74% of the women who received help received it from informal sources. In 1983, 70% of both the men and the women who received help with instrumental activities of daily living (IADL) received it from informal sources. Therefore, most elders who received help with instrumental activities of daily living received it from informal sources, generally from family members. However, the substitution effect may have been operative for men. Chipperfield found that, in 1983, men were more likely to be obtaining most of their help with the instrumental activities of daily living from formal sources than they had been in 1971 (Chipperfield, 1994:450).

²Basic activities of daily living (ADL) include such activities as feeding, bathing, and getting around the house. These activities are crucial for survival. Instrumental activities of daily living (IDAL), also called household management tasks, include the following: laundry, housekeeping, preparing meals, yardwork, shopping, managing financial affairs, household repairs, going outdoors, taking medication, watching television, listening to the radio, and using the telephone. These activities are necessary if one is to maintain one's independence (Chipperfield, 1994:436, 439).

7.2 Informal Social Support

We use Gottlieb's definition of the term social support (1983:28). He describes social support as consisting of "verbal and/or nonverbal information or advice, tangible aid, or action that is given by social intimates or inferred by their presence, and has beneficial effects on the recipient" (Gottlieb, 1983:28). Since the concept of social support is multidimensional, measuring and operationalizing it is often difficult.³ There are two main features of social support. First, there is the structural aspect of support. This relates to the availability of support. Second, there is the issue of actual provision of support. This is also called behavioural support (McMullin and Marshall, 1995:99).⁴ In any discussions of social support one must consider the health of those who give help as well as the health of those who receive it (Qureshi, 1990:32). The possibility of negative interactions with members of informal networks must be recognized. For example, close-knit dense networks may sometimes be restrictive. People may be prevented from changing their ways of life or from seeking paid help if they wish to do so (Ibid., p.43). Our study explores frequency of contact, types of helping relationships, and the extent of reciprocity. We found more similarities than differences between Catholics and Calvinists. As we have noted, elderly parents were very independent. They tended not to give or receive much help. They used formal services sparingly. Many children had patterns of weekly contact with parents. Because families were very large, parents usually saw several of their children each week. The second generation had somewhat smaller families. For those older parents who lived independently, the assistance received from children was generally in the areas of transportation, grocery shopping, and yardwork. Surprisingly, emotional support was not the most widely reported type of help provided. One important difference between the groups is that a high proportion of older Calvinists move into Calvinist seniors' complexes or nursing homes, while

³Ujimoto points out that a wider range of activities can be identified by the use of time-budget methods instead of pre-selected categories (1993:190). The advantages of the time-budget method are as follows: simultaneous activities and activities of short duration can be included. It is possible to differentiate between "with whom" and "for whom" activities take place. Levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction can be shown. Frequency, duration, and quality of contacts can be measured.

⁴Behavioural support can mean the receipt of help with basic activities of daily living (ADL), or the receipt of help with instrumental activities of daily living (IADL) (Chipperfield, 1994:436).

Catholics tend to remain in their own houses or apartments. Between 1972 and 1995, Calvinists built a number of retirement and nursing homes. We estimate that a total of 1,600 units were built (Appendix P) and that over two thousand elderly Calvinists in Ontario, or about one-quarter to one-third of all Calvinists aged 65 and over, live in Calvinist homes and retirement complexes.⁵ When Catholics move out of their own homes, they have several choices. They can move into public seniors' residences, into Dutch-Calvinist homes, or into Catholic homes with no Dutch affiliation.⁶ We estimate that there are fewer than fifty apartments in Dutch-Catholic seniors' residences that are available to older Dutch Catholics in Ontario.⁷ Because Catholic parents tend to live longer in their own homes, it is not surprising that their children provide more help with housework, with yardwork, and with the management of finances.

7.2.1 Sizes of Networks

Family size and living arrangements are important indicators of the availability of support. These determine the amount of instrumental help received by older parents. Contrary to popular opinion, family ties have not eroded with social change. If available, family members are still the most likely sources of support (Rosenthal, 1986, 1983; Bengtson, et al., 1996:225).

Individuals with large networks tend to receive more help, and also more different kinds

⁵ According to the 1981 census, there were 191,125 Dutch Canadians in Ontario (VanderMey, 1983:58). Approximately one-third of the Dutch emigrants were Catholics, one-third were Calvinists, one-quarter were members of the Netherlands Reformed Church, and one-twelfth were non-denominationalists (Hofstede, 1964:96-97; Appendix B). We estimate that there are approximately 65,000 Dutch Catholics, 65,000 Dutch Calvinists, 55,000 members of the Netherlands Reformed church, and 15,000 non-denominationalists in the province of Ontario. And since approximately 7.5% of the Dutch population is aged 65 and over (Appendix Q), we estimate that there are approximately 5,000 elderly Dutch Catholics and 5,000 elderly Dutch Calvinists in the province.

⁶ The 1995/96 Guide to Canadian Health Care Facilities compiled by the Canadian Healthcare Association lists Catholic nursing and retirement homes in the Hamilton area. They are as follows: St. Joseph's Villa, Dundas (360 beds); Good Shepherd Centre, Hamilton (24 beds); St. Elizabeth Home, Hamilton (220 beds). Catholic homes in the London area include: Marian Villa Home for the Aged, London (247 beds); St. Mary's Hospital Campus Chronic Care Facility, London (114 beds).

⁷ Windmill Gardens in Stratford is the only Dutch-Catholic retirement home known to the author. The founders were from a predominantly Dutch-Catholic parish in Kinkora, Ontario. It has 23 units. The religious backgrounds of the residents in 1990 were as follows: fourteen Roman Catholics, two members of the Christian Reformed church, five Protestants, and two whose religion were unknown. Some of the residents may not have been Dutch, given the fact that such names as Donaldson, Brisbane, Parke, McGinnis, Elliott, Bohnert, and Robinson appeared on the register. Another 35-unit retirement home, "Dutch Heritage Villa", was built in the late 1980's in Kingston, Ontario, by an organizing committee representing Catholics, Calvinists, and non-denominational Dutch-Canadian groups (Schryer, forthcoming).

Table 7.1: Structural Factors Affecting Social Support

Structural Factors	Cath	Calv	Cath	Calv
	Par n=35	Par n=44	Chil n=169	Chil n=195
Size of Network				
mean no.of chil (Q9a)	6.4	5.5	3.1	3.8
mean no.of gr'child(Q9b)	14.9	19.0	1.8	2.4
Size of Family				
none		2.3	8.1	1.6
1-4	25.8	38.6	74.4	70.2
5-8	48.4	50.0	14.4	27.2
9-15	25.8	6.8	3.1	1.0
Marital Status (Q8)				
married	57.1	65.9	82.2	91.3
widowed	40.0	31.8	1.8	2.6
divorced	0.0	2.3	8.9	5.1
other	2.9		7.2	1.0

of help and social support (McMullin, et al., 1995:90). Unmarried people and childless adults, generally do not receive as much help. From the data presented in Table 7.1 and from our previous research (van Dijk, 1990:87) we see that both the elderly Catholics and the elderly Calvinists tend to have, on average, five to six children.⁸ In our study, the very largest families were found among the Dutch-Canadian Catholics. Many had from five to fifteen children.⁹ As one would expect, the second generation had markedly smaller families.¹⁰ Only one-third of the parent-generation (32.2%) had families of one to four children. Nearly three-quarters (72.3%) of those who belonged to the second generation had relatively small families of one to four children. Three-quarters of the elderly Dutch immigrants had no siblings living in Canada (van Dijk, 1990:87). Approximately one-third

⁸In our sample of first-generation Dutch immigrants, the average (mean) number of children is 6.4 among the Catholics and 5.5 among the Calvinists (Table 7.1). Driedger and Chappell (1987:73) found that, among those aged 65 and over in the twelve ethnic groups they studied, the Dutch (65.9%) were the most likely to have had three or more children. The Italians (63.6%), the French (62.9%), and the Chinese (61.0%) were also likely to have had three or more children.

⁹Calvinists were less likely than Catholics to have very large families (OR .734, YQ -.153). The differences in family size between the first and second generations were pronounced. Parents were much less likely than the children to have smaller families of one to four children (OR .165, YQ -.716).

¹⁰The average number of children among the second-generation Catholics was 3.1. Among the Calvinists, the average number was 3.8.

of the elderly respondents were widowed (40.0% of Catholics and 31.8% of Calvinists).¹¹ It is also important to note that one-half of Catholic daughters (50.0%) and two-thirds of Calvinist daughters (69.0%) were full-time homemakers and that a substantial number of people in the second generation were retired. These people probably have time to help their elderly parents.

7.2.2 Frequency of Contact

Rosenthal and Gladstone reviewed a number of studies which examined the high levels of social interaction between older people and their children.¹² They came to the following conclusion¹³:

Supportive exchanges in the form of contact, emotional support, and tangible assistance characterize the relationships between older Canadians and their adult children. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of older parents see a child weekly or more often, and about half speak to a child on the telephone every day or two (Rosenthal and Gladstone, 1993:126).

In our study, contact was less frequent than that observed in this and other studies. However, many parents had frequent contact with their children (See Table 7.2). For example, one-quarter of both the Catholics and Calvinists aged 65 and over had telephone conversations once a day with at least one of their children (25.8% and 23.8%). Slightly over one-half had telephone contact at least once a week with one or more of their children¹⁴ On the average, parents reported spending 38.7 minutes per week telephoning their children, while the children reported spending 7.4 minutes per week talking to their fathers and 15.2 minutes per week talking to their mothers.

¹¹ Given that families were large, it is unlikely that the divorces of one or two children would seriously undermine the parents' support networks. In any case, divorce rates among our respondents (7.0% among children and 1.2% among parents) were lower than those among the general Canadian population. In the second generation, a slightly greater number of Catholics than Calvinists are divorced. However, the rates are low in both groups (8.9% and 5.1% respectively). Children are much more likely than parents to be divorced (OR 5.856, YQ .708). Calvinists are less likely than Catholics to be divorced (OR .227, YQ -.630). According to the 1991 census, 6% of the men and 5% of the women aged 65 and over, in Canada were separated or divorced (Statistics Canada, 1992; NACA, 1993, Aging Vignette #1:1).

¹² Some of this contact is probably associated with the provision of assistance (McMullin and Marshall, 1995:88).

¹³ Many of the conclusions reached by Rosenthal and Gladstone are based on findings of a survey carried out in 1980 in Hamilton, Ontario. Data were obtained from a random sample (N=458) of middle-aged and elderly people, stratified by gender and by age, and also from their adult children.

¹⁴ In the Hamilton study, about one-half of the older parents spoke to a child on the telephone every day or two. The more children a parent has, the less frequently does each individual child have to call in order to maintain a pattern of daily contact with at least one child.

Table 7.2: Contact and Social Support

Measures of Social Support	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Frequency of Contact				
By Phone (Q45a [Q42a])				
daily	25.8	23.8	5.9	9.8
weekly	54.8	61.9	57.2	55.4
monthly	16.1	14.3	30.3	31.5
other	3.2		6.6	3.2
mean no. of min a week	33.4	42.3		
mean no. of min to father			6.7	8.0
mean no. of min to mother			14.3	15.9
By Visits (Q45b [Q42b])				
every day or two	7.1	14.3	2.0	5.0
once or twice a week	46.4	40.5	39.5	40.3
monthly	42.9	38.1	46.7	44.2
yearly/never	3.6	7.1	11.9	10.5
In Religious Activities (Q45c [Q42c])				
once or twice a week	19.1	36.4	6.1	14.3
monthly	23.8	22.7	15.8	14.9
yearly/never	57.1	40.9	78.2	70.8
By Letter Writing (Q45d [Q42d])				
once or twice a week	22.7	11.4	0.7	0.0
monthly	31.8	31.4	10.9	8.8
yearly/never	45.5	57.1	88.4	91.2
In Activities with In-Laws (Q47)				
weekly			13.5	12.0
monthly			48.2	43.8
yearly/never			38.2	44.3
Visiting Relatives in Holland (Q48 [Q44])				
once a year or more	54.2	26.1	28.3	20.3
every couple of years	31.4	45.2	31.4	32.8
every five years	8.6	14.3	15.7	17.2
other	5.8	14.3	24.5	29.7

Table 7.2: (continued) Contact and Social Support

Measures of Social Support	Cath	Calv	Cath	Calv
	Par n=35	Par n=44	Chil n=169	Chil n=195
Phoning/Writing Relatives in Holland (Q49 [Q45])				
weekly or monthly	58.8	38.6	0.6	5.8
yearly	41.2	61.3	60.0	47.1
other			39.4	47.1
My Job (Transportation) (Q29)				
prevents me from visiting as much as I would like with parents/children	A 21.7 D 60.9 U 17.4	24.2 63.7 12.1	41.4 53.8 4.8	27.7 66.7 5.6
Emotional Closeness to Child (Q49)				
not close	6.1	7.2		
somewhat close	51.5	50.0		
very close	42.4	42.8		
Emotional Closeness to Mother (Q54)				
not close			6.3	5.6
somewhat close			53.9	45.9
very close			39.9	48.4
Emotional Closeness to Father (Q54)				
not close			12.2	11.2
somewhat close			54.1	40.0
very close			33.7	48.8
Emotional Closeness to Mother-in-Law (Q54)				
not close			23.9	27.3
somewhat close			56.5	51.5
very close			19.6	21.2
Emotional Closeness to Father-in-Law (Q54)				
not close			23.4	24.5
somewhat close			57.6	55.3
very close			18.9	20.3

Since Calvinist children tended to live further away, it is interesting that Calvinist parents would spend slightly more time telephoning their children than Catholic parents (means of 42.3 minutes and 33.4 minutes respectively).¹⁵ Both the Calvinist and the Catholic children spent about a quarter of an hour per week on the telephone with their mothers (mean 15.9 minutes for Calvinists, and 14.3 minutes for Catholics), and five to ten minutes on the telephone with their fathers (mean 8.0 minutes for Calvinists, and 6.7 minutes for Catholics).¹⁶

Parents were certainly not abandoned by their children. They had frequent contact with them, either in their own homes or in their children's homes. More than one-half of the parents saw at least one of their children once a week or more frequently.¹⁷ Very few children visited their parents daily. Two-fifths of both the Catholic children and the Calvinist children reported seeing their parents once a week or more frequently (41.5% and 45.3%). Letter writing was not very common, especially among members of the second generation. Only a minority of Catholic parents and Calvinist parents wrote letters to their children at least once or twice a week (22.7% and 11.4%).

Rates of participation in religious activities that included both parents and children were fairly similar for Calvinists and Catholics. However, the differences are in the expected direction.¹⁸ Although the respondents were not asked to identify the particular activity, it is probable that parents and children attended church services or Bible study groups together. Rates of participation were also fairly similar in the first and the second generations. Second-generation Calvinists were slightly more likely to report that they took part in religious activities together with their parents

¹⁵ Calls tend to fall sharply with long distance rates. People who see each other most also tend to call most.

¹⁶ As one would expect, gender differences are apparent in both the older and younger generations. While elderly women spent an average of 47.5 minutes per week telephoning their children, elderly men spent only 20.1 minutes per week. The women of the child generation spent an average of 19.6 minutes per week on the telephone with their mothers, as compared with only 10.6 minutes per week for the men of the child generation. The latter spent the same number of minutes per week on the average on the telephone with their fathers. A time-budget study (N=420) of older adults in the Kitchener-Waterloo region of Ontario showed that in the early 1980's men spend, on average, 7 minutes per day making telephone calls and writing letters, while women spend, on average, 30 minutes per day on these tasks (Zuzanek and Box, 1988:171).

¹⁷ Older parents in the Hamilton study saw their children more frequently. Among the Hamilton respondents, between two-thirds and three-quarters saw a child once a week or more frequently (Rosenthal and Gladstone, 1993:126).

¹⁸ Rather more Calvinist than Catholic parents engage in religious activities together with their children once a week or more (36.4% and 19.1%) (OR 3.429, YQ .548).

(14.3% and 6.1%).¹⁹ However, members of the second generation did not participate in activities with their parents-in-law very often.

As has been noted, many of the older immigrants did not have any siblings living in Canada. However, this did not completely cut off their contact with their siblings. The Catholics in our sample visited relatives in Holland rather more frequently. One must remember that the older Catholics in our sample were likely to have rather strong ties to Holland, since fifteen of the thirty-five were drawn from two sources, a Dutch Heritage society and the only Dutch-Catholic seniors' residence in Ontario.²⁰ And they were not tied to a strong Dutch church community in Canada. About one-half of the elderly Catholics and about one-quarter of the elderly Calvinists paid yearly visits to Holland (54.2% and 26.1%). In the 1970's among the Dutch market gardeners of Reformed background in Holland Marsh, many visited family in Holland every year (Ishwaran and Chan, 1980:216). In our sample, visits to Holland by members of the second generation were less frequent. However, more than one-quarter of the Catholic children and about one-fifth of the Calvinist children visit Holland yearly. Telephoning or writing to relatives in Holland is more common among elderly Catholics than among elderly Calvinists (58.8% and 38.6%).

Feelings of closeness to family members are associated with high levels of life satisfaction (McMullin, et al., 1995:90). In addition, having a spouse and having children are important in determining the amount of affectional support one receives. Unmarried and childless adults receive the lowest levels of affection (Connidis, 1989:42). Among our respondents, patterns of closeness were fairly similar. In general, Calvinist children reported that they were closer to their mothers and fathers than Catholic children. Nearly one-half of Calvinist children report they were very close to both their mothers and their fathers. More than one-third of Catholic children indicate such a high level of intimacy. Children of both groups tend not to feel very close to their parents-in-law. This is surprising, because one would have thought that among Calvinists in-marriage would lead

¹⁹OR 2.888, YQ .485

²⁰One must also remember that, at this stage in life, it may be that siblings in Holland are sometimes paying the fare. In addition, first-generation Catholics had, on average, slightly higher incomes.

to close ties with in-laws. Lopata (1987:29), in her work on widows in Chicago, also describes the lack of strength in the in-law tie.

7.3 Living Arrangements

People's living arrangements affect the support they receive. Individuals who live alone, for example, childless adults, and unmarried people, tend to receive less help (Connidis, 1989:42). In this study, we are interested in determining whether or not levels of institutional completeness and levels of religious commitment among the members of the younger generation are associated with the amounts of help received by elderly parents. Some researchers believe that groups with higher levels of institutional completeness tend to provide more services for their elderly members (Disman, 1985:18).

In our survey, one-third of the surviving members of the first generation are living alone (35.3% and 34.1%) (Table 7.3). Often, women tend to live longer and many eventually live alone. About one-third of mothers (34.4%) and mothers-in-law (34.4%) lived alone, as did about one-sixth of fathers (16.8%) and fathers-in-law (16.6%).²¹ Only a few of the elderly respondents said that they lived without a spouse but with a child (5.9% of Catholic parents) or with both a spouse and a child (8.8% of Catholic parents). While the Catholic rate of co-residence is average for Canada, the Calvinist rate is far below. Two- and three-generation households are not common in this group.

7.3.1 Proximity of Parents and Children

Both the Calvinist and Catholic elderly usually had some children living near them. While the differences were not marked, they were in the expected direction. Elderly Catholics tended to live rather closer to their children (See Table 7.3). About one in ten had a child living in the same house, and two-thirds lived in the same town as a child. Five percent of elderly Calvinists had a child living

²¹According to the data provided by the children, Calvinists mothers were more likely than Catholic mothers to live alone (OR 1.510, YQ .203).

Table 7.3: Living Arrangements of the Parent Generation as Reported by Themselves and Their Children*

Living Arrangements	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Currently Living (Q44 [Q41])			Mother**	Mother**
alone	35.3	34.1	31.1	37.6
with spouse	50.0	65.9	57.8	61.0
alone with child	5.9		5.9	
with spouse and child	8.8		4.4	0.7
other			0.7	0.7
Nearest Child Living (Q40)			Mother**	Mother**
in same house	9.7	4.5		1.3
in same town	67.7	56.8	30.6	23.1
less than 1 1/2 hours away	16.1	36.4	41.7	47.5
more than 1 1/2 hours away	6.5	2.3	17.4	15.0
other			10.4	13.2
It Is Important for Me to Live Close to Parent/Child (Q15, Pt.5)	A 72.4 D 13.8 U 13.8	78.9 13.2 7.9	60.0 31.0 9.0	51.1 36.9 12.0
Works Well for Widowed Parent to Live with Child (Q24, Pt.5)	A 10.3 D 68.9 U 20.7	10.3 76.9 12.8	10.2 37.4 52.5	6.8 54.7 38.4
Type of Accommodation (Q44 [Q41])			Mother**	Mother**
house/apartment	73.5	63.6	72.9	58.9
senior's complex/nursing home	26.4	36.3	27.0	39.9
other				1.3

* Some children are reporting on non-responding parents.

** The number of responses is affected by family size.

Table 7.3: (continued) Living Arrangements

Living Arrangements	Cath	Calv	Cath	Calv	Cath	Calv
	Chil n=169	Chil n=195	Chil n=169	Chil n=195	Chil n=169	Chil n=195
Currently living (Q44)	Father	Father	Father	-in-Law	Mother	-in-Law
alone	11.8	21.7	17.2	16.0	30.8	37.9
with spouse	79.6	74.8	66.7	72.3	53.8	51.6
alone with child	1.1		3.4	3.2	4.8	1.6
with spouse and child	6.5	0.9	11.5	6.4	8.7	4.8
other	1.1	2.6	1.1	2.2	1.9	4.0
Nearest Child Living (Q41,43)	Father	Father	Father	-in-Law	Mother	-in-Law
in same house		1.5		1.0		0.7
in same town	37.9	24.6	30.0	23.8	22.2	22.9
less than 1 1/2 hrs away	38.9	50.0	37.8	45.5	46.3	45.8
more than 1 1/2 hrs away	13.7	11.5	21.1	12.9	18.5	14.6
other	9.5	12.3	11.1	16.8	13.0	17.9
Type of Accommodation (Q44)	Father	Father	Father	-in-Law	Mother	-in-Law
house/apartment	96.8	54.3	90.0	83.2	88.6	73.0
senior complex/nursing home	3.2	43.4	10.0	16.8	11.5	26.2
other		2.3				0.7

in the same house, and 57 percent lived in the same town as a child.²²

Respondents were asked to evaluate the importance of living close to a child or a parent. As one would expect, it was more important for parents to have their children living close to them (75.7%) than it was for children to have their parents living near by (55.6%).²³ But living near by does not mean living in the same house.²⁴

Only about 10 percent of the respondents agreed that it usually works out quite well for a widowed parent to live with his or her children. Surprisingly, more parents (68.9% of Catholics and 76.9% of Calvinists) than children (37.4% of Catholics and 54.7% of Calvinists) disagreed. However,

²²Calvinist parents were more likely than Catholic parents to live less than one and one-half hours' drive away from their children (36.4% and 16.1%)(OR 3.385, YQ .543). While 10% of the Catholic parents had a child living in the same house, not one of the Catholic children reported that they had parents living in with them. Therefore, we assume that some children living in their parents' homes did not respond to our survey. A few of these children may have been physically or mentally handicapped children who were dependent on their parents.

²³OR 3.515, YQ .557. There were no substantial differences between Catholics and Calvinists (OR .829, YQ -.057).

²⁴Members of the second generation of Dutch immigrants are far less likely to live close to their parents than the adult children of elderly parents in the Hamilton study. About four-fifths of the children of those aged 70 and over in Hamilton also lived in Hamilton.

Table 7.3: (continued) Living Arrangements: Catholics and Calvinists Living in Church-Sponsored and Public Seniors' Complexes and Nursing Homes (Based on Parents' Reports and Children's Reports of Their Mothers' Living Arrangements).

Type of Accommodation	Cath Par n=35	Calv Par n=44	Cath Chil n=169	Calv Chil n=195
Seniors' Apartment(Q44, [Q41])			Mother	Mother
Dutch-Catholic	25.0		32.1	1.8
Dutch-Calvinist	25.0	82.3	32.2	79.0
Catholic	12.5	11.8	10.7	5.3
public	37.5	5.9	25.0	7.0
other				7.0
Number of Respondents	N=8	N=17	N=28	N=57
Nursing Homes (Q44, [Q41])			Mother	Mother
Dutch-Catholic				
Dutch-Calvinist		100.0		88.9
Catholic			50.0	
public	100.0		30.0	11.1
other			20.0	
Number of Respondents	N=1	N=4	N=10	N=9

more than one-half of the Catholic children, one-fifth of the Catholic parents, and nearly two-fifths of the Calvinist children were uncertain.

7.3.2 Retirement Residences and Nursing Homes

Over the years 1990 to 1995, elderly Catholic respondents have tended to remain living in their own houses or apartments, while elderly Calvinists have tended to move to Calvinist seniors' complexes or nursing homes. This is consistent with the fact that the Calvinist community provides Christian residences for about one-third of its older members (Appendix P).²⁵ This pattern was evident when we examined children's reports of the living arrangements of their parents and parents-in-law. Although the differences were not of great magnitude, they were in the direction one would expect.²⁶ Calvinists tended to have moved into seniors' apartment complexes or nursing homes (According

²⁵ See Section 7.1.

²⁶ According to the children's reports, Calvinist mothers were less likely than Catholic mothers to live in their own homes or apartments.

to the parents' reports, 36.3% of Calvinists and 26.4% of Catholics lived in such homes in 1995). However, in interpreting these results we must take into account the fact that the Calvinist respondents were, on average, three years older than the Catholic respondents. In old age, this can make a substantial difference.

About one-third of the Dutch-Catholics, who had moved into seniors' apartment complexes, moved into complexes run by public agencies (see Table 7.3.2).²⁷ Surprisingly, another one-quarter moved into complexes that are mainly run by and for Dutch Calvinists.²⁸ Since the Dutch-Catholic community is not cohesive enough to build its own retirement homes, some elderly Catholics choose to settle in retirement or nursing homes run by such groups as Dutch Calvinists or German Mennonites. Two elderly respondents indicated in conversations with the author that they preferred Christian Dutch retirement communities (Respondents 12800 and 14800). For example, a small number of elderly Catholics (fifteen to twenty) are known to be living in Holland Christian Homes in Brampton, a 553-unit Dutch-Calvinist seniors' retirement complex with about seven hundred residents.²⁹ This group of Catholics has formed a small Catholic community within the much larger Calvinist community. These people sit together at mealtimes. However, those who run the home do not permit them to advertise Catholic meetings on the public bulletin boards at the facility.

As has been described, the second-generation Catholics feel that there are various options open to their parents when they are no longer able to remain in their own homes. Only a small proportion of the respondents moved to "mainstream" Catholic seniors' residences. Dutch Catholics may prefer to live elsewhere because the majority of the residents of many Catholic homes tend to be Southern Europeans, for example, Italians and Portuguese.

²⁷Because of the method of selection of our sample, it is not representative of Dutch Catholics in Ontario. In addition, the numbers in our total sample who are living in senior citizens' residences (n=25) or nursing homes (n=5) is rather small.

²⁸About one-quarter were living in complexes that are mainly run by and for Dutch Catholics. However, this finding is affected by the way the sample was selected.

²⁹Holland Christian Homes constructed its first facility in 1979. Several new apartment towers and a nursing home were put up in 1982, 1985, and 1994. It has now become the largest facility for older Dutch people in Canada, housing approximately seven hundred residents. It is important to remember that the Dutch make up only 2.5% of Ontario's population (Gerber 1983:72).

As is to be expected, there are marked differences in options open to Catholics and Calvinists when it comes to housing.³⁰ Most of the elderly Calvinists (82.3%) were living in Dutch-Calvinist seniors' homes. A few elderly Calvinists (11.8%) were living in Catholic complexes. For example, there are a number of Dutch Calvinists, including several of our respondents, living in St. Elizabeth Village, which is located near Hamilton. St. Elizabeth Village is a Catholic seniors' housing complex that serves the well-to-do elderly.

Cost is a very important factor in the choice of a retirement residence or a nursing home. High costs often prevent people with low incomes from entering private retirement homes. Dutch-Canadian retirement residences and nursing homes offer would-be residents a variety of options. Some are built by non-profit charitable organization without any government funding.³¹ Others are built using low-interest loans from the provincial government, which are paid back over a period of thirty-five years. In the first case, the capital costs are covered by life-lease payment plans. One example of such a retirement home is the 52-unit Wellingstone Christian Home in Hamilton, Ontario, built in 1988. Its life-lease payment plan was designed specifically to meet the needs of retirees with modest amounts of capital and moderate pensions.³² If loans from the government can be obtained, a nursing home will be built on the same site.³³

³⁰By looking at the addresses of the older people in our sample, we could tell that six Catholics and one Calvinist lived in "Windmill Gardens", the Catholic seniors' apartment complex in Stratford. Three Calvinists lived in Wellingstone Christian Home, three Calvinists lived in Shalom Manor Nursing Home in Grimsby, and three Calvinists lived in Nanticoke Senior Citizens' home in Townsend. Two Calvinists and two Catholics lived in Holland Christian Homes in Brampton. One of those Catholics had moved there very recently. One Calvinist lived in a Catholic complex, St. Elizabeth Village. Three Calvinists lived in Maranatha Homes in Burlington, two Calvinists lived in Ebenezer Home in Hamilton, and one Catholic lived in a Calvinist seniors' home, in Trillium Village, in Strathroy. Two Catholics and one Calvinist lived in public seniors' apartments.

³¹When the provincial government provides funding, rooms cannot be above a certain size and luxuries, such as swimming pools, cannot be provided.

³²The units are bought by the tenants for life. Sometimes an older person of limited means can rent a unit, should one be vacant. Tenants are free to make changes to their apartments at their own expense. In 1988, the tenants agreed to pay the basic purchase price of \$65,000 for a two-bedroom unit or \$58,000 for a one-bedroom unit. By 1991, the basic purchase price had risen to \$95,000 for a two bed-room unit. The difference between the initial price and the new price goes into a fund to build a Centre containing a swimming pool and a sauna. In 1991, the Board re-valued the units because real estate prices had declined substantially. They returned \$13,000 to those people who had paid \$95,000. A two-bedroom unit cost \$82,000 and a one-bedroom unit cost \$75,000 at that time. A monthly maintenance fee for property taxes, upkeep, and janitorial services is set yearly by the Board, and announced at the Annual Fall Meeting of the tenants. For the year 1992, the monthly fee was \$265. Property taxes for one apartment are \$1,400 per year. Utilities are paid by the tenants. A tenant can remain in the unit as long as he or she lives. After twenty years, the tenant may renew for a one dollar fee. All of the money is refundable when the tenant wishes to move out. Upon the death of the tenant, the money is paid into the estate of the deceased.

