

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND SECULAR ATTITUDES

AND BEHAVIOUR

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION  
AND  
SECULAR ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR

By  
GRACE MERLE ANDERSON, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Grace M. Anderson, B.A. (McMaster University)

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

Consideration is given in this thesis to the relationship of religious affiliation of Catholics, Anglicans and Other Major Protestant denominations, to secular attitudes and reported behaviour. The latter is analyzed in terms of the political, as manifested in voting preferences, and the economic, as illustrated by attitudes toward work and reported behaviour in leisure periods. Leisure time activity was examined in the areas of reading, hobbies and visiting of friends and relatives. The data used in this study was obtained from The McMaster Study of Life in the City conducted in the North End of the City of Hamilton, Ontario in the summer of 1962.

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G. M. Anderson

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# I

## INTRODUCTION

### Religious Affiliation and Its Secular Implications

Since the time of Emile Durkheim and Max Weber consideration of the secular implications of religious affiliation has been an area worthy of attention to the sociologist. However, although much interest was aroused in this subject around the beginning of this century, during the succeeding years the subject was gradually allowed to drop until the works of Troeltsch, Liston Pope and Richard Niebuhr reawakened interest in this field. This was followed by a further period of quiescence. More recently there has been a resurgence of interest in the sociology of religion.<sup>1</sup> This is emphasized by the translation into English of some of the older works, and also by the relatively large numbers of original publications on the subject.

However, as J. Milton Yinger indicates, 'the testing of theoretically significant propositions by the use of controlled observation has been in short supply'.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, of the studies conducted, some of the conclusions reached have been based upon dubious or faulty methods of data

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<sup>1</sup>See Charles Y. Glock "The Sociology of Religion" in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., eds., Sociology Today, (New York, Basic Books 1959), pp. 153-177.

<sup>2</sup>J. Milton Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, (New York, Macmillan, 1963), p. 7.

# I

## INTRODUCTION

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<sup>2</sup>J. Milton Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion. (New York, Macmillan, 1963), p. 7.

analysis, as Gerhard Lenski has pointed out, in a number of instances, in his book, The Religious Factor.<sup>3</sup>

### The Importance of a Study of Religion to Sociological Research

The study of religion is central to the study of sociology.

J. Milton Yinger has rightly emphasized this point when he states:

To study the sociology of religion is to work with most of the major areas of current interest in the analysis of society and culture. Without careful attention to religious groups and behaviour, one leaves serious gaps in his study of social stratification, social change, intergroup relations, political sociology, bureaucracy, community studies, social consensus and dissensus, the sociology of conflict, and the developmental processes in newly formed nations -- to mention several areas of current research interest.<sup>4</sup>

Since the study of the sociology of religion is central to the furtherance of the study of sociology itself, and since there is a dearth of good empirical material on this subject, and since a very small fraction of the empirically-based studies published have been conducted in Canada, there is therefore ample justification for study in this area. One of the editors of Canadian Society has written:

A just appreciation of the actual importance of religious institutions considered as cause and consequence within Canadian society, awaits an effort at sociological analysis on a scale that so far has not been undertaken.<sup>5</sup>

This thesis represents an endeavour to fill a small part of the gap that exists in our knowledge of Canadian society.

<sup>3</sup>Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor, (New York, Doubleday, Anchor, 1963), pp. 83, 84, 162.

<sup>4</sup>Yinger, op.cit., pp. 7 & 8.

<sup>5</sup>Bernard R. Blishen, Frank E. Jones, Kaspar Naegle, John Porter, eds., Canadian Society, (Toronto, Macmillan, 1961), p. 371.

One of the outstanding empirically-based studies, with an adequate theoretical framework, to be published in recent years is The Religious Factor by Gerhard Lenski. It reports the findings of a large team of researchers, working in the Detroit area, during the years 1952 to 1958. An attempt is made to trace some of the ramifications of religious association and sub-community life, in secular institutions and to determine whether religion influences the latter or whether a spurious correlation is at work. Although tests of significance are included throughout Lenski's report, the author writes:

At best, tests of significance are a poor substitute for the test of replication. Judgments about social relationships are far more reliable when based on the findings of two, three, four or more independent samples than when based on any single sample.<sup>6</sup>

It is this test of replication that I propose carrying out in so far as the data are available from The McMaster Study of Life in the City, a survey carried out in the North End of Hamilton in the summer of 1962. In this thesis my concern is to study the differences in the unintended by-products of religious affiliation in Catholic, Anglican and "Other Major Protestant" groups, as they are manifested in secular activity.

#### Canadian and American Studies

Research projects conducted in Canada tend to look toward similar studies conducted a few hundred miles to the south, in the United States. While many of the latter provide useful "guide lines", yet it must be remembered that, in many of its aspects, Canadian society provides both a

<sup>6</sup>Lenski, op.cit., p. 368.

\*See p. 220 for location of the area.

contrast to, as well as a continuity with, its neighbouring nation.

As John Porter has pointed out in his study of The Economic Elite<sup>7</sup> in Canada, there is an association between economic activity and religious affiliation, and between religious and ethnic roles. It is quite evident from research that the religious affiliation of the individual is also linked to his social class origins. Although this is also true for the United States, the location of the majority of the members of a particular denomination in one segment of the social class system may or may not be identical for the two countries. For example, the 'English speaking economic elite in Canada have been attracted to Anglicanism as a religion. In the United States, although many of the great entrepreneurs were Baptist, it would appear that at present Episcopalianism has become the religion of the corporate elite'.<sup>8</sup> The historical development of Church and State relationships has been different in the two countries. As S.D. Clarke has indicated, the Anglican Church was, at one time, the state church in certain areas of Canada.<sup>9</sup> This was very different from the situation in many areas of the United States at a similar time period.

In The Developing Canadian Community, S.D. Clark has presented several of the historical factors which have contributed to the differences between the United States and Canada. He writes:

Upper Canada inherited the strong religious tradition of the American frontier but shared in little of the

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<sup>7</sup> John Porter, extract from "The Economic Elite and the Social Structure in Canada", in B. Blishen et al., op.cit., p. 494.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 494.

<sup>9</sup> See S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada. (Toronto, Univ. of Toronto, 1948).

equally strong rationalist tradition associated with the great eastern universities and with the political and social thought growing out of the American and French revolutions.<sup>10</sup>

He states also that religion has had a far greater influence in Canada than in the United States and that the free play of economic forces has been checked in Canada by political, cultural and religious influences.

The peculiar political and cultural insecurity of the country in the face of, first, the rapid expansion of the neighbour to the south, and second, the deeply embedded and often bitter ethnic and regional dissensions among the population has led to a considerable dependence upon religion as a force in maintaining community solidarity. At no time has religion assumed an insignificant role in the life of the Canadian community. On occasion, it has been a force of dominant importance.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, in contrast to the situation in the United States, the sects in Canada have been less important in breaking down the organized religious structure, but rather they were incorporated into the latter and were supported by the whole colonial political system. Clark concludes that they were therefore less important in 'releasing the energies of the population for economic pursuits'.<sup>12</sup> He assumes that the ethical system of economic enterprise is opposed in many ways to that of religion.

Clark also notes that there is a greater emphasis on tradition

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<sup>10</sup>S.D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community, (Toronto, Univ. of Toronto, 1962) p. 180.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 168-9.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 180.



in Canada and this he attributes to the absence of a great political or social upheaval in this country. Canada retained her ties with Britain as a colony, a dominion and as a member country of the Commonwealth. In the United States on the other hand, there was a sharp break with the past at the time of the American Revolution. But for Canada

At no time in their history have the people turned their back on the past and placed their whole faith in the future. The lack of such an emotional experience has affected the development of all aspects of Canadian society. It is this which accounts for what is most distinctive in the national character.<sup>13</sup>

Kaspar Naegele has written:

The difference lies elsewhere: cultural values and social patterns in Canada, in contrast to the United States, seem more muted. The same values are valued --but with much more hesitancy.<sup>14</sup>

He indicates four areas of differentiation between Canada and the United States. There is less emphasis on equality in Canada and a greater acceptance of limitation of the hierarchical pattern. There is less optimism, less faith in the future, less willingness to risk capital or reputation. Moreover, Canada is a country of marginality.

Canadian society finds itself encompassed by a cultural triangle which reaches out to embrace the United States, Great Britain and France. Within Canada, society gravitates around two main cultural centres, English Canadian and French Canadien. In addition there are many diverse

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>14</sup> Kaspar Naegele, "Some Reflections", in B. Blishen et. al., op.cit., p. 27.

ethnic and cultural groups within its boundaries. However, there is an overall unity of Canadian society which nevertheless binds together a diversity incorporating important alternatives. This diversity is apparent at several levels. The groups to which members adhere may, in many cases, be overlapping. There are divisions of class, of rural and urban background, as well as religious membership, to name just a few of the many possible variables.<sup>15</sup>

Several decades ago, in the United States, the "melting pot" theory was propounded.<sup>16</sup> It was assumed that, when mass immigration ceased, North America would eventually attain one common culture. That which was deemed of most value from each ethnic group would be retained and absorbed and the balance would be dropped with the passage of time. Now that immigration in the United States has been reduced from a torrent to a trickle American social scientists are reassessing the situation. Ruby Jo Kennedy has contributed an enlightening study entitled "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage in New Haven, 1870-1950".<sup>17</sup> In it she has shown that the pattern of intermarriage has been changing through the years, from being based formerly on national-origin endogamy to being based currently on religious endogamy. The latter falls into three broad categories in the United States, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish endogamy.