³³In 1992, the cost of living at Wellingstone Christian Home was high compared with the rentals charged by

Another example is Shalom Manor, a nursing home in Grimsby, which operates as a Christian, private, non-profit long-term care facility. It has been organized and supported by Dutch Calvinist churches, various community and health care agencies, and the government (Appendix R). The capital was provided by Calvinist churches in the area and by families and friends of the residents.³⁴ The residents of Shalom Manor are responsible for meeting the costs of their accommodation if their incomes permit. The charges are based on income and rates set by the government.³⁵ The Province of Ontario pays the costs of providing nursing and personal care. It also meets the costs of program and support services (Shalom Manor Resident Handbook, 1994:7,23).

7.4 Patterns of Informal and Formal Support

Let us now consider the patterns of exchange of assistance between parents and children (See Table 7.4). It is important to remember that detailed comparisons may not be appropriate for the following two reasons. First, we had a rather small sample of parents. Second, we do not have information about each parent/child relationship.³⁶ Nevertheless, we can draw some general conclusions.

Even though the elderly Dutch-Canadian immigrants in our survey had large networks, they did not receive large amounts of support from their children. There are various reasons for this. One factor was the excellent health of the parents. One respondent wrote about her parents, "They are

neighbouring Christian retirement homes, some of which were built using loans or grants from the government. For example, one tenant in Ebenezer Villa paid an all-inclusive rent of only \$260 a month. A tenant in Sunset Homes, St. Catharines, paid \$262 in rent. This included water and electricity. A tenant in Tabitha Homes, St. Catharines, paid an all-inclusive monthly rent of \$500. In 1992, a tenant in Trillium Village in Strathroy paid \$495 a month for a one-bedroom apartment. This included the costs of water and electricity. A two-bedroom apartment costs an additional \$50. If the rent amounts to more than 30% of the tenant's income, there is a subsidy. One of the tenants paid only \$320. However, in order to qualify for a subsidy, one has to disclose one's income. Some tenants would rather pay the full amounts than disclose their incomes. Sometimes the elderly have to make ethical decisions about future investments. For example, there are instances of tenants giving all of their money to their children so that they can qualify for subsidized housing.

³⁴During 1991 and 1992, \$1,900,000 was raised in the course of a campaign to build a new wing, costing \$3,200,000. This wing contained thirty extended-care beds, and was financed in part by the Ministry of Health. It was opened in July of 1992. In 1994, a committee was set up in order to develop plans for the construction of apartments for seniors adjacent to Shalom Manor. Ownership of the apartments will be through a life-lease plan. Tenants will have access to all of the facilities and the services of Shalom Manor, including respite care.

³⁵The rates range from a minimum of \$823 to a maximum of \$1,800 per month. Those who pass a means test can qualify for subsidies.

³⁶In our sample, comparisons are made between parents who have many children. Therefore, we may get 'underreporting' by the parents, and 'overreporting' by the children. Or we may get the opposite pattern.

Table 7.4: Patterns of Informal and Formal Support

Informal and Formal Support	Cath	Calv	Cath	Calv
	Par n=35	Par n=44	Chil n=169	Chil n=195
Hours Spent Caring for Parents none (Q51 [Q47])	65.2	63.6	63.8	78.2
1 to 4 hours	26.1	24.2	30.2	18.4
5 or more hours	8.7	12.1	6.0	3.4
Average Hours of Care Received in a Week by Parents (Q47)	1.304	1.636		
Average Hours of Care Given in a Week to Parents (Q51)			1.121	.592
Average Hours of Care Given (Q52) in a Week to Parents-in-Law			1.252	.722
Hours Caring for Parents-in-Law none (Q52)			82.5	86.8
1 to 4 hours			14.6	10.5
5 or more hours			3.0	2.8
Use of Formal Services never (Q55 [Q50])	92.3	84.8	86.9	86.3
every day or two	7.7		3.9	0.5
1 or 2x a week		12.1	7.8	11.0
1x a year		3.0	1.3	2.2
Women Give up Job to Care for Needy Parents (Q28, Pt.5)	A 10.3 D 41.3 U 48.3	26.5 35.3 38.2	7.0 67.1 25.9	13.3 55.8 30.9
Hard for Siblings to Share Parent Care (Q25, Pt.5)	A 24.0 D 44.0 U 32.0	20.0 56.7 23.3	29.4 36.0 34.6	31.3 41.9 26.8
Family not the Government Should Pay for Home Help Services (Q14 [Pt.5])	A 39.3 D 32.2 U 28.6	51.4 17.2 31.4	42.7 35.0 22.3	43.9 31.8 24.3

capable to do things for themselves" (Respondent 24106). Also important was the fact that, in many cases, the parents' needs were being met by other means. One child remarked there was no need for him to provide services, since all of his parents' needs were being met in a nursing home. We have already described how, when health deteriorates, Calvinists tend to move into residences and nursing homes, where services can be provided for them in their own language. But Calvinist children do not neglect parents at this stage. They continued to visit them and to be actively involved in all aspects of their care (Elliott, 1995:169; Netting, 1991:97; Hendel-Sebestyen, 1979; Rowles; et al., 1996).

Since most of the parents in our survey said that they were in excellent health, it was not surprising to find that only a few of their children were providing high levels of assistance³⁷ Patterns were fairly similar in the two groups, but the differences were in the expected direction.³⁸ Catholics gave and received slightly more care. One-quarter of the members of the second generation spent from one to four hours a week caring for their parents. One respondent wrote that, because she had nine siblings, she spent only about one hour per week helping her parents.

Community-based home services were used very sparingly by these fairly healthy elderly people³⁹. Over four-fifths of them never used any of these formal services.⁴⁰ One Calvinist man, whose wife suffered from Alzheimer's disease, wrote that he "had it (home care) for a couple of weeks because then I could go swimming, but my wife hated it, so we stopped it" (Respondent 24600). In a few instances, the terminal illness of a parent or spouse made it necessary to rely for a time on

³⁷The average number of hours of care received per week from children, as reported by the elderly parents, is 1.3 hours for Catholic parents, and 1.6 hours for Calvinist parents. The average number of hours of care, given per week to parents by their children, as reported by the children, is 1.1 hours given by Catholic children, and 0.6 hours given by Calvinist children. The average number of hours of care given per week to parents-in-law by children or children-in-law, as reported by the children, is 1.3 hours given by Catholic children, and 0.7 hours given by Calvinist children.

³⁸Calvinist children were more likely than Catholic children to provide no care at all (OR 1.328, YQ .141). Similarly, Calvinist parents were slightly more likely than Catholic parents to receive no help (OR 1.379, YQ .159). These differences were not marked.

³⁹The three most frequently used formal home-help services were homemaker services, meals-on-wheels, and visits by the VON (Victorian Order of Nurses). Other services that were used by respondents at some time or other were home-care services, nursing care, the services of cleaning women, and the services of physiotherapists

⁴⁰As we have noted in the introduction to this chapter, from 15 to 20% of the general population aged 65 and over, use formal services (Chipperfield, 1994:436; Chappell, 1992:55). However, these proportions may vary with ethnic groups. In their 1973 Manitoba study of 110 Native people and 2,410 Canadians who were not of Native ancestry, Bienvenue and Havens found that, while only 3 to 16% of Native people received formal help, 20 to 50% of Canadians of other backgrounds did so (Bienvenue and Havens 1986:246).

formal services. Children also provided more types of help, and helped more frequently, in times of severe illnesses and when people were dying.

Subjective assessments of social support are stronger predictors of well-being than are objective measures of support (Marshall, et al., 1995:89). Similarly, subjective attitudes towards assistance given to parents may influence the types and amounts of care provided. For example, very few respondents, in either generation, agreed that women should be willing to give up their jobs in order to care for parents in need of help. However, a rather greater number of Calvinist parents and Calvinist children agreed (26.5% and 13.3%) that women should be willing to make this sacrifice. Only one in ten Catholic parents and even fewer Catholic children took this position. However, one-third to one-half of the respondents were uncertain about this matter.⁴¹ Several respondents pointed out that the question had a gender bias. There were substantial differences between Catholics and Calvinists, and between the first and second generations.⁴² Women who had just recently entered the workforce may not be willing to give up their careers. And, of course, many families have come to rely on a second income. In addition, many believe that it is the government's responsibility to care for the elderly, and that family members should be free to decide what part they wish to play in the provision of care (Rosenthal, 1994:422).⁴³ Nearly one-half of the older respondents agreed that the family, not the government, should pay for home-help services when they are needed. Surprisingly, about two-fifths of the members of the second generation also agreed the family should pay for home-help services (42.7% and 43.9%).⁴⁴

When respondents were asked whether, in their families, it is hard for siblings to share the care for older relatives, children were more likely than parents to feel that this was the case (30% and

⁴¹ It is important to note that many respondents were uncertain. Uncertainty was expressed by 48.3% of the Catholic parents, 38.2% of the Calvinists parents, 25.9% of the Catholic children, and 30.9% of the Calvinist children.

⁴² Parents were more likely than children to agree (OR 2.931, YQ .491). And Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to agree that women should be willing to give up their jobs (OR 2.708, YQ .461).

⁴³ Canadians certainly believe that the government should be responsible for the financial support of the elderly (Storm, et al., 1995:75-85).

⁴⁴ Again we should note that a large number of respondents were uncertain. The proportion ranged from 31.4% among Calvinist parents to 22.3% among Catholic children.

22%).⁴⁵ Some spoke from personal experience. For example, the youngest daughter of a Catholic family of eight children, took care of her mother for twenty-nine years (Respondent 10308). When the mother finally became so ill that this particular daughter could not cope any longer, the mother went to several other children in the family, staying in each home for a month or two. Later, the mother was admitted to a nursing home. She died there a few months later, at the age of 101 years.

7.5 Types of Assistance and Frequency of Exchange

For those parents who lived independently, the assistance received from children was generally in the areas of transportation, grocery shopping, and yardwork (See Table 7.5). The provision of these particular types of help may be in part a reflection of the fact that many of the elderly parents were women. Many immigrant women never learned to drive. In addition, most widows cannot afford to own and run cars. There were other differences in the types and amounts of help received by elderly respondents. Very few received any help with the management of money, the preparation of meals, or with personal care. Children rarely provided their parents with any financial support. Catholic and Calvinist parents' descriptions of the help they received from their children were fairly similar.⁴⁶

Children did provide other kinds of help when needed. For example, one respondent regularly drove his father to Florida. Another respondent looked after her father-in-law for two weeks each year, so that the respondent's mother-in-law could visit her own family. Yet another respondent had her mother stay with her family for a couple of days every month. A son told how he paid daily hospital visits to a terminally ill father during the last three and a half months of his

⁴⁵Parents were less likely than children to agree that sharing parent care was difficult (OR .552, YQ -.289). The differences between Catholics and Calvinists were not marked (OR .880, YQ -.064). The number of respondents who were uncertain ranged from 34.6% among Catholic children to 23.3% among Calvinist parents.

⁴⁶One-fifth of Calvinist parents received weekly help with housework. Monthly help with yardwork was received by 21% of Catholic parents and 13% of Calvinist parents. One-quarter of elderly Catholics and 17% of elderly Calvinists received weekly help with shopping. An additional one-quarter of Calvinists received monthly help with shopping. These percentages are reversed when we look at the patterns of assistance with transportation. One-quarter of Calvinists, as compared with 16.7% of Catholics, received weekly help with transportation, and 20.8% and 17.9% respectively, received monthly help. The 1980 survey of Hamilton residents showed that older people gave more "financial assistance and advice than they received, while children gave more practical assistance such as help with personal services, household chores, home repairs and personal care" (Rosenthal and Gladstone, 1993:126).

Table 7.5: Types of Assistance and Frequency of Exchange

Types of Assistance	Cath	Calv	Cath	Calv
	Par n=35	Par n=44	Chil n=169	Chil n=195
Help Provided by Parents or Received by Children				
Chores (Q53a [Q48a])				
weekly	5.0	21.1	2.4	2.0
monthly	30.0	5.3	14.4	4.6
almost never	65.0	73.7	83.2	93.4
Finances (Q53b [Q48b])				
weekly	5.3	8.0	.8	
monthly	15.8	20.0	2.5	1.9
almost never	78.9	72.0	96.7	98.1
Babysitting (Q53c [Q48c])				
weekly	11.1	10.0	4.9	1.9
monthly	37.0	25.0	19.5	9.6
almost never	51.8	65.0	75.6	88.4
Advice (Q53d [Q48d])				
weekly	19.0	14.3	9.9	5.7
monthly	33.3	14.3	22.3	13.3
almost never	47.6	71.5	67.8	81.0
Gifts (Q53e [Q48e])				
weekly		3.8	1.4	.6
monthly	32.0	26.9	14.1	6.7
almost never	68.0	69.2	84.4	92.7
Help Received by Parents or Provided by Children				
Housework (Q50a [Q46a])				
weekly	4.5	18.5	5.6	4.6
monthly	9.1	3.7	24.6	12.4
almost never	86.4	77.8	69.9	83.0

Table 7.5: (continued) Types of Assistance and Frequency of Exchange

Types of Assistance	Cath	Calv	Cath	Calv
	Par n=35	Par n=44	Chil n=169	Chil n=195
Yardwork (Q50b [Q46b])				
weekly		8.7	4.3	2.8
monthly	20.8	13.0	19.7	6.9
almost never	79.2	78.3	76.1	89.7
Meals (Q50c [Q46c])				
weekly		4.8	5.8	4.1
monthly	5.3	4.8	21.0	13.5
almost never	94.8	90.5	73.1	82.4
Shopping (Q50d [Q46d])				
weekly	26.1	17.2	11.3	7.9
monthly	4.3	24.1	16.9	13.2
almost never	69.5	58.6	71.8	78.8
Transportation (Q50e [Q46e])				
weekly	16.7	25.0	10.2	10.6
monthly	20.8	17.9	26.6	22.5
almost never	62.5	57.1	63.2	66.3
Financial (Q50f [Q46f])				
weekly		4.8	.9	
monthly	5.0	4.8	4.5	0.7
almost never	95.0	90.5	94.6	99.4
Personal Care (Q50g [Q46g])				
weekly	10.5		6.9	6.2
monthly		5.0	5.2	2.8
almost never	89.5	95.0	87.8	91.0
Emotional Support (Q50h [Q46h])				
weekly	13.6	13.0	16.5	30.4
monthly	13.6	13.0	28.1	18.4
almost never	72.7	73.9	55.4	51.2
Managing Money (Q50i [Q46i])				
weekly	14.3	4.8	2.7	4.8
monthly	4.8	9.5	6.3	6.9
almost never	81.0	85.8	91.0	88.3

life, and brought his father home for part of the day each time. Children reported helping with house repairs and maintenance, with shopping for items other than groceries, with translating, with financial advice, and with the provision of emotional support following the deaths of relatives. One even co-signed a mortgage for his mother-in-law.

Although there are a few exceptions, the amount of help that parents said that they received tended to be less than that children said that they provided (Giarrusso, et al., 1995:228). Here, also, children reported that they gave their parents very little financial assistance, help with personal care, or help with managing money. Even though, Catholic children provided slightly more help in all of the categories except emotional support and the management of money, this does not lend support to the idea that Catholic children had to help more because their parents were less likely to be living in Dutch seniors' residences or in nursing homes and because 15 percent of the Catholic parents surveyed were co-residing with a child. We have not taken into consideration the needs of the parent. Perhaps we should have looked only at those parents who required assistance. We could have distinguished between normal helping patterns and helping patterns in crises such as illnesses. Was help given because there were family traditions of sharing responsibilities, or was help given because the parent was unable to do the task? Our data show that patterns of helping were very similar in the two groups.

One-fifth of the Catholic children said that they provided meals about once a month. One-quarter of the Catholic and Calvinist children helped with transportation on a monthly basis. The only category of help in which the children's estimates were consistently higher than those of their parents was the category of emotional support. Thirty percent of Calvinist children said that they provided emotional support at least once a week, whereas only 13 percent of Calvinist parents said that they received emotional support at least once a week. It is surprising that in our study fewer than 15 percent of the parents said that they received any emotional support. It is possible that the respondents did not understand the term "emotional support". It could also be that downplaying the importance of emotional support is a cultural pattern. It is probable that respondents did, in

fact, receive emotional support from their large families. Rosenthal found that “emotional support is the most widely reported type of help provided and received in families and is clearly important to people” (1994:422). However, overall, the amount of emotional support acknowledged by children was not high.⁴⁷ By contrast, in the Hamilton study, emotional support was the most commonly identified type of help given or received. Over 50 percent of the respondents aged 70 and over had given emotional support to their adult children or had received emotional support from them (Rosenthal, 1987:325; Rosenthal and Gladstone, 1993:126).

The amount of help provided by the parents to their middle-aged children was not very high. We should perhaps have examined the provision of help only among those children who for some reason actually required help. According to parents’ reports, there were no marked differences between Catholics and Calvinists. Very few parents provided assistance as often as once a week. Only one-fifth of Calvinist parents provided help with chores on a weekly basis, and one-fifth of Catholic parents gave advice on a weekly basis to their children. Parents tended to babysit about once a month. About one-third to one-quarter of Catholics and Calvinists gave gifts on a monthly basis (32.0% and 26.9%). One must remember that birthdays come round about once a month in large families. Routine exchanges between parents and children happen at all stages in the lifecycle (Rossi and Rossi, 1990:458, 495). There are many other ways - large and small - in which children and parents in our sample provided assistance to each other, over and above those mentioned.⁴⁸ These kinds of help are provided in most families when children are being launched, and when children are establishing their own homes and families.

Very few children reported that they received help as often as once a week. Yet, from estimates given by children, we see that there were differences between Catholics and Calvinists in

⁴⁷ Between 17% and 30% of the children said that they received emotional support from their parents as frequently as once a week.

⁴⁸ For example, one parent received assistance with setting her hair, while another received the services of a cleaning woman paid for by a child. Yet another received help with planning for and moving into a new home. Parents helped their children in a variety of small ways. For example, one mother cooked food to send with her son who was in college. Another parent gave away decorative items to her children. She also made lunches and meals for a grown-up son living at home. Another mother knitted afghans for her children. None of the respondents mentioned such assistance as holding mortgages, helping with house downpayments, co-signing loans, paying tuition fees, or providing free lodging.

the provision of help with chores and babysitting on a daily or weekly basis. Among children, the most commonly received kinds of help were advice and help with chores (Table 7.6). Although about one-fifth of the parents said that they provided financial help to their children, very few children reported receiving such help (2.5% and 1.9%). The differences in the kinds of practical help supplied by Catholic and Calvinist parents are not marked.⁴⁹

7.6 Conclusion

In summary, it is clear that elderly parents in our survey were very independent. There were many similarities between the two groups in patterns of help. Parents did not receive a great deal of help from their children, nor did they provide much help to their children. Help was limited because this sample excluded seriously ill, recently bereaved, and confused elderly parents. It would have been useful to have been able to control for the levels of help actually required by parents and children. Formal home-help services were seldom used, except in cases of serious illnesses. Parents and children had close relationships. They had frequent contact with one another, but continued to value "intimacy at a distance". When they became very old, Calvinists tended to move into segregated housing built especially for them by their religious community. Dutch-Canadian Catholics, who did not have a cohesive Dutch community to support them as they aged,⁵⁰ had the options of, first, relying ever more heavily on their families, second, seeking Dutch-Canadian residences (whether Catholic or Calvinist), third, seeking Catholic residences catering to a variety of ethnic groups, or, fourth, choosing public seniors' accommodation. We speculate that, because Dutch Catholics do not have their own seniors' residences and nursing homes, they may tend to

⁴⁹ When one examines help given on a monthly basis, Catholic children received more help than Calvinist children with chores (14.4% and 4.6%), and with babysitting (19.5% and 9.6%). Catholic children also received more advice (22.3% and 13.3%), and more gifts (14.1% and 6.7%). One daughter received occasional car allowance money (Respondent 11310). Another received "prayer and moral support constantly, especially during my separation, divorce and annulment of (my) marriage" (Respondent 11807). Others reported receiving motherly advice, knitted items, meals, baked goods, and gas money. Some received help with repairs from their fathers.

⁵⁰ They may have had some sort of Catholic community, but it will not have been wholly Dutch.

remain longer in their own houses.⁵¹

⁵¹ When analyzing patterns of assistance, we did not control for place of residence, or for level of help needed.

Chapter 8

Intra-Ethnic and Generational Differences in Ethnic Identity Retention

8.1 Introduction

The purpose of the analysis is to examine the effects of religion and generation on ethnic identity retention, while controlling for other important factors. The Calvinist and Catholic groups have different levels of institutional completeness, different levels of religiosity, and different rates of endogamy. As we have explained in Chapter Two, most Calvinists believe that there is no separation between the secular and the sacred in their lives. All areas of life are considered sacred. Hence, Calvinists have adopted the saying, “All of life is religion”. Catholics, on the other hand, tend to divide life into the sacred and the secular. They emphasize “nature” or the bodily existence, over “grace” or the spiritual existence (McBrien, 1980:153; Beinert and Fiorenza, 1995:501-506). These differences in their approaches to the world that stem from their religious beliefs and the fact that Calvinists associate primarily with other Dutch people may partly explain some of the differences in patterns of ethnic identity retention between the two groups. In many cases, the longer a person has been in Canada, the greater the extent of assimilation. Therefore, generation also influences ethnic identity retention. In this thesis, we are examining the hypothesis that Calvinists have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than Catholics. The evidence that we have presented tends to support this hypothesis. The Calvinist group appears to have a higher level of institutional completeness. Calvinists have higher levels of religiosity, higher rates of endogamy, and they are more likely to

work with and socialize with others of their own religious and ethnic background.¹ Although levels of cultural identity retention, as measured by such behaviour as language retention and the observance of ethnic holidays, were fairly similar for both groups, the slight differences, most of which were not pronounced, were in the expected directions.

The data also tend to support our second hypothesis, that first-generation immigrants have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than second-generation immigrants. Parents have higher levels of commitment to their faith than children. Although levels of institutional completeness and rates of endogamy are similar for the two generations, the slight differences that we found were in the expected direction. As one would expect, members of the first generation were more aware of organizations established by the group, had greater numbers of Dutch friends, and had usually married within the group. A secondary focus of the study was the relationship between ethnicity and social support. There were many similarities between Calvinists and Catholics in the types of services provided by children and in the frequency with which they were provided to parents. However, there was one important difference. As we have already noted, Calvinists provided retirement and nursing homes for about one-third of the elderly members of their community. Therefore, the third hypothesis was partially supported. The Calvinist community does provide more formal services for its elderly members. The Calvinist group is distinguished, not by high levels of informal provision of care by family members, but, rather, by the provision of care in such settings as retirement residences and nursing homes.

We have seen that both religion and generation appear to be determining factors in ethnic identity retention and in the provision of retirement residences and nursing homes. The purpose of this chapter is to use multi-variate regression analysis to: examine the independent effect of religion, controlling for generation and other determinants, on ethnic identity retention and social support. And similarly, our goal is to examine the independent effect of generation, controlling for religion

¹Catholics are more likely to marry people who are not Catholic. They are also more likely to marry people who are not of Dutch background. For a variety of reasons, they are more likely to send their children to parochial schools.

and other determinants, on ethnic identity retention and on social support. Ethnic identity retention is measured by religiosity, institutional completeness, and the cultural and structural components of ethnic identity.

In this chapter, we will begin by constructing indices of structural ethnic identity retention, cultural ethnic identity retention, and social support using exploratory factor analysis. These indices are then used in multivariate least squares regression analysis. Three measures of religiosity, five measures of institutional completeness, and two measures of cultural ethnic identity were used as the dependent variables in the regression analyses (see Tables 8.1 to 8.4 relating to Factor Analyses). The independent variables used in the regression analyses included measures of religion, generation, age, gender, marital status, subjective health, educational status, family income, endogamy, the number of organizations supported by the group, the numbers of years of residence in Canada, employment status, and the symbolic identity of the respondents. These variables were identified in our review of the literature as being associated with patterns of structural ethnic identity retention and cultural ethnic identity retention.

Factor analysis is a technique that is used “to identify a relatively small number of factors that can be used to represent relationships among sets of many interrelated variables” (Norusis, 1990:125). For example, in our study, a large number of variables were used to describe religiosity, institutional completeness, the cultural components of ethnic identity, and social support. We used exploratory factor analysis in order to identify a smaller number of factors, which could then be used to measure the four complex concepts.

8.2 Factor Analysis: Religiosity

The questionnaire included a number of items designed to gauge the level of religiosity of the respondents. These included the frequency with which the respondents and their children attended

mass and church services and the respondents' levels of participation in other church activities.² The questionnaire also included one item on tithing, one on parochial education, and one on the marriage patterns of the respondents' children. In addition, there were a number of items probing the respondents' attitudes towards such issues as the importance of religion, the importance of parochial education, and the relative importance of such factors as distance, price, or religious and ethnic affiliation when choosing nursing homes for elderly relatives. Respondents were also asked about their preferences with regard to the religious and ethnic backgrounds of their children's spouses.³

The first step in the factor analysis was the computation of the correlation matrix for all pertinent variables (Appendix S). Missing values were transformed or recoded so that they would not be deleted in the regression analyses. If cases with substantial missing values are deleted, there may be too few cases left for the analysis. Where appropriate, the missing values were declared equal to the corresponding means, medians, or modes.

A factor analysis of the items measuring religiosity (Table 8.1) indicated two factors with the following eigen values: Factor 1, 4.71, Factor 2, 1.30. Factor 1 was subdivided into "Commit1" and "Commit2", with eigenvalues of 4.40 and 1.05 respectively (See Table 8.1). Only the factors with the eigenvalues greater than one were used. Factors with a variance less than 1 are no better than a single variable, since each variable has a variance of 1 (Norusis, 1990:203). The factors were then rotated in order to make the factors easier to interpret. Four rotation methods were tried: these were varimax, equamax, quartimax, and oblimin. Since the factor loadings were equally robust using all four methods, the results from the varimax rotation were used. The factor loadings, taken from the factor matrix, indicate the strength of the association between the items and the factors. Factor loadings are similar to correlation coefficients. Large factor loadings are preferable, because they represent a greater degree of association between the variable and the factor (Walsh, 1990:331). The

²Responses to these questions were rated on a seven-point scale (1 = "never" to 7 = "every day or two" (counted as 3-7 times per week)). The actual questions, Q22, Q23, and Q26, are given in Appendix A.

³Responses to all of these questions were rated on a five-point scale (5 = "strongly agree" to 1 = "strongly disagree"). The actual questions, Q25, Q28, Q38, Q69, Q70, Q85, Q80, and Q83 are given in Appendix A.

Table 8.1: Factor Analysis: Religiosity

Factor	Short Name	Long Name	Eigenvalue	Factor Score Coefficients	Reliability Coefficient
1	Commit	Commitment to faith	4.71		0.85
	commit1		4.40		0.84
	Q22	mass/church attendance	3.75	0.34	
	Q23	participation in other church activities		0.23	
	Q25	tithing		0.10	
	Q28	preference for children's spouses		0.25	
	Q69	religion is of central importance		0.23	
	Q70	seldom base decisions on religion		0.16	
	Q85	parochial education most important		0.19	
	commit2		1.05		0.57
Q80	distance to nursing home	1.40	0.56		
Q83	price of home not important		0.50		
2	relchi	religiosity of children	1.30		0.62
	Q22	mass/church attendance	1.73	0.42	
	Q38	children's parochial education		0.38	
	Q26	church attendance of oldest child		0.51	

variables that had large loadings for the same factor were sorted or grouped. No loadings with values of less than 0.5 were included.

The factors were named. Factor 1 was termed “commitment” (commit), because many of the questions dealt with the importance of religion in the lives of the respondents. The set of questions that were combined to make up Factor 2 dealt with parochial education and church attendance of children. Therefore, this factor was termed “religiosity of children” (relchi).

Next, we calculated the reliability of each of the individual factors used to measure religiosity. We assumed that the items in each factor were positively correlated with each other, because they measured the same concept. Cronbach’s Alpha was used to measure reliability. This is the most commonly used reliability coefficient (Norusis, 1990:190). It ranges in value from 0 to 1. A value of .80 indicates that the factor is very reliable, while a value of .30 or .40 indicates a low level of reliability. When a value fell below .50, the factor was omitted from the analysis. In the case of the factors associated with religiosity, the reliability coefficients were 0.85 for “commit” and 0.62 for “relchi”.

8.3 Institutional Completeness

The questionnaire also contained a number of items that measured the extent of the institutional completeness of the two immigrant communities. The amount of interaction between members of the group or between members of the group and members of other groups provides a very important measure of the extent of institutional completeness. In societies with high levels of institutional completeness, most interactions take place within the group. Our respondents were asked to indicate the ethnic ties and religions of their three closest friends, and the frequency of visiting, both inside or outside the home, with people of the same or of different religious and ethnic backgrounds who were not relatives.⁴ In addition, respondents were asked whether their co-workers at their main places of

⁴Frequency of visiting was measured on a five-point scale (1 = “almost never or never” to 7 = “every day or two”).

employment (and/or their spouses' main places of employment) were or were not of the same religious and ethnic backgrounds. The questionnaire also contained a number of items exploring respondents' attitudes towards ethnic organizations, their feelings about the help provided to older people by ethnic churches, and their feelings about ethnic groups working together on various projects. Three questions explored attitudes towards Dutch-Canadian nursing homes and retirement residences. First, respondents were asked about the importance of the ethnic character, second, about the importance of Dutch food and customs, and, third, about the importance of the home having a predominantly Dutch-Canadian clientele.⁵

First, we computed a correlation matrix for all of the relevant variables. Factor analysis of the items relating to institutional completeness showed that there were five factors with the following eigen values. These were as follows: Factor 1, 3.55, Factor 2, 1.78, Factor 3, 1.26, Factor 4, 1.19, and Factor 5, 1.02. Again, only the factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 were used. The factors were rotated using the varimax method. As before, no loadings with values of less than 0.5 were included. The factors were given the following names. Factor 1 was termed "friends of the same group and the same religion" (frosgr), because it included the three questions dealing with closest friends. The second factor dealt with the respondents' preferences with regard to Dutch food, the observance of Dutch customs, and importance of having Dutch Canadians living together in retirement residences and nursing homes. This factor was termed "Dutch homes" (Dutch). Factor 3 dealt with patterns of visiting inside and outside the home with members of the same group and the same religion (visgr). Factor 4 consisted of items that dealt with whether or not ethnic organizations adequately served both their older and their younger members (orgform). Factor 5 was termed "workplace" (workpl). It consisted of items relating to the workplaces of the respondents and/or their spouses.

Next, we calculated the reliability of each of the individual factors used to measure institutional completeness. The reliability coefficients for the five factors were as follows: Factor 1=0.79,

⁵ Again, a five-point scale was used (5 = "strongly agree" to 1 = "strongly disagree"). The actual questions, Q33b, Q33a, Q33c, Q84, Q82, Q81, Q30a, Q29a, Q90, Q75, Q59f, and Q60f are given in Appendix A.

Table 8.2: Factor Analysis: Institutional Completeness

Factor	Short Name	Long Name	Eigenvalue	Factor Score Coefficients	Reliability Coefficient
1	frosgr	friends of same group and same religion	3.55		0.79
	Q33b	second closest friend	2.13	0.42	
	Q33a	first closest friend		0.40	
	Q33c	third closest friend		0.37	
2	Dutcho	variables relating to Dutch retirement homes	1.78		0.72
	Q84	mostly Dutch-Canadians in home	1.93	0.42	
	Q82	Dutch food and customs		0.41	
	Q81	ethnic character of home		0.41	
3	visgr	visiting with per of same grp and same religion	1.26		0.77
	Q30a	visiting outside home	1.63	0.55	
	Q29a	visiting inside home		0.55	
4	orgfom	organizations good for older members	1.19		0.41
	Q90	ethnic organiz not good for young members	1.26	0.63	
	Q75	church looks after seniors well		0.63	
5	workpl	members of same grp and same rel in workpl	1.02		0.34
	Q59f	main place of work	1.20	0.64	
	Q60f	main place of work of spouse		0.64	

Table 8.3: Factor Analysis: Cultural Ethnic Identity Retention

Factor	Short Name	Long Name	Eigenvalue	Factor Score Coefficients	Reliability Coefficient
1	Langus	Language Use	2.73		0.6
	Q15	Dutch language use	1.87	0.43	
	Q17	Knowledge of Dutch language		0.41	
	Q16	Knowledge of English language		0.29	
	Q65	ethnicity of central importance		0.32	
2	cultur	observance of cultural traits	1.16		0.55
	Q14	number of customs observed	1.62	0.5	
	Q13	observe ethnic holidays		0.37	
	Q12	eat Dutch foods		0.48	

Factor 2=0.72, Factor 3=0.77, Factor 4=0.41, and Factor 5=0.34. As we noted before, if a reliability coefficient has a value of .80, this indicates a high level of reliability. However, if it has a value of less than .50, this indicates a low level of reliability. Therefore, Factor 4 and Factor 5 were not included in the analysis.

8.4 Cultural Ethnic Identity Retention

The questionnaire also included a number of items designed to assess the extent of cultural ethnic identity retention. Respondents were asked about their knowledge of the Dutch and English languages, and about the frequency with which they used both languages. Respondents were also asked about the numbers of ethnic customs they observed, the frequency with which they observed ethnic holidays, and the frequency with which they ate traditional Dutch foods. A factor analysis of the

items that explored cultural ethnic identity indicated two factors. Factor 1 had an eigenvalue of 2.73, and Factor 2 had a value of 1.16. Factor 1 was termed “langus”, because of its association with Dutch and English language knowledge and use. Factor 2 was termed “cultur”, because it related to the observance of ethnic customs and ethnic holidays, and to the consumption of ethnic foods. The reliability coefficient for Factor 1 was 0.60. For Factor 2, it was 0.55.

8.5 Social Support

As has been noted, the relationship between ethnicity and social support was a secondary focus of the study. We are interested in whether there are differences between the two religious and ethnic groups in how members care for their elderly parents. Social support was divided into two parts; one pertained to parents, while the other pertained to children. The questionnaire included a number of items designed to assess the amounts and types of social support given to immigrant parents. The questionnaire also included items relating to the kind of help given by the community, the numbers of activities taken part in jointly with parents, the numbers of minutes per week of telephone contact between parents and children, the hours of help given or received, and the numbers of formal services used by parents. In addition, the questionnaire included various items probing respondents’ attitudes towards church and community support of seniors, towards family responsibility in providing support, and towards women’s paid employment. A factor analysis of the items relating to social support as reported by children indicated that there were three major factors. These had the following eigen values: Factor 1 had a value of 3.40, Factor 2, 1.38, and Factor 3, 1.28. The factors were rotated using the varimax method. No factors that had loadings of less than 0.5 were included. The factors were given the following names. Since all the questions making up Factor 1 dealt with help given to parents, this factor was termed “helpar” (help given to parents). Factor 2 dealt with reciprocity, and was termed “recprc”. Factor 3 was termed “chucom”, because the items dealt with help given to older people by churches and ethnic communities. The

Table 8.4: Factor Analysis: Social Support

Factor	Short Name	Long Name	Eigenvalue	Factor Score Coefficients	Reliability Coefficient
1	helpar	help given to parents	3.4		0.55
	Q51	hours per week care given to parents	3.35	0.29	
	Q55	parents use of formal services		0.29	
	Q46a	telephoning mother in minutes		0.27	
	Q46b	telephoning father in minutes		0.27	
2	recprc	reciprocity	1.38		0.41
	Q53	amount of help received by parent	1.39	0.56	
	Q50	amount of help provided to parents		0.49	
	Q45	number of activities with parents		0.41	
3	chucom	church and community help to elderly	1.28		0.42
	Q75	church looks after seniors well	1.31	0.62	
	Q62	help given by community		0.62	
Factor Analysis of Social Support -- Parents					
1	pachco	parent and child contact	2.08		0.31
	Q105	hours per week of care received	1.97	0.5	
	Q101	telephoning children in minutes		0.5	
2	chucop	church and community help parents	1.19		0.42
	Q62	help given by community	1.31	0.62	
	Q75	church looks after seniors well		0.62	

values of the reliabilities for these three factors were 0.55, 0.41, and 0.42, respectively. When the value fell below .50, the factor was omitted from the analysis. Factors 2 and Factor 3 were not included.

There were two factors identified in our analysis of social support as reported by parents. These had eigenvalues of 2.08 and 1.19 respectively. Factor 1 was termed "pachco", because it measured parent and child contact. Factor 2 was termed "chucop", because it dealt with church and community help for parents. The coefficients of reliability were not high. The values were 0.31 and 0.42 respectively. Therefore, these factors were not included in the analysis.

8.6 Regression Analyses

Regression analyses were carried out using all the factors which related to ethnic identity retention and which had coefficients of reliability with values of over .50, as dependent variables.⁶ First, we looked at the zero-order regression coefficients for the eight dependent and for the two major independent variables - religion and generation. The effects of religion can be seen in the first zero-order regression coefficients, reported in Tables 8.5 to 8.12. The effects of generation can be seen in the second zero-order regression coefficients presented in those tables. Then, we regressed the eight dependent variables on the two main explanatory variables. In each of the regression tables, Model 1 shows the combined effects of religion and generation on the dependent variables. Finally, we used the complete models to identify the variables that substantially influenced the dependent variables. Model 2, shown in Tables 8.5 to 8.12, is the complete model, showing the regression coefficients for each factor with controls for other major effects. This model shows the effects of religion and generation upon the various measures of ethnic identity, controlling for the effects of age, gender, marital status, health, education, family income, endogamy, the number of organizations maintained by the group, years of residence in Canada, employment status, and the symbolic identity of the

⁶Regression analyses were also carried out on all the factors associated with social support. Since most of these factors had coefficients of reliability with values of under .50, this work is not included here.

respondents.

Tables 8.5 to 8.12 in this section indicate the b 's (unstandardized coefficients), R^2 ,⁷ and significant t levels.⁸ The b 's are used when comparing the effects of a specific variable⁹, while the betas are used when comparing the relative effects of the independent variables (Gerber, 1990:10)¹⁰. In Tables 8.5 to 8.12, we have used the symbols * and ** to indicate important relationships between variables. Because we do not have a random sample, we are simply using the significance levels of t -tests to indicate important relationships in our data. We must emphasize that we are not using the significance levels of the t -tests as inferential statistics.

8.7 Findings

8.7.1 Commitment to Faith

The first of the indices constructed using exploratory factor analysis was commitment to faith, which was used as a measure of religiosity. The results of the regression analyses, presented in Table 8.5, showed that religion had a strong positive relationship with commitment to faith. Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to be committed to their faith.¹¹ As one would expect, having no religion showed a strong negative relationship with commitment to faith.¹² Model 1 showed that, even when one controlled for generation, the effect of religion did not change much. The complete model showed that, even when all other factors in the model had been controlled for, religion continued to affect

⁷The quantity R^2 is the total variance explained by all the factors in the model.

⁸A statistical test of significance is used to assess whether observed differences between groups are more likely to be real (significant) or whether they are more likely to occur by chance. For example, if the significance level is .05, this means that 5 times out of 100 the differences between the groups occur by chance (Singleton, et al., 1988:174).

⁹Unstandardized beta or b means that, for each unit increase in the independent variable, there will be an increase equal to the value of b in the dependent variable when the influence of other variables is held constant (Walsh, 1990:281).

¹⁰Standardized beta or Beta means that, for one unit change (measured in standard deviation units) in the independent variable, there will be an increase of the value of Beta (in standard deviation units), controlling for the effects of the other variables in the equation. Thus, the beta is a measure of the relative importance of the independent variables in the equation (Walsh, 1990:282).

¹¹A higher proportion of Calvinists than Catholics were deeply committed to their faith.

¹²The responses to Q20 indicated that 149 children were Calvinists, 140 were Catholics, 42 belonged to other denominations, 29 had no religious affiliation, and 4 did not answer the question.

Table 8.5: Regression Analysis: Commitment to Faith

Independent Variables	Zero-order	Zero-order	Model 1	Model 2	Beta
	Regress Coef	Regress Coef	b	b	
	b	b	b	b	
Religion					
Catholic (ref)	ref		ref	ref	
Calvinist	.541**		.539**	.358**	.177**
no religion	-2.043**		-2.035**	-1.974**	-.497**
other religion	-.057		-.050	-.065	
Generation (parent=0 children=1)		-.275*	-.047	.345*	.131*
Age				.012*	.176*
Gender (female=1, male=0)				.155	
Marital Status (married=1, wid/sep/div=0)				.252**	.095*
Subjective Health (ex/gd=1, fr/pr=0)				-.188	
Education				.019	.113*
Family Income				-.020	
Endogamy				-.001	
Number of Organizations of Group				.019*	
Years of Residence in Canada				.005	
Employment Status					
not working (ref)				ref	
full-time				-.160	
part-time				-.059	
Symbolic Identity					
no group				-1.163	
other group				.296	
Dutch				.096	
Dutch Canadian				.067	
Canadian (ref)				ref	
Constant	-.093	.501*	-.007	-1.814*	
R2	.403	.011	.404	.463	
* <.05 ** <.005					N=440

levels of commitment to faith. The effect of being a Calvinist had decreased somewhat, but it was still strong and positive. Similarly, the effect of having no religion, although less pronounced, was still strong and negative.

From the zero-order regression coefficient, we see that generation had a moderate negative relationship with level of commitment to faith. The children generation was less likely to be committed to the faith. However, Model 1 showed that, when one controlled for religion, the effects of generation, although still negative, were greatly decreased. Although children were still less likely to be deeply committed to the faith than parents, the differences were very small (-.047) and they were not significant. And the complete model showed that, with controls for all of the other factors, the effect of generation had changed and had become moderately and positively related to level of commitment to faith. This relationship was significant. Children were more likely to be deeply committed to the faith. We have seen in Chapter Six that Calvinist children belonged to more ethnic and religious organizations than their parents and also that religion remained a very central force in their lives. Other factors, including age, marital status, and the numbers of ethnic organizations supported by the group, were also related to levels of commitment to faith.

Table 8.5 showed that religion explains 40 percent of the variance in commitment to faith. In contrast, generation explained only 1 percent of the variance. When we examine the combined effects of religion and generation in Model 1, we see that there has been only a slight increase in the proportion of the variance that has been explained. However, we have seen that other variables were also important. The variables in Model 2, presented in Table 8.5, accounted for 46.3 percent of the variance in commitment to one's faith.

In summary, the results in Model 2 showed that Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to have a strong commitment to their faith. As is to be expected, respondents who have no religious affiliation were least committed. Strong commitment to religion also varied by age, marital status, and the number of organizations maintained by the group. Older people (and this, of course, includes the parent generation) were more likely to have strong commitments. As has been noted in Chapter

Three, this may be because of some combination of historical and cohort effects. And age may also be a factor. The stability of married life seemed to be associated with a high level of commitment to one's faith. Also, the women in our study had higher levels of commitment than the men. We expected Calvinist respondents, with larger number of organizations maintained by the group, to have higher levels of commitment. One would expect this, because of the high levels of institutional completeness that are characteristic of such groups (Breton, 1964; Herberg, 1989). The Calvinists have developed *ethnic cohesive communities* because of their religious convictions. Health, income, and education were not associated with commitment to faith. When we examined the Beta's, the factors associated with religion and age were more important. Religion had the strongest effect on commitment to faith (beta .177 and -.491). Age had the next strongest effect (beta .176).

8.7.2 Commitment to Ethnic and Religious Homes for the Elderly

Commitment to ethnic and religious homes for the elderly was the second of two indices constructed using exploratory factor analysis. It is the second measure of religiosity. An examination of the zero-order regression coefficients in Table 8.6 shows us that religion had a strong positive relationship with commitment to ethnic homes for the elderly. Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to be committed to such homes. However, having no religion, or belonging to another religion, was also positively related to commitment to ethnic homes for elderly relatives. Model 1 showed that, when one controlled for generation, the effects had changed very little. When we look at the results in the complete model, we see that religion continued to play an important part in maintaining commitment to ethnic and religious homes for the elderly. The effect of being a Calvinist had decreased slightly, but was still strong and positive. The effect of having no religion had increased slightly.

The zero-order regression analysis shows that the influence of generation was not significant in either model, even though it is the middle-aged children who are most active in building such homes for the elderly members of the parent generation. The zero-order regression coefficients, given in Table 8.6, show that religion explained 27 percent of the variance in commitment to homes for

Table 8.6: Regression Analysis: Commitment to Ethnic and Religious Homes for the Elderly

Independent Variables	Zero-order	Zero-order	Model 1	Model 2	Beta
	Regress Coef b	Regress Coef b	b	b	
Religion					
Catholic (ref)	ref		ref	ref	
Calvinist	1.142**		1.144**	1.127**	.559**
no religion	.587**		.578**	.642**	.162**
other religion	.521**		.512**	.514**	.157**
Generation (parent=0 children=1)		-.032	.056	.329	
Age				.010*	.147*
Gender (female=1, male=0)				-.226*	-.112*
Marital Status (married=1, wid/sep/div=0)				-.181	
Subjective Health (ex/gd=1, fr/pr=0)				-.067	
Education				-.016	
Family Income				.022	
Endogamy				.004*	.085*
Number of Organizations of Group				.015	
Years of Residence in Canada				-.033*	-.120**
Employment Status					
not working (ref)				ref	
full-time				.002	
part-time				.066	
Symbolic Identity					
no group				1.916*	.091*
other group				-.111	
Dutch				-.176	
Dutch Canadian				.202*	.098*
Canadian (ref)				ref	
Constant	-.594**	.057	-.696**	-.223	
R2	.270	.000	.217	.339	
* <.05 ** <.005				N=440	

the elderly. Generation did not explain any of the variance. The combined effects of religion and generation in Model 1 show that the effects of religion were reduced (21.7%) when generation was added to the equation. However, Model 2 showed that there were other variables which had effects on the commitment to ethnic homes for the elderly. The combined effects of the variables in Model 2, presented in Table 8.6, accounted for 33.9 percent of the variance in commitment to ethnic and/or religious homes for the elderly.

We conclude that the results presented in Model 2 provide evidence that Calvinists are more likely than Catholics to be committed to providing ethnic and/or religious homes for the elderly. However, it is perhaps surprising to find that those respondents who report no religious affiliation or other religious affiliations were also likely to favour such homes for their elderly relatives. On the other hand, this may reflect the fact that these second-generation respondents are sensitive to the preferences of members of the first generation and that they also recognize the high quality of care that is frequently provided in such homes. They may favour such homes for their own elderly parents and, later, for themselves. Members of the second generation had a higher level of commitment to ethnic homes. Women were less likely than men to express a preference for such homes. This is puzzling because women make up the majority of residents. As one would expect, the longer a person had resided in Canada, the less committed he or she was to ethnic homes. Furthermore, those respondents who married other Dutch people of the same religion had higher levels of commitment to ethnic homes. However, it is surprising to find that those respondents who did not feel that they belonged to any particular group were more committed to ethnic homes than those who saw themselves as Dutch-Canadian. However, the level of commitment was fairly strong in the latter as well (b's 1.916* and .202*). Both were more committed to ethnic homes than respondents who simply said that they were Canadian. Here also, being Calvinist was the most important factor in this regression model (beta .559).

8.7.3 Religiosity of Children

Table 8.7 shows that being of the Calvinist religion had a moderate positive effect on the level of religiosity of one's children. Having no religion had a strong negative effect on the level of religiosity of one's children. Belonging to denominations other than the Catholic Church also had a moderate negative effect on the religiosity of one's children. When we controlled for generation, the effects of religion did not change. The results shown in Model 2 show that, when one controls for all other factors in the model, the effects of being Calvinist increased slightly and the effects of having no religion or being of another religion than Calvinist or Catholic decreased slightly. The effects were in the same directions as before. In this regression equation, the effect of generation was very slight and it was not statistically significant. Various other factors, including endogamy, the number of organizations maintained by the group, and working full-time, were related to the level of religiosity of one's children. The zero-order regression coefficients, given in Table 8.7, show that religion explained 32.8 percent of the variance in the religiosity of children. Generation explained only .007 percent of the variance. The combined effects of religion and generation, shown in Model 1, indicate that the percentages of the variance that were explained were unchanged. However, Model 2 shows that there were other variables which also affected the religiosity of children. The combined effects of the variables in Model 2, presented in Table 8.7, accounted for 52.3 percent of the variance in the religiosity of children.

Therefore, from the results shown in Model 2, we conclude that Calvinist children were more likely than Catholic children to report high levels of religiosity. Similarly, those children who were married to people of the same ethnic group and of the same religion had higher levels of religiosity. However, children who had no religious affiliation, or who were neither Calvinists nor Catholics, belonged to other religions, were less likely to have high levels of religiosity. Respondents who worked full-time had lower levels of religiosity. This probably relates to the kinds of measures

Table 8.7: Regression Analysis: Religiosity of Children

Independent Variables	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Model 1 b	Model 2 b	Beta
Religion					
Catholic (ref)	ref		ref	ref	
Calvinist	.174*		.174*	.205*	.101*
no religion	-2.120**		-2.119**	-2.069**	-.521**
other religion	-.473**		-.472**	-.297*	-.091*
Generation (parent=0 children=1)		-.032	-.002	-.053	
Age				-.003	
Gender (female=1, male=0)				.050	
Marital Status (married=1, wid/sep/div=0)				.023	
Subjective Health (ex/gd=1, fr/pr=0)				-.248	
Education				.011	
Family Income				-.002	
Endogamy				.021**	.436**
Number of Organizations of Group				.018*	.105*
Years of Residence in Canada				-.004	
Employment Status					
not working (ref)				ref	
full-time				-.201*	-.100*
part-time				-.098	
Symbolic Identity					
no group				-.279	
other group				.112	
Dutch				-.120	
Dutch Canadian				.083	
Canadian (ref)				ref	
Constant	.117	.057	.119	.258	
R2	.328	.007	.328	.523	
* <.05 ** <.005				N=440	

that we used and to the fact that employed people have less time to take part in church activities.¹³ It is obvious that full-time workers tend to have less time available for attending church services or for taking part in other religious activities with their children. In keeping with the findings reported in Table 8.5, those respondents who belonged to groups that maintained greater number of organizations also tended to have higher levels of religiosity.

Rates of endogamy seemed to particularly affect the levels of religiosity of children (beta .436**). The effects of having numerous organizations supported by the group and of being of the Calvinist faith were also important (beta .105* and .101*). Having no religious affiliation had the greatest negative influence (beta -.521**).

8.7.4 Friendship Patterns

Our results indicate that religion had a strong effect on friendship patterns (Table 8.8). Calvinists and individuals who were neither Calvinists nor Catholics were more likely than Catholics to have friends of the same group and of the same religion. In contrast, people who had no religious affiliation were less likely than Catholics to have friends of the same group and of the same religious affiliation. Model 1 shows that, when one controls for generation, some of the effects changed. The effects of being Calvinist or of having no religious affiliation decreased slightly. However, the effect of being neither Calvinist nor Catholic changed from being moderately positive to being moderately negative. In the complete model, controlling for all the other factors, there were further changes. The effects of being Calvinist or of having no religion was further decreased. The effect of being neither Calvinist nor Catholic increased slightly. But the relationships were still in the same directions. Generation had a moderate negative relationship to friendship patterns in the zero-order regression. Children were less likely than parents to have friends of the same group and of the same religion. However, when we controlled for religion, the effect of generation decreased. As is shown in Model 2, when we

¹³Our measures of religiosity emphasized high levels of activity and high rates of participation in church events. However, we did also ask about the extent to which religion was central in respondents' lives.

Table 8.8: Regression Analysis: Friendship Patterns

Independent Variables	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Model 1 b	Model 2 b	Beta
Religion					
Catholic (ref)	ref		ref	ref	
Calvinist	.758**		.748**	.426**	.211**
no religion	-.620**		-.587**	-.518**	-.131**
other religion	.466**		-.431**	-.444**	-.136**
Generation (parent=0 children=1)		-.424**	-.217*	.163	
Age				.006	
Gender (female=1, male=0)				-.014	
Marital Status (married=1, wid/sep/div=0)				.233	
Subjective Health (ex/gd=1, fr/pr=0)				.167	
Education				-.057*	-.117*
Family Income				-.035	
Endogamy				-.003	
Number of Organizations of Group				.037**	.216**
Years of Residence in Canada				-.010	
Employment Status					
not working (ref)				ref	
full-time				-.050	
part-time				.088	
Symbolic Identity					
no group				-.131	
other group				.433	
Dutch				.512*	.096*
Dutch Canadian				.126	
Canadian (ref)				ref	
Constant	-.242**	.773**	.153	-.191	
R2	.242	.027	.249	.339	
* <.05 ** <.005					
				N=440	

controlled for all other factors, the relationship between generation and friendship patterns changed from negative to positive. Children were now slightly more likely than parents to have friends of the same group and of the same religion. However, this relationship was no longer statistically significant. Other factors that were related to friendship patterns included education, number of organizations supported by the group, and feeling Dutch.

The zero-order regression coefficients, given in Table 8.8, indicate that religion explained 24.2 percent of the variance in friendship patterns, while generation explained only .027 percent of the variance. The combined effects of religion and generation, presented in Model 1, show that the effect of religion did not change much (24.9%) when generation was added to the equation. However, Model 2 shows that there were other variables which did affect friendship patterns. The combined effects of the variables in Model 2, presented in Table 8.8, accounted for 33.9 percent of the variance in friendship patterns

Whether one had close friends of the same ethnic group and of the same religion was greatly influenced by one's religious affiliation (Table 8.8). Calvinists were much more likely than Catholics to have their three closest friends belonging to the same ethnic group and the same religion. Respondents who had no religious affiliation, or who were neither Calvinist nor Catholic, were the least likely to have such friends. Of course, respondents who belonged to groups with greater number of organizations maintained by the group (that is groups with higher levels of institutional completeness) had more friendships with people of their own kind. Respondents who felt Dutch were more likely to have close friends of the same group and also of the same religion. Individuals with more education were less likely to do so. They tended to be more upwardly mobile, they tended to have assimilated more, and they tended to meet a greater variety of people of different backgrounds and religions.

When comparing the relative effects of variables on friendship patterns, the number of organizations that a group maintains had the strongest effect (beta .216**). This was followed closely by being a Calvinist (beta .211**). Belonging to other religions, having no religious affiliation, or

being more educated all had strong negative effects (beta $-.136^{**}$, $-.131^{**}$, $-.117^*$ respectively).

8.7.5 Views on Retirement Homes

The results presented in Table 8.9 show that there was a relationship between respondents' religions and their views on retirement and nursing homes. Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to favour ethnic and religious homes. Respondents who were neither Calvinist nor Catholic also favoured ethnic and religious homes, but the relationship was less strong. The same was true in the case of those respondents with no religious affiliation. The relationship was weak and positive. When we controlled for generation, the effect of being Calvinist increased slightly, but the effect of being Catholic, or being neither Calvinist nor Catholic decreased. The complete model shows that, when we controlled for all other factors, religion was still very important in determining one's views on retirement homes. The effect of being of another religion was more pronounced, and the effect of being a Calvinist had decreased slightly. The relationship between generation and having a preference for Dutch retirement homes was weak and positive. However, it was not statistically significant. The younger generation was more interested in Dutch retirement homes than the older generation. When we controlled for religion, the effect became stronger and was statistically significant. However, when we controlled for all the other factors, the effect became much weaker and was no longer statistically significant.

Table 8.9 shows that religion explained only 14.7 percent of the variance in people's views about Dutch retirement homes. Generation explained even less (.004%) of the variance. The combined effects of religion and generation, presented in Model 1, showed a slight increase in the effects of religion (15.4%) when generation was added to the equation. Model 2 shows that there were very few other variables which had an effect on views on ethnic nursing homes. The variables included in Model 2, presented in Table 8.9, only accounted for 18.7 percent of the variance in views on Dutch nursing homes. It is important to note that even when we took all of the variables in the model into account, we could explain only a small proportion of the variance.

Table 8.9: Regression Analysis: Views on Retirement Homes

Independent Variables	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Model 1 b	Model 2 b	Beta
Religion					
Catholic (ref)	ref		ref	ref	
Calvinist	.816**		.827**	.792**	.392**
no religion	.134		.098	.070	
other religion	.596**		.557**	.630**	.193**
Generation (parent=0 children=1)		.170	.234*	.140	
Age				-8.826	
Gender (female=1, male=0)				-.022	
Marital Status (married=1, wid/sep/div=0)				.030	
Subjective Health (ex/gd=1, fr/pr=0)				.058	
Education				-.034	
Family Income				.024	
Endogamy				.001	
Number of Organizations of Group				.004	
Years of Residence in Canada				.002	
Employment Status					
not working (ref)				ref	
full-time				.145	
part-time				.106	
Symbolic Identity					
no group				.172	
other group				-.083	
Dutch				.691*	.129*
Dutch Canadian				.246*	.120*
Canadian (ref)				ref	
Constant	-.428**	-.309	-.853**	-.928	
R2	.147	.004	.154	.187	
				N=440	

* <.05 ** <.005

In summary, we see that Table 8.9 shows the effects of all the variables that related to views on Dutch nursing homes. Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to be interested in the ethnic character of such homes, in the serving of Dutch food and the celebration of Dutch customs in such homes, and in whether Dutch-Canadian residents predominated. Respondents who belonged to other religions were also very interested in Dutch retirement and nursing homes. However, it is not possible to tell whether they were interested in the ethnic character or in the religious orientation of these homes. Feeling Dutch or Dutch-Canadian was associated with having higher levels of interest in Dutch nursing homes. Of all the variables, Calvinism was the most important indicator of interest in Dutch nursing homes.

8.7.6 Visiting Patterns

Table 8.10 indicates that there was a strong relationship between religious affiliation and visiting patterns. Calvinists were much more likely than Catholics to visit with people of the same religion and of the same ethnic group. However, people who belonged to churches that were neither Calvinist nor Catholic and people with no religious affiliation were less likely than Catholics to visit with people of the same religion and of the same ethnic group. When we controlled for generation, the effect of religion decreased slightly for the Calvinists, but increased slightly for the people with no religious affiliation or of other religions. The same pattern persisted, even when all the other factors in the model were controlled for, as is shown in the complete model. Religion continued to be the factor most closely associated with visiting patterns. The relationship between generation and visiting patterns was strong, at first, and, it was negative. Children were less likely than parents to visit with people of the same religion and the same ethnic group. In Model 1, the effects of generation had decreased. And in Model 2, they had decreased even further. Although still negative, they were no longer statistically significant.

The zero-order regression coefficients presented in Table 8.10 show that religion explained only 17.8 percent of the variance in visiting patterns. Again, generation explained very little (.049%)

Table 8.10: Regression Analysis: Visiting Patterns

Independent Variables	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Model 1 b	Model 2 b	Beta
Religion					
Catholic (ref)	ref		ref	ref	
Calvinist	.522**		.503**	.493**	.244**
no religion	-.609**		-.549**	-.436*	-.110*
other religion	-.674**		-.610**	-.518**	-.158**
Generation (parent=0 children=1)		-.580**	-.394**	-.170	
Age				-.003	
Gender (female=1, male=0)				-.055	
Marital Status (married=1, wid/sep/div=0)				.211	
Subjective Health (ex/gd=1, fr/pr=0)				-.307	
Education				-.071**	-.147**
Family Income				-.020	
Endogamy				-.001	
Number of Organizations of Group				-.003	
Years of Residence in Canada				1.04	
Employment Status					
not working (ref)				ref	
full-time				-.283*	-.141*
part-time				-.251	
Symbolic Identity					
no group				-.931	
other group				-.101	
Dutch				.257	
Dutch Canadian				.135	
Canadian (ref)				ref	
Constant	-.117	1.056**	.599*	.771	
R2	.178	.049	.200	.263	
* < .05 ** < .005					N=440

of the variance. The combined effects of religion and generation, given in Model 1, indicated a slight increase in the effects of religion (20.0%). Model 2 showed that there were other factors, including education and working full-time, that were also related to visiting patterns. The variables in Model 2, presented in Table 8.10, accounted for 26.3 percent of the variance in people's patterns of visiting inside and outside the home.

We can conclude from the results in Model 2, presented in Table 8.10, that religion was the most important variable in predicting visiting patterns inside and outside the home. Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to visit with people of the same group and same religion. Individuals who have no religious affiliation, or who belong to denominations other than the Calvinist and Catholic churches, were the least likely to visit with members of their own ethnic and religious groups. These results are not surprising, because members of institutionally complete groups tended to interact mainly with other members of the group, and to have limited contact with people outside the group. As one would expect, people who work full-time were less likely to visit with members of their own ethnic group. Those who work full-time probably have less time for visiting. They also have more opportunity to form friendships with individuals who do not belong to their own ethnic and religious groups. People with more education are less likely to visit with people of the same group and of the same religion. The reasons for this pattern are probably similar. Being Calvinist was the strongest predictor of visiting with people of the same group and of the same religion (beta .244**).

8.7.7 Dutch Language Use

The results of our analysis of the relationship between religion and the use of the Dutch language were mixed. For the most part, these relationships were not statistically significant, as can be seen in Table 8.11. Calvinists were only slightly more likely than Catholics to use the Dutch language. People who had no religion or who belonged to other religions were less likely than Catholics to use the Dutch language. This makes sense, because it is likely that these people had assimilated to a greater degree. When we controlled for religion, the effects of being Calvinist decreased slightly,

and the effects of the other two factors increased. However, the effect of membership in other denominations was no longer statistically significant. Model 2 shows that, when we controlled for all the other factors in the model, the effects of religion were all negative, but they were very weak. The relationship between generation and the use of Dutch was very strong, and, not surprisingly, it was negative. When we controlled for other factors, children were less likely than elderly parents to use the Dutch language. The effect of generation had decreased slightly in Model 1. In the complete model, when we had controlled for all the other factors, the effect of generation had become very weak. It was positive, but it was not statistically significant. There were many other factors that were related to the use of the Dutch language. These included the following: age, gender, education, family income, years of residence in Canada, and identifying oneself as Dutch or Dutch-Canadian. These factors were more important than religion.