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<sup>15</sup>See Naegle in ibid., pp. 1-53.

<sup>16</sup>See Zangwill in Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1959), p. 156.

<sup>17</sup>Ruby Jo Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage in New Haven, 1870-1940." in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLIX, Jan. 1944.

Will Herberg in his book Protestant, Catholic and Jew<sup>18</sup> has further generalized and developed this theme. In speaking of American society he has shown that these three subcultures are all subsumed under the secular "American Way of Life". Nottingham considers this to be a more or less secularised version of the values of religious origin -- activism, universalism and individualism.<sup>19</sup>

Lenski has gone further than Herberg in his religious subdivision and has split the Protestant group racially into negro and white sections in contrast to each other and to Catholic and Jewish subcultures.

On the Canadian scene, Naegele has proposed that there are three dominant religious contrasts, the Roman Catholic, (especially in its French Canadian version), the Anglican and the Calvinist-Presbyterian. (Of course there is marginal and middle ground between them. This triangle is embedded, in the wider contrasts of Christian, Jew and the many that are neither.)<sup>20</sup>

The Roman Catholic group might be subdivided into Irish, Italian and many other European groups in addition to the French Canadian socio-religious subculture. The Anglican looks towards its English mother-church whereas the Calvinist-Presbyterian finds at least two main groups of adherents, those from Scotland and those from central and north-west Europe.

<sup>18</sup>Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, (New York, Doubleday Anchor, 1960).

<sup>19</sup>See Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Religion and Society, (New York, Random House, 1954) p. 73.

<sup>20</sup>Kaspar Naegele in B. Blishen et al., op.cit., p. 52.

### Immigration

Canada is still receiving immigrants. However, the percentage of the total population which they represent is not as great now as it was immediately prior to the First World War. In 1913 there was a 5% increase in the population through immigration whereas in 1957 the increase was only 1.7%.<sup>21</sup> In 1946-51 the number of immigrants arriving in Canada was 463,977, and in 1951-56 it was 783,161.<sup>22</sup>

This influx is not equally distributed over Canadian territory. 'As in previous years, Ontario and Quebec received the greater part of the influx.'<sup>23</sup> Many of the immigrants have sought employment in the large cities of these two provinces and certain cities, because of their thriving industries, are attracting more immigrants than other cities of comparable size. In Ontario, Toronto and Hamilton are well-known for the large proportion of immigrants which they receive. In the latter, the "North End" of the city is one of the areas where immigrants tend to settle and where they are replacing the British residents of the district who are tending to move towards the suburbs.

### The North End of Hamilton

At the outbreak of World War I the North End of Hamilton was occupied predominantly by English and Irish immigrants and their descen-

<sup>21</sup>N. Keyfitz "The Changing Canadian Population" in S.D. Clark, ed., Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society, (Toronto, Univ. of Toronto, 1961) p. 9.

<sup>22</sup>See Canada Year Book 1961, (Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics), p. 184.

<sup>23</sup>Canada 1963, (Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963), p. 26.

dants. English spinners and weavers particularly were attracted by the presence of the Canadian Cotton Mill in the vicinity. Gradually, the other ethnic groups began to move into the area.<sup>24</sup> Italians came, bringing with them both relatives and friends. In particular, Sicilians came from the village of Racalmuto, in Agrigento, Sicily. Informants state that there are now 8,000 Racalmaltese living in Hamilton, out of an original village population of 15,000.

French Canadians are now moving into the North End. Also Eastern Europeans, Poles, Ukrainians and Russians have entered the area, and more recently, Hungarians. There are relatively few Germans living in this district. A small number of negro and Japanese families make their home in this area. There is a notable absence of Jewish people in the North End.

Whereas at one time the Canadian Cotton Mill provided employment for many people, at the present it is the nearby steel mills which provide the most desirable jobs for the local people, that is, in terms of remuneration. The most important steel mills are The Steel Company of Canada, ("Stelco") and Dominion Foundries and Steel ("Dofasco").

In the present study conducted in the North End of Hamilton,<sup>25</sup> it was found that, when the population under consideration was divided

<sup>24</sup>See Canada Year Book, 1963. (Ottawa, Queen's Printer), pp. 199-207.

<sup>25</sup>The data utilised in this thesis was originally collected for "The McMaster Study of Life in the City" under the direction of Dr. Frank G. Vallee and Dr. Peter Pineo. It is popularly known as "The North End Study".

into immigrant generations the proportion was as follows:

|                   |        |   |        |
|-------------------|--------|---|--------|
| First generation  | 37.54% | ) | 62.79% |
| Second generation | 25.25% | ) |        |
| Third generation  | 14.68% | ) | 37.21% |
| Fourth generation | 22.53% | ) |        |

The first generation includes those who had arrived in this country at the age of sixteen or over. The fourth generation includes all those whose grandparents were all born in this country.

The proportion of first and second generation immigrants in this sample from Hamilton is much higher than that found in many studies in the United States. It is therefore probable that the "triple melting pot" has not yet become fully differentiated in this part of Canada. Whether it will ever so develop is a matter for theoretical debate. Among the 62.79% first and second generation immigrants it is expected that the correlates of the ethnic factor will modify the correlates of the religious factor. Herberg states:

One thing, however, he (the immigrant) is not expected to change and that is his religion. And so it is religion that with the third generation has become the differentiating element and the context of self-identification and social location.<sup>26</sup>

Herberg's statement is, of course open to discussion, and will be dealt with in more detail in a later section.

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<sup>26</sup>Herberg, op.cit., p. 23.

### Culture and Social Organization

Weber, in his book The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism<sup>27</sup> has attempted to demonstrate that there is an affiliation between the dominant religion of a culture and the secular institutions found within it.<sup>28</sup> Whereas the major emphasis in Weber is on the ideational element of religion, that of Durkheim is on the social organization, in the form of the integration of the individual into society. Durkheim has shown that behaviour in the non-sacred realm (e.g. suicide) can be linked to a social fact such as religious organization.<sup>29</sup>

Gerhard Lenski has attempted to combine both viewpoints in his study The Religious Factor. He writes:

it is both dangerous and misleading to suppose that theology provides the only basis for explaining differences among religious groups. Such differences are often a reflection of the influence of very mundane and materialistic forces -- such as the position of the group in the national hierarchy of status groups. Thus neither a materialistic nor an idealistic interpretation can fully explain the differences found among religious groups. Both sets of influences are operative most of the time.<sup>30</sup>

It is not the purpose of this thesis to propound a theory of religious determinism, but rather to attempt to answer the questions,

<sup>27</sup>Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons, (New York, Scribner's, 1958).

<sup>28</sup>See page 36 for a more detailed discussion of this subject.

<sup>29</sup>See page 31 for a more detailed discussion of this topic.

<sup>30</sup>Gerhard Lenski, op.cit., p. 184.

What are some of the areas of secular life which are associated with a particular religious affiliation? and, Why should this be so?

The Weber Thesis Applied to Detroit, Michigan and to  
Hamilton, Ontario

Lenski's recent Detroit area study has indicated that Weber's concept the "Protestant ethic" is time bound. That is, the emphasis on worldly asceticism combined with the concept of the intrinsic worth of work, was capable of generating modern rational bourgeois capitalism but may not be necessary for keeping the system in motion in its advanced stages of development. At the present time in North America the emphasis seems to be on credit buying rather than on saving to the point where even the banks are advertising, "The difference between wishing and having is a ... loan". The slogan of travel agencies has become "Go now, pay later". The trade unions are advocating a shorter work week for the general good of the economy so that more of their members may find employment.

As Lenski has indicated:

this concept (the Protestant ethic) is one which is temporally limited. That is to say, the Protestant Ethic was a constellation of characteristics which occurred in conjunction with one another at a particular period in history. But like astronomical constellations, some of the elements involved have slowly drifted apart so that the constellation has lost its original character.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Gerhard Lenski, op.cit., p. 358.



As Thomas O'Dea had already intimated in *American Catholic Dilemma*,<sup>32</sup> the elements of the "calling" and "economic asceticism" are no longer part of this constellation of the Protestant Ethic in the United States. There are indications that this statement may also apply to Canada at the present time. In his study Lenski states that:

we have not found much evidence that the doctrine of the "calling" is a vital force in contemporary American Protestantism. Neither does our evidence suggest that present-day Detroit Protestants are strongly committed to economic asceticism.<sup>33</sup>

However, Lenski's study did provide "striking support" for Weber's thesis that:

each of the major religions of the world develops its own distinctive orientation toward all of the major phases of human activity, and thus comes to exercise an influence on the development of other major institutional systems in society, an influence which cannot be accounted for merely in economic terms.<sup>34</sup>

In particular Lenski's study confirmed Weber's hypotheses which were developed for an earlier era, namely,

- 1) Protestants are more likely than Catholics to rise in the economic system.
- 2) Protestants tend to have a weaker extended family system.
- 3) Protestants view work differently than Catholics.
- 4) Catholics are more likely to adopt a traditionalistic orientation to life whereas Protestants are more likely to adopt a rationalistic orientation.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup>Thomas O'Dea, *American Catholic Dilemma*, (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1958), ch. IV.

<sup>33</sup>Lenski, *op.cit.*, p. 358.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 357

<sup>35</sup>See *ibid.*, p. 357.

This last finding is of great significance because it suggests one reason why the Catholics are less likely to be "successful" in economic enterprise. Our present system is committed to rationality and to the concept of "progress", which of course implies change. The Catholic ethic would therefore seem to be less compatible with the North American secular ethic.