The zero-order regression coefficients, given in Table 8.11, show that religion explained very little (.033%) of the variance in use of the Dutch language. However, in this instance, generation explained a much larger portion of the variance (34.3%). The combined effects of religion and generation, presented in Model 1, show that the effect of religion did not change (34.9%) when generation was added to the equation. However, Model 2 shows that there were other important variables which increased the proportion of the variance in the use of the Dutch language use which could be explained. The combined effects of all these variables which were included in Model 2, are given in Table 8.11. They accounted for 60.9 percent of the variance in knowledge of the Dutch language and in use of the Dutch language.

Model 2 shows the effects of the various variables predicting knowledge of the Dutch language and use of Dutch. In contrast with the patterns that were evident in Tables 8.5 to 8.10, religion was not an important factor here. As is to be expected, age was associated with higher levels of knowledge of and more frequent use of the Dutch language. In addition, women were more likely than men to say that they had a good knowledge of the Dutch language.¹⁴ They also used it more

¹⁴Keeping in touch with relatives may have provided women with opportunities to maintain their proficiency in

Table 8.11: Regression Analysis: Dutch Language Use

Independent Variables	Zero-order	Zero-order	Model 1	Model 2	Beta
	Regress Coef b	Regress Coef b	b	b	
Religion					
Catholic (ref)	ref		ref	ref	
Calvinist	.078		.008	-.092	
no religion	-.315		-.088	-.018	
other religion	-.491**		-.247	-.158	
Generation (parent=0 children=1)		-1.528**	-1.494**	.054	
Age				.037**	.541**
Gender (female=1, male=0)				.157*	.078*
Marital Status (married=1, wid/sep/div=0)				-.042	
Subjective Health (ex/gd=1, fr/pr=0)				.105	
Education				-.041*	-.086*
Family Income				-.046**	-.113**
Endogamy				1.486	
Number of Organizations of Group				.004	
Years of Residence in Canada				-.025*	-.088*
Employment Status					
not working (ref)				ref	
full-time				-.112	
part-time				-.086	
Symbolic Identity					
no group				-.807	
other group				.152	
Dutch				1.042**	.195**
Dutch Canadian				.402**	.196**
Canadian (ref)				ref	
Constant	.038	2.784**	2.749**	-.736	
R2	.033	.343	.349	.609	
* < .05 ** < .005				N=440	

frequently. Immigrant women tended to stay at home with children, and, therefore, did not have the opportunity to learn English as fast as their husbands who generally worked outside the home. Higher levels of education and income were associated with lower levels of knowledge of and less frequent use of the Dutch language. Individuals who were upwardly mobile in the new country quickly tended to adopt the new language. Similarly, the longer a person had resided in Canada, the less frequently he or she used the Dutch language. And, of course, respondents who identified themselves as Dutch or as Dutch Canadians were more likely to use the Dutch language. Relative to the other variables, age was the variable that was most closely associated with knowledge of the Dutch language and its use (beta .541). Seeing oneself as Dutch or as Dutch-Canadian was also an important indicator (beta .195 .196 respectively).

8.7.8 Attachment to Dutch Culture

Again, the relationship between religion and the attachment to Dutch culture was not clear cut, and many of the differences we found were not statistically significant. Calvinists were somewhat more likely than Catholics to be attached to certain aspects of Dutch culture. As is to be expected, people who had no religious affiliation or were of other religions were the least likely to be attached to Dutch culture. These relationships did not change much when we controlled for generation, as is shown in Model 1. When we had controlled for all the other factors, as is shown in Model 2, religion still played a mixed role in determining levels of attachment to Dutch culture. The effect of being a Calvinist, although slightly decreased, was still strong and positively related to attachment to Dutch culture. The other two relationships had changed slightly. But they were still negative, and they were not statistically significant. The relationship between generation and attachment to Dutch culture was strong, and it was negative. Parents were more likely than children to be attached to Dutch culture. When we controlled for religion, the relationship continued to be negative. Again,

the Dutch language. In addition, women tend to be the ones who maintain the family ties, as kin-keeping is seen to be a "female" responsibility. Three-quarters of the kin-keepers in the aforementioned Hamilton study were women (Rosenthal, 1985:969).

Table 8.12: Regression Analysis: Attachment to Dutch Culture

Independent Variables	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Zero-order Regress Coef b	Model 1 b	Model 2 b	Beta
Religion					
Catholic (ref)	ref		ref	ref	
Calvinist	.734**		.710**	.562**	.279**
no religion	-.130		-.054	-.037	
other religion	-.291		-.209	-.120	
Generation (parent=0 children=1)		-.642**	-.502**	-.510*	-.194*
Age				-.003	
Gender (female=1, male=0)				.037	
Marital Status (married=1, wid/sep/div=0)				.139	
Subjective Health				.055	
Education				.003	
Family Income				.006	
Endogamy				.002	
Number of Organizations of Group				.026**	.153**
Years of Residence in Canada				-.032*	-.116*
Employment Status					
not working (ref)				ref	
full-time				-.137	
part-time				.035	
Symbolic Identity					
no group				.753	
other group				-.085	
Dutch				.696**	.130**
Dutch Canadian				.335**	.163**
Canadian (ref)				ref	
Constant	-.282**	1.170**	.628**	1.788*	
R2	.167	.061	.202	.281	
*<.05 **<.005				N=440	

the results presented in Model 2 show that, when one controls for all factors in the model, the relationship is still negative, but less strong.

Religion explained only 16.7 percent of the variance in the attachment to Dutch culture. Surprisingly, the zero-order regression coefficient, given in Table 8.12, indicates that generation was not important. It explained only .061 percent of the variance. When we considered religion and generation together, as is shown in Model 1, the proportion of the variance that we could explain increased to 20.2 percent. However, Model 2 shows that there are other variables which have an effect on attachment to Dutch culture. These included the following: number of organizations maintained by the group, years of residence in Canada, and identifying oneself as Dutch or as Dutch-Canadian. However, the combined effects of the variables included in Model 2, shown in Table 8.12, only accounted for 28.1 percent of the variance in attachment to Dutch culture

Let us now consider the importance of the various variables that deal with the cultural component of ethnic identity retention. We focus on the observance of Dutch customs, the celebration of ethnic holidays, and the consumption of Dutch foods. An examination of Model 2, shown in Table 8.12, indicates that Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to observe Dutch customs. Parents were more likely than children to observe Dutch customs, to celebrate ethnic holidays, and to consume Dutch foods. Having large number of organizations maintained by the group was associated with emphasizing the level of attachment to Dutch culture. Similarly, those individuals who identified themselves as Dutch or as Dutch-Canadian, were more likely to value Dutch culture. However, as one would expect, those who had lived longer in Canada were less likely to value Dutch culture. Of all the variables, being a Calvinist was most closely associated with observing Dutch customs and holidays, and with consuming traditional Dutch foods (beta .279**).

8.8 Conclusion

The results of the regression analyses tended to support our first hypothesis. In our samples, religious affiliation was important in determining ethnic identity retention. Dutch-Canadian Calvinists had higher levels of ethnic identity retention than Dutch-Canadian Catholics. The two groups differed in levels of religiosity, in the extent of institutional completeness, and in patterns of cultural ethnic identity retention. However, religion was not important when one examined the knowledge of and frequency of use of the Dutch language. When we look at the models presented in Tables 8.5 to 8.12, we see that religious affiliation accounts for the largest portions of the variances in Tables 8.5, 8.6, 8.7, 8.8, 8.9, 8.10, and 8.12. Only in Table 8.11 was generation more important. Being a Calvinist means being more deeply committed to one's faith, placing more emphasis on the religious character of Dutch nursing homes, and having children who are deeply religious. Being a Calvinist also means having greater numbers of close friends of the same ethnic group and of the same religion, visiting more with people of the same ethnic and religious background, and placing more emphasis on the ethnic character of Dutch nursing homes. In addition, Calvinists are more likely to observe Dutch customs. Whether one belongs to the first or to the second generation is more important than one's religion in predicting one's knowledge of and frequency of use of the Dutch language. As one would expect, members of the second generation were less likely to know and use the Dutch language. Whether one belongs to the first or to the second generation also influences one's level of attachment to Dutch culture. Therefore, the data also tended to support our second hypothesis. It is clear that generation is an important factor when one is explaining patterns of ethnic identity retention among Dutch Calvinists and Dutch Catholics. However, it is a much less important factor than religious affiliation. The first generation of immigrants did have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than the second generation. However, second-generation Calvinists are continuing to maintain high levels of institutional completeness. As had already been noted, the data presented in Chapter Seven, lend partial support to our third hypothesis.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

In this thesis, we examined the extent of ethnic identity retention and how it influenced community cohesion among Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists. We also described the variations in patterns of ethnic identity retention among first- and second-generation Dutch immigrants. Finally, we explored how ethnicity and religion influenced the amounts and types of social support given to older parents in these two Dutch-Canadian communities. There are some important differences between Catholics and Calvinists, and between first- and second-generation immigrants. For example, there are differences in levels of religiosity, in the extent of institutional completeness, and in the cultural components of ethnic identity. However, there were few differences in the amounts of support provided to elderly parents. Only when we examined people's views with regard to the provision of ethnic and religious retirement residences and nursing homes for older people were there substantial differences.

9.2 Major Findings

In Chapter One, we reviewed some of the Canadian research on ethnic identity retention. From these studies, we saw that ethnic identity has both subjective and objective dimensions, external and internal components, and cultural and structural dimensions (Breton, 1990:213-218; Reitz, 1980:101-109; Isajiw, 1990:34-91; Isajiw, 1980:80; Gordon, 1964:40). Furthermore, ethnic identity can be examined from the viewpoint of assimilationists, from the viewpoint of pluralists, or it can be examined using some combination of the two perspectives (Breton, 1990:213-218; Driedger, 1989:51). The models developed by Driedger and Breton were used to explain the specific settlement patterns of the first generation of Dutch immigrants, and also to help us identify the changes that may have affected members of the second generation. The thesis was also informed by the symbolic interactionist perspective. This approach enabled us to explore the formation and maintenance of new identities among immigrants. Both the subjective and the objective aspects of individual choices, and also the influences of larger structures were considered. All of these factors affected settlement patterns. The various reasons for Dutch emigration to Canada were described in Chapter Two. The nature and history of religious divisions in The Netherlands are also described. Emigrants came because of a combination of "push" and "pull" factors. The destruction that took place during World War II and the difficult conditions that followed were important in encouraging emigrants to leave Holland. The return of large numbers of Dutch soldiers and settlers from the East Indies and the overpopulation of The Netherlands were additional factors. Canadian immigration policies were also very important. Because they assimilated readily, the Dutch were one of the preferred immigrant groups from Northern Europe. In addition, the Canadian government agreed to The Netherlands Farm Families Scheme in 1946. Under this plan, many farm labourers and their families were able to emigrate, providing they were sponsored for the first year in Canada. There followed a pattern of chain migration, as people joined relatives and neighbours already settled in Canada. Both Calvinist and Catholic churches in Canada were eager to see more Dutch immigrants enter the country so

that their churches could grow.

Chapter Three dealt with the research on religion and ethnicity, while Chapter Four explored the significance of religion and ethnicity for social support. Chapter Five described the research methods used in this study and the way in which the sample was selected. Patterns of ethnic identity retention among the Dutch immigrants were described in Chapter Six. Chapter Seven documented the exchanges of help and social support between elderly immigrants and their children. The factor analyses and the least squares regression analyses presented in Chapter Eight showed the indices and variables that were associated with ethnic identity retention.

Let us now summarize the main differences between the two groups in patterns of ethnic identity retention and patterns of social support. As was described earlier in Chapter Two, the Calvinists came to Canada slightly earlier. Since the mean age of the elderly Calvinists is two or three years higher than that of the elderly Catholics, the children of Calvinists also tend to be a couple of years older. First-generation Catholics had higher levels of education than first-generation Calvinists. However, the differences that were so apparent in the first generation have almost disappeared in the second generation. Often the second generation has more education.

The extent of Dutch language retention is not high among either the Catholics or the Calvinists. Many of the elderly respondents say that they know the English language well. However, one-fifth of the older generation say that they do not write English well. Calvinist respondents, of both generations, read ethnic and religious newspapers more frequently than Catholic respondents. There are also differences in what they read. Among Dutch immigrants, the consumption of ethnic foods and the observance of ethnic customs is not held to be very important. However, there are generational differences in patterns of consumption of ethnic foods and in the observance of ethnic customs. It is striking that most first-generation Calvinists and their children think it important that older relatives live in residences where Dutch food is served and where Dutch customs are observed, while relatively few first- or second-generation Catholics think that this is an important issue.

The majority of the members of the first generation think of themselves as Dutch Canadians. However, twice as many Catholics as Calvinists think of themselves as simply Canadians. It is interesting to note that nearly half of those who belong to the second generation see their parents as Dutch, even though very few of them think of themselves as Dutch. More first-generation Calvinists than Catholics say that ethnicity is important in their lives, and that they base important decisions on ethnicity. Three-quarters of all the Calvinists think that the ethnic character of a retirement or nursing home is an important factor to consider. But only one-quarter of first-generation Catholics and two-fifths of the second-generation Catholics think that ethnic character is an important factor to consider when choosing a nursing home for elderly relatives.

Most members of the first generation married other Dutch people of the same religious affiliation. In fact, many were married before their arrival in Canada. In the second generation, relatively few Calvinists married outside their ethnic group. Fifteen percent married "Canadians", and 10 percent married spouses of other ethnic groups. In contrast, a greater number of second-generation Catholics than Calvinists married "Canadian" spouses or spouses of other ethnic groups. Two-fifths of the second-generation Catholics married people who were Dutch. Three-fifths (62%) of the second-generation Catholics married Catholics. Only one-tenth married Dutch Catholics, and about one-third married people of Dutch descent who were not Catholics (See Section 6.5.3, Chapter Six). Almost all of the Calvinists preferred that their children marry a person of the same religious group. However, it was interesting to find that one-fifth of the Catholics do not object to their children marrying outside the Catholic faith. Members of the second generation do not see the ethnicity of spouses to be nearly as important an issue as members of the older generation do. It is interesting to note that the two groups do not intermarry. Very few respondents married Dutch people of different religions.

There are both generational and Catholic/Calvinist differences in respondents' views on church activities. Calvinists, of both generations, attend church more frequently than Catholics. In both groups, there were some declines in church attendance, between the first to the second

generation, and between the second to the third generation. However, first-generation Calvinists and their children are more likely to report weekly attendance at other church activities. There are distinct differences in the kinds of church activities in which the two groups participate during the week. Calvinists are more likely to attend Bible study groups, while Catholics are more likely to participate in service groups. Catholics, of both generations, give less of their income to the church, perhaps partly because the Catholic church has long been a wealthy institution, and partly because some Catholics have been used to receiving state support for their church.

Calvinist parents and children also report higher levels of religiosity. Most of them consider religion to be of central importance in their lives. However, fewer than one-half of the second-generation Catholics consider religion to be that important. These differences in religious commitment can be seen in respondents' views on the importance of choosing Calvinist or Catholic nursing homes. Catholics tend to feel that the distance of the home from the family or the price charged is more important than the religious character of the institution, while among Calvinists the religious character of the institution is most important.

A greater number of Catholic respondents had received all or most of their education in parochial schools. Most of the first-generation Calvinists, but only half of their children, had attended Christian schools all or most of the time. The most common reasons given for this were the high costs of Christian education and the fact that Christian education was sometimes not readily available, especially during the 1950's and 1960's.

Because they tend to socialize with their own kind, Calvinists have greater numbers of close friends who are also Dutch Calvinists, while Catholics tend to have friends among all groups in Canadian society. It is very interesting to note that a high proportion of all four groups indicate they do not have any Dutch friends of a different religion. Elderly Catholics and Calvinists tend to visit with other Dutch Canadians of their own religion. However, among second-generation Dutch Canadians, a greater number of Calvinists than Catholics visit with Dutch friends of the same religion.

One-quarter of Calvinists work with other Dutch Calvinists at their places of employment. For example, Calvinist businessmen tend to hire workers who belong to their own group. Although members of the first-generation are much more aware of the various organizations that were established by their group, Calvinists are far more aware of these organizations than Catholics. This is the case among members of both the first and the second generations. While most of the Calvinists agree that their church looks after its older members very well, fewer than half of the Catholics agree, and about one-third are uncertain.¹

9.3 Ethnic Identity Retention

Religion proved to be the most important factor in determining ethnic identity retention. Regression analyses showed that religious affiliation was the most important predictor of eleven of the fourteen factors. The results of our analysis will be described briefly here. Calvinists had higher levels of commitment to their faith. Specifically, Calvinists attended church more frequently than Catholics, and they participated more frequently in other kinds of church activities. However, one must keep in mind that perhaps the contemporary Catholic church does not place such a strong emphasis on frequent church attendance and participation in church groups and social events. Calvinists also gave higher proportions of their incomes to the church. In addition, they were more likely to consider religion to be of central importance in their lives. And they were more likely to take religion into consideration when making important decisions.

Calvinists also indicated higher levels of preference for homes that are distinctly Dutch in character. Catholics thought other factors, such as price or the distance of the home from family, were more important factors to consider when choosing nursing homes for elderly relatives. Calvinists were more interested in the religious nature of retirement residences and nursing homes than Catholics. Second-generation Calvinists also reported higher levels of church attendance for

¹One-quarter of the Catholic parents and two-fifths of the Catholic children are uncertain.

themselves and for their children. However, a greater number of Catholics than Calvinists had attended parochial schools and/or sent their children to parochial schools.

The larger the numbers of organizations maintained by a group, the higher the levels of institutional completeness of the group tend to be. Because much of their social life tends to take place within the group, Calvinists were more likely to have close friends among Dutch-Canadian Calvinists. They also tended to visit more frequently with other Calvinists. Visiting with members of one's own group was less frequent among those in full-time work, and also among those with high levels of education.

Religiosity and ethnic identity tend to be interwoven. Calvinists tended to have higher levels of religiosity and higher levels of cultural ethnic identity retention than Catholics. Consequently, they were more concerned with whether retirement homes served traditional Dutch food, or had mostly Dutch-Canadian residents. In contrast, first-generation Catholics have had, through both their churches and their workplaces, more contact with Canadians of other ethnic and religious backgrounds. Both they and their children may feel that older Dutch-Canadian Catholics can cope well in social environments that are not mainly Dutch-Canadian.

Most Calvinists felt that the organizations established by their group served the second and the third generations as well as the first generation. In contrast, many Catholics did not believe that the organizations set up by first-generation immigrants properly served the needs of second- and third-generation Catholics. Perhaps they thought the social clubs established by the older generation were not attractive to the next generation. However, the members of the second generation continue to support the Dutch-Canadian credit unions that were established by first-generation Catholic immigrants. Therefore, each organization must be judged on its own merits in order to see whether it does or does not meet the needs of succeeding generations. Calvinists were more likely to agree that their church looks after its older members well, while substantial numbers of Catholics were undecided. Calvinists were quite likely to work with other Dutch Calvinists in their places of employment.

Religious affiliation was not associated with specific patterns of use of the Dutch language. Age and feelings about symbolic identity were associated with certain patterns. Older respondents, many of whom had come to Canada as adults, had better knowledge of the Dutch language. Those who thought of themselves as Dutch or as Dutch-Canadian were more likely to be able to speak, read, or write Dutch well. In general, Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to observe Dutch customs, to celebrate ethnic holidays, and to consume traditional Dutch foods.

Because religion was so closely associated with ethnic identity retention, we can accept the hypothesis that Calvinists have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than Catholics. From the analyses presented in Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight, we conclude that Calvinists have higher levels of, first, structural and, second, cultural ethnic identity retention. When we look at structural identity retention, we see that the Calvinist community has a high level of institutional completeness, and a high rate of endogamy. Calvinists also have high levels of religiosity. When we look at cultural identity retention, we see that Calvinists are more likely to eat Dutch foods and that they are more likely to observe Dutch customs. In contrast, Catholics have higher levels of outmarriage. They are more likely to marry outside the church and they are more likely to marry people who are not of Dutch background. It is very interesting to note that about one-third of the members of the second generation married other Dutch people who were neither Calvinists nor Catholics, but belonged to other Protestant denominations. Catholics are also more likely to attend parochial schools. It is clear that Catholics have assimilated to a greater degree into Canadian society. Therefore, it is not surprising that they have lower rates of cultural and structural ethnic identity retention. However, the two groups are very similar in the extent of their knowledge of and their use of the Dutch and the English languages.

Our second hypothesis can also be accepted. In our sample, generation was an important factor in determining levels of ethnic identity retention. Generally, first-generation immigrants had higher levels of ethnic identity retention than second-generation immigrants. Generation was an important predictor of people's levels of commitment to their faith. Parents had stronger commitments

than children. Age was the second most important predictor of commitment. For example, older respondents had higher levels of commitment than younger respondents. Being older was associated with favouring ethnic and religious homes for elderly relatives. As one would expect, members of the first generation were more likely to favour the use of such homes. However, members of the first generation were only slightly more interested in the Dutch character of retirement and nursing homes than members of the second generation.

As one would expect, Calvinist children were more likely than Catholic children to report high levels of religiosity. Our bivariate analyses showed that higher levels of religiosity among Calvinist parents were associated with higher levels of religiosity among Calvinist children. Values, attitudes, and beliefs are usually transmitted from parents to children. If levels of ethnic identity retention are high among members of the first generation, they will also be high among members of the second generation. And high rates of intermarriage in the first generation will be associated with high rates of intermarriage in the second generation. High rates of endogamy and high levels of institutional completeness tend to be associated with high levels of religiosity among children.

When we controlled for all of the other variables, being a Calvinist was positively associated with having a large number of friends of the same ethnic group and of the same religion. Respondents who belonged to groups with high levels of institutional completeness were also more likely to have friends of their own kind. However, individuals with more education were less likely to have Dutch friends of their own religion. Identifying oneself as Dutch was also associated with having a greater number of Dutch friends of one's own religion.

Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to be interested in the ethnic character of Dutch retirement residences and nursing homes. Identifying oneself as Dutch or as Dutch-Canadian was also associated with having a strong interest in such homes. Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to visit with members of their own ethnic and religious group. However, those who work full-time and those who have higher levels of education were less likely to visit with people of their own kind.

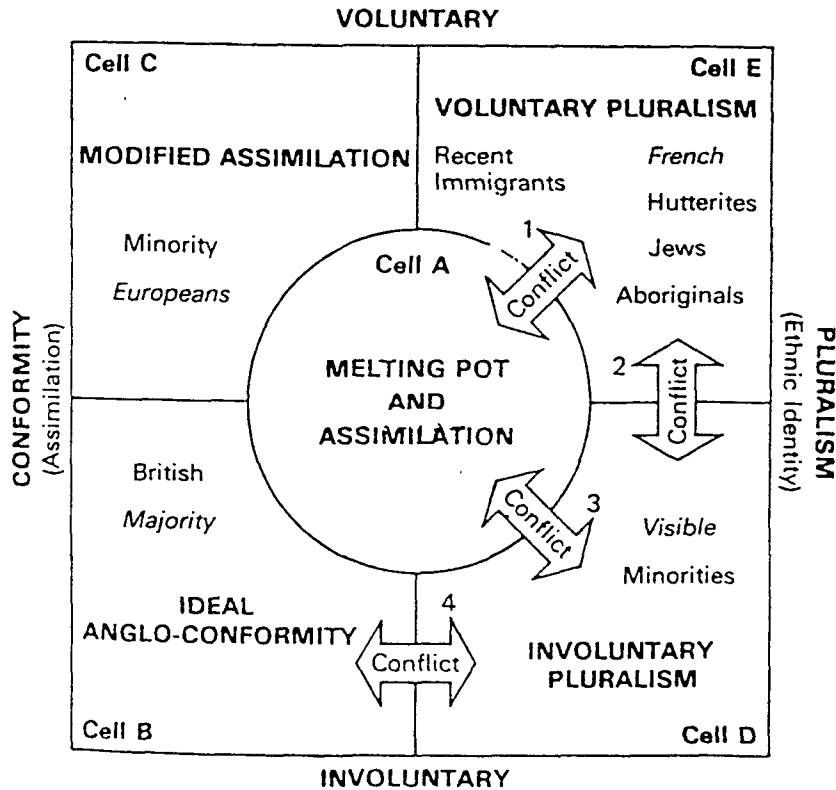
Members of the first and the second generations agreed that the organizations established

and maintained by their ethnic group, which had met the needs of older members, were not actively encouraging the participation of younger members. They also felt that churches looked after their older parishioners well. Individuals with higher levels of education were more likely to be of the opinion that ethnic organizations did not serve young people well. However, respondents who belonged to the Calvinist group, with its relatively high level of institutional completeness, tended to feel that its organizations served its younger members well. About one-quarter of those Calvinists who were employed worked with other Dutch Calvinists, while Catholics tended to have co-workers of a variety of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Members of the first generation had a better knowledge of the Dutch language and used it more frequently. In addition, women tended to have a better knowledge of the Dutch language. Respondents with more education and higher incomes used the Dutch language less frequently. And, of course, the longer a person had resided in Canada, the less frequently he or she used Dutch. Respondents who identified themselves as Dutch or as Dutch-Canadian were more likely to use the Dutch language. Calvinists were more likely than Catholics, and parents were more likely than children to observe Dutch customs and to eat traditional Dutch foods. Respondents who belonged to more institutionally complete groups, and respondents who felt Dutch or Dutch-Canadian valued Dutch culture to a greater degree than Catholics or those who felt "Canadian". However, the longer one was in Canada, the less value one placed on Dutch culture.

We can accept the second hypothesis. Generation was an important factor in ethnic identity retention. Members of the older generation tended to have higher levels of ethnic identity retention than members of the younger generation. However, it was clear that second-generation Calvinists have worked to maintain high levels of institutional completeness in their community. However, as one would expect, longer periods of residence in Canada were associated with lower levels of ethnic identity retention. Respondents of the parent generation had greater numbers of close friends of the same ethnic group. This was associated with higher levels of ethnic identity retention. There were also generational differences in self-reports of symbolic ethnic identity.

Figure 2—2 A Conformity-Pluralist Conceptual Model



Reproduced with permission from L. Driedger, The Ethnic Factor: Identity in Diversity, Mc Graw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., Toronto, 1989:51.

Let us now consider these differences between the generations in the context of Driedger's model, which is given below. Dutch-Canadian Catholics were placed in Cell C, because they had assimilated, both culturally and structurally, into the wider Catholic community in Canada and had joined existing Catholic organizations. Catholic children continued to assimilate. They were more likely than their parents to marry outside their ethnic group and outside the Catholic Church. As one would expect, they had lower levels of ethnic identity retention. This was the case when we considered both the cultural and the structural components of identity. For example, they had

lower levels of religiosity, lower levels of awareness of the existence of Dutch-Catholic organizations established by members of the first generation, and higher rates of exogamy. In addition, they used the Dutch language less frequently, they were less likely to eat Dutch foods, and they observed fewer Dutch customs than their parents. However, they should continue to be placed in Cell C. They continued to blend their Dutch and their Canadian identities, and they remained proud of their Dutch heritage.

Dutch-Canadian Calvinists were placed in Cell E, because they wished to remain distinct and separate for religious reasons. Second-generation Calvinists have assimilated to a greater degree than their parents. However, when we considered the cultural components of ethnic identity, we found that they have only slightly lower levels of religiosity, and only slightly higher rates of intermarriage than their parents. They maintained even more organizations than their parents had. Therefore, second-generation Calvinists should continue to be placed in Cell E. They wished to remain separate and distinct. Even though members of the second generation sometimes carried out and expressed their convictions in ways that were not always familiar to members of the first generation, they continued to support the organizations that their parents had established and to establish new ones to meet the needs of the younger generation.

Breton (1990:261) uses a model that describes how the extent to which ethnic identity serves as a basis for social organization influences levels of assimilation. He and his colleagues have analyzed patterns among Germans, Italians, Jews, and Ukrainians in the Toronto area. While the Germans were the least likely to retain organizations based on ethnicity, the Jews were the most likely to do so. Both groups showed high levels of assimilation. Although Breton's model does fit the Dutch situation in some ways, the fact that he does not include religion is problematic. The Dutch Catholics, like the Germans, were the least likely to retain organizations based on ethnicity. They have assimilated into Canadian society. However, Dutch Calvinists perceive that religion, not ethnicity, is the basis for their organizations. Although, they have assimilated in some respects, in others, for example, in the area of education, they have low levels of assimilation.

9.4 Social Support

There were many similarities between Catholics and Calvinists in their relationships with their parents and in the help given. However, there was one major difference between the two groups. The Calvinist community provides “religious” retirement residences and nursing homes that accommodate about one-third of members aged 65 and over (Appendix P). In this way, Calvinists, as a group, are providing a special kind of service to their elderly members. The Dutch-Catholic community has built very little accommodation for its elderly members, even though it is clear that many elderly Dutch Catholics prefer ethnic and religious homes (van Dijk, 1990:128). On the basis of these findings, we can find some limited support for the third hypothesis.

9.5 Limitations

This study has, of course, been limited in various ways. We focused on particular models in order to explain the settlement patterns of immigrants. We chose the models developed by Driedger and Breton because these seemed the most useful in explaining the settlement patterns of Dutch immigrants in Canada. However, the inclusion of additional approaches and models might have encouraged us to consider other issues. For example, Herberg (1989) has developed an alternative model in the course of his research on institutional completeness. He studied the numbers of organizations, both past and present, in various ethnic groups in order to determine the particular organizational styles of groups. We could have devoted more attention to the very different organizational styles of the Dutch-Calvinist churches and the Catholic church.²

Our own study is also limited because of how we chose our samples.³ Because we did not have a random sample of Catholics, we were not able to generalize from the sample to the

²It is important to note the problematic aspects of the concept of institutional completeness. For example, some Italians live in an institutionally complete society because the old people learned very little English. In other cases, having everything done by fellow members of one's ethnic group makes good business sense. Sometimes personal styles and family values of ethnic group members differ from those of Anglo-Canadians.

³Our Catholic sample included nine respondents chosen from a membership list of a Dutch Heritage group, and six respondents from a Dutch-Catholic retirement home.

general population. Therefore, we used the Odds Ratio, and the Yules Q in order to show the strength of the relationships between variables.⁴ The study is also affected by the fact that not all children acknowledged by parents were sent questionnaires. About one-third of all acknowledged children are not included, given the fact that the names and addresses of 78 percent were given to the researcher by their elderly parents, and 63 percent of all children acknowledged by parents completed questionnaires. This means that certain groups of children, for example, those who had married out of the group or divorced, probably tended to be excluded. In a future study, parents would be asked to explain why they gave some children's names and not others, so that we could have a clearer understanding of the nature of the sample.⁵ Since two-thirds of the elderly respondents were female, we get rather a "female" viewpoint from the first generation. However, men and women were fairly equally represented among respondents who belonged to the second generation (173 men and 191 women).

The study was further limited by the fact that we considered only two of the five main groups of Dutch immigrants. We studied the Catholics and Calvinists, but not the other groups. The third group is made up of those immigrants who belonged to the Netherlands Reformed Church in Holland, which was the Protestant state church. They tended to join "mainstream" Protestant Canadian churches. The fourth group includes those who do not belong to any denomination, while the fifth is made up of a small group of people who belonged to other kinds of religions, for example, Dutch people of the Jewish faith. This was done partly because of cost and time constraints. We suspect that members of the other three groups have behaved fairly similarly to the Catholics. They probably assimilated readily into Canadian society. Many of those who had belonged to the Protestant state church in Holland joined existing Canadian churches, often the United church. the

⁴We were limited by having to use two by two tables. Many of the variables had to be recoded, using more limited categories.

⁵In two families known to the researcher, the names of mentally handicapped children were not included. And in another case, the name of a divorced daughter was not included. Two of the earlier respondents were childless. However, 55 of the children whose names were not forwarded were the children of the 9 Catholic respondents who themselves did not participate in the 1995 study. Responses of these 9 elderly Catholic respondents were compared with those of other Catholics included in the 1990 survey. There were no differences between these 9 and the other 40 Catholics in terms of such factors as health, attachment to Dutch ethnic identity, family size, or religiosity.

Anglican church, or the Presbyterian church. They sent their children to existing public schools. According to the census of 1971, at least one-quarter to one-third of them were married to people who were not of Dutch descent (Richards, 1991:116; Appendix, K). Our Catholic respondents probably show greater attachment to Dutch culture than exists among the Dutch-Catholic population since 14 of our 35 elderly Catholic respondents were from a Dutch Heritage club and from the only Dutch-Catholic seniors' complex in Ontario.

Our study is also limited because of our selection of variables. To improve their studies of ethnic identity retention, researchers must use measures that tap wide-ranging aspects of ethnic identity (Padgett, 1990: 723-724; Driedger, 1989:153). We attempted to do this by including both subjective and objective measures of ethnic identity. However, because of constraints on the length of the questionnaire, some questions had to be excluded, and some issues could not be explored in detail (Ujimoto, 1993:191). For example, we were not able to consider the areas of economic life or the quality of relationships in as much detail as we would have liked.

Our study was further limited because when describing parent care we did not distinguish between extensive helping and the normal exchange between family members that is part of day-to-day life. There is an important difference between providing personal care to family members and providing an hour or two of help for those who are not truly dependent (Rosenthal, 1995:29). Rosenthal also points out that asking about the average number of hours of help provided per week is sometimes not a good measure as there may be extensive help given in times of crisis when an older person who lives alone is ill and minimal help given when that same person is institutionalized.

Another limitation of this study was the fact that the parameters used for measuring religiosity were not encompassing enough. Differences between Catholic and Calvinist theology, for example, the different views on nature and grace, should have been taken into account. By neglecting to do this, problems can arise when comparisons are made between Christians, and between Christians and members of other religions. Even though the measures of religiosity that we used were those that have traditionally been used in research on religion and aging, these measures prob-

ably tend to emphasize aspects of behaviour, for example, frequent church attendance, that may be more characteristic of deeply committed Calvinists than of deeply committed Catholics. This may have resulted in Catholic respondents scoring rather lower than they might have done had some other kinds of measures of commitment to one's religious beliefs and to one's church been used. Similarly it might have made sense to ask respondents about their involvement in all types of organizations. This might have enabled us to see the extent to which Catholic involvement was divided between Catholic organizations, Dutch organizations, and non-religious "mainstream" organizations. Given the theological differences between the two groups, one would expect considerable Catholic involvement in "mainstream" organizations as well as Catholic ones.

9.6 Suggestions for Future Research

More work with larger samples needs to be done in order to document the extent and nature of ethnic and religious differences in caregiving. Bond's exploratory research on religiosity and the care of parents among Mennonites and Lutherans in the West suggests that there may be some interesting patterns. More work also needs to be done on patterns of caregiving in large and small families.⁶ It would be possible to conduct a longitudinal pilot study of a sub-group of our sample of seventy-nine families. Families could be randomly chosen. This would enable us to explore the patterns that are characteristic of large families of Northern European heritage. One could study these families for the remaining years of the parents' lives.⁷ Existing studies often concentrate on the activities of primary caregivers, rather than considering the contributions of all of the adult children in a family. However, for a variety of reasons, caregiving does tend to fall to one main caregiver (Brody, et al., 1994; Chappell, 1992; Rosenthal, 1994; McDaniel and McKinnon, 1993; Bornstein, 1994).

⁶In our study, patterns in 38 families were documented in detail, with responses being received from all members. Twenty-five of these families were Calvinist, and 13 were Catholic. An additional 18 families were nearly complete, having only one child missing (10 Catholic families and 8 Calvinist families).

⁷It is important to remember that those families in which all adult children participated may be rather different from those in which only some participated.

Since this study deals with the fairly healthy Dutch immigrants, an additional study could explore the situations of elderly Dutch Canadians with specific illnesses, for example, Alzheimer's disease, stroke, and cancer. It would be interesting to see whether the support given by families, churches, or other institutions differed (Rosenthal, 1995:29; Kahana, et al.,1994; Biegel, et al., 1991). Some Calvinists are already living in seniors' complexes, with various kinds of other facilities offering a continuum of care. For Calvinists, additional support and nursing care may be easier to obtain, and may cause less disruption in the lives of the elderly and in those of their middle-aged children (Disman and Disman, 1995; Gladstone, 1995). In contrast, some Dutch Catholics may have to move to nursing homes directly from their own homes.

More research is also needed on ethnic variations in grandparenting (McCready, 1985:49). Most members of the second and third generations have grandchildren, and one could explore whether patterns among Dutch Calvinists and Catholics differed from those of the general population. It would also be feasible to conduct a longitudinal study of members of the third generation in order to find out whether, because of their continuing assimilation, the Catholic and Calvinist children of post-war Dutch immigrants have moved to other cells in Driedger's model. Will members of the third and fourth generations continue to think of themselves as Dutch? And will they continue to seek out ethnic and religious retirement homes?

9.7 Conclusion

Among Dutch Canadians, institutional completeness has been a more important indicator of ethnic group cohesion than the use of the Dutch language. This is true for Dutch Calvinists in Canada. Calvinists, who came to Canada after World War II, have established their own schools, their own churches, and also a variety of social organizations. By means of these, some Calvinists have tried to exert an anti-secular influence in Canadian society (Kits, 1988:38, 1991:341). Calvinists have generally been willing to give up their Dutch ways as long as this did not threaten their Calvinist

identity. Christian schools at all levels were established so that the younger generation could be taught in ways that were consistent with the values embraced in Calvinists' homes and churches. Thus, children were raised to become leaders in the many Christian organizations established by their parents.

Dutch Catholics have assimilated more readily into Canadian society (Ganzevoort, 1989: 97). They did not have to remain within their own ethnic group in order to practise their religion. The Catholic church in Canada serves many ethnic groups. Sometimes recent immigrants have been helped by the establishment of ethnic parishes or their own priests. However, most Dutch Catholics did not feel the need for such help. Dutch Catholics have become fully integrated into the Canadian way of life and into the Catholic church. Through the hard work that is characteristic of farm people, they established their own farms and businesses in places where there were existing Catholic churches and schools, many of which had originally been established by nineteenth-century immigrants from Ireland (Darroch, 1993:5). In the 1950's and 1960's, the influx of large Dutch-Catholic families helped to save some rural separate schools which were on the verge of disappearing. This movement to rural areas, often to southwestern Ontario, was also partly the result of the Dutch desire for good agricultural land at reasonable prices.

As we noted in Chapter Two, before World War II, Dutch society was made up of three pillars, the Catholics, the Protestants (which included both members of the state Protestant church and orthodox Calvinists), and the non-denominationalists. With the large influx of Dutch immigrants between 1945 and 1960, some of these patterns were replicated in Canada. Each of these groups has its own unique pattern of settlement in Canada. The Dutch Catholics assimilated into existing Catholic institutions, while the orthodox Calvinists established their own institutions. There are close parallels with the Catholic and Calvinist Dutch immigrants in certain parts of the U.S.A. After one hundred years, Calvinist communities are still thriving (Kroes, 1991:229), while only traces of Dutch-Catholic settlements can be found (Lucas, 1955:459). Moreover, the continuing importance of clergy of Dutch descent (trained in North America) in Reformed churches in the U.S.A. is closely

associated with their Dutch heritage and background (Nemeth and Luidens, 1995:207).⁸ About one-quarter of Dutch Canadians now belong to the United Church, and there are also small numbers of Dutch Canadians who belong to other Protestant denominations, such as the Presbyterian church. We speculate that this third group is made up to a large extent of the families of immigrants who belonged to the Protestant state church in Holland. They have certainly assimilated. Because of the heterogeneity of Dutch Canadians in Canada, there are very few institutions today that represent all Dutch Canadians.

We can conclude that the Calvinists in Canada are becoming more and more different from the Calvinists in Holland. While Holland has undergone dramatic changes in the last fifty years the Dutch Calvinists in Canada (and the U.S.A.) have remained close to the "Reformed Calvinist tradition". This happened for various reasons. The first reason was selective migration. The orthodox Calvinists, who were mainly farm people, emigrated in disproportionate numbers to Canada. As ethno-religious groups, they maintained their own organizations and traditions. Secondly, the Dutch Catholics and the Dutch Protestants have integrated and intermarried to a much greater degree than the Calvinists. In a few generations, their situation will probably have become similar to that in much of the U.S.A., where Dutch-Catholic communities can no longer be identified. Finally, there have been dramatic changes in Holland. There has been rapid secularization and this has been associated with the de-pillarization of Dutch society (Dekker and Estes, 1996). In contrast, some researchers document a renewed interest in religion among some groups in North America (Eisinga, et al., 1991:316; Reimer, 1995:445; Wuthnow, 1988).

⁸ Factors associated with Dutch heritage, such as whether one was brought up in the denomination, whether one had been a member for many years, and whether one lived in the Midwest, were more important than factors associated with one's religiosity (Nemeth and Luidens, 1995:211).

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Appendices

A Questionnaires for Children and Parents.

Code C: _____

THANK YOU FOR AGREEING TO TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY. IF YOU FEEL THERE IS ANY QUESTION THAT, FOR SOME REASON, YOU DO NOT WANT TO ANSWER, JUST GO ON TO THE NEXT ONE.

IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER OR LETTER OR WRITE IN THE ANSWER. THERE IS NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWER. SPECIFY MEANS WRITE IN YOUR OWN ANSWER. TRY TO ANSWER EVERY QUESTION THAT APPLIES TO YOU, EVEN IF YOU HAVE TO GUESS AT THE ANSWER. IF THE QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU PLEASE SKIP IT. THIS INFORMATION WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL. THE IDENTIFICATION NUMBER IS ONLY USED TO CHECK WHO HAS RETURNED THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND WHO HAS NOT.

PART 1

THE QUESTIONS IN THE FIRST SECTION ASK GENERAL THINGS ABOUT YOU.

1. How do you usually think of yourself: as Dutch, or Dutch-Canadian, or Canadian-Dutch, or a Canadian, or what?
 1. Dutch
 2. Dutch-Canadian or Canadian-Dutch
 3. Canadian
 4. No particular group
 5. Other (Specify)
2. How do you usually think of your parent(s): as Dutch, or Dutch-Canadian, or Canadian-Dutch, or a Canadian, or what?
 1. Dutch
 2. Dutch-Canadian or Canadian-Dutch
 3. Canadian
 4. No particular group
 5. Other (Specify)
3. Are you...
 1. Female
 2. Male
4. What is the year of your birth? 19 ..
5. What is your country of birth?
6. What is your present citizenship?
 1. Dutch
 2. Canadian
 3. Other (Specify).....
7. What year did you (or your parents) move to Canada? 19 ..
8. What is your marital status?
 1. Married
 2. Widowed
 3. Separated/divorced
 4. Never married (Go to Q12)
 5. Other (Specify).....

2

9. a. How many children do you have? Include adopted, step-children, or other children that you raised.
- b. How many grandchildren do you have?
10. a. In what country was your spouse born?
- b. IF BORN OUTSIDE CANADA, what year did he/she arrive?
11. To what ethnic group, e.g., Dutch, Canadian, German, does (did) your spouse belong?

PART 2

THE NEXT SECTION HAS SOME MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR ETHNIC IDENTITY AND ALSO ABOUT YOUR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES.

12. How often do you eat Dutch food at your home, e.g., boerekool (kale), zure haring (pickled herring), or zoute drop (sour licorice) etc.?
1. Every day or two (3-7 times per week)
 2. Once or twice a week
 3. At least once a month but less than once a week
 4. 2-11 times a year
 5. Once a year
 6. Less often than once a year
 7. Never
13. Do you celebrate Dutch holidays, e.g., St. Nicholaas?
1. Most of them
 2. Some of them
 3. Very few of them
 4. None of them
14. In which of the following Dutch customs do you actively participate?
- | | Yes | No |
|--|-----|----|
| a. Eating "oliebollen" on New Year's Eve | 1 | 2 |
| b. Having a "broodmaaltijd" (sandwiches) at supper | 1 | 2 |
| c. Eating peppermints in church | 1 | 2 |
| d. Reading the Bible at mealtimes | 1 | 2 |
| e. Having an interest in the Dutch Royal family | 1 | 2 |
| f. Cheering for the Dutch soccer team | 1 | 2 |
| g. Being interested in Dutch politics | 1 | 2 |
| h. Others (Specify) | 1 | 2 |

3

15. What language is used most often when speaking to your...

	Dutch	English
a. parents	1	2
b. spouse	1	2
c. sisters and brothers..	1	2
d. children	1	2
e. friends	1	2
f. in your church service	1	2

16. How well do you

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all
a. speak English? ...	1	2	3	4
b. read English? ...	1	2	3	4
c. write English? ...	1	2	3	4

17. How well do you

	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Not at all
a. speak Dutch?	1	2	3	4
b. read Dutch?	1	2	3	4
c. write Dutch?	1	2	3	4

18. During the past year, how frequently have you read newspapers, magazines, or journals which are published by your ethnic and/or religious group?

1. Every day or two (3-7 times per week)
2. Once or twice a week
3. At least once a month but less than once a week
4. 2-11 times a year
5. Once a year
6. Less often than once a year
7. Never

19. IF YOU READ SOME, which one or two are the most important to you?

- Name of Publication 1.
2.

20. What is your present religious affiliation?

1. Calvinist
2. Catholic
3. Other (Specify).....
4. No religious affiliation

4

21. IF YOU HAVE EVER BEEN MARRIED, what is (was) the religious affiliation of your spouse?
- | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Calvinist | 3. Other (Specify)..... |
| 2. Catholic | 4. No religious affiliation |
| | 5. Never married |
22. During the last year, about how often have you attended services at a church?
1. Every day or two (3-7 times per week)
 2. Once or twice a week
 3. At least once a month but less than once a week
 4. 2-11 times a year
 5. Once a year
 6. Less often than once a year
 7. Never
23. During the last year, about how often did you go to church for activities other than church services?
1. Every day or two (3-7 times per week)
 2. Once or twice a week
 3. At least once a month but less than once a week
 4. 2-11 times a year
 5. Once a year
 6. Less often than once a year
 7. Never
24. IF YOU ATTENDED OTHER ACTIVITIES, what kind of activities were these? YOU MAY CIRCLE MORE THAN ONE.
1. Study groups
 2. Service groups
 3. Sunday school/catechism teacher
 4. Deacon/elder
 5. Other (Specify)
25. Last year approximately what percentage of your total family income was contributed to the church?
- | | |
|----------------|---------------|
| 1. 10% or more | 3. 2% to 5% |
| 2. 6% to 9% | 4. 1% or less |
26. IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN, about how often does your oldest child attend religious services?
1. Every day or two (3-7 times per week)
 2. Once or twice a week
 3. At least once a month but less than once a week
 4. 2-11 times a year
 5. Once a year (continued on next page)

5

6. Less often than once a year
7. Never
8. No children

27. People sometimes marry persons of the same background and sometimes persons of a different background. Thinking about your children how many married spouses:

1. Of the same Dutch ethnic group and the same religion
2. Of the same Dutch ethnic group and a different or no religion
3. Of a different ethnic group and the same religion
4. Of a different ethnic group and a different or no religion

28. Would you prefer to see someone close to you, like one of your children, marry a Dutch person who was outside your religion, or someone who was not Dutch but who shared your religion?

1. A Dutch person outside my religion
2. A non-Dutch person of my religion

29. How frequently do you visit, in your home or in their home, with people, other than family, who are...

	Every day or two	About once or twice a week	About once a month	About once a year	Almost never or never
a. Of your own Dutch ethnic group and your own religion	1	2	3	4	5
b. Of your own Dutch ethnic group and a different or no religion	1	2	3	4	5
c. Of a different ethnic group and your own religion	1	2	3	4	5
d. Of a different ethnic group and a different or no religion	1	2	3	4	5

30. How frequently do you socialize outside the home, e.g., going to a movie or going for a coffee with people, other than family, who are:

	Every day or two	About once or twice a week	About once a month	About once a year	Almost never or never
a. Of your own Dutch ethnic group and your own religion	1	2	3	4	5
b. Of your own Dutch ethnic group and a different or no religion	1	2	3	4	5
c. Of a different ethnic group and your own religion	1	2	3	4	5
d. Of a different ethnic group and a different or no religion	1	2	3	4	5

31. In the church with which you are most closely associated, what proportion of the other members are from the same ethnic group as yourself?

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. All or almost all | 4. Less than half |
| 2. More than half | 5. Few or none |
| 3. About half | 6. Not associated with church |

32. Of the people living in your neighbourhood, how many are Dutch-Canadian?

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Most of them | 3. Very few of them |
| 2. Some of them | 4. None of them |

33. I would like you to think about your three closest friends who are not relatives. Please write down the religion and ethnic background of each of them.

Friend	Religion	Ethnic Background
One
Two
Three

34. Do you currently belong to any ethnic and/or religious associations, clubs or organizations?

- | | |
|-------|--------|
| 1. No | 2. Yes |
|-------|--------|

7

35. IF YES, specify which two of the ethnic and/or religious associations, clubs or organizations are the most important to you.

a. Name of association, club, or organization

1.

2.

b. About how many meetings do you attend?

1. Most of them 3. Very few of them

2. Some of them 4. None of them

c. About how many members belong to the same ethnic group as yourself?

1. Most of them 3. Very few of them

2. Some of them 4. None of them

36. CIRCLE which of the following ethnic and/or religious associations, clubs or organizations, were started by the group to which you belong, i.e., the Dutch-Canadian Catholics or the Dutch-Canadian Calvinists.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| a. Elementary schools | o. Labour unions |
| b. High schools | p. Political parties |
| c. Universities or colleges | q. Newspapers |
| d. Radio programs | r. TV programs |
| e. Youth clubs | s. Credit unions |
| f. Trade associations | t. Counselling agencies |
| g. Welfare or relief agencies | u. Right to life agencies |
| h. Adoption agencies | v. Burial societies |
| i. Cultural clubs (e.g. choir) | w. Sports clubs |
| j. Seniors' clubs | |
| k. Committees for government relations | |
| l. Professional business groups | |
| m. Co-operatives (e.g. in farming) | |
| n. Organizations to build and run apartments and/or nursing homes for Dutch-Canadian seniors | |
| x. Others (Specify) | |

.....

37. Have you had any parochial (Christian or Catholic) education?

1. All of my education
2. Most of my education
3. Some of my education
4. Very little of my education
5. None of my education

9

44. Where are your parent(s) and parent(s)-in-law presently living?

	Father	Mother	Father in-law	Mother in-law
1. In a house or apartment [Go to 5]	1	1	1	1
2. In a seniors' apartment (or in some other type of accommodation where everyone is senior) [Go to 6]	2	2	2	2
3. In a nursing home or retirement home [Go to 7]	3	3	3	3
4. Other (please specify)	4	4	4	4

5. With whom do your parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law currently live?

	Father	Mother	Father in-law	Mother in-law
Alone	1	1	1	1
With spouse only.....	2	2	2	2
Alone with child.....	3	3	3	3
With spouse and child.....	4	4	4	4
With spouse and relative....	5	5	5	5
Other (Specify).....	6	6	6	6

6. IF YOU CIRCLED 2 (SENIORS' APARTMENT), please indicate whether the apartment building is mainly

	Father	Mother	Father in-law	Mother in-law
Dutch Catholic	1	1	1	1
Dutch Calvinist	2	2	2	2
Dutch (mixed religions)	3	3	3	3
Public	4	4	4	4
Catholic	5	5	5	5
Other (Specify)	6	6	6	6

7. IF YOU CIRCLED 3 (NURSING HOME) please indicate whether the nursing home is mainly

	Father	Mother	Father in-law	Mother in-law
Dutch Catholic	1	1	1	1
Dutch Calvinist	2	2	2	2
Dutch (mixed religions)	3	3	3	3
Public	4	4	4	4
Catholic	5	5	5	5
Other (Specify)	6	6	6	6

45. Altogether, how often do you (or your spouse) do any of the following with your parent(s). Altogether means add up all the times you do this with either or both your parents.

	Every day or two	About once or twice a week	About once a month	About once a year	Almost never or never
a. Telephoning each other	1	2	3	4	5
b. Dropping in or visiting at either home.	1	2	3	4	5
c. Religious activities outside the home	1	2	3	4	5
d. Writing letters	1	2	3	4	5

46. About how many minutes in a week do you usually talk by telephone to your mother? minutes.
to your father? minutes.

47. Over the last two years, how often did you do things together with your parent(s)-in-law?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Every day or two | 4. About once a year |
| 2. About once or twice a week | 5. Almost never or never |
| 3. About once a month | |

48. Over the last five years or so, how often did you have visits with relatives and friends in the Netherlands (either you went there or they visited you)?

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. More than once a year | 4. Every five years |
| 2. About once a year | 5. Other (Specify) |
| 3. Every couple of years | |
| | 6. Never |

49. Altogether, how frequently do you have contact with relatives and friends in the Netherlands either by phone or by letter writing?

1. Every day or two (3-7 times per week)
2. Once or twice a week
3. At least once a month but less than once a week
4. 2-11 times a year
5. Once a year
6. Less often than once a year
7. Never

11

50. During the past twelve months, how often have you (or your spouse) provided any of the following types of assistance to parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law, either living with you or outside your home? Have you provided help with..

	Every day or two	About once or twice a week	About once a month	About once a year	Almost never or never
a. housework	1	2	3	4	5
b. yardwork	1	2	3	4	5
c. meal preparation	1	2	3	4	5
d. grocery shopping	1	2	3	4	5
e. transportation	1	2	3	4	5
f. financial help	1	2	3	4	5
g. personal care (such as dress- ing & bathing)	1	2	3	4	5
h. emotional support	1	2	3	4	5
i. managing money	1	2	3	4	5
j. other (specify)	1	2	3	4	5
.....					

51. Approximately how many hours per week do you (and/or your spouse) spend caring for or assisting your parent(s)?

About hours per week

52. Approximately how many hours per week do you (and/or your spouse) spend caring for or assisting your parent(s)-in-law?

About hours per week

53. During the past twelve months, how often have you (or your spouse) received any of the following types of assistance from parent(s) or parent(s)-in-law? Have you received help with..

	Every day or two	About once or twice a week	About once a month	About once a year	Almost never or never
a. chores (or errands)	1	2	3	4	5
b. financial help	1	2	3	4	5
c. babysitting	1	2	3	4	5
d. advice	1	2	3	4	5
e. gifts (other than money)	1	2	3	4	5
f. other (specify)	1	2	3	4	5
.....					

54. Taking everything into consideration, how close do you feel is the relationship between you and your father and mother, and between you and your father-in-law and mother-in-law?

	Father	Mother	Father in-law	Mother in-law
1. not close.....	1	1	1	1
2. not too close....	2	2	2	2
3. somewhat close...	3	3	3	3
4. close.....	4	4	4	4
5. very close.....	5	5	5	5
6. extremely close..	6	6	6	6

55. Over the last year or so, about how often do your parent(s) use formal services such as Meals on Wheels or Homemaker services?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Almost never or never | 4. About once or twice a week |
| 2. About once a year | 5. Every day or two |
| 3. About once a month | |

56. IF THEY USE FORMAL SERVICES, what two services do they use most over the last year or so?

1.
2.

PART 4

HERE ARE A FEW MORE GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU.

57. How would you rate your own overall health at the present time...

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Excellent | 4. Poor |
| 2. Good | 5. Other (Specify) |
| 3. Fair | |

58. What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (If you were not educated in this country please give the category which best describes your educational attainment.)

1. No formal schooling
2. Some elementary or public school
3. Completed public or elementary school
4. Some high school
5. Completed high school
6. Vocational or technical college
7. Special diplomas e.g., teaching, nursing
8. Some university
9. Graduated from university

13

59. Are you currently employed outside the home?

- a. Yes b. No

IF YES, is this full-time or part-time work?

- c. Full-time d. Part-time (less than 30 hours a week)

e. What main kind of work are you doing, e.g., selling shoes, farming, secretarial work? IF NOT CURRENTLY WORKING, what was your main occupation in the past?

.....

f. Are (were) most of the people in your main place of work...

1. Of your own Dutch ethnic group and your own religion
2. Of your own Dutch ethnic group and a different or no religion
3. Of a different ethnic group and your own religion
4. Of a different ethnic group and a different or no religion

g. IF YOU ARE NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED, do you consider yourself to be

1. Retired
2. Unemployed
3. Laid off temporarily
4. A student
5. A full-time homemaker or
6. Something else (sick, on strike, etc. specify)?

.....

60. IF YOUR SPOUSE IS LIVING, is your spouse currently employed outside the home?

- a. Yes b. No

IF YES, is this full-time or part-time work?

- c. Full-time d. Part-time (less than 30 hours a week)

e. What kind of work is he/she doing, e.g., selling shoes, farming, secretarial work? IF NOT CURRENTLY WORKING, what was his/her main occupation in the past?

.....

f. Are (were) most of the people in your spouse's main place of work...

1. Of his/her own Dutch ethnic group and his/her own religion
2. Of his/her own Dutch ethnic group and a different or no religion
3. Of a different ethnic group and his/her own religion
4. Of a different ethnic group and a different or no religion

g. IF YOUR SPOUSE IS NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED, do you consider him/her to be

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Retired | 4. A student |
| 2. Unemployed | 5. A full-time homemaker or |
| 3. Laid off temporarily | 6. Something else (sick, on strike, etc. specify)? |
| | |

61. Could you please indicate which category best corresponds to your (and your spouse's) total family income, before taxes, in the past year. Be sure to include income received from all sources: social insurance, pensions, support from other family members, bank interests, annuities, or anything else.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Less than \$15,000 | 6. \$55,000-\$64,999 |
| 2. \$15,000-\$24,999 | 7. \$65,000-\$74,999 |
| 3. \$25,000-\$34,999 | 8. \$75,000-\$84,999 |
| 4. \$35,000-\$44,999 | 9. \$85,000-\$94,999 |
| 5. \$45,000-\$54,999 | 10. \$95,000 or more |

62. What services does the Dutch-Canadian Catholic/Calvinist community offer to its senior members?

	Yes	No
a. Volunteer visitors.....	1	2
b. Counselling by priests/ministers...	1	2
c. Rides to church.....	1	2
d. Other (Specify).....	1	2
.....	1	2

63. What are some positive aspects of belonging to a Dutch-Canadian Catholic/Calvinist community?

.....

64. What are some negative aspects of belonging to a Dutch-Canadian Catholic/Calvinist community?

.....

15

PART 5

TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING ATTITUDE QUESTIONS KEEP YOUR OWN ETHNIC GROUP AND RELIGION IN MIND. CIRCLE THE ANSWER WHICH BEST INDICATES YOUR ATTITUDE AS FOLLOWS:

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

- | | | | | | |
|--|----|---|---|---|----|
| 1. My <u>ethnicity</u> is of central importance for my life, and would, if necessary, come before other aspects of my life. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 2. I seldom if ever base important decisions on my <u>ethnicity</u> . | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 3. Dutch radio and television programs are of little use in keeping the Dutch community together. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 4. It is <u>not</u> very important to me that my children learn or continue to use Dutch. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 5. My <u>religion</u> is of central importance for my life, and would, if necessary, come before other aspects of my life. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 6. I seldom if ever base important decisions on my <u>religion</u> . | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 7. It is <u>not</u> very important for people of my ethnic group, to choose their future spouses from the same <u>ethnic</u> background. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 8. On certain matters, such as PRO-LIFE issues, Catholics and Calvinists are able to work together. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 9. I do not see the necessity for the changes that have taken place in my church in recent years. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 10. My children are no longer Dutch-Canadians but are Canadians. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 11. My church looks after its seniors very well. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 12. My older relatives are often lonely for the old country. | SA | A | U | D | SD |

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|----|---|---|---|----|
| 13. | A mother with young children should not work for pay outside the home except in special circumstances. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 14. | When home help services are needed the family, not the government, should where possible pay for these home help services. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 15. | It is important for me to have my parents living close to my home. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 16. | When choosing a nursing home for my parents how far away it is from family is more important than the religious character of the nursing home. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 17. | If I were choosing a nursing home for my my parents the <u>ethnic</u> character of the home would be a very important factor. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 18. | Senior members of my ethnic group prefer to live in a place where Dutch food is served and Dutch customs are observed. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 19. | When choosing a nursing home for older relatives, the price is not as important as the religious character of the home. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 20. | It would be preferable for my older relatives to live in nursing homes which have mostly Dutch-Canadians living there. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 21. | A parochial (religious) education is one of the most important gifts a family can give to its children. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 22. | The parochial education system of my ethnic group does not measure up to public school standards. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 23. | My friends who were of a different ethnic background seldom have become good friends. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 24. | It usually works out quite well for a widowed parent to live with one of his/her children. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 25. | In my family it can sometimes be hard to negotiate the sharing between brothers and sisters of the responsibilities of providing care for older relatives. | SA | A | U | D | SD |

- 26. The organizations of my ethnic group are fine for older people, but they do not actively encourage the participation of young people. SA A U D SD
- 27. It is important to expose a young person to a wide variety of people and circumstances so that he/she can make up his/her own mind about important issues in life. SA A U D SD
- 28. If necessary, women should be willing to give up their job to care for parents who need their help. SA A U D SD
- 29. My job prevents me from visiting as much as I would like with my older family members. SA A U D SD
- 30. If a young person has been educated in parochial schools, he/she is much more likely to marry someone of his/her own religious background. SA A U D SD
- 31. When a person marries someone from a different church background, it is usually very difficult for that person to join his/her new spouses church. SA A U D SD

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS. IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE YOU WOULD LIKE TO SAY?