With regard to the first three hypotheses, in as far as the collected data will permit, it is proposed to test these and see whether they are also applicable to the residents of the North End of Hamilton.

As far as Lenski's negative findings are concerned, in the area of economic asceticism and the concept of the "calling", my proposal is that Protestant North-enders, like the Detroit Protestants, will not be strongly committed to economic asceticism. On the other hand, first and second generation immigrants from more traditionally-minded Europe may still show evidence of a commitment to economic asceticism and to the "calling".

#### The Multilithic Structure of Protestantism and of Catholicism -- a discussion of diversity within unity

Within the two separate branches of the Christian Church, Catholic and Protestant each incorporates a basic unity of outlook and purpose. Nevertheless, this unity is seen to be composed of many intertwining strands, which may be derived from diverse sources.

#### (a) Protestantism: Church, Denomination and Sect

Ernst Troeltsch divides Christianity into two "Ideal-types", the church which endeavours to be universal and encompass the entire population

of a given area, and the sect which is a comparatively small group, aspiring after inward perfection and direct fellowship between the members.<sup>36</sup> The sects are connected with the lower classes whereas the churches are connected with the upper classes. The church, by its very structure, has to accommodate itself to society, but the sect prides itself upon being different from and separate from society.

S.D. Clark has added a third category, the denomination. This might be considered as occupying an intermediate position between the church and the sect. Usually this group has commenced as a sect and is in the process of becoming a church. In our North End study, the Protestant sample has been divided as follows:

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| Church type  | Anglican   |
| Denomination | Major Protestant groups, e.g. United Church, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Baptist |
| Sect type    | Minor Protestant groups, e.g. Jehovah's Witnesses and Mormons.               |

The numbers of respondents in the "sect type" were too small to be included in this study (N = 7) and have been discarded.

Because of the distinctive history and outlook of the Anglican church, its adherents have been treated as a separate group. In Canadian Protestantism, the Anglican Church most nearly approaches Troeltsch's church type. It was not until 1854 in Upper Canada that the policy of clergy reserves of large tracts of land, given by the State to this group, was abandoned. We would anticipate much less differentiation within the

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<sup>36</sup>See Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, (New York, Harper, 1960), Vol. I & II.

Anglican communion than is found within other Protestant groups, since the Anglicans, as their name indicates, are predominantly of Anglo-Saxon stock.

The major Protestant denominations are, for some purposes, presenting a united front as they join together in the Canadian Council of Churches. They frequently cooperate in missionary endeavours and some of these religious bodies produce joint publications. The denominations represented in the North End include Lutheran, Presbyterian, United Church and Baptist groups.

Lutheranism was originally a territorial church in Europe, although it has never held this status in Canada. The various Lutheran groups in Canada today show marks of the ethnic origin of its adherents.

The Presbyterians are frequently of Scottish or Central-European descent. Its organization shows many of the characteristics of the "church" type.

The United church was formed in 1925 of a union of Methodists, Congregational and some Presbyterian elements. It therefore had its origin in both sect type and denominational type. It may be observed that it has progressively become more church-like, with less stringent requirements for membership in recent years.

The Baptists are divided into Convention Baptists and Regular (or Fellowship) Baptists, with the former showing themselves to be nearer the "church-type" end of the continuum and the latter nearer the "sect-type" end.

Liston Pope in Millhands and Preachers names twenty-one characteristics of the "sect" which distinguishes it from the "church" type.<sup>37</sup> Churchness, he observes is correlated with high socio-economic status, and conversely sectness is associated with low socio-economic status. However, Russell Dynes in his study of this subject suggests that the differences between individuals affiliated with different religious bodies "are the result of socio-economic factors correlated with membership in certain denominations and are not just the simple consequences of doctrinal position."<sup>38</sup> Therefore

individuals of different denominations but equivalent socio-economic status may be more similar in certain religious attitudes than individuals of the same denomination who differ in socio-economic status.<sup>39</sup>

If this is so, and it seems to be confirmed by Lenski's study, then those of the major Protestant denominations (excluding Anglicans, for reasons previously mentioned) in the North End study should show a fair degree of similarity in attitudes and behaviour since they are mostly working-class people. "Eighty-six per cent of the household heads hold blue collar jobs . . . Those few who have white collar jobs include small storekeepers and clerical workers; in many respects they blend in with the blue collar workers making the area extremely homogeneous."<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup>Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers, (New Haven, Yale, 1942), pp. 122-124.

<sup>38</sup>Russell R. Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status" in Milton Yinger, ed., Religion, Society and the Individual, (New York, Macmillan, 1963), p. 478.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 479.

<sup>40</sup>Peter Pineo, Analysis of Marginals, Preliminary Report, North End Study, mimeo, (Ottawa, Carleton Univ., 1963), pp. 1 & 2.

In his preface to the revised edition of The Religious Factor Lenski answers his critics for failure to take into account the denominational differences within the Protestant group:

I found so few differences -- which I felt I could prove to the satisfaction of other sociologists -- had their origin in denominationalism that I eventually abandoned the effort. There are differences as I point out in appendix III, but those which can be shown to be statistically significant almost without exception vanish with controls for class or region of birth.<sup>41</sup>

In conclusion, then, the North End sample is to be divided into two groups of Protestants, -- Anglicans and Other Major Protestant Denominations. The latter become more homogeneous than their denominations as a whole, since the sample is drawn from the same area of residence and from a similar socio-economic background.

#### (b) Catholicism

Although the Catholic Church presents a united front vis a vis other religious groups, yet it should not be forgotten that it too has a multilithic structure. Falardeau writes that each order

has tended to specialize in a particular function of the total ministry of the church and to pursue this function among a given social segment of a particular country or of the Catholic world from which it has eventually drawn its members.<sup>42</sup>

Since the Catholic parishes offer similar services they will tend to operate in competition with each other. "Each order, having its own

<sup>41</sup>Lenski, op.cit., p. xi.

<sup>42</sup>Jean-C. Falardeau, "The Parish as an Institutional Type", in Blishen et. al., op.cit., p. 412.

religious style will get a parochial flock used to its manners and to a pattern of more personal relationships in the performance of its official or informal duties."<sup>43</sup>

However, in the North End of Hamilton differences between parishes appear to be predominantly ethnically-based.

Studies which have investigated Protestant and Catholic differences have sometimes attributed to religion that which could be better explained by reference to ethnicity.<sup>44</sup> It is probable that during the course of this research differences will be apparent between French Canadian, Irish, Italian and Eastern European Catholics. It is anticipated that these differences will be greatest among first generation immigrants.

#### Canadian Subcultural Trio

In spite of internal differentiation ~~my~~ this thesis maintains that there are in the North End of Hamilton, three basic and separate socio-religious subcultures, each with its distinctive ethos and behavioural patterns. Data will be examined in the following areas: economic, political, and kinship and friendship visiting patterns.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 420.

<sup>44</sup> See Rosen's comments on this subject, quoted on page 90.

### Purpose and Significance of this Thesis

It is the purpose of this thesis to determine whether religious affiliation is an important variable in relation to economic, political and family life. In this study of the North End of Hamilton, it is proposed to divide the sample into three groups, -- Catholic, Anglican, and Other Major Protestant Denominations. In certain cases ethnicity may be a more important variable than religion since many of the immigrants to Hamilton are of comparatively recent origin. The methodology employed will take the form of multivariate analysis.

Reasons for conducting this research are as follows:

1. To study the sociology of religion is to work in most of the areas of major interest to sociology.
2. There is a dearth of good empirically and theoretically based research in the area of the sociology of religion.
3. Few studies have attempted to show the influence of religion while controlling for ethnicity and socio-economic class.
4. There have been no comprehensive studies yet done in Canada in the sociology of religion. (As noted earlier, there are several ways in which Canada differs from the United States, and therefore extrapolation from American studies may not always be justified.)
5. Tests of replication are needed for Gerhard Lenski's



study The Religious Factor to confirm or disconfirm the important findings contained therein. My research will include an attempt to replicate part of Lenski's study.

It therefore follows that this thesis should prove to be a very significant research study, which will expand our knowledge of Canadian Society and the relative importance of religious affiliation within that society. In so doing it will fill in some of the present gaps of sociological knowledge in this country and may prove to have wider application.

## II

### THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Although all the major religious bodies in the Western world emphasize that religion should influence behaviour in all areas of life, yet a recent survey has shown that the majority of laymen consider that religion has no effect on politics or in business.<sup>45</sup> In spite of popular opinion to the contrary, studies in the last decade have shown that religious affiliation is related to voting behaviour, social class, occupational choice, rates of deviance, etc. This relationship has been shown still to hold, even if the religious affiliation group consists of only marginal members. (i.e. those who very seldom or never attend the services or meetings of the religious group to which they claim to belong.)<sup>46</sup>

Sociologists are faced with two important questions in the area of the association of religious affiliation and secular behaviour and attitudes.

1. How do religious communities maintain the differences in their "way of life"?

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<sup>45</sup>American Institute of Public Opinion survey quoted in Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, (New York, Macmillan, 1963), p. 25.

<sup>46</sup>See Lenski, op.cit., especially discussions of associational as compared with communal involvement.

2. Why should religion, and especially nominal affiliation, influence secular behaviour, and how have these differences arisen?

This chapter will attempt to present some of the answers to these two important questions.