Comments:.....

.....

Please be reminded that answers remain confidential and we never identify any individuals or families. We are only interested in the overall picture.

We would like to mail you a brief summary report of our study, when it is available. This should be sometime within the next 12 months. Would you like to receive this?

- 1. No
- 2. Yes

PLEASE MAIL THIS BACK TO ME IMMEDIATELY IN THE ENCLOSED STAMPED ADDRESSED ENVELOPE. MANY THANKS FOR YOUR HELP.

8

38. IF YOU HAVE CHILDREN, altogether how much of your children's education took place in a parochial school?
1. All their education
 2. Most of their education
 3. Some of their education
 4. Very little of their education
 5. None of their education
 6. No children
39. IF LITTLE OR NONE, what is the main reason you did not send them?
- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Not available | 4. Not interested |
| 2. Schools were too far away | 5. Other (Specify) |
| 3. Costs too high | |

PART 3 Parent Questionnaire

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT THE SUPPORT YOU GIVE TO AND RECEIVE FROM YOUR CHILDREN AND OTHER SOURCES.

40. Think of the child who lives closest to you. Does he or she live...
1. In the same house
 2. In the same town or city
 3. Less than one and a half hour drive
 4. One and a half hour drive or more
 5. Other province within Canada
 6. Other country (Specify country).....
41. PLEASE CIRCLE your present living arrangements. I live..
1. in a house or apartment
 2. in a seniors' apartment or complex (or in some other type of accommodation where everyone is a senior)
 3. in a nursing home or retirement home
 4. other (please specify)
5. With whom do you currently live?
- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Alone | 1 |
| With spouse only..... | 2 |
| Alone with child..... | 3 |
| With spouse and child..... | 4 |
| With spouse and relative.... | 5 |
| Other (Specify)..... | 6 |
| | |

9

6. IF YOU CIRCLED 2 (SENIORS' APARTMENT), please indicate whether the apartment building is mainly

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Dutch Catholic | 4. Public |
| 2. Dutch Calvinist | 5. Catholic |
| 3. Dutch (mixed religions) | 6. Other (Specify) |
| | |

7. IF YOU CIRCLED 3 (NURSING HOME) please indicate whether nursing home is mainly

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Dutch Catholic | 4. Public |
| 2. Dutch Calvinist | 5. Catholic |
| 3. Dutch (mixed religions) | 6. Other (Specify) |
| | |

42. Altogether, how often do you (or your spouse) do any of the following with your children. Altogether means add up all the times you do this with any of your children.

	Every day or two	About once or twice a week	About once a month	About once a year	Almost never or never
a. Telephoning each other	1	2	3	4	5
b. Dropping in or visiting at either home.	1	2	3	4	5
c. Religious activities outside the home	1	2	3	4	5
d. Writing letters	1	2	3	4	5

43. About how many minutes altogether in a week do you usually talk by telephone to your children? minutes.

44. Over the last five years or so, how often did you have visits with relatives and friends in the Netherlands (either you went there or they visited you)?

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. More than once a year | 4. Every five years |
| 2. About once a year | 5. Other (Specify) |
| 3. Every couple of years | |
| | 6. Never |

45. Altogether, how frequently do you have contact with relatives and friends in the Netherlands either by phone or by letter writing?

1. Every day or two (3-7 times per week)
2. Once or twice a week
3. At least once a month but less than once a week
4. 2-11 times a year
5. Once a year
6. Less often than once a year
7. Never

46. During the past twelve months, how often have you (or your spouse) received any of the following types of assistance from your child(ren), or your child(ren)-in-law, either living with you or outside your home? Have you received help with..

	Every day or two	About once or twice a week	About once a month	About once a year	Almost never or never
a. housework	1	2	3	4	5
b. yardwork	1	2	3	4	5
c. meal preparation	1	2	3	4	5
d. grocery shopping	1	2	3	4	5
e. transportation	1	2	3	4	5
f. financial help	1	2	3	4	5
g. personal care (such as dress- ing & bathing)	1	2	3	4	5
h. emotional support	1	2	3	4	5
i. managing money	1	2	3	4	5
j. other (specify)	1	2	3	4	5
.....					

47. About how many hours of care or assistance per week do you (and/or your spouse) receive from your child(ren) or child(ren)-in-law?

About hours per week

11

48. During the past twelve months, how often have you (or your spouse) provided any of the following types of assistance to your child(ren) or child(ren)-in-law? Have you provided help with..

	Every day or two	About once or twice a week	About once a month	About once a year	Almost never or never
a. chores (or errands)	1	2	3	4	5
b. financial help	1	2	3	4	5
c. babysitting	1	2	3	4	5
d. advice	1	2	3	4	5
e. gifts (other than money)	1	2	3	4	5
f. other (specify)	1	2	3	4	5

49. Taking everything into consideration, how close do you feel is the relationship between you and your child(ren)?

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. not close | 4. close |
| 2. not too close | 5. very close |
| 3. somewhat close | 6. extremely close |

50. Over the last year or so, about how often do you use formal services such as Meals on Wheels or Homemaker services?

1. Almost never or never
2. About once a year
3. About once a month
4. About once or twice a week
5. Every day or two

51. IF YOU USE FORMAL SERVICES, what two services do you use most over the last year or so?

1.
2.

PART 4

HERE ARE A FEW MORE GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU.

52. How would you rate your own overall health at the present time...

- | | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Excellent | 4. Poor |
| 2. Good | 5. Other (Specify) |
| 3. Fair | |

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE WERE TAKEN (OR ADAPTED) FROM MAJOR STUDIES.

O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska, (1976) and Reitz, (1980).

Questions 1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, and 46, Part 5, Questions 3, 4, and 7.

Mackie and Brinkerhoff (1984) (Ethnic Saliency Scale adapted from Roof and Perkins, (1975), Religious Saliency Scale).

Questions 1, 2, 5, and 6 in Part 5.

Generational Relations and Succession Project (GRASP, Department of Sociology, McMaster University, 1980).

Questions 4, 9, 40, 45, 46, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, and 61.

GRASP time codes were used throughout the questionnaire.

Driedger, (1975). Questions 15, 18, 19, 27, 34, 35, and 37. The format used in Part 5 and Questions 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, and 29 in Part 5 were also used in Driedger's 1975 study.

Statistics Canada, 1991, (3-5103-264-1) Survey on Ageing and Independence, Appendix B, Questionnaire

Questions 50 and 53.

The Canadian Aging Research Network (CARNET) (1993).

Gerontology Research Centre, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario.

Questions 5, and 8.

Bond, et al., (1987). Questions 22 and 25.

Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association (CSAA) Status of Women Workload Survey, Concordia University, Montreal, 1992.

Questions 7, 51, and 52.

Table 9.1: Summary Table of 1995 Sample

Sample	Total Number	Percentages
Existing number of children (According to parents)	n=572	100%
Children who rec'd questionnaires (Names supplied by parents)	n=451	78% (of 572)
Questionnaires completed by children	n=364	63% (of 572)
Number of parents alive in 1995	n=95	parents' replies n=79*
Number of children sent questionnaires	n=451	children's replies n=364**
Children who replied while parents did not reply	n=54	11 families***

* Of the 16 parents who were alive in 1995, but did not respond, 7 had children who responded to the survey. In the other 9 cases, the parents did not respond. They also did not provide the addresses of their children. These 9 families were all Catholic families.

** This total includes the 54 children who returned questionnaires while their parents did not.

*** In 7 of these families the parents were still living. In 4 of these families the parents were no longer living.

There were a number of children (n=54) who returned questionnaires even though their parents did not. In 5 of these cases all the children responded (n=22). In the remaining 6 cases, 9 children did not respond, and 32 responded (n=41). These eleven families were divided as follows. In four, the parents had died. In the remaining seven, the parents were still alive, but had not completed and returned the questionnaire. From the responses of the children, and from the personal notes they included on the margins of their questionnaires, we can deduce several reasons why their parents did not reply. Four parents had died, one was blind, and at least one suffered from severe confusion. No doubt ill health played a part in other cases.

In total, there were 16 parents alive in 1995 who did not respond. There were 9 families in which the parents did not provide the addresses of their children in 1991, and in which the parents also did not return their questionnaires in 1995. All 9 of these families were Catholic families. Fifty-five Catholic children were lost in this way. The 1990 questionnaires of these 9 parents were examined in detail. It was clear that these families had no special distinguishing characteristics. Their health patterns and their levels of ethnic identity retention were similar to those of other Catholic respondents.

In our study, patterns in 38 families were documented in detail, with responses being received from all members. Twenty-five of these families were Calvinist, and 13 were Catholic. Information relating to an additional 18 families was nearly complete. Each had only one child missing (10 Catholic families and 8 Calvinist families). For various reasons, Calvinists were more likely to respond than Catholics. Since the researcher was a Calvinist, Calvinist respondents may have felt more committed to the study.

B The Netherlands: Emigrant Departures, 1948-1962

TABLE 12

Emigrant departures 1948-1962, according to countries of destination and denomination (%).

Period 1: 1948-52; period 2: 1953-57; period 3: 1958-62.

	Roman Catholics			Dutch Reformed			Calvinists		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Canada	24	33	35	25.5	27	24.5	41	26.5	23.5
Australia	38	49	45	30	23.5	24	9	7	6.5
New Zealand	42.5	54	44.5	27	23	25	9	6.5	9
South Africa	21.5	22.5	18	33	36	38	15	16.5	18
Brazil	58	44.5	43.5	15	17.5	26.5	9	18.5	13
United States	10.5	26.5	35	20.5	27.5	36	20	14	6
Total*	28	37	38.5	27	26.5	28.5	25	16.5	11
Total minus									
U.S.A.	30	39.5	39.5	27.5	26	25	25.5	17	13
Census figures**	38.5	39.5	40.4	31	29.6	28.3	9.7	9.5	9.3

* Grand total, also including other countries of destination, such as Argentina and Rhodesia (the figures for these countries are low and irregular).

** For period 1 the percentages shown by the 1947 census have been used, for period 3 those of 1960. As an indication of the percentage for period 2, an average was struck between the percentages for 1947 and 1960.

TABLE 12 (Continued)

	Others			No denomination			Unknown			Total = 100% abs. figures × 1000		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
	2.5	3.5	4	7	10	13	—	—	1	60	61.9	21.4
	4	3.5	3.5	19	17	20	—	—	—	38	50.1	30
	4.5	3	3	16.5	13.5	18.5	—	—	—	8.4	7	6.5
	4.5	4.5	6.5	26	20.5	18	—	—	1.5	12.2	12.5	4.9
	2	3	1.5	14	16.5	14.5	2	0.5	1	1.3	2.1	1
	11	8.5	7	24.5	18.5	13.5	13.5	5	2.5	13.5	28.4	30
	4	4	4.5	14.5	15	16	1.5	1	1.5	135.4	164.5	95.6
	3.5	3.5	4	13.5	14	17.5	—	—	1	121.9	136	65.6
	3.7	3.6	3.6	17.1	17.8	18.4						

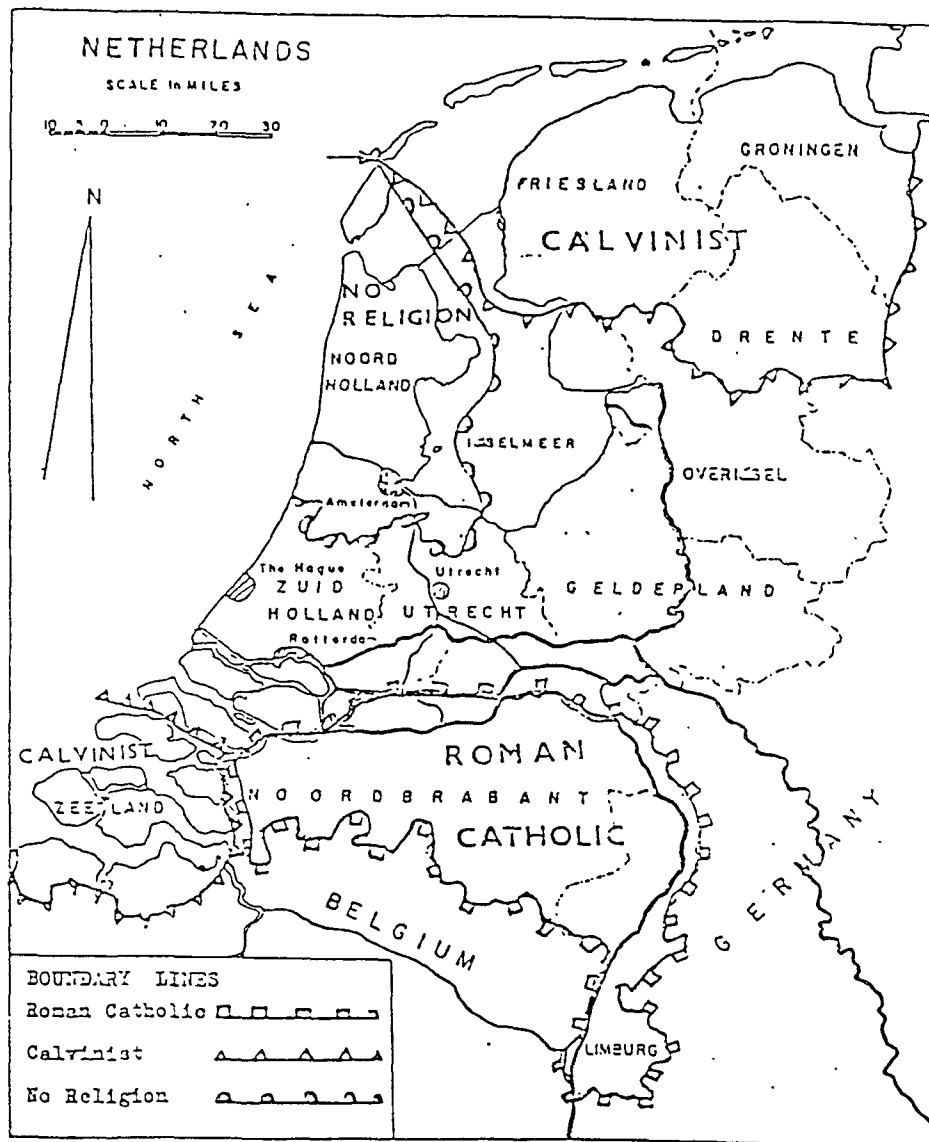
Source: Reproduced from Hofstede, B. *Thwarted Exodus Post-War Overseas Migration from the Netherlands*. Martinus Nyhoff, The Hague, 1964:96-97.

* Actual numbers of emigrants are given on page 35 of Chapter Two.

** One important feature of the above table is the division of emigrant departures into time periods. This shows the later peaking of Catholic emigration.

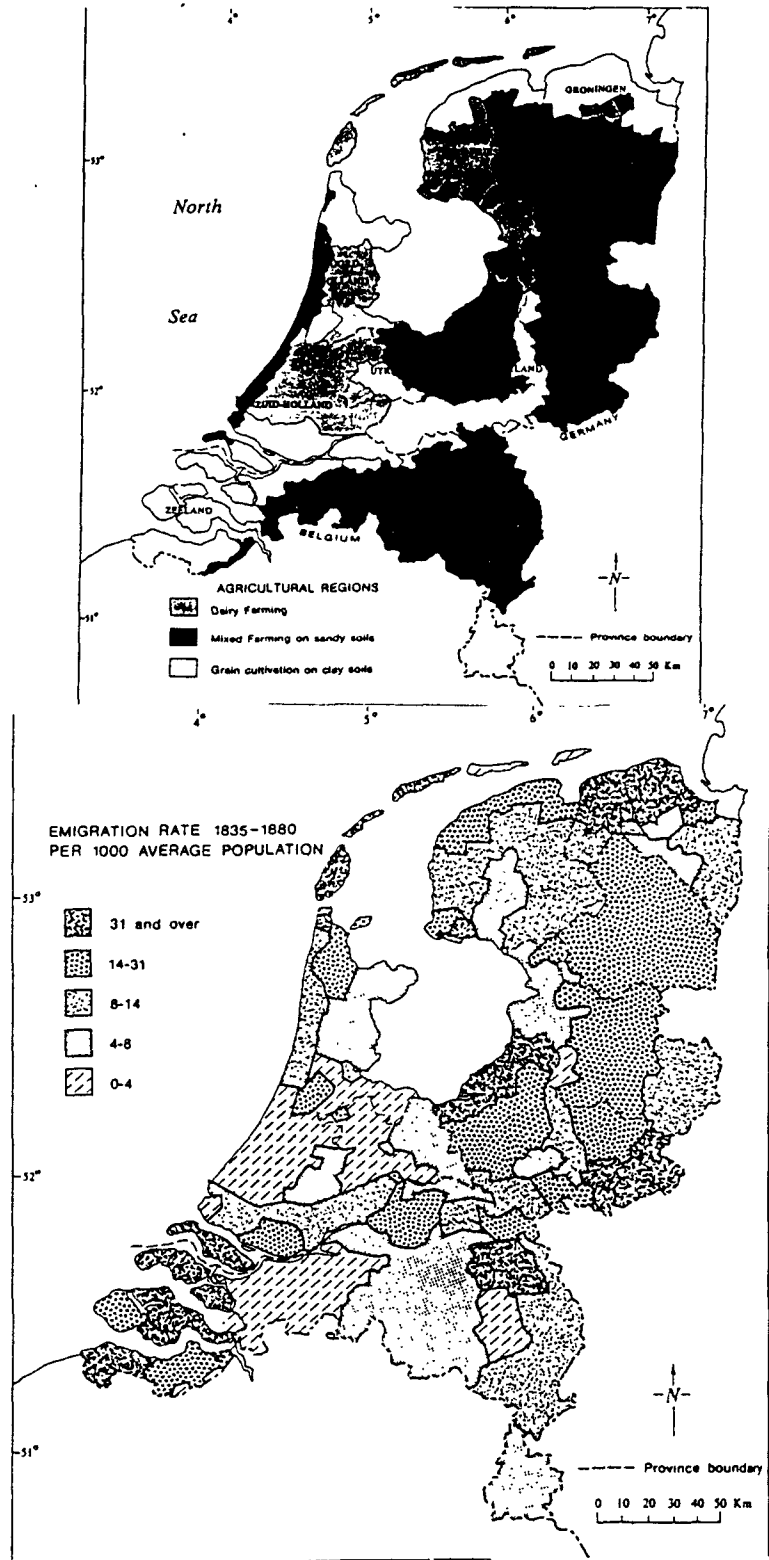
C The Netherlands: Agriculture, Religions, and Emigration Rates

Concentration of the Major Religions



Source: Reproduced from Groenberg, A.L. "The Social Geography of the Netherlanders in South-western Ontario with Special Reference to the Role of the Churches in the Integration of the Immigrants." MA thesis, Department of Geography, University of Western Ontario, London, 1966:24.

The Netherlands: Agriculture, Religions, and Emigration Rates (continued)



Source: Reproduced from Sauerressig-Schreuder, Y. "Dutch Catholic emigration in the mid-nineteenth century: Noord Brabant 1847-1871." *Journal of Historical Geography*, 11:48,50, 1985.

D Religious Affiliation of Dutch Immigrants in Canada.

Population by Selected Religions Showing Dutch Mother Tongue, for Canada and Ontario, 1991.

Religions	Canada	Ontario
Catholic	38,100	22,505
Protestant	78,255	43,990
United	12,325	6,705
Presbyterian	5,240	3,400
Reformed	36,225	22,565
Other Protestant	12,390	5,875
No Religion	21,785	9,275

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 93-319, Table 7, pp. 220-222, 245-246.
Population by Selected Religions and Sex Showing Mother Tongue, for Canada, Provinces, and Territories 1991 - 20% Sample Data.

Religious Affiliation of Dutch Immigrants in Canada continued

TABLE 3.6
AFFILIATION OF ETHNIC ELDERLY (AGE 65 AND OVER) WITH RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

Ethnic Origin	Roman Catholic	Ukrainian Catholic	Anglican	Baptist	Lutheran	Mennonite	Pentecostal
British	13.4%	.0	25.0	5.8	.8	1	1.3
French	96.3	0	5	4	.1	0	1
African	21.2		18.2	15.2			10.6
Chinese	6.4		2.5	5.0	6	3	1.4
Dutch	15.0		7.3	4.6	1.8	12.4	2.1
German	23.5	.0	3.6	5.2	31.2	10.9	2.0
Greek	1.7		8				
Italian	95.9		3	.1	.2		.7
Jewish	3		.1				.1
Polish	78.9	2.9	1.9	4	2.5		1
Portuguese	96.0		.8		8		
Scandinavian	1.8		4.4	4.4	51.8		2.1
Ukrainian	11.5	37.8	1.8	1.4	.7	.2	1.1
Other Single	31.5	6	7.1	2.1	16.5	1.1	1.0

TABLE 3.6 Continued

Ethnic Origin	Presbyterian	United Church	Other Protestant	Eastern Orthodox	Jewish	Eastern non-Christian	No Religion
British	10.1	35.1	4.8	1	.2	1	3.3
French	.2	1.2	.5	0	.1	.0	6
African	3.0	9.1	1.1	3.0		4.5	3.0
Chinese	3.4	14.1	2.8		6	8.3	54.3
Dutch	5.0	18.6	26.2		2		6.8
German	2.6	12.7	4.8	.1	.1	.0	3.3
Greek	.8		2.5	94.1			
Italian	.4	1.2	.5	.1			6
Jewish	1	1	.1		97.3		1.7
Polish	.6	3.3	1.5	2.3	2.6		2.9
Portuguese	.8	.8	.8				
Scandinavian	2.0	21.5	7.4	1		.1	4.4
Ukrainian	6	5.8	2.7	31.5	3		4.8
Other Single	2.1	9.6	5.0	8.6	1.1	8.8	5.0

SOURCE Derived from the 2% Public Census Tape obtained from the Canadian Association on Gerontology/Association Canadienne de Gerontologie

E Building Christian Schools

TABLE VII

Number of CRC congregations and Christian schools established between 1948 and 1970

Years	Congregations	Schools
Pre-1948	14	2
1948-49	11	1
1950-54	90	6
1955-59	25	24
1960-64	13	26
1965-70	11	15

Sources: 1980-81 Directory of Christian Schools International;
1976 Yearbook of the Christian Reformed Churches.

TABLE VIII

Reasonable access to Christian schools by members of CRC churches in Canada, as of 1981

Province	Total church families	Access to Christian schools	Perc. access
Alberta	2,690	2,050	76
Brit. Columbia	2,110	2,038	97
South Ontario	10,099	9,929	98
Rest of Canada	885	660	74
Total	15,784	14,677	93

Sources: Same as for Table VII.

TABLE IX

Gap in years between establishment of churches and schools, also showing number of schools (Average 1954 church membership in brackets)

Province	0-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	15 years & up
B.C.	3 (309)	5 (129)	1 (72)	1 (56)
Alberta	--	--	2 (445)	2 (246)
Ontario	2 (490)	14 (470)	12 (375)	11 (153)

Sources: Same as for Tables VII and VIII

Remarkable also were the very small communities that managed to get a school going, even if it took 15 years or more. Table III specifically mentions two communities of 56 and 72 families, but examinations of other locations reveal many examples of around 100 adult members.

Source: Reproduced from Peetoom, A. "From Mythology to Mythology: Dutch-Canadian Orthodox-Calvinist Immigrants and Their Schools." Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Education, University of Toronto, 1983:116-117.

F Archival Sources

(* Catholic source ** Reformed source *** source of mixed origin.)

I. Collections at the Archives of Ontario, Toronto

Canadian Netherlands Immigration Council Papers 1947-1972 MU 9377,9396, 9379, 9392. (Dutch) ***

Catholic Immigrant Services Papers 1944-1967 MU 9426-37 (Dutch) *

Van Gendt Papers (Catholic CNO) MU 9423 (Dutch) *

Roel Westra Papers 1939-1953 MU 9439 (Dutch) **

Dutch Canadian Culture Club Papers MU 9419 (Dutch) ***

St. Willibrord Credit Union Papers 1949-1976 MU 9410 (Dutch) *

Martin Mol Papers 1952-1974 MU 9405 (Dutch) **

Maple Leaf Reformed Church Papers MU 9407 (Dutch) **

Rev. W. Renkema Papers, 1948-1964 MU 9424 (Aylmer) (Dutch) **

Dutch War Brides Papers (transcripts) MU 9407 (English) ***

L. Ypma Papers 1928-1978 Dutch Burial Fund MU 9408 (Dutch) **

A. Garrels Papers MU 9413 Secretary of Catholic Immigrant Services (Dutch) *

Drayton Christian Reformed Church Papers 1948-1975 MU 9445 (Dutch) **

Quinte Credit Union Ltd. Papers 1955-1977 MU 9402 (Dutch) **

Father Jan Van Wezel and Father Grootsholten interviews (Dutch) *

II. Collections at Redeemer College Archives, Ancaster, Ontario.

Contact, The Canadian Calvinist: early immigrant newspapers (Dutch) Calvinist Contact: weekly for Calvinists in Canada (Dutch till 1967) De Wachter: Dutch Christian Reformed church paper, published in U.S.A. **

The Reformed Journal, The Banner: English Christian Reformed church papers. **

Dr. Milada Disman, 30 oral histories (#101 to #131) of Calvinist immigrants in Holland Christian Homes, Brampton and Hamilton (15 women) (RE Project). **

Dr. Frans Schryer, 45 oral histories (#3 to #48) of Catholics in the London area connected with the St. Willibrord Credit Union (2 women) (SWCU Project). *

Autobiographies of immigrants (Verduijn, van Duyvenvoorden and Batterink) **

Book by Rev. van Kooten (1955), home missionary to Dutch immigrants in Hamilton in 1951, on the topic of integration **

Personal papers and immigration documents of Johan Buesink, including two diaries. (Dutch) **

Personal papers in Redeemer College Special Collection of Swierenga (Chicago businessman) regarding the lending of money to Jacob VanderBeek to buy a Dunnville farm. **

Historical novel based on his trip through Canada by K. Norel in 1952 Hollanders in Canada, Mepel: A Roelofs van Goor (Dutch) **

Twenty-eight personal stories of war brides as told to Olga Rain.***

Central Library Hamilton, Special Collections - newspaper clippings describing Dutch farmers arriving and church news. ***

A survey of 100 Dutch-Canadian elderly, including material on reasons for immigrating (Q6), sponsorship (Q4,Q5), religiosity (Q14), and numbers and types of organizations started by the ethnic groups (Q24) (vanDijk, 1990). ***

III. Secondary Sources. DenBoggenden (1991), Algra (1970), Ganzevoort (1975, 1988), Vandenhooonaard (1991), Petersen (1955), Sas (1958), VanBelle (1991), Hofstede (1964), Van Ginkel (1982), Lucas (1955) ***

G 1947 Immigration Act PC.4849.

SOR/47-920

**Immigration Act—prohibiting the landing in Canada of
immigrants with certain exceptions**

P.C. 4849

AT THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OTTAWA

WEDNESDAY, the 26th day of November, 1947.

PRESENT:

HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL

His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Mines and Resources, is pleased to revoke and doth hereby revoke Order in Council P.C. 695 dated the 21st day of March, 1931, as amended, which established Regulations prohibiting the landing in Canada of immigrants with certain exceptions.

His Excellency in Council, on the same recommendation and pursuant to the provisions of Section 38 of the Immigration Act, Chapter 93, R.S.C. 1927, is pleased to make the following Order and it is hereby made and established in substitution for the regulations hereby revoked:

ORDER

From and after the date hereof and until such time as otherwise ordered, the landing in Canada of immigrants of all classes and occupations, is prohibited, except as hereinafter provided:

The Immigration Officer-in-Charge may permit any immigrant who otherwise complies with the provisions of the Immigration Act to land in Canada, if it is shown to the satisfaction of such Officer-in-Charge that such immigrant is:

1. A British subject entering Canada, directly or indirectly, from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Newfoundland or the United States of America, who has sufficient means to maintain himself until he has secured employment: Provided that the only persons admissible under this section are

1947 Immigration Act PC.4849, continued

Part II

DECEMBER 24, 1947

2339

British subjects by birth or naturalization in Canada, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, or the Union of South Africa.

2. A citizen of the United States of America entering Canada from the United States of America who has sufficient means to maintain himself until he has secured employment.
3. The husband or wife; the son, daughter, brother or sister, together with husband or wife and unmarried children; the father or mother; the orphan nephew or niece under 21 years of age; of any person legally resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for such relatives. The term "orphan" referred to in this section means a child bereaved of both parents.
4. (a) An agriculturist having sufficient means to farm in Canada.
(b) An agriculturist entering Canada to farm with or with the assistance of his father, father-in-law, son, son-in-law, brother, brother-in-law, uncle or nephew engaged in agriculture as his principal occupation and who is in a position and willing to receive such immigrant and establish him on a farm.
(c) A farm labourer entering Canada to engage in assured farm employment.
(d) A person experienced in mining, lumbering or logging entering Canada to engage in assured employment in any one of such industries.
5. A person entering Canada to marry a legal resident thereof: Provided the prospective husband is able to maintain his intended wife.
6. A person who, having entered Canada as a non-immigrant, enlisted in the Canadian Armed Forces and having served in such Forces, has been honourably discharged.
Provided that immigrants referred to in sections 2 and 4 above are destined for settlement to a province which has not signified its disapproval of such immigration.
Provided further that the provisions hereinabove set out shall not apply to immigrants of any Asiatic race.

A. D. P. HEENEY,
Clerk of the Privy Council.

H Sponsorship Form ("Garantie Verklaring")

April 5th, 1961.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Re: MR. H.J. SNIEDER,
Princes Ireneaan 1,
MAARTENSDYK. Utr. Holland.

Dear Sirs,

This will certify that the undersigned are prepared to assume full responsibility for the above mentioned prospective immigrant and are willing to assist him in securing employment and livingquarters at the time of his arrival in Ontario, should he comply with the regulations of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and be permitted to come forward.

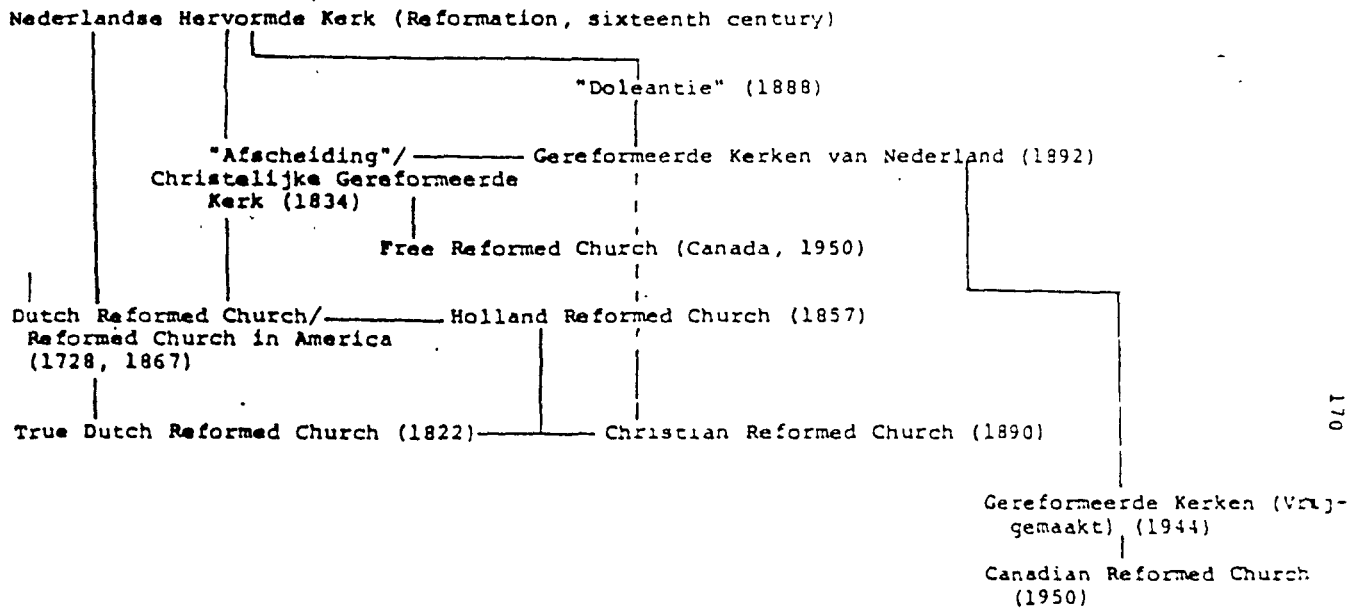
*Explains Robinson's
Testimony. Employee.*
Mr. Snieder is interested in accepting employment as a shoemaker and we guarantee that we will find him such a position in the Toronto district. Accommodation for this family will be available in our Christian Reformed Immigration Centre at Toronto, Ontario.

Respectfully Yours,

Signed by the Board of the
Christian Reformed Church
of TORONTO I. Ontario.

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.....

I Calvinist Churches in the Reformed Tradition



170

Source: Reproduced from Van Ginkel, A. "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition: Dutch Calvinist Immigrants in Canada, 1946-1960." MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1982:170.

J Membership in Dutch-Canadian Credit Unions

Established	Total Assets	Remarks
1956	9,031,230	
	Duca (Hamilton) Credit Union Ltd. 86 Hester Street, Hamilton. Ont. Branch offices at 3027 New Street, Roseland Plaza, Burlington. 920 Colborne Street, Brantford.	Mostly Dutch about 2700 members.
1951	50,248,902	
	St. Willibrord Credit Union Ltd. (London) P.O. Box 399. London Ont. Branch offices at London (2), Arkona, Sarnia, Stratford, Blenheim, Strathroy, Waterford.	Membership about 50% Dutch about 11655 members
1954	64,555,000	
	Duca Community C.U. Ltd. 5290 Younge Street, Willowdale. Ont. Branch offices at Downsview, 1717 Wilson Ave. Philips Branch c.o. Philips Electronics 601 Milner Ave, Scarborough. Brampton, c.o. Holland Christian Homes New Market, 496 Davis Drive Orangeville, c.o. Royal City Realty Ltd.	Community C.U. In North York, Dutch mainly over large area of South Ontario. about 17,500 members
1955	11,832,296	
	Duca Credit Union (Niagara) Ltd. 320 Vine Street North, St. Catharines, Ont. Branch offices at Grimsby, 14 Main Street East, Smithville, 108 Griffin Street, Beamsville, 72 King Street.	Community C.U. in Beamsville and Smithville. Balance mostly Dutch About 5000 members in total
1954	4,848,110	
	Dutch Credit Union (Oshawa) Ltd. 15 Charles Street, P.O. Box 51 Oshawa. Ont Branch offices at Bowmanville, 133 Church Street Whitby, 214 Brock Street	Membership Dutch about 2300 members

Membership in Dutch-Canadian Credit Unions, continued

1955	193.876	
Quinte (Community) Credit Union Ltd. R.R. No. 2 Bloomfield, Ont.		Membership 75% Dutch 223 members
1963	559.600	
Duca (Peterborough) Credit Union, 48 Facendi Court, Peterborough Ont.		Mostly Dutch 420 members
1951		
Dutch Canadian (Kent) Credit Union Ltd. 467 St. Clair Street, Chatham Branch offices at Chatham, 229 Queen Street Wallaceburg, 861 Dufferin Ave.		membership about 50% Dutch about 4700 members
1957		
Sydenham Credit Union Ltd. 68 Front Street West, Strathroy, Ont.		membership mostly Dutch but more others joining about 1400 members
1958		
Dutch Canadian Credit Union (Trenton) Ltd. P.O. Box 383, Trenton. Ont.		all Dutch membership 525 members

Source: Reproduced from Graaskamp, G. W., *Dutch Canadian Mosaic*, Decker Printing, Niagara Falls, 1980's pp. 26-27.

K Rates of Intermarriage in Canada

TABLE 11
Percentage distribution of ethnically endogamous and exogamous marriages by ethnic origin
and nativity of husband, Canada, 1971

Ethnic origin of husband	All husbands				Native-born husbands				Foreign-born husbands			
	Endoga- mous	Exoga- mous	Per cent	Num- ber	Endoga- mous	Exoga- mous	Per cent	Num- ber	Endoga- mous	Exoga- mous	Per cent	Num- ber
British	52.2	47.8	100.0	2,059,880	50.0	50.0	100.0	1,701,285	62.2	37.8	100.0	358,580
English	66.9	33.1	100.0	1,247,610	65.6	34.4	100.0	1,017,140	72.5	27.5	100.0	230,465
Irish	28.2	71.8	100.0	371,840	26.9	73.1	100.0	331,255	38.9	61.1	100.0	40,595
Scottish	31.4	68.6	100.0	420,995	27.5	72.5	100.0	339,365	47.6	52.4	100.0	81,625
French	86.2	13.8	100.0	1,217,880	86.5	13.5	100.0	1,187,100	74.7	25.3	100.0	30,785
German	49.2	50.8	100.0	315,570	38.3	61.7	100.0	200,970	68.3	31.7	100.0	114,605
Italian	76.5	23.5	100.0	177,420	30.1	69.9	100.0	35,315	88.0	12.0	100.0	142,105
Dutch	72.2	27.8	100.0	6,230	65.2	34.8	100.0	2,330	76.4	23.6	100.0	3,915
Polish	43.2	56.8	100.0	75,115	24.1	75.9	100.0	38,155	62.8	37.2	100.0	36,965
Scandinavian	21.2	78.8	100.0	92,800	13.6	86.4	100.0	62,275	36.6	63.4	100.0	30,520
Ukrainian	54.0	46.0	100.0	137,245	45.0	55.0	100.0	98,230	76.4	23.6	100.0	39,015
Other	65.4	34.6	100.0	523,355	50.4	49.6	100.0	211,480	75.6	24.4	100.0	311,875
Total	62.7	37.3	100.0	4,605,490	60.4	39.6	100.0	3,537,115	70.4	29.6	100.0	1,068,365

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Special Tabulations.
Note: Total British includes English, Irish, Scottish, and Other British.

TABLE 15
Percentage distribution of ethnically endogamous and exogamous marriages by selected ethno-religious origins
and nativity of husband, Canada, 1971

Ethno-religious origin of husband	All husbands				Native-born husbands				Foreign-born husbands			
	Endoga- mous	Exoga- mous	Per cent	Num- ber	Endoga- mous	Exoga- mous	Per cent	Num- ber	Endoga- mous	Exoga- mous	Per cent	Num- ber
English												
Anglican	72.9	27.1	100.0	377,295	70.7	29.3	100.0	267,285	78.1	21.9	100.0	110,015
Irish R												
Catholic	34.3	65.7	100.0	130,325	32.8	67.2	100.0	116,190	46.4	53.6	100.0	14,135
Scottish												
Presbyterian	44.9	55.1	100.0	86,110	35.4	64.6	100.0	50,735	58.4	41.6	100.0	35,375
French R												
Catholic	89.1	10.9	100.0	1,141,540	89.3	10.7	100.0	1,117,075	82.7	17.3	100.0	24,455
German												
Lutheran	63.5	36.5	100.0	84,650	50.0	50.0	100.0	39,465	75.3	24.7	100.0	45,195
Italian												
R Catholic	79.9	20.1	100.0	166,130	34.4	65.6	100.0	28,170	89.1	10.9	100.0	137,970
Dutch												
R Catholic	72.0	28.0	100.0	1,000	67.6	32.7	100.0	185	73.5	26.5	100.0	810
Polish												
R Catholic	51.7	48.3	100.0	54,470	30.5	69.5	100.0	23,930	68.3	31.7	100.0	30,530
Scandinavian												
Lutheran	34.5	65.5	100.0	35,605	22.3	77.7	100.0	17,245	45.9	54.1	100.0	18,365

(continued on next page)

Source: Reproduced from Richards, M. A. *Ethnic Groups and Marital Choices: Ethnic History and Marital Assimilation in Canada, 1871 and 1971*. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, pp.110,117, 1991.

Rates of Intermarriage in Canada, continued

Table 8.1
Endogamy Rates among Canadian Ethno-Racial-Religious Groups, by Gender, 1921-1981 (in %)

Year & Gender	Ethno-Racial-Religious Group							
	Asian	British	Czechoslovak	Dutch	French	German	Greek	Hungarian
1921: Male	*	*	*	*	*	71	*	*
1931: Male	*	*	79	53	*	72	74	90
Female	*	*	80	56	*	70	88	88
1941: Male	83	59*	62	53	93	58	50	68
1951: Male	75	85	*	43	90	52	*	*
Female	87	86	*	43	88	52	*	*
1961: Male	80	81	*	55	88	52	*	*
Female	86	82	*	56	86	51	*	*
1971: Male	81	81	*	52	86	49	*	*
Female	86	80	*	56	84	51	*	*
1981: Male	93	80	*	52	87	50	*	*
Female		78			86			

1986 / Ethno-Cultural Movements in Canada

Source: Reproduced from Herberg, E. N. *Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions*. Nelson Canada, Toronto, p.186, 1989.

L Letters to Respondents



McMASTER UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology

1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4M4
Telephone: 525-9140 Ext. 4481

1 Daytona Drive
Hamilton, Ont., L9C 3Z9

November 6, 1991

Dear

In 1990, you helped me by filling in the questionnaire on first generation Dutch-Canadian immigrants. I am now doing research for my PhD thesis at McMaster University. Dr. Jane Synge is my supervisor.

For my research project, I will continue to study the Catholic and Calvinist Dutch immigrant families. This time I will look at the second generation of middle-aged Dutch Canadians, and see how much of their ethnic identity they have kept. The support the middle-aged children give to the elderly immigrant parents will be studied also. This information will again be available to the planners of health services.

Once more I would like to ask for your help. Would you be willing to send me, on the enclosed sheet, the names and addresses of your children both in Canada and outside of Canada? This does not mean that your children have to take part in the research. I will send them a letter explaining the research, and asking if they wish to participate. Your participation is voluntary, and you may discontinue your involvement at any time. Any information you give will be kept confidential, and your name will not be used.

Kindly return the enclosed stamped envelope, even if you cannot send the addresses.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Joanne van Dijk,
Graduate Student
McMaster University

**McMASTER UNIVERSITY**

Department of Sociology

1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8S 4M4
Telephone: (905) 525-9140 Ext. 24481
E-mail address: sociology@mcmaster.ca

November 25, 1994

Dear

This letter is to invite you to participate in a study of Dutch-Canadian ethnic identity. For my doctoral research at McMaster University, I wish to study the parents and children of Dutch-Canadian Catholic and Calvinist immigrant families to see how much of their ethnic identity they have kept since immigrating. I am a Dutch immigrant myself, who came to Canada in 1951. Part of the study deals with the effects of ethnicity on the care of elderly parents. Dr. Jane Synge of the Department of Sociology is supervising this study.

I am grateful for your help in the previous study I did to complete my MA. Once again your help by filling out this questionnaire will be much appreciated. A similar questionnaire will be sent to your children. The information you give will provide valuable insights into understanding life in the Dutch-Canadian community at the present. Moreover, the findings will be an important resource for planners of multicultural health services to Dutch-Canadian groups.

The results of the survey will be used in a general report and a summary of the study findings will be mailed to you, if you wish. Your responses will remain confidential. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and may refrain from answering any question you prefer to omit. If you have any questions about anything in this study, please feel free to contact me at my home address in Hamilton: 1 Daytona Drive, Hamilton, Ontario, L9C 3Z9. Phone: (905) 387-0250 or you may contact my supervisor.

Please keep this letter and return the questionnaire in the stamped addressed envelope at your earliest convenience, even if you do not wish to participate.

Thank you very much.

Joanne van Dijk,
Ph D Student,
Department of Sociology,



McMASTER UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology

1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8S 4M4

Telephone: (905) 525-9140 Ext. 24481

E-mail address: sociolgy@mcmaster.ca

November 25, 1994

Dear

This letter is to invite you to participate in a study of Dutch-Canadian ethnic identity. For my doctoral research at McMaster University. I wish to study the parents and children of Dutch-Canadian Catholic and Calvinist immigrant families to see how much of their ethnic identity they have kept since immigrating. I am a Dutch immigrant myself, who came to Canada in 1951. Part of the study deals with the effects of ethnicity on the care of elderly parents. Dr. Jane Synge of the Department of Sociology is supervising this study.

I am grateful for your parents' help in the past. They participated in a study I did to complete my MA in 1990. They also provided me with your name and address. Your parent(s) will receive a similar questionnaire. Your help by filling out this questionnaire will be much appreciated. The information you give will provide valuable insights into understanding life in the Dutch-Canadian community at the present. Moreover, the findings will be an important resource for planners of multicultural health services to Dutch-Canadian groups.

The results of the survey will be used in a general report and a summary of the study findings will be mailed to you, if you wish. Your responses will remain confidential. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and may refrain from answering any question you prefer to omit. If you have any questions about anything in this study, please feel free to contact me at my home address in Hamilton: 1 Daytona Drive, Hamilton, Ontario, L9C 3Z9. Phone: (905) 387-0250 or you may contact my supervisor.

Please keep this letter and return the questionnaire in the stamped addressed envelope at your earliest convenience, even if you do not wish to participate.

Thank you very much.

Joanne van Dijk,
Ph D Student,
Department of Sociology,



MCMASTER UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology

1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4M4
Telephone: 525-9140 Ext. 4481

January 15, 1995

Dear

In early December I sent you a letter inviting you to participate in a study of Dutch-Canadian ethnic identity. The study will look at life in the Dutch-Canadian community, by seeing how much of their ethnic identity the parents and children of Dutch-Canadian Catholic and Calvinist immigrant families have kept since immigrating. Part of the study deals with the effects of ethnicity on the care of elderly parents.

Although I realize that it was a very busy time of the year to be filling out a questionnaire, I would still very much appreciate receiving your response. Could you please fill in and return the questionnaire at your earliest convenience? Your responses will remain confidential. Even if you do not wish to participate, please return the questionnaire in the stamped addressed envelope.

If you did not receive or misplaced the brown envelope with the questionnaire, please give me a COLLECT call at 1-905-387-0250 and I will be very happy to send you another one.

Thank you so much for your help in this research project. If you have any questions about anything in this study, please feel free to contact me at my home address in Hamilton: 1 Daytona Drive, Hamilton, Ontario, L9C 3Z9. Phone: (905) 387-0250 or contact my supervisor, Dr. Jane Synge. Phone: (905) 525-9140, Ext. 2-3605.

Thank you very much.

Joanne van Dijk,
Ph D Student.
Department of Sociology.



McMASTER UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology

1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8S 4M4

Telephone: (905) 525-9140 Ext. 24481

E-mail address: sociology@mcmaster.ca

February 15, 1995

Dear

Sometime ago I sent you a questionnaire and a letter inviting you to participate in a study of Dutch-Canadian ethnic identity. The study will look at life in the Dutch-Canadian community, by seeing how much of their ethnic identity the parents and children of Dutch-Canadian Catholic and Calvinist immigrant families have kept since immigrating. Part of the study deals with the effects of ethnicity on the care of elderly parents.

I would still very much appreciate receiving your response. In case you did not receive or misplaced the first questionnaire, I am sending you another one. Could you please fill in and return the questionnaire at your earliest convenience? As I indicated before, your responses will remain confidential. If you do not wish to participate, please return the questionnaire in the stamped addressed envelope.

Thank you so much for your help in this research project. If you have any questions about anything in this study, please feel free to contact me at my home address in Hamilton: 1 Daytona Drive, Hamilton, Ontario, L9C 3Z9. Phone: (905) 387-0250 or contact my supervisor, Dr. Jane Synge. Phone: (905) 525-9140, Ext. 2-3605.

Thank you very much.

Joanne van Dijk,
Ph D Student,
Department of Sociology.

1 Daytona Drive
Hamilton, Ontario L9C 3Z9
(905) 387-0250

March 19, 1996

Dear

I am writing to thank you for your help by filling in the questionnaire on Dutch-Canadian immigrants, and to inform you of the results of my research.

The major findings compiled from the data received from 443 respondents are presented on the following pages. You are welcome to read the complete thesis which provides a more detailed discussion of my research. It is called Aspects of Ethnic Identity Retention Among Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists. It will be available at the Redeemer College library and the McMaster University library in the Fall of 1996.

Thank you once again for so quickly providing me with the information. If you have any further questions about the study you may contact me at the above address.

Sincerely,

Joanne G. van Dijk
Ph D Candidate
Department of Sociology

Major Findings of the Study on Dutch-Canadian Catholic and Calvinist Immigrants

The following information is based on a sample of 79 elderly and 364 middle-aged Dutch immigrants, of which 35 Catholics and 44 Calvinists belonged to the first generation and 169 Catholics and 195 Calvinists belonged to the second generation.

Language: The extent of Dutch language retention was not high among either the Catholics or the Calvinists. Many of the elderly respondents said that they knew the English language well. Parents were more likely to be bilingual. Calvinist respondents, of both generations, read ethnic and religious newspapers more frequently than Catholic respondents.

Customs: Ethnic identity was more important among the Calvinists. Consequently, Calvinists were more likely than Catholics to observe Dutch customs. They were more likely to eat traditional Dutch foods and to read the Bible at mealtimes. However, Catholics were more likely to cheer for Dutch soccer teams. Of course, parents were more likely than children to observe ethnic holidays and to express an interest in the Dutch royal family. More first-generation Calvinists than Catholics said that ethnicity was important in their lives, and that they based important decisions on ethnicity. Three-quarters of all the Calvinists thought that the ethnic character of a retirement or nursing home was an important factor to consider. But only one-quarter of first-generation Catholics and two-fifths of the second-generation Catholics thought that ethnic character was an important factor to consider when choosing a nursing home for elderly relatives.

Education: Although the first-generation Catholics had been rather better situated in Holland and had received more formal education than the Calvinists, these differences had disappeared in the second generation. Catholics were more likely to have attended parochial schools, and they were also more likely to send their children to parochial schools. Most of the first-generation Calvinists, but only half of their children, had attended Christian schools all or most of the time.

Friendships: Catholics tended to have friends among all groups in Canadian society, while Calvinists had greater numbers of close friends who were also Dutch Calvinists. Elderly Catholics and Calvinists tended to visit with other Dutch Canadians of their own religion. Among members of the second-generation, a greater number of Calvinists than Catholics visited with Dutch friends of the same religion. One-quarter of Calvinists worked with other Dutch Calvinists in their places of employment.

Intermarriage Patterns: As one would expect, Catholics had far higher rates of intermarriage. They were more likely to marry outside the Catholic faith and outside the Dutch group. They were also more accepting of intermarriage. Relatively few Calvinists married outside their ethnic group and most of the Calvinists preferred that their children marry a person of the same religious group.

Religiosity: Calvinist parents and children reported higher levels of religiosity. Calvinists, of both generations, attended church more frequently than Catholics. Among the Catholics and Calvinists there were some declines in church attendance, between the first to the second generation, and between the second to the third generation. First- and second-generation Calvinists were also more likely to report weekly attendance at other church activities. Calvinists were more likely to attend Bible study groups, while Catholics were more likely to participate in service groups. Catholics, of both generations, gave less of their income to the church. Calvinists were much more likely to attend churches with other people of Dutch descent.

More parents than children thought that religion was of central importance in their lives. However, fewer than one-half of the second-generation Catholics considered religion to be that important. These differences in religious commitment can be seen in respondents' views on the importance of choosing Calvinist or Catholic nursing homes. Catholics tended to feel that the distance of the home from the family or the price charged was more important than the religious character of the institution, while among Calvinists the religious character of the institution was most important.

Organizations: As one would expect, Dutch Catholic respondents, especially members of the second generation, were not very aware of the various clubs or organizations established by Dutch Catholics following their arrival in Canada. Only a few of them belonged to such organizations, for example, credit unions. Catholics were more likely to belong to 'Canadian' organizations. Calvinists established many ethnic and/or religious organizations. Calvinist children belonged to more such organizations than their parents.

Social Support: It is clear that elderly parents in our survey were very independent. They did not receive a great deal of help from their children, nor did they provide much help to their children. Formal services were seldom used, except in cases of serious illness. Parents and children had close relationships and had frequent contact with one another. When they became very old, Calvinists tend to move into segregated housing built especially for them by their religious community. Dutch-Canadian Catholics, do not have a cohesive Dutch community to support them as they age and there are very few Dutch-Catholic seniors' residences and nursing homes. While most of the Calvinists agree that their church looks after its older members very well, fewer than half of the Catholics agree.

M Odds Ratios and Yules Q Tables

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 6.2

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by religion (Calv/Cath)		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by generation (par/chil)	
ODDS of ...					
Q6	holding Dutch citizenship	1.361	.153	2.015	.337
Q8	being married	1.883	.306*	.211	-.651**
	by gender - parents only	.267	-.579		
Q8	being divorced	.227	-.630*	.171	-.708
Q99a	living alone	.792	-.116		
	by gender f/m	3.08	.509*		
Q88	agreeing it wrks well for widowed par to live with child	.787	-.119	.787	-.119
Q57	being in excellent or good health	.822	-.097	.191	-.679**
	by gender f/m	.678	-.192		
Q58	having less than post-secondary education	1.533	.210*	4.860	.659**
	parents only	8.105	.780**		
	children only	1.143	.067		
	by gender f/m	1.823	.291*		
Q61	having income under \$40,000	1.098	.047	31.473	.938**
	by gender f/m	1.925	.316**		

Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 6.3

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by religion (Calv/Cath)		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by gender (f/m)	
ODDS of ...					
Q59e	having professional/managerial status	1.700	.259	1.086	.041
Q60e	spouse having professional/managerial status	1.192	.087	.798	-.112
Q59a	working outside the home	.988	-.006	.351	-.480**
Q59b	working full-time	.384	-.445*	.062	-.883**

Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 6.4

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q	
ODDS of ...		by religion (Calv/Cath)		by generation (par/chil)	
Q15a1	using Dutch when speaking to parents	.515	-.320*	-	-
Q15a2	using Dutch when speaking to children	.978	-.011	-	-
Q15b	using Dutch when speaking to spouse	.925	-.039	25.879	.926**
Q15c	using Dutch when speaking to siblings	.783	-.122	38.431	.949**
Q15d1	using Dutch when speaking to children	.000	-1.000**	-	-
Q15d2	using Dutch when speaking to grandchildren	.605	-.246	-	-
Q15e	using Dutch when speaking to friends	.876	-.066	35.000	.944**
Q15f	using Dutch in church services	2.597	.444	6.250	.724**
Q16a	speaking English very or fairly well	.123	-.693	.027	-.947**
Q16b	reading English very or fairly well	1.118	.056	.066	-.875**
Q16c	writing English very or fairly well	.660	-.205	.112	-.798**
Q17a	speaking Dutch very or fairly well	1.120	.057	.000	1.000**
Q17b	reading Dutch very or fairly well	1.459	.187	.000	1.000**
Q17c	writing Dutch very or fairly well	1.242	.108	.000	1.000**
Q68	agreeing that it is not important that children learn Dutch	1.092	.044	.542	-.297*
Q18	reading ethnic papers once a mos or more	4.523	.638**	16.678	.887**
Q12	eating Dutch food once a mos or more	2.250	.385**	1.999	.333*
Q82	agreeing that older people prefer Dutch food and customs in home	4.677	.648**	.754	-.140
Q13	celebrating most or some Dutch holidays	.755	-.140	2.779	.470*
Q14	participating in Dutch customs				
Q14a	eating oliebollen	4.024	.602**	1.425	.175
Q14b	having a broodmaaltijd (sandwiches)	1.023	.011	5.699	.701**
Q14c	eating peppermints in church	50.644	.961**	1.033	.016
Q14d	reading Bible at mealtimes	140.209	.986**	1.864	.302*
Q14e	having an interest in Dutch Royal family	1.075	.036	12.165	.848**
Q14f	cheering for Dutch soccer team	.348	-.483**	1.444	.182
Q14g	having an interest in Dutch politics	.563	-.280	5.623	.698**
Q14h	participating in other Dutch customs	1.736	.269	1.573	.222

Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 6.5

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q	
ODDS of ...		by religion (Calv/Cath)		by generation (par/chil)	
Q1	being Dutch or Dutch-Canadian	1.123	.058	2.920	.490**
Q2	having parents who are Dutch or Dutch-Canadian	1.324	.139		
	having children who are Dutch or Dutch-Canadian	1.667	.250		
Q65	agree'g that ethnicity is most import for life	2.250	.385*	6.286	.726**
Q66	agree'g that seldom base decisions on ethnicit	.418	-.411**	.414	-.414*
Q74	agree'g that children and grandchildren are Canadi	.644	-.217	2.002	.333
Q81	agree'g that ethnic charac of nur hm is import	7.734	.771**	.810	-.105
Q84	agree'g that prefer oth Dutch-Can in nur hm	4.474	.634**	.775	-.126

Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 6.6

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q	
ODDS of ...		by religion (Calv/Cath)		by generation (par/chil)	
Q22	attending church daily, weekly or monthly	7.560	.766**	5.575	.696**
Q26	oldest child attending church dai/week/monthly	4.246	.619**	1.625	.238
Q23	attending other church activities d/w/monthly	5.211	.678**	1.183	.083
Q25	tithing 6% to 10%	9.740	.814**	2.452	.424*
Q69	agree'g that religion is most import for life	28.709	.933**	21.667	.912**
Q70	agree'g that seldom base decisions on religion	.186	-.686**	1.162	.075
Q80	agree'g that dist is more imp than rel char of home	.068	-.876**	1.500	.200
Q83	agree'g that rel char of home is more important than price of home	10.725	.829**	1.526	.208
Q73	agree'g that changes in my church not necessa	2.992	.499**	2.597	.444**

Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 6.7

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q	
ODDS of ...		by religion (Calv/Cath)		by generation (par/chil)	
Q10a	country of birth of spouse being Holland	2.499	.428**	.000	1.000**
Q11	ethnicity of spouse being Dutch	6.883	.746**	5.913	.711**
Q28	preferring Dutch spouse outside religion	.436	-.393	.956	-.023
Q71	agree'g that spse of same ethnity is not imp	.259	-.589**	.421	-.407**
Q94	agree'g that parochial school atten pr endoga	4.758	.653**	2.962	.495**

Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 6.9

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by religion (Calv/Cath)		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by generation (par/chil)	
ODDS of ...					
Q36	having 1-24 organ's supported by the group	6.103	.718**	3.083	.510**
Q34	not belonging to any organizations	.693	-.181	.349	-.482**
Q37	having all or most of my ed in parochial sch	.295	-.544**	2.533	.434*
Q38	having all or most of children's ed in par sch	.000	1.000	.000	1.000
Q31	having half or more Dutch church members	12.166	.848**	3.688	.573**
Q32	most of neighbours being Dutch	1.228	.102	2.041	.342**
Q331	having closest friends of same grp same rel	.320	-.515**	.418	-.411**
Q332	having closest friends of same gr dif rel	1.820	.291	.637	-.222
Q333	having closest friends of dif gr same rel	10.997	.833**	5.356	.685**
Q334	having closest friends of dif gr dif rel	2.366	.406**	4.912	.662**
Q29a	visiting d/w/m in house w same gr same rel	3.739	.578**	4.640	.645**
Q29b	visiting d/w/m in house w same gr dif rel	.434	-.394**	3.479	.553**
Q29c	visiting d/w/m in house w dif gr same rel	.258	-.590**	.985	-.008
Q29d	visiting d/w/m in house w dif gr dif rel	.276	-.567**	.292	-.548**
Q30a	visiting d/w/m outs house w same gr sa rel	3.014	.502**	2.480	.425**
Q30b	visiting d/w/m outs house w same gr dif rel	.530	-.307*	1.083	.040
Q30c	visiting d/w/m outs house w dif gr same rel	.201	-.666**	.636	-.223**
Q30d	visiting d/w/m outs house w dif gr dif rel	.356	-.475**	.559	-.283
Q59f	having Dutch co-workers of same religion	4.382	.628**	1.488	.196
Q60f	spouse having Dutch co-workers of same religi	7.595	.767**	.455	-.374
Q67	agree'g that Dutch radio and tv is important	1.258	.114	1.148	-.069
Q75	agree'g that church cares for sr memb well	19.315	.902**	1.166	.077
Q85	agree'g that parochial education import gift	3.727	.577**	17.379	.891**
Q86	agree'g that par ed not as good as publ ed	.681	-.190	.714	-.167
Q90	agree'g that org not good for young people	.134	-.764**	.550	-.290
Q91	agree'g th yg peo shld be expos to many ideas	.217	-.643**	1.691	.257
Q72	agree'g that Cath and Calv wrk tog Pro-Life	2.948	.493	.000	1.000
Q87	agree'g that ethnic friends seldom good friends	4.767	.653**	1.898	.310*

Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 7.1

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by religion (Calv/Cath)		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by generation (par/child)	
ODDS of...					
Q9a	having 1 to 4 children	.734	-.153	.165	-.716
Q8	being married	1.883	.306*	.211	-.651**
Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005					

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 7.2

VARIABLES		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by religion (Calv/Cath)		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by religion (Calv/Cath)	
ODDS of...		Children reporting		Parents reporting	
Q101	telephoning children from 1 to 5 minutes			5.867	.709
Q46a	telephoning mother from 1 to 5 minutes	1.218	.098		
Q46b	telephoning father from 1 to 5 minutes	.662	-.203		
Q45a Q100a	telephoning each other daily or weekly	1.226	.102	1.118	.056
Q45b Q100b	visiting each other daily or weekly	1.394	.164	-.904	-.051
Q45d Q100d	writing letters daily or weekly	-	-	.413	-.416
Q45c Q100c	participating in rel act together dly or weekly	2.888	.485*	3.429	.548
Q47	doing act's with parents-in-law dly or weekly	.852	-.080		
Q48 Q102	visiting with rel/fmnds in Holland yrly or more	.696	-.179	.267	-.578*
Q49 Q103	having daily or weekly contact with Holland by writing or telephone	.000	1.000	.000	-1.000
Q93	agree'g that job/transp prevents me from visiting with parents/children	.565	-.278*	.669	-.199
Q107	feeling not close to children			.690	-.183
Q54b	feeling not close to mother	.410	-.418		
Q54a	feeling not close to father	.586	-.261		
Q54d	feeling not close to mother-in-law	1.057	.028		
Q54c	feeling not close to father-in-law	1.208	.094		
Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005					

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 7.3

VARIABLES	ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		
	by religion (Calv/Cath)		by religion (Calv/Cath)		
	Children reporting		Parents reporting		
ODDS of ...					
Q44f Q99a	currently living alone	1.510	.203	.792	-.116
Q41b Q97	mother living less than 1 1/2 hour away	1.103	.049	3.385	.543
Q44b Q98	presently living in a house	.617	-.237	.741	-.148
by religion (Calv/Cath)					
by generation (par/chil)					
ODDS of ...					
Q79	agree'g that import to live close to par/child	.892	-.057	3.515	.557**
Q88	agree'g that it works well for widowed parent to live in with child	.787	-.119	.787	-.119
Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005					

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 7.4

VARIABLES	ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		
	by religion (Calv/Cath)		by religion (Calv/Cath)		
	Children reporting		Parents reporting		
ODDS of ...					
Q44j Q99b	senior's apartment being Dutch-Calvinist	7.365	.761**	14.000	.867**
Q44n Q99c	nursing home being Dutch-Calvinist	.000	1.000**	.000	1.000*
Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005					

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 7.5

VARIABLES	ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q		
	by religion (Calv/Cath)		by religion (Calv/Cath)		
	Children reporting		Parents reporting		
ODDS of ...					
Q51 Q105	receiving/giving zero hours per wk of care	1.328	.141	1.379	.159
Q52	giving zero hrs per wk care to parents-in-law	1.239	.107		
Q55 Q108	using formal services daily or weekly	.809	-.106	1.400	.167
by religion (Calv/Cath)					
by generation (par/chil)					
ODDS of ...					
Q92	agree'g that women give up jobs for par care	2.708	.461**	2.931	.491**
Q89	agree'g that it is hard for siblings to share parent care	.880	-.064	.552	-.289
Q78	agree'g that fam not gov shld pay homecare	1.242	.108	1.482	.195
Q77	agree'g that mother with young children should not work for pay outside home	3.762	.580**	10.517	.826**
Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005					

ODDS RATIOS AND YULES Q TABLES - SUPPLEMENT TO TABLE 7.6

VARIABLES	ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by religion (Calv/Cath) Children reporting		ODDS RATIOS YULES Q by religion (Calv/Cath) Parents reporting		
	ODDS of providing daily or weekly help to parents				
Q50a Q104a	with housework	.351	-.481**	1.109	.052
Q50b Q104b	with yardwork	.358	-.472**	.550	-.290
Q50c Q104c	with meals	.645	-.216	1.500	.200
Q50d Q104d	with grocery shopping	.718	-.164	1.000	.000
Q50e Q104e	with transportation	1.083	.040	1.320	.138
Q50f Q104f	with financial help	.093	-.831**	1.600	.231
Q50g Q104g	with personal care	.614	-.239	.350	-.481
Q50h Q104h	with emotional support	1.392	.164	.571	-.273
Q50i Q104i	with managing money	1.007	.003	.588	-.259
Q50j Q104j	in other ways	.816	-.101	2.750	.467
ODDS of receiving daily or weekly help from parents					
Q53a Q106a	with chores	.405	-.424**	1.023	.011
Q53b Q106b	with finances	1.388	.163	.955	-.023
Q53c Q106c	with babysitting	.532	-.306*	.453	-.377
Q53d Q106d	with advice	.677	-.193	.413	-.416
Q53e Q106e	with gifts	.921	-.041	1.597	.230
Q53f Q106f	in other ways	.442	-.387	4.167	.613

Chisquare * < .05 ** < .005

N Occupational Status of Dutch-Canadians, 1931, 1951, 1961

Ethnic Origin and Occupational Classes, 1931, 1951, 1961.