### How Religious Communities Maintain Their Differences

When we consider religious membership, as claimed by the respondent, there are two factors which should be distinguished. In the first place, association, as measured by Lenski through

- a) attendance at worship services,
- b) attendance at some church-related group activity,

and secondly, the socio-religious subcommunity involvement, which is evaluated by

- a) marriage partner's religious alignment,
- b) religious affiliation of the majority of the respondent's relatives,
- c) religious affiliation of the majority of the respondent's friends.<sup>47</sup>

Both aspects are included in the term socio-religious groups, although there is very little correlation between associational and communal involvement, as shown by Lenski's data.<sup>48</sup>

Studies indicate that religious groups tend to be endogamous. Ruby Jo Kennedy showed that, in New Haven, religious affiliation was a

<sup>47</sup>See Lenski, op.cit., p. 23.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

more important factor than ethnicity in the selection of a marriage partner.<sup>49</sup> In Canada in 1957 the percentage of interfaith marriages has been stated as follows:

|            |                    |
|------------|--------------------|
| Protestant | 11.6%              |
| Catholic   | 11.5%              |
| Jews       | 6.8% <sup>50</sup> |

The Canadian rate in 1957 is almost identical with that found in the special census in the United States during the same year.<sup>51</sup> It would appear then that the majority of families on this continent are religiously endogamous.

With religious homogeneity there would be a strong tendency for the children of the families concerned to be socialized to the value system of the religious group of the parents. Moreover, religious transfer of membership is relatively uncommon and has been estimated at less than five per cent.<sup>52</sup> It is significant that interfaith marriage has been referred to as the 'most sensitive index of separation'<sup>53</sup> of religious groups.

In The Religious Factor Gerhard Lenski found that respondents in the Detroit area made their friends mostly within their own religious groups (i.e. White Protestant, Negro Protestant, Catholic or Jewish).

<sup>49</sup>Kennedy, op.cit., p. 23.

<sup>50</sup>David M. Heer, "The Trend of Interfaith Marriages in Canada: 1922-1957", American Sociological Review, (Apr. 1962).

<sup>51</sup>Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, p. 85.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 81.

Therefore, the majority of people, states Lenski, tend to grow up in and to continue their social contacts within one socio-religious group which is a subculture with its own attitudes to life. Studies of voluntary organizations indicate that they are frequently split along religious lines, in addition to racial cleavages.<sup>54</sup>

It can readily be recognized that where the family is religiously homogeneous, as the majority of North American families are, the children will be primarily exposed to the value systems of one socio-religious subculture in their early formative years. Since friends of parents are also predominantly of this same group, they will reinforce the values learned in the home. In the case of Catholic children who attend Separate schools, we would expect the association with teachers and with peer group to further intensify the internalization of the Catholic value system.

Elizabeth Nottingham has suggested with regard to religion and organized, voluntary organizations:

since by their very nature Protestant congregations are rather loosely organized voluntary groups, they function best if their members feel at home with one another . . . Religious organizations whose participants experience their togetherness sacramentally rather than socially, most notably the Catholic Church, have been the most effective in bringing together members of diverse social classes. The less inclusive character of Protestant churches also extends to racial and ethnic groups.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>See Myhra S. Minnis, "Cleavage in Women's Organizations", in Robert W. O'Brien, Clarence C. Schrag, Walter T. Martin, eds., Readings in General Sociology, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1957), pp. 22-28.

<sup>55</sup>Nottingham, op.cit., pp. 78, 79.

Not only do people tend to join groups which are composed of people similar in many respects to themselves, but also the religious group gives to the individual a sense of belonging.

To have a name and an identity, one must belong somewhere; and more and more one "belongs" in America by belonging to a religious community, which tells what he is.<sup>56</sup>

As Yinger has suggested, the religious group, for many people, in a day of depersonalization, answers the important question, Who am I?<sup>57</sup> Belonging and identification are very important in a society where many of the members are moving either horizontally or vertically or both.

William H. Whyte has suggested that the religious group frequently forms the roots of the new suburbia, where friendships are made within the context of a community United Protestant Church. 'The quest among the transients for a socially useful church is a deeply felt one'.<sup>58</sup>

Almost all Americans identify themselves with one of the major religious groups. Yinger has pointed out that only three per cent of the sample failed to do so in a public opinion poll.<sup>59</sup> The situation seems to be similar in Canada. In the North End study in Hamilton, only 1.09% stated that they had no religion, or that they were agnostic or atheist.

<sup>56</sup>Herberg, op.cit., p. 40.

<sup>57</sup>Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, p. 104.

<sup>58</sup>William H. Whyte, The Organization Man, (New York, Doubleday Anchor, 1956), p. 422.

<sup>59</sup>Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, p. 279.

Only three of the respondents in this sample failed to identify themselves with a religious group.

Moreover, the mass media, although presenting a variety of viewpoints, tend to reinforce that already adhered to by the respondent, through a process of selectivity. It is a well-known fact that people tend to listen and to read that with which they are in agreement. The mass media, then tends to reinforce tendencies which are already latent in the individual. He preserves his security by sealing himself off from propaganda which threatens his attitudes.<sup>60</sup> Although the radio stations in Hamilton and region, broadcast a wide range of religious services, it is probable then, that the local people tend to listen to the religious viewpoint with which they are already, at least partially, in accord. Similarly, the local newspaper, The Hamilton Spectator, although reporting news from all the local churches with which it is in contact, is probably read on a selective basis.

Prejudice is another factor which keeps groups apart. Wherever there is prejudice, group cohesion is reinforced states Yinger.<sup>61</sup> Since there are in Hamilton, occupational, educational and ethnic differences between the religious groups, prejudice may be a factor which should be taken into consideration in the continued "separateness" of groups.

Religion may be regarded not only as a separator but also as an

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<sup>60</sup>See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, (New York, Columbia, 1952), p. xx.

<sup>61</sup>Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, p. 80.

integrator of society. Talcott Parsons writes, 'the religious movement, because of its relation to general value integration, can claim a paramount jurisdiction over human value-orientations'.<sup>62</sup> However, Parsons recognizes that, in North America, there is not one fully integrated value-system, but several that are partially integrated. 'In the circumstances the very looseness of the religious integration is functional'.<sup>63</sup>

In our heterogeneous society it has been suggested that society requires commonalities but that it also requires freedom to be different.<sup>64</sup> This differentiation is represented by the major religious groupings of Canada, for it is the role of religion to define the ultimate values of society. The commonalities of these groups form the secularised ethos of this society, which may be designated as the Canadian way of life. These values, derived from religious roots, as Yinger has pointed out, form the final basis of the social order.<sup>65</sup> They are imparted through the socialization process. In this process the primary and reference groups of an individual play an important part, and frequently are found within the context of the socio-religious group.

In an endeavour to answer the question, how do religious communities maintain their differences in their way of life? it has been pointed out that religion is the integrator of the value-system. The

<sup>62</sup>Talcott Parsons, The Social System, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1951) p. 165.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 308.

<sup>64</sup>See Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, p. 105.

<sup>65</sup>Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, p. 64.



value orientation to life is imparted through the family, which, for the majority of Canadians, is religiously homogeneous. It is also imparted in the peer group, the friendship group and the voluntary organizations to which the religious affiliates may belong. Selectivity in consumption of the information disseminated through the mass media, together with prejudice which may strengthen in-group feeling, assist in maintaining separate socio-religious communities each with their own ethos and way of life.

Now to consider this problem at its theoretical level. As Talcott Parsons has frequently pointed out, there is a "normative orientation" of action which regulates the behaviour of actors in interaction within social systems.

In so far as ego's gratifications become dependent on the reactions of alter, a conditional standard comes to be set up of what conditions will and what will not call forth the "gratifying" reactions.<sup>66</sup>

Since gratification depends, in large measure, upon the approval of others, there is a tendency for actors to interact within a social system where the majority of value orientations are shared. Because religion is one of the major integrators of values, it is highly probable that individuals will gravitate towards groups with a similar religious orientation. In a later section of this chapter, factors which modify and subdivide religious groupings will be discussed.

This discussion of the way in which religious communities per-

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<sup>66</sup>Parsons, The Social System, p. 11.

petuate their own distinctive value orientations brings up another basic question, Why should religious affiliation influence secular activity? and, How did religious differentiation arise initially?

### Explanations of Religious Group Differences in Secular Activity

Since the end of the nineteenth century men have been trying to find explanations for the differences in attitudes and behaviour in the secular realm that have arisen between Catholic and Protestant divisions of the Christian church. Theories pertaining to several aspects of this question will be discussed. Consideration will be given to the influence of religious values and social organization upon non-religious behaviour and attitudes and also to secular influences upon religion. It is therefore the reciprocal influence of religious and non-religious activity which is under consideration at the present time.

In Europe in 1897, Emile Durkheim noted the correlation between religious affiliation and suicide rates. He showed the 'general aggravation' due to Protestantism and the comparative immunity of Catholics, this in spite of the fact that each group condemns suicide very severely. By way of explanation of this difference Durkheim writes:

The only essential difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is that the second permits free enquiry to a far greater degree than the first . . . The Catholic accepts his faith ready made without scrutiny . . . The Protestant is far more the author of his faith. The Bible is put into his hands and no interpretation is imposed upon him.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Emile Durkheim, Suicide, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1951), pp. 157 & 158.