Occupational Classes	1931		1951		1961	
	Dut	Can	Dut	Can	Dut	Can
Professional and financial	-1.1	4.8	-1.7	5.9	-0.9	8.6
Clerical	-1.9	3.8	-2.4	5.9	-1.7	6.9
Personal service	-1.5	3.5	-1.2	3.4	-0.5	4.3
Primary and unskilled	-4.8	17.7	-1.7	13.3	-2.0	10.0
Agriculture	+18.5	34.0	+17.3	19.4	+10.3	12.2
All others	-9.2	36.2	-10.3	52.1	-5.2	58.0

Total male labour force percentage of over-representation in occupation by ethnic group.

Source: Adapted from Reitz, J., The Survival of Ethnic Groups. McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Toronto, 1980:151.

O Resources for Catholics in the Hamilton-Wentworth Area

Catholic Family Services

- personal and financial counselling
- single mom program - help to get back into the community.
- SELF - day program for developmentally delayed older adults.
- Senior Peer Counselling - advice to seniors, keeping in touch with seniors

Hamilton Right to Life

Catholic Youth Organization - leadership training programs, two summer camps, seminars. Most parishes do not have youth programs for lack of staff.

Hamilton-Wentworth Roman Catholic Separate School Board - 54 elementary schools and 6 high schools (Hamilton Board of Education - 76 elementary and 14 high schools).

Catholic Cemeteries of the Diocese of Hamilton

Catholic Children's Aid Society

St. Vincent De Paul - charitable organization, runs retail outlets like Amity. Most churches have branches.

St. Vincent De Paul Children's Centre

St. Stanislaus St. Casimir's Polish Parishes Credit Union Ltd.

(90 percent of customers are Polish, and 90 percent of customers are Roman Catholic)

Saint Lawrence Parish Credit Union every Monday from 7-8:30 in church hall.

St. Boniface German Roman Catholic Church

Saint Cyril and Methodius Slovak Roman Catholic Church

St. Michael's Hungarian Greek-Catholic Church

St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Parish

St. Elizabeth Nursing Home - 220 beds

(extended care 184 beds, residential care 36 beds)

St. Elizabeth Villa - 150 bed second-level lodging home

St. Elizabeth Village - Catholic retirement residences, 478 apartments

St. Joseph's Villa, Dundas, Home for the Aged

- long term care 370 beds

Good Shepherd Centre - retirement/rest home (residential care 24 beds)

St. Joseph's Hospital 539 beds

St. Joseph's Community Psychiatry

St. Joseph's Community Health Centre (Geriatric Services)

St. Joseph's Mental Health Wing

St. Joseph's Immigrant Women's Centre

St. Joseph's Centre of Spirituality

St. Joseph's Health Care System

St. Joseph's Outreach Program

St. Olga's Life Care Centre

St. Martin's Manor

St. Elizabeth Visiting Nurses Association

There are 1,879 beds available in public nursing or retirement homes. There are 1,182 beds available in Catholic nursing or retirement homes. These numbers do not include St. Joseph's Villa (150 beds) because it is a second-level lodging home, or St. Peter's Hospital (284 beds) because it is a geriatric hospital.

P Dutch-Canadian Retirement Homes Built by the Reformed Community

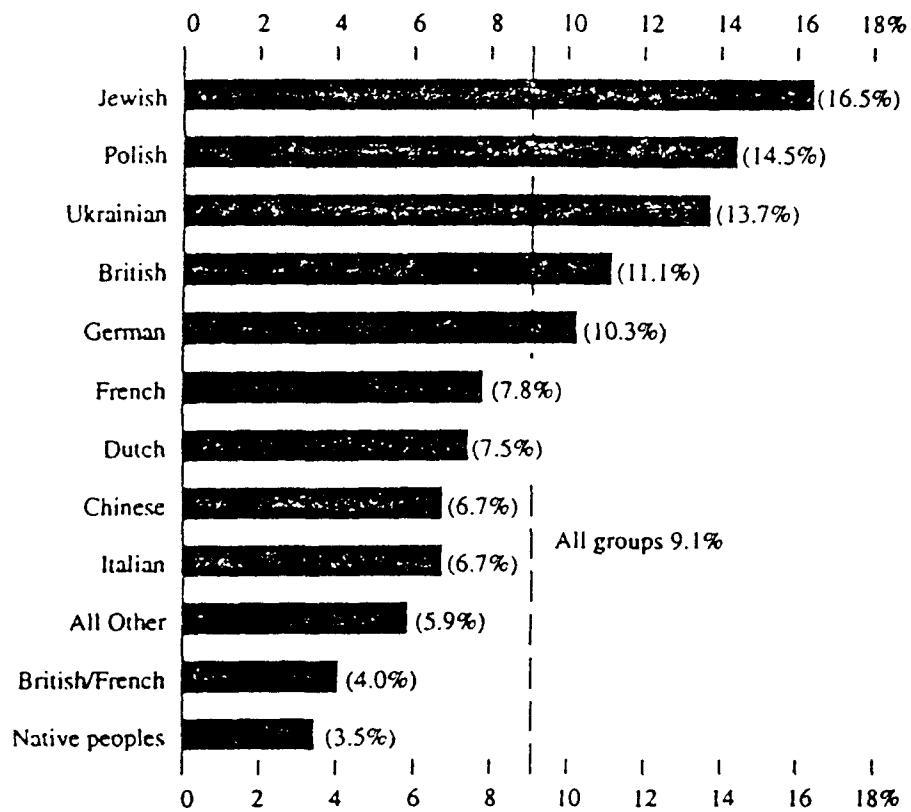
Place	Year	Name	Comments (nc=no care,lc=limited care) (hc=handicap)(nur=nursing care)
Sarnia	1972	Pineview	25 units, 1-bdrm, nc, CRC
St. Catharines	1973	Sunset Homes	51 units, 1-bdrm, nc, CRC
	1986	Tabitha Homes	35 units, 1-2 bdrm, nc, CRC
Waterdown	Early 1970's	Elim Villa	70 units 1-bdrm, nc, Free Ref
Burlington		1976	Maranatha Home
Chatham	1978	Fellowship Home	33 units, 1-2 bdrm, nc, CRC
	1988		68 units, 1-2 bdrm, nc, CRC
Brampton	1979	Holland Christian Homes	
	1979	Trinity Towers	101 1-bdrm, lc, CRC
	1982	Hope Tower	63 2-bdrm, 38 1-bdrm, lc, CRC
	1982	Ebenezer Center	cultural and recreational center
	1985	Covenant Tower	32 2-bdrm, 84 1-bdrm, lc, CRC
	1985	Faith Manor	120 unit, nur
	1994	Providence Tower	78 2-bdrm, 33 1-bdrm, lc, CRC
Grimsby	1979	Shalom Manor	30 units, 1-bdrm, nurs, CRC
		Home for the Aged	27 units, 2-bdrm, nurs, CRC
	1984		18 units, 1-bdrm, nurs, CRC
	1992		30 units, nursing wing, CRC
St Thomas	1979	Pine Tree Gardens	9 units, 1-bdrm, nc, CRC
			4 units, 2-bdrm
Nepean	1982	Eastern Ont. Christian	35 units, 1-bdrm, 3 hc,
		Citizens Co-op Homes Inc.	37 units, 2-bdrm, 3 hc, nc, CRC
Hamilton	1983	Ebenezer Villa	23 units, 1-bdrm, nc, Can.Ref.Ch
			5 units, 2-bdrm, 2 handicap units
	1991		5 units, nc, Can.Ref.Ch.

Dutch-Canadian Retirement Homes Built by the Reformed Community, continued

Place	Year	Name	Comments (nc=no care,lc=limited care) (hc=handicap)(nur=nursing care)
Strathroy	1983	Trillium Village	28 units, 1-bdrm, nc, CRC 12 units, 2-bdrm 5 handicap units
Holland Marsh	1988		25 units, nc, CRC
Aylmer	1984	Heritage Place	5 units, 1 bdrm, nc, CRC
Belleville	1984	Parkside Village	26 units, nc, CRC
		Quinte Sr. Citizen Home	27 units 1-bdrm, nc, Inter
Townsend	1984	Nanticoke Chr.Sr.Cit. Hm.	3 units 2-bdrm, denom
	1984	Parkview Meadows Ret. Village	
	1984	Valleyview	19 units, 2-bdrm, nc, Inter 11 units, 1-bdrm, nc, denom
	1991	Brookview	31 units, 2-bdrm, nc, Inter 4 units, 1-bdrm, nc, denom
	1991	Southview	29 bedsitting units, nc
	1991	Parkview	dining rm, library, rec center
Milton	1985	Mount Nebo Lodge	60 longterm care beds, CanRefCh
Whitby	1987	Durham Christian Homes	66 units, 1-bdrm, 48 units, 2-bdrm, nc, CRC/RCA 10 units, 1-bdrm handicapped
Hamilton	1988	Wellingstone Christian Homes	48 units, 2-bdrm, nc, CRC 4 units, 1-bdrm,
Kingston	1989	Dutch Heritage Villa	35 units, nc, Interdenominational
Woodbridge	1996	Bethesda Christian Homes	39 units, 1-2 bdrm, 60 carewing units, lc
Brampton	1996	King's Terrace	75 units, 1,2,3-bdrm, nc

Q Canadians Aged 65 and Over by Ethnic Background

Table 1 Population 65 Years and Over as a Percentage of the Total Population for Selected Ethnic Groups, Canada, 1981



SOURCE: *Elderly in Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1984.

R Rationale for Christian Retirement Residences and Nursing Homes (Reproduced from Shalom Manor Handbook)

shalom manor

SHALOM MANOR PHILOSOPHY OF CARE

- * We believe, as a Reformed Christian Community, in the value of Christian principles for our daily lives, as found in the Word of God:

Therefore, our environment and programs are designed to encourage and demonstrate the knowledge and experience of these Christian principles. Living according to these principles we recognize and respect the culture, ethnicity, family traditions, community, language and spiritual beliefs of each individual.

- * We believe we are created in the image of God and that each individual being is unique and of infinite value:

Therefore, the quality of our daily experiences should reflect Christ-like compassion, human dignity and respect for each individual.

- * We believe in a Christ-centred lifestyle and organization:

Therefore, we strive to create a wholesome Christian atmosphere through worship and study programs, daily devotions and pastoral services.

- * We believe in the importance and value of qualified, content and fulfilled staff:

Therefore, we encourage ongoing education to all staff members, providing them with a safe and challenging environment, respectful of their needs and spiritual well-being.

- * We believe in the value of Christian stewardship:

Therefore, we promote and support the concept of responsible management, providing quality care and services on a non-profit basis, in partnership with government and community programs and services, using our gifts and resources from God to their fullest potential.

- * We believe we are all part of a broader Christian community:

Therefore, we encourage involvement of volunteers to enhance the quality of life for both the residents and the community.

Rationale for Christian Retirement Residences and Nursing Homes, continued (Reproduced from Shalom Manor Handbook)

shalom manor

The **MISSION STATEMENT** of SHALOM MANOR is:

- * To operate as a Christian, ethnic, private, non-profit long term care facility in conjunction with its member churches, various community/health care agencies and government.
- * To provide a continuum of care with dignity and respect to the elderly, particularly but not exclusively, members of the Christian Reformed Churches in Ontario.
- * To provide and promote a strong Christian and cultural environment which meets the physical, emotional, social and spiritual needs of the individual and which is designed to achieve an optimum quality of life.

ADVOCACY

1. You and/or your appointed representative shall be encouraged and supported to participate in the planning and evaluation of programs and services;
2. You and/or your appointed representative shall be informed of opportunities to participate in your own interdisciplinary care conferences;
3. You and/or your appointed representative shall be encouraged to participate in the assessment, planning, provision and evaluation of your care;
4. With your consent, your representative shall have access to and an explanation of your plan of care and shall receive assistance to read and understand the record;

Note: If you are unable to give consent, the person who is lawfully authorized to make decisions regarding personal care shall have access to your plan of care.

5. You shall be informed of advocacy/support agencies which can assist you in promoting your rights;
6. You shall be assisted in accessing advocacy/support agencies according to your requests.

RESIDENTS BILL OF RIGHTS

The Ontario Government, in the new Long Term Care Program Facility Manual, requires that you are being made aware of the Residents' Bill of Rights. You should be aware that the Canadian Charter of Rights has a much broader scope and may possibly override some of the following articles. Shalom Manor will endeavour to uphold these rights for you within the limitations of our physical facility and available resources. You have the right to:

- * be treated with courtesy and respect and in a way that fully recognizes the Resident's dignity and individuality and to be free from mental and physical abuse;

S Correlations

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

Correlation:

	DUTCH	DUTCAN	COMMIT1	COMMIT2	RELCHI1	FROSGR1	DUTCHO1
DUTCH	1.000	-.242	-.039	.014	-.084	.085	.102
DUTCAN	-.242	1.000	.118	.102	.087	.134	.067
COMMIT1	-.039	.118	1.000	.000	.663	.389	.153
COMMIT2	.014	.102	.000	1.000	.086	.282	.454
RELCHI1	-.084	.087	.663	.086	1.000	.264	.071
FROSGR1	.085	.134	.389	.282	.264	1.000	.262
DUTCHO1	.102	.067	.153	.454	.071	.262	1.000
VISGSR1	.049	.157	.356	.174	.287	.417	.125
NOGROU	-.009	-.060	-.058	.072	-.039	-.046	.013
ORGFOM1	-.092	-.015	-.214	-.317	-.132	-.275	-.199
WORKPL1	.014	.046	.062	-.028	.060	.053	-.066
LANGUS1	.224	.289	.185	.052	.079	.244	.082
CULTUR1	.126	.205	.299	.255	.231	.284	.214
HELPAR1	.059	.164	.144	-.044	.074	.167	-.079
RECPRC1	-.014	.029	.038	-.011	-.030	-.018	.014
OTHERGR	-.035	-.226	-.022	-.005	-.050	.001	-.026
OTHERGR	-.035	-.226	-.022	-.005	-.050	.001	-.026
CHUCOM1	.051	.107	.398	.350	.243	.411	.251

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* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

PACHCO1	.009	-.122	-.153	.001	.368	-.193	-.043
CHUCOP1	.051	.107	.398	.350	.243	.411	.251
FULLTIME	-.104	-.167	-.211	.017	-.081	-.213	.040
CALVIN	.074	.047	.398	.484	.256	.458	.346
NOREL	.140	-.097	-.577	-.001	-.540	-.234	-.081
OTHER	-.066	-.153	-.052	-.024	-.120	-.243	.056
GEN	-.070	-.148	-.109	-.007	-.082	-.165	.060
AGE	.111	.181	.200	.078	.036	.221	-.014
Q3	.030	.077	.080	-.099	.018	.046	-.031
Q8	-.138	.033	.170	.022	.039	.099	.080
Q57	-.009	.016	.015	-.009	-.018	.107	.005
Q58	.003	-.182	-.117	-.037	-.017	-.223	-.035
Q61	-.055	-.050	-.151	.012	-.107	-.187	.057
Q27A	.005	-.095	-.125	.008	.391	-.162	-.039
Q36	-.012	.084	.302	.319	.195	.376	.203
LENGTH	-.055	-.076	.100	-.039	-.012	.058	.037
PARTTIME	.042	.062	.074	.051	.036	.093	.067

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

	VISGSR1	NOGROU	ORGFOM1	WORKPL1	LANGUS1	CULTUR1	HELPA1
DUTCH	.049	-.009	-.092	.014	.224	.126	.059
DUTCAN	.157	-.060	-.015	.046	.289	.205	.164
COMMIT1	.356	-.058	-.214	.062	.185	.299	.144
COMMIT2	.174	.072	-.317	-.028	.052	.255	-.044
RELCHI1	.287	-.039	-.132	.060	.079	.231	.074
FROSGR1	.417	-.046	-.275	.053	.244	.284	.167
DUTCHO1	.125	.013	-.199	-.066	.082	.214	-.079
VISGSR1	1.000	-.088	-.147	.154	.304	.280	.217
NOGROU	-.088	1.000	.057	-.017	-.058	-.008	-.034
ORGFOM1	-.147	.057	1.000	-.036	-.099	-.273	-.086
WORKPL1	.154	-.017	-.036	1.000	.253	.099	.319
LANGUS1	.304	-.058	-.099	.253	1.000	.347	.587
CULTUR1	.280	-.008	-.273	.099	.347	1.000	.207
HELPA1	.217	-.034	-.086	.319	.587	.207	1.000
RECPRC1	-.125	.173	.011	-.057	-.069	.013	-.128
OTHERGR	-.086	-.009	.068	-.033	-.099	-.077	-.089
CHUCOM1	.290	-.083	-.666	-.043	.114	.368	.074
PACHCO1	-.121	-.011	.164	-.042	-.160	-.051	-.133
CHUCO1	.290	-.083	-.666	-.043	.114	.368	.074

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* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

FULLTIME	-.263	.052	.112	<u>-.348</u>	-.446	-.193	-.404
CALVIN	.357	-.042	-.449	-.013	.098	.396	.094
NOREL	-.195	-.013	.137	-.030	-.074	-.111	-.109
OTHER	-.269	.140	.017	-.038	-.153	-.196	-.138
GEN	-.220	.022	.112	-.353	-.583	-.242	-.824
AGE	.220	.009	-.147	.273	.704	.196	.748
Q3	.042	.043	-.072	.006	.194	.075	.112
Q8	.083	.022	-.076	.180	-.232	.060	-.172
Q57	.021	-.014	-.015	.051	.185	.066	.248
Q58	-.269	.014	.236	-.182	-.427	-.103	-.333
Q61	-.204	.017	.044	-.182	-.424	-.129	-.473
Q27A	-.096	-.014	.151	.004	-.106	-.034	-.080
Q36	.154	-.031	-.305	-.016	.055	.307	-.005
LENGTH	.073	.037	-.021	-.033	-.007	-.091	.062
PARTTIME	.018	-.017	-.035	<u>-.264</u>	-.060	.078	-.171

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

	RECPRC1	OTHERGR	CHUCOM1	PACHCO1	CHUCO1	FULLTIME	CALVIN
DUTCH	-.014	-.035	.051	.009	.051	-.104	.074
DUTCAN	.029	-.226	.107	-.122	.107	-.167	.047
COMMIT1	.038	-.022	.398	-.153	.398	-.211	.398
COMMIT2	-.011	-.005	.350	.001	.350	.017	.484
RELCHI1	-.030	-.050	.243	.368	.243	-.081	.256
FROSGR1	-.018	.001	.411	-.193	.411	-.213	.458
DUTCHO1	.014	-.026	.251	-.043	.251	.040	.346
VISGSR1	-.125	-.086	.290	-.121	.290	-.263	.357
NOGROUP	.173	-.009	-.083	-.011	-.083	.052	-.042
ORGFOM1	.011	.068	-.666	.164	-.666	.112	-.449
WORKPL1	-.057	-.033	-.043	-.042	-.043	-.348	-.013
LANGUS1	-.069	-.099	.114	-.160	.114	-.446	.098
CULTUR1	.013	-.077	.368	-.051	.368	-.193	.396
HELPAR1	-.128	-.089	.074	-.133	.074	-.404	.094
RECPRC1	1.000	.165	-.048	-.053	-.048	-.025	-.037
OTHERGR	.165	1.000	-.060	.013	-.060	.095	-.003
CHUCOM1	-.048	-.060	1.000	-.183	1.000	-.096	.571
PACHCO1	-.053	.013	-.183	1.000	-.183	.212	-.126
CHUCO1	-.048	-.060	1.000	-.183	1.000	-.096	.571

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* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

FULLTIME	-.025	.095	-.096	.212	-.096	1.000	-.113
CALVIN	-.037	-.003	.571	-.126	.571	-.113	1.000
NOREL	-.013	.105	-.255	.050	-.255	.097	-.238
OTHER	.106	.065	-.117	-.049	-.117	.136	-.301
GEN	.105	.083	-.092	.103	-.092	.408	-.113
AGE	-.088	-.075	.114	-.211	.114	-.456	.143
Q3	.072	-.069	.047	-.042	.047	-.390	-.002
Q8	.021	.013	.093	-.164	.093	.038	.155
Q57	-.040	-.052	.044	-.048	.044	-.104	.080
Q58	.098	.140	-.134	.189	-.134	.407	-.113
Q61	.057	.115	-.077	.075	-.077	.414	-.133
Q27A	-.063	.004	-.177	.974	-.177	.166	-.106
Q36	.047	-.013	.508	-.129	.508	-.026	.503
LENGTH	.009	-.035	.017	-.104	.017	-.097	.139
PARTTIME	.047	-.066	.105	-.025	.105	-.334	.132

* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

	NOREL	OTHER	GEN	AGE	Q3	Q8	Q57
DUTCH	.140	-.066	-.070	.111	.030	-.138	-.009
DUTCAN	-.097	-.153	-.148	.181	.077	.033	.016
COMMIT1	-.577	-.052	-.109	.200	.080	.170	.015
COMMIT2	-.001	-.024	-.007	.078	-.099	.022	-.009
RELCHI1	-.540	-.120	-.082	.036	.018	.039	-.018
FROSGR1	-.234	-.243	-.165	.221	.046	.099	.107
DUTCHO1	-.081	.056	.060	-.014	-.031	.080	.005
VISGSR1	-.195	-.269	-.220	.220	.042	.083	.021
NOGROU1	-.013	.140	.022	.009	.043	.022	-.014
ORGFOM1	.137	.017	.112	-.147	-.072	-.076	-.015
WORKPL1	-.030	-.038	-.353	.273	.006	.180	.051
LANGUS1	-.074	-.153	-.583	.704	.194	-.232	.185
CULTUR1	-.111	-.196	-.242	.196	.075	.060	.066
HELPAR1	-.109	-.138	-.824	.748	.112	-.172	.248
RECPRC1	-.013	.106	.105	-.088	.072	.021	-.040
OTHERGR	.105	.065	.083	-.075	-.069	.013	-.052
CHUCOM1	-.255	-.117	-.092	.114	.047	.093	.044
PACHCO1	.050	-.049	.103	-.211	-.042	-.164	-.048
CHUCOP1	-.255	-.117	-.092	.114	.047	.093	.044

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* * * * MULTIPLE REGRESSION * * * *

FULLTIME	.097	.136	.408	-.456	-.390	.038	-.104
CALVIN	-.238	-.301	-.113	.143	-.002	.155	.080
NOREL	1.000	-.092	.101	-.133	.028	-.141	-.077
OTHER	-.092	1.000	.138	-.079	-.048	-.003	-.097
GEN	.101	.138	1.000	-.783	-.106	.237	-.232
AGE	-.133	-.079	-.783	1.000	.094	-.247	.219
Q3	.028	-.048	-.106	.094	1.000	-.108	.051
Q8	-.141	-.003	.237	-.247	-.108	1.000	-.077
Q57	-.077	-.097	-.232	.219	.051	-.077	1.000
Q58	.113	.106	.370	-.464	-.170	.170	-.197
Q61	.138	.101	.520	-.447	-.140	.322	-.144
Q27A	.035	-.067	.034	-.151	-.047	-.171	-.024
Q36	-.146	-.091	-.035	.065	.012	.063	-.037
LENGTH	-.060	-.025	-.005	.138	.011	-.046	.040
PARTTIME	-.015	-.079	.169	-.155	.234	.072	-.078

***** MULTIPLE REGRESSION *****

	Q58	Q61	Q27A	Q36	LENGTH	PARTTIME
DUTCH	.003	-.055	.005	-.012	-.055	.042
DUTCAN	-.182	-.050	-.095	.084	-.076	.062
COMMIT1	-.117	-.151	-.125	.302	.100	.074
COMMIT2	-.037	.012	.008	.319	-.039	.051
RELCHI1	-.017	-.107	.391	.195	-.012	.036
FROSGR1	-.223	-.187	-.162	.376	.058	.093
DUTCHO1	-.035	.057	-.039	.203	.037	.067
VISGSR1	-.269	-.204	-.096	.154	.073	.018
NOGROUP	.014	.017	-.014	-.031	.037	-.017
ORGFOM1	.236	.044	.151	-.305	-.021	-.035
WORKPL1	-.182	-.182	.004	-.016	-.033	-.264
LANGUS1	-.427	-.424	-.106	.055	-.007	-.060
CULTUR1	-.103	-.129	-.034	.307	-.091	.078
HELPAR1	-.333	-.473	-.080	-.005	.062	-.171
RECPRC1	.098	.057	-.063	.047	.009	.047
OTHERGR	.140	.115	.004	-.013	-.035	-.066
CHUCOM1	-.134	-.077	-.177	.508	.017	.105
PACHCO1	.189	.075	.974	-.129	-.104	-.025
CHUCOP1	-.134	-.077	-.177	.508	.017	.105

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***** MULTIPLE REGRESSION *****

FULLTIME	.407	.414	.166	-.026	-.097	-.334
CALVIN	-.113	-.133	-.106	.503	.139	.132
NOREL	.113	.138	.035	-.146	-.060	-.015
OTHER	.106	.101	-.067	-.091	-.025	-.079
GEN	.370	.520	.034	-.035	-.005	.169
AGE	-.464	-.447	-.151	.065	.138	-.155
Q3	-.170	-.140	-.047	.012	.011	.234
Q8	.170	.322	-.171	.063	-.046	.072
Q57	-.197	-.144	-.024	-.037	.040	-.078
Q58	1.000	.339	.149	-.003	-.204	.024
Q61	.339	1.000	.025	-.037	-.120	-.003
Q27A	.149	.025	1.000	-.114	-.107	-.039
Q36	-.003	-.037	-.114	1.000	.062	.072
LENGTH	-.204	-.120	-.107	.062	1.000	.027
PARTTIME	.024	-.003	-.039	.072	.027	1.000

T Common Abbreviations

CEC - Christelijke Emigratie Centrale (Christian Emigration Society)
CIS - Catholic Immigrant Services
CNIC - Canadian Netherlands Immigration Council (Society of the Reformed churches)
CNO - Catholic Netherlands Organization
CRC - Christian Reformed Church
RCA - Reformed Church of America
KCES - Katholieke Centrale Emigratie-Stichting (Catholic Central Emigration Society)
RSSC - Rural Settlement Society of Canada
SCER - Societe Canadienne d'Establissement Rural
CARNET - The Canadian Aging Research Network, 1993
GRASP - Generational Relations and Succession Project, 1980
CSAA - Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association
IADL - Instrumental activities of daily living
ADL - Basic activities of daily living
ECI - Ethnic Cultural Identity Index
SEI - Symbolic Ethnic Identity Index
OSSTA - Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Association
RE Project - Resurgence of Ethnicity Project
SWCU Project - St. Willibrord's Credit Union Project