Durkheim points out that, for the Protestant, free enquiry is not a choice, it is an obligation, which originated with the overthrow of traditional beliefs and the disorganization of accepted habits. Religious freedom for the Protestants became a basic ethical value comments Talcott Parsons.<sup>68</sup>

Durkheim points out that Protestantism has fewer common beliefs and practices than Catholicism and therefore concedes a greater freedom to the individual.

the greater concessions a confessional group makes to individual judgment, the less it dominates lives, the less its cohesion and vitality. We thus reach the conclusion that the superiority of Protestantism with respect to suicide results from its being a less strongly integrated church.<sup>69</sup>

Talcott Parsons comments on Durkheim's theory:

It (the Protestant church) is an association of those holding common beliefs and carrying out common practices, but as an organized body it does not have the same authority over the individual in prescribing what these beliefs and practices shall be.

It is, then, in the relation of the individual to the organized religious group that Durkheim sees the decisive difference. In one sense the difference consists in the fact that the Catholic is subjected to a group authority from which the Protestant is exempt.<sup>70</sup>

Parsons has emphasized the importance to Protestantism of the belief in religious freedom and the development of individuality plus respect for others that they too may develop their own individuality.

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<sup>68</sup>Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1949), p. 332.

<sup>69</sup>Durkheim, op.cit., p. 159.

<sup>70</sup>Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, p. 332.

Durkheim explains that this spirit of free inquiry and the individual responsibility left the Protestant more susceptible to the strains of living in a complex society, and hence more liable to commit suicide than the Catholic.

Nottingham, as we have noted earlier, has suggested that the Protestants are united socially whereas the Catholics are united sacramentally. And the latter type of organization is more effective in drawing together members of diverse social groups, i.e. different classes, ethnic or racial groups.

Gerhard Lenski has an alternative explanation for the differences found between Catholics and Protestants. He notes that Protestantism should be broken down into two divisions, white and negro. His empirical data shows that these are indeed two different populations with white Catholics falling between these two extremes. Research projects which failed to take this into account have frequently indicated that there is no difference between Catholics and Protestants in behaviour or attitudes.<sup>71</sup>

The two Protestant groups have originated in two different sectors of the population. The white Protestants follow what might be termed a "middle class ethic" whereas the Negro Protestants, as members of a disadvantaged group, think and act in a manner appropriate to their social situation. The white Catholics more nearly resemble the Negro Protestants.

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<sup>71</sup>See Lenski's criticism of Stouffer's study on Catholic and Protestant attitudes in Lenski, op.cit., p. 162.

Historically, the overwhelming majority of Catholics have been members of the working class. Even more important, throughout American history the majority of leaders in the Catholic group have been persons raised in the working class. By contrast, the white Protestant group has always had a higher percentage of members in the middle class. Even though the majority of white Protestants may not have been raised in the middle class, the majority of leaders probably have since their leaders are normally recruited from higher status levels than other members of the group.<sup>72</sup>

Lenski shows that it is neither economic or status situation alone, nor theology alone which will provide a satisfactory explanation of negro and white group differences. It is rather that both factors must be taken into consideration. Similarly, we can explain differences between various ethnic groups within the Catholic church as accounted for, at least in part, by differences in the social situations of the groups concerned. Moreover, the phenomena is sometimes observed that when the social position of a group changes it may still continue to think and act in a manner appropriate to its previous social position. Also, if the status position of a group is vastly different from the economic position of a group it may follow the way of life of the former, rather than of the latter.

H. Richard Niebuhr states that:

theological opinions have their roots in the relationship of the religious life to the cultural and political conditions prevailing in any group of Christians.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>73</sup>H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, (Hamden, Conn., Shoe String, 1954), p. 16.

The church, explains Niebuhr, because of its inclusive nature, tends to be allied with national, economic and cultural interests, whereas the exclusive sect 'is the child of the outcast minority'.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, social, cultural and political conditions of a religious group may be thought of as imposing limitations on the choice of alternative theologies and behaviour, rather than as "conditioned", (to use Niebuhr's phrase), by these.

Niebuhr notes that frequently, for the immigrant in America, religion was the only organization to maintain the unity of the ethnic group, 'many an immigrant church became more a racial and cultural than a religious institution in the New World.'<sup>75</sup>

<sup>76</sup>  
It is interesting to note that Lee has reversed this theory and has suggested that the social differences are becoming less among various segments of the population in the United States and that these are not a source of further division but that the present trends are drawing the groups closer together. These are now the social sources of ecumenicalism, and are working towards the development of a "common core" Protestantism.<sup>76</sup>

Turning now from theories which place a primary emphasis upon social organization, let us examine some of the theories where the major

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>75</sup> See ibid., p. 223.

<sup>76</sup> See Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, op.cit., p. 75.

emphasis is upon ideological factors. Weber's thesis may be taken as a convenient starting point.

In his comparative studies Weber attempted to answer the questions, Why did modern rational bourgeois capitalism appear as a dominant phenomenon only in the West? What are the differentiating factors that account for its failure to appear in other cultures?<sup>77</sup> Weber compared economic conditions in China, India and Judea with pre-Reformation Western Europe. After comparing the religious ethic of the dominant sector of the population he came to the conclusion that only in Protestantism with its worldly ascetic ethic, was there a congruence of the religious ethic with the "spirit of capitalism". Within Protestantism there are differences which Weber readily recognized. He compared the ethic of Calvinistic-Puritanism with Lutheranism, and showed that the former was much more conducive to the growth of modern rational bourgeois <sup>capitalism</sup> than the latter. This conclusion 'increases the probability that a main differentiating element lies on the value plane.'<sup>78</sup>

Through the tracing of the internal development of the Protestant ethic in the writings of its leaders, Weber comes to the conclusion that the "dynamic" of the Protestant ethic itself directed the believers' actions in a manner which gave a sustained impetus to the "spirit of capitalism". This attitude of the spirit of capitalism may have been found in isolated individuals previously, but it was now the dominant

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<sup>77</sup>See Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, op.cit., p. 512.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 513.

ethic of large groups of Protestant people. Their religious beliefs had produced disciplined and acquisitive action tempered by worldly-asceticism. Weber concludes that religious ethics constitute a major factor but not the sole factor, which differentiates great civilizations from each other. Weber was much more cautious in his statements than many of his critics imply. Weber's position was that:

The religious determination of life-conduct however, is also one -- note this -- only one, of the determinants of the economic ethic. Of course, the religiously determined way of life is itself profoundly influenced by economic and political factors operating within given geographical, political, social, and national boundaries.<sup>79</sup>

Weber was predominantly interested in the interaction of ideas and "material conditions",<sup>80</sup> for he recognized that there were non-religious influences which were brought to bear upon religion.

Although modern rational bourgeois capitalism theoretically could have developed independently of the Protestant Ethic, Weber argues that the former has not been found to be indigeneous to any other civilization. Moreover, Weber endeavoured to show that temporally the religious ethic preceded the "spirit of capitalism". Capitalism itself, could be run on a traditional basis but Weber felt that the modern form of capitalism required the "spirit of capitalism" which came to fruition through the emergence of the Protestant Ethic.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup>From Max Weber, H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, trans., & eds., (New York, Oxford Univ., Galaxy, 1958), p. 268.

<sup>80</sup>See Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, p. 150.

<sup>81</sup>Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, (New York, Charles Scribner's, 1958), Talcott Parsons, trans., pp. 64-66.



It is possible, as Yinger suggests, that Weber has insufficiently taken into account 'the way in which Calvin himself, trying to be effective in semicommercial Geneva, was partially shaped by emerging capitalism'.<sup>82</sup>

Moreover, the "spirit" could have emerged before capitalism itself, as Weber tried to show in the case of Benjamin Franklin in Massachusetts. In this New England state, capitalism had not fully developed but was "handicraft-oriented". Was the spirit of capitalism already present? and did it give rise to the later economic order? Weber answers in the affirmative, and attributes this to the Puritans in that region. However, his critics are quick to reply that Franklin was not a Puritan.

However, Tawney has suggested that:

"The capitalist spirit" is as old as history and was not, as has sometimes been said, the offspring of Puritanism. But it found in certain aspects of later Puritanism a tonic which braced its energies and fortified its already vigorous temper.<sup>83</sup>

Whether one sides with Weber or with Tawney, the empirical evidence suggests that there is a congruence of Protestantism and capitalism. More recently Lenski's data have confirmed the theory that religious belief antedates secular activity and indicates causality.

During the past decade several studies have been published which further strengthen the thesis of the causality of religious belief which

<sup>82</sup>Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, pp. 150, 151.

<sup>83</sup>R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, (New York, New American Library, Mentor, 1961), p. 183.

directs secular activity into certain channels in the secular realm. The series of studies of the Laboratory of Social Relations of Harvard University, conducted in Western New Mexico are of particular interest. They examined the value systems of five distinct cultural groups, Navaho, Pueblo, Spanish-American, Mormon, and Texan homesteader. The geographical environment into which the last two of these groups migrated was very similar, but the way in which the groups solved their environmental problems was entirely different and was influenced by their value systems. For the Mormons this value system was directly based upon their religious beliefs. The homesteaders from Texas were for the most part, affiliated with the Baptist or Presbyterian churches, but were also strongly influenced by the frontiersman's secular version of "The American Way of Life".

In Thomas O'Dea's study of the Mormons<sup>84</sup> the history of this religious group is traced from the frontier society, out of which certain members were eager to receive the new value-system presented to them by Joseph Smith. As they accepted the new religious orientation, a new type of organization was formed which in turn reinforced the value-system, of religious origin, which they had accepted. At the same time that O'Dea was studying the Mormons in Utah and New Mexico, Evon Z. Vogt was conducting research among the neighbouring homesteaders.<sup>85</sup> The central hypothesis of the Values Study Project for which they were working was that 'value-orientations play an important part in the

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<sup>84</sup>Thomas O'Dea, The Mormons, (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, 1958).

<sup>85</sup>Evon Z. Vogt, Modern Homesteaders, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ., 1955).

shaping of social institutions and in influencing the forms of observed social action'.<sup>86</sup> Both villages studied on a comparative basis presented local variations of generalized American culture. The contrast is one of emphasis. In Rimrock, the Mormon village, the claims of the community take priority over those of the individual. On the other hand in Homestead 'cooperative activity takes place only after certainty has been reached that the claims of other individuals upon one's time and resources are legitimate'.<sup>87</sup> In Homestead, with its extreme emphasis upon individualism, 'persons and groups become related to one another in a competitive feuding relationship'.<sup>88</sup> The effects of these differing beliefs was illustrated by the authors. In Rimrock both good roads and a school gymnasium were built through cooperative activity whereas in Homestead the school gymnasium was begun and never finished and the main road was in disrepair and in fact had never been properly surfaced in the first place. Each storekeeper had covered the sidewalk in front of his own store.

The attitudes to work in the two communities was also contrasted, and its influence upon the pattern of work and leisure activity was noted. Evon Vogt writes:

The Homesteader believes in hard work, but unlike the neighboring Mormons, he does not consider it necessary or desirable to work hard all the time. He appears to lack the Protestant Ethic which pre-

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<sup>86</sup>Evon Z. Vogt and Thomas F. O'Dea, "A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two Southwestern Communities" in Milton Yinger, ed., Religion, Society and the Individual. (New York, Macmillan, 1963), p. 563.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., p. 568.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 573.

vailed in the early settlements of Puritan New England, and which still prevails in the industrious American middle classes whose members are not happy unless they are constantly busy and whose vacations are almost as hectic as their working days. Neither does he spend his time as leisurely as do the Spanish Americans or the Navahos. "I guess the people in Homestead expect to work hard in the working season and then loaf hard in the loafing season".<sup>89</sup>

Vogt and O'Dea conclude their comparative study with these words:

It is clear that the situational facts did not determine in any simple sense the contrasting community structures which emerged. Rather, the situation set limits, but within these limits contrasting value-orientations influenced the development of two quite different community types. It would appear that solutions to problems of community settlement pattern and the type of concrete social action which ensues are set within a framework which importantly influences the selections made with the range of possibilities existing within an objective situation.<sup>90</sup>

Religious orientation, as the integrator of the value-system is important, for it provides a value-orientation for its adherents, which in turn may influence the type of choices which its members make in secular activity.

Evon Vogt credits Talcott Parsons with the suggestion that a shift is taking place in the general value-orientation of American society. More attention is being devoted to "fun" and "recreation" after working hours.<sup>91</sup> The Protestant attitude towards work is under-

<sup>89</sup>Vogt, op.cit., p. 109.

<sup>90</sup>Vogt & O'Dea, op.cit., p. 577.

<sup>91</sup>Vogt, op.cit., p. 221n.

going a gradual modification. Vogt also suggests that the loafing pattern is a regional subculture which is typical of parts of the South and Southwestern United States. May it not also be linked to behaviour patterns of the lower social classes and to certain ethnic groups? It may also be mentioned as typical of certain urban areas as part of the youth culture. This will be discussed further in the section on Work and Leisure.

Another set of enlightening comparisons of two groups of differing religious background, and its influence upon economic institutions, might be a comparison of Saskatchewan secular cooperative farmers with Hutterite communities in Western Canada. Henry Cooperstock demonstrates in his study that cooperation among the Hutterites is motivated by explicit religious sanctions.<sup>92</sup> Work, for them, is an end in itself, whereas, for the Saskatchewan farmers in a cooperative, it is a means to an end. The latter are a part of the secular community in which they reside, whereas the Hutterite farmer is separated from the surrounding secular communities. Hutterite children are socialized early in life to the religious values attached to cooperation, both by the school and the church as well as in the home. Among Saskatchewan cooperative farmers, on the other hand, an individualistic, competitive orientation was part of the family and community socialization pattern for the child. The cultural isolation of the Hutterite from the rest of the larger

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<sup>92</sup> Henry Cooperstock, "Cooperative Farming as a Variant Social Pattern", in B. Blishen *et. al.*, *op.cit.*, p. 265.

social region was an important factor in the maintenance of religious values which differed from that of the surrounding communities.

Eaton and Weil in a study of the mental health of the Hutterites came to the conclusion that their religious orientation played a very significant part in the lower rates of mental illness found in their communities.

The Hutterites provide us with a very good example of the mental health significance of ideology and beliefs . . . From the therapeutic point of view religion can be both a positive and a negative mental health element. It gives many Hutterites a sense of great security, but is also responsible for the high frequency of guilt feelings . . . Our study supports the conclusion that religious convictions are likely to be important factors in the symptomatic manifestations of mental disorders, as well as in their treatment.<sup>93</sup>

Stressing the importance of the intensity with which religious belief is held, they continue 'Orthodox Jews or devout Catholics should show different symptoms from those who are less orthodox in the same faiths.'<sup>94</sup>

Without a doubt, religious affiliation and belief, has many correlations with a very wide range of non-sacred activities in economic, political and familial spheres of activity and in the area of social deviance.

Perhaps this section of the chapter can best be summed up in the words of Milton Yinger:

Parsons describes the way in which a major religion sets the tone of a civilization in important ways.

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<sup>93</sup>Joseph W. Eaton & Robert J. Weil, Culture and Mental Disorders, (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1955), pp. 216, 217.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 217.

This point is least likely to be misunderstood, as he recognizes, if one also studies the conditions which encouraged the appearance of a religion with a particular emphasis and the conditions which select a given theme from the several that are found in a complex religion.<sup>95</sup>

### Factors Modifying the Association of Religious Affiliation and Secular Activity

There are various factors which have some bearing on the association of religious affiliation and a particular type of secular activity. These include active participation in religious association as contrasted with marginality, religious endogamy or exogamy, urban or rural upbringing, sex, ethnicity, and public as contrasted with church school education. These will each be considered separately.

#### (a) Active Participation or Marginality

In most cases, where religion is influencing the type of secular behaviour, the association of Church affiliation and specific secular activity will be intensified with the group of respondents who actively participate in their church life as compared with those who seldom or never participate. As Joseph Fichter has pointed out, the marginal Catholic does not fully accept the values of the religious institution.

He may be said to be partially accepting the values of the religious institution, yet partially rejecting them, because of their disagreement with other

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<sup>95</sup>Yinger, Religion, Society and the Individual, introd. to article by Talcott Parsons, "Religion as a Source of Creative Innovation", p. 558.

institutionalized values.<sup>96</sup>

Gerhard Lenski has pointed out that the degree of involvement in associational and communal activities show to a very slight degree of correlation to one another, (as mentioned earlier.) Frequently the values of the socio-religious community may be at variance with the churches' official teaching. Also there are various orientations within each church. Among the two most important dichotomies related to the present study are orthodoxy versus heterodoxy and devotionism versus secularist orientations.<sup>97</sup> Lenski found in his study conducted in Detroit, that significantly larger percentages of Protestants as compared to Catholics of the same socio-economic class, valued intellectual autonomy above obedience in the training of their children. This, he suggests, has important implications for upward mobility of these religious sectors of society, since intellectual autonomy is important for all positions of executive responsibility and for the conducting of research. When the attitudes of the clergy were compared, an even greater degree of difference was found between the two groups, Catholic and Protestant. We should therefore expect this difference to be reflected in the degree of involvement of the respondents in associational activity of the respondents and their respective attitudes towards intellectual autonomy or heteronomy. The marginal members of both Catholic and Protestant groups

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<sup>96</sup>Joseph H. Fichter, "The Marginal Catholic: An Institutional Approach" in O'Brien, Schrag & Martin eds., Readings in General Sociology, p. 387.

<sup>97</sup>See Lenski, op.cit., pp. 22-26.



would be expected to be more similar in their responses to specific questions than the strongly committed members of each group.

In some cases, however, the reverse may be true, although for different reasons. In the case of voting it is possible that active members may be more aware of the interests of their own church in a particular election and may vote other than in the traditional way of their church group. This has been indicated in John Meisel's study conducted in Kingston, Ontario.<sup>98</sup>

(b) Religious endogamy versus religious exogamy

The respondents who are married to a spouse of the same religious group (i.e. in our sample this will be Catholic, Anglican, and Other Major Protestant Denominations) can be expected to show a different relationship between religious affiliation and non-religious activity than the group of respondents who are married to a spouse of differing religious affiliation. In a religiously heterogeneous marriage, the primary group relationships with both family and friends of the partner will not reinforce the religious orientation of the respondent in secular activity. There is likely to be compromise and in consequence the respondents of these "mixed" marriages are more likely to resemble each other in secular attitudes and behaviour, although they may each still claim their differing religious affiliation.

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<sup>98</sup> John Meisel, "Religious Affiliation and Electoral Behaviour: A Case Study", in Canadian Society, op.cit., pp. 337-352.

(c) Urban versus rural upbringing

Respondents from rural backgrounds can be expected to be differently oriented to their respective socio-religious groups than those who were brought up in urban areas. It is well known that the population of rural areas are traditionally more conservative in outlook than urban people. There is a greater degree of homogeneity in the majority of rural areas than there is in the large city. In the heterogeneity of the urban context, it is probable that social class may have a greater influence than in rural areas. It may in some circumstances have more influence than religious affiliation, especially upon marginal members.

A study by Zimmer indicates that migrants from rural areas are less likely to participate in social clubs than their urban counterparts.<sup>99</sup> An exception to this will be found in the case of migrants from overseas, who frequently participate in ethnic clubs. This is especially noticeable amongst the migrants from Italy and Sicily in this study. Where there is predominantly one religion in the country of origin, ethnic clubs can be expected to intensify the association of religious communal involvement and secular activity of a specific type.

(d) Ethnicity

Within each religious group there can be expected to be found differences in attitudes and behaviour which vary with the ethnic origin

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<sup>99</sup>Basil G. Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures" in Hatt & Reiss, eds., Cities and Society. (Glencoe, Free Press, 1961). pp. 730-738.

of the respondents. Yinger has observed:

For the Irish, the Church was the rallying point for national opposition to England. Later migrants from Italy and Eastern Europe came from areas where the Church was identified more easily with an oppressive society than with a movement of liberation and national identity.<sup>100</sup>

In this regard it must also be taken into consideration that immigrants have frequently come to Canada in "waves" with different ethnic groups predominating at various periods in history. Therefore ethnic generation must also be taken into account.<sup>101</sup>

(e) Sex

Every society differentiates between the accepted roles of male and female. Socialization is "sex-typed" and therefore we can expect to find differences between male and female respondents in certain areas. For instance, in our society, politics is usually defined as a subject in which men are expected to be more knowledgeable than women. The men are therefore more likely than women to listen to new political ideas, and hence to change political allegiance, when social conditions change, than their female counterparts.

There is a difference too, in the occupational role of married men and married women. Married women, being generally more isolated

<sup>100</sup>Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion, p. 79.

<sup>101</sup>See Canada Year Book 1961, p. 184 ff.

from the world of business than men, have a greater opportunity to choose the people with whom they spend their time. The men, on the other hand, are frequently working with members of other socio-religious groups and experience a more heterogeneous environment. Men, therefore, are more likely to hear differing points of view, to observe different behaviour and to be exposed to different socio-religious attitudes than do their non-working spouses. A corollary of the above statement is that where women are working outside of the home, they will more closely resemble, in both attitudes and behaviour, the rates of working men than those of women who do not work outside of the home.

(f) Public Education of Children Contrasted with Church-related Education

For Catholics, it seems probable that those parents who have children in Separate schools are more likely to adhere to the official norms of the church than those who do not. They have already shown the importance that they attach to the church in education by sending their children to a church-related institution. Those who prefer secular education for their children will most probably adhere more closely to the way of life associated with the communal rather than associational involvement. With Protestants, there were no children being sent to church-related educational institutions, so that this area of differentiation is not to be found within the present sample.

Among the factors which modify the association of religious affiliation and "secular" attitudes and behaviour, we have given consideration to the degree of participation in religious organizations and associations, religious endogamy or exogamy, urban or rural upbringing,

ethnicity, and public or church-related education of children.

### Conclusion

In this chapter some of the theories have been presented which deal with the "how" and "why" of differing religious ways of life to be found within a common Canadian secular society. There is mutual interaction between the sacred and "secular" ways of life. At times these reinforce one another and, on the other hand, they may at times be in conflict with one another, producing groups of people who are marginal to their respective religious associations.

Whatever one's private orientation to a specific religious group may be, as a sociologist, the influence of religious ethic and activity and its mutual interaction with the "secular" ethic and activity must be taken into consideration in any serious sociological research project.

So far this thesis has attempted to indicate the bearing of sociological theory on empirical research, within the chosen area of study. In the chapters to follow the reverse process will also be included, and the impact of empirical research on current sociological theory will be considered.

Thus, the challenge to the oncoming generation of sociological researchers is to find better means

of combining the methods of empirical research with the methods of interpretation, of building existing sociological theory as working hypotheses into research, and using research to generate new theory and new hypotheses.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Matilda White Riley, Sociological Research, (New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), Vol. I, p. 29.

### III

#### THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study is a secondary analysis of data collected for other purposes, with different objectives in view.<sup>103</sup> The study therefore has obvious gaps and limitations. It would, for instance, have been advantageous to have included within the sample a sufficient number of respondents who are Protestant Italians to compare with the attitudes and behaviour patterns of Catholic Italians. This would have provided some measure of control for ethnicity in the comparison of groups of differing religious affiliation. However, it is fortunate that the British sample includes sufficient numbers of Catholics, Anglicans and "Other Major Protestant Denominations" to provide an adequate basis of comparison.

The "time factor" is one which could have been given greater consideration.<sup>104</sup> For example, it may be desirable to know which of the Catholic respondents attended a church-related school, and thus received, early in life, a more intensive form of instruction in the official view of the church. This would precede in time the choice of

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<sup>103</sup>See page 10.

<sup>104</sup>See Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The General Idea of Multivariate Analysis", in Paul F. Lazarsfeld & Morris Rosenberg, eds., The Language of Social Research, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1955).

a career, and could, therefore, have influenced that choice. However, this information was not requested in the original interview.

There is also insufficient information about friends of the informant. A knowledge of the religious affiliation of the respondent's friends would have made it possible to group the respondents according to the degree of communal involvement. As it is, the only index is religious endogamy or exogamy. Our information indicates the present affiliation of the spouse but a question was not asked about the prior changing of religious affiliation although sometimes that information was volunteered. When it was included it was coded accordingly.

In spite of the gaps and limitations of this study, it does indicate differentiation between three groups of religious affiliates over a wide range of "secular" areas of life. It does not represent an attempt to provide "all the answers" concerning the influence of religion in Canadian society. Rather, it is a beginning of the study of the sociology of religion in one of the larger cosmopolitan areas of Ontario. It is to be hoped that this study will stimulate interest and will be the "baseline" for further research on this subject. As Robert Merton has written:

After all, sound theory thrives only on a rich diet of pertinent facts . . . The new, and often previously unavailable, data stimulate fresh hypotheses.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1962), p. 112.



This study follows the model of the sample survey technique. This procedure is quite similar to that used in the survey from which Lenski drew his data.<sup>106</sup> The data in the present study were gathered through interviews with a representative random sample of the households resident in the North End district. A standardized-schedule of questions was used by a team of trained interviewers.

(a) The Interviews

The relative values of interviewing as compared with observation should be considered. Lenski states of his own study:

In these interviews individuals are questioned concerning their attitudes, values, beliefs and patterns of action. The interview thus becomes a substitute for direct observation of the behavior of individuals. This is a substitute which sociologists are somewhat reluctant to make since it introduces an opportunity for error, but it is invaluable for financial and other reasons. By interviewing a person the researcher can acquire in a matter of minutes information about his behavior which would require hundreds of hours of direct observation.<sup>107</sup>

Every effort was made to control interviewer-respondent bias during this study. A two week training program was undertaken by the directors of the research before initiation of the study. On completion of a batch of questionnaires, the interview reports were examined for biased probing.

The respondents to be interviewed were listed according to street blocks and were assigned to the interviewers on a chance basis. In each

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<sup>106</sup>Lenski, op.cit., pp. 12-27.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

list male and female respondents were listed alternately, so that each interviewer was assigned an equal number of male and female respondents. When the sample had been completed, it was found that 166 interviews had been conducted by female interviewers and 161 by male interviewers.

In the extensive study of bias in interviewing by Herbert Hyman,<sup>108</sup> the author emphasizes that much of the bias found in the studies examined was the product of the interviewer's role expectations of the respondent. The ideology of the respondent was found to be a secondary cause of bias and much of its influence was avoided because of the task-orientation rather than social-orientation of the interviewer. To emphasize this finding Hyman points out that negative findings of interviewer ideological bias were obtained in the Elmira study of presidential voting in 1948.<sup>109</sup>

Hyman found that there was little evidence of interviewer variation on fixed response opinion questions and on factual questions, but that open-ended questions presented greater opportunities for bias to occur. He lists the main sources of bias as:

misunderstanding of instructions;  
mistakes in judgment of equivocal responses;  
idiosyncratic definition of his role by the  
interviewer himself; proceeding from his own  
beliefs as to the nature of attitudes and  
respondent behaviour;  
and nonobservance of prescribed procedures  
when situational pressures are strong.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>Herbert H. Hyman, Interviewing in Social Research, (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, 1954).

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 285.

In the present study the possibility of ethnic group bias was the most difficult to control. Since some of the respondents did not have sufficient knowledge of English, the interview necessarily had to be obtained in their own tongue or in one which they spoke fluently. Some of the regular interviewing staff were specialists in one or two languages, and in the case of Italian interviews two Italian-speaking interviewers were trained in interviewing. The Italian interviews, therefore, were conducted by only two male interviewers, those in Polish, Ukrainian or Russian by one male interviewer, and those in Portuguese or Spanish by one female interviewer. It is therefore difficult to prove that control has been obtained for interviewer effects. Moreover, as Hyman himself suggests with reference to the 1943 NORC survey:

In this study we cannot, of course, know what the perceptions of the respondents actually were, but the differences between the interviewer groups tested appear to be differences in the degree to which the interviewer was perceived as a member of the particular ethnic group. Our theory would hold that as the likelihood of an organized perception of the interviewer as a member of the ethnic group increases we will find increased effects.<sup>111</sup>

It would be possible to compare within the ethnic group those respondents' responses, who were interviewed in English with those who were interviewed in some other language. However, the differences between these two sets of interviews may be valid differences, since these two groups represent two populations which are presumably at two differ-

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

ent stages of acculturation.

The interviews in the present study were conducted between May and September, 1962.<sup>112</sup> At the outset of the study each person to be interviewed was sent a letter of introduction from the Department of Sociology of McMaster University. Those persons who refused to grant interviews were sent a further letter, which explained to them the importance of their own response. A different interviewer was sent on this second attempt and was frequently successful in gaining the confidence of the respondent and in obtaining a satisfactory interview. A few respondents could not be interviewed because of language difficulties, although this number was held to a bare minimum, where only one or two people spoke a language within our sample.<sup>113</sup>

Many of the interviews were conducted during the evening since this was usually the best time of day to meet the working men and women of the sample. However, quite a number of the working men were employed on shift-work and could be interviewed during the day.

(b) The Sample

The North End sample was chosen in a manner calculated to make it as fully representative of the district as possible. The probability

<sup>112</sup>The writer was one of the members of the interviewing team. The coding was done later in the study by the four main interviewers and was then double-checked under the capable direction of Dr. Peter Pineo.

<sup>113</sup>For further details see Peter C. Pineo, "Analysis of the Marginals", Preliminary Report, North End Study, (Ottawa, 1963), mimeo. p. 31.

sample method was employed as follows:

1. All households located in the area to be studied were numbered in the order they are listed in the 1961 Vernon City Directory, i.e. by streets in alphabetical order. There were 2208 households listed.
2. 400 random numbers, without duplications, were selected, all of which fall between 0001 and 2208.
3. Households bearing these numbers (in our numbering of the directory) represent the sample.
4. Case numbers from 1 to 400 were assigned arbitrarily. Interviews with male respondents were to be obtained in the households designated by even numbers, female where odd, in all households where both reside.
5. The sample is of households, not of families or buildings or persons. The interviewer must determine who is the household head, and interview him or his wife. In cases of single people, by which are included all people not presently living with a spouse, the interview is conducted with the head of the household, whichever sex it might be.
6. The sampled area, according to census data and the research in progress by D. Chandler,<sup>114</sup> is predominantly working class. It is diverse in ethnic background, apparently 50% Anglo-Saxon, about 17% Italian, about 9% Hungarian and Slavic peoples, and the rest mixed European and Asiatic nationalities.

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<sup>114</sup>D. Chandler, "Class and Ethnic Residential Patterns in Hamilton", M.A. thesis in progress; McMaster University, 1964.

Geographically, the area's boundaries are those of census tract 14. It is bounded on two sides by the bay (Hamilton Harbour), and on the other two by railroad tracks; it is thus somewhat cut off and distinct. Parts of the area are scheduled for an urban renewal project in the near future: the present proposal is in terms of razing about 250 houses and constructing new schools and park areas.<sup>115</sup>

Of the 400 respondents, a number had moved and their houses or apartments were vacant. In a few cases the houses had been torn down in accordance with city planning projects. Our sample was thus unavoidably reduced and of this new total 82.5% were successfully interviewed.

The racial factor was eliminated by removing one Canadian-Indian, four coloured, and four Japanese households from the sample.

The religion of the respondent was determined by asking the respondent, "What religion do you consider yourself to be?" If the answer was "Protestant", the interviewer probed to ascertain the denomination. The sample was then divided into Roman Catholic, Anglican, Other Major Protestant Denominations, and Minor Protestant Groups. The Major Protestant Denominations included Lutheran, Presbyterian, United Church, Methodist and Baptist, and the Minor Protestant groups included Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, etc. This latter section was too small to be considered in the present study.

Because of the small number of respondents with affiliations that did not fit into the three remaining categories, the following groups were removed from our sample: Greek Catholic, Greek and Roman Orthodox,

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<sup>115</sup>From note by Peter Pineo, filed in the office of the Social Planning Council of Hamilton, Sept., 1962.

Jewish. "Atheist", "no religion" and "just Protestant -- no particular denomination" were also removed from the sample. We lost a total of 25 cases for the above reasons. It is of interest to note that only 4 of the 327 cases, (that is 1.02%) reported that they were "atheist" or "no religion". No one in the sample indicated that they were agnostic. It is evident then that the people in the North End of Hamilton in the overwhelming majority of cases identify themselves with a specific religious group.

It will be recognized from the above description that the North End sample described above has a somewhat different composition from that with which Lenski worked in the Detroit area. In the first place, the religious groups in the North End are divided into Catholic, Anglican and Other Major Protestant Denominations as compared with Catholics, White Protestants, Negro Protestants and Jewish groups in the Detroit study. In the second place the latter included an almost equal number of middle class and working class respondents, whereas the Hamilton study has approximately 90% working class and 10% middle class, if the distinction between white collar and blue collar is taken to be a valid indicator of social class. However, as has been pointed out in an earlier section, these two groups seem to resemble each other closely, according to observations by Dr. Peter Pineo.<sup>116</sup> Another feature of differentiation was that in Detroit the majority of immigrants are now third generation, whereas the Hamilton sample contained a large number of first and

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<sup>116</sup>See page 18.

second generation immigrants. Nevertheless it will be noted that much of the material presented in subsequent chapters confirms and supplements the material in the original study and represents a preliminary attempt to fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge of this area with reference to the Canadian situation.

(c) Standardised Schedule of Questions

A twenty-two page questionnaire was used for the interviews and probing was indicated to give a lead to the interviewers beside the relevant questions. This represented an attempt to make the probing as uniform as possible. The order in which the questions were asked was considered to be important and therefore the interviewers were instructed not to change the order, or to leave any questions out until the end unless they came upon very sensitive areas of the respondent's life history, and there was danger that the interview would be broken off, (e.g. the enquiry as to marriage date when it was suspected that the marriage was a common law one). The wording of the questions was kept the same for each interview and read exactly as given on the interview sheet. Alternative questions were used for married women as against the standard questionnaire in use for men and single, working women, more particularly in the case of job histories and shopping habits.

The interviewing staff had received a week of training and then a pretest of the questionnaire was used in a district similar to that of the sampled area.

Following the pretest, the questionnaire was revised by improving the continuity of the questions, removing



unworkable questions, sharpening or clarifying the wording of some questions and adding new questions. These new questions consisted of questions about income, rent and number of rooms in dwelling unit, as this information was not available from other sources.<sup>117</sup>

Although several respondents were reluctant to be interviewed at first, most of them parted with the interviewer on good terms. One remarked, "At first I was really annoyed with you coming again, but it's all right now". Another stated, "I wasn't interested and I am still not interested . . . Oh well, if it's any use to you I suppose that's all right then". One interviewer commented on the respondent's reaction, "Pleased. Her grandson is a graduate of McMaster and she wanted to know all about what the interviewer was studying". The average time taken for the interviews was one hour and twenty-five minutes.<sup>118</sup>

It is recognized at the outset that the interview method has certain limitations. In the first place it cannot measure behaviour directly but only what the people say that they do, i.e. it tends towards the normative. Judging by the frankness with which many people confided the "secret aspects" of their life histories, it is probable that most of the respondents endeavoured to give the desired information as accurately as they could remember it. Moreover, it is significant in itself

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<sup>117</sup>W. Pamela Allen, "The Relation of Ethnicity and Income to Kinship Involvement and Voluntary Association Membership", B.A. thesis, McMaster University, May, 1963, p. 13.

<sup>118</sup>Peter C. Pineo, op.cit., p. 31.

that different groups of people say that they do different things. Also, it is realized that there are times when certain behaviour patterns are over-reported or under-reported, but it is presumed that the rate of deviation from actual behaviour will be similar for the various groups concerned, (e.g. church attendance may be inflated).

Although the interview, as a technique, has limitations, it is, nevertheless, a very valuable tool for use by the social scientist. Reliable data can be obtained in this manner when the user is aware of the limitations it imposes.

#### IV

#### SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Before analyzing the data of this study, it is necessary to compare the three religious groups in terms of a number of personal and social characteristics which can be expected to be relevant to economic, political and familial areas of life.

(a) Family Income (See Appendix, Table IVa)

The median of family income, for Anglican and Other Major Protestant Denominations, all fell within the \$3,000 - \$3,999 range. The modal income for Catholics and Anglicans was also in this category, but for Other Major Protestants it was in a somewhat higher category, \$4,000 - \$4,999. However, it should also be noted that in this latter religious group, there is a much higher percentage earning under \$2,000.

(b) Education (See Appendix, Table IVb)

The median of educational achievement for each of the religious groups came in the 7 - 8 year range. But it should be noted that only in the Catholic group were there found respondents who had no formal education. At the same time there were in this same group the only respondents who had received 15 years or more of formal education (i.e. technical college or university).

(c) Occupation (See Appendix, Table IVc)

It will be seen that once again the Catholic group has the widest deviation. It includes the highest percentages of those engaged in professional, managerial, or ownership categories, and it also includes the highest percentages of those employed in unskilled labour.

(d) Age (See Appendix, Tables IVd<sub>1</sub> and IVd<sub>2</sub>)

|             | <u>Catholic</u> | <u>Anglican</u> | <u>Other Major Protestant</u> |
|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| Age, mode.  | 36-40           | 71 and over     | 36-40 yrs.                    |
| Age, median | 36-40           | 46-50           | 46-50 yrs.                    |

Table I

From the above table and also from those tables referred to in the appendix, it will be seen that the Anglican group is composed of a much larger proportion of elderly respondents than other groups. The median age of the Protestants is approximately ten years older than that of the Catholic respondents in our sample. Therefore, wherever it is considered that age could affect the findings, a control for the age variable will be carried out.

(e) Sex and Marital Status (See Appendix, Table IVe)

Whereas among Catholics the numbers of male and female respondents are almost equal, among Protestants the larger proportion of female respondents is noted. The high proportion of widows is very noticeable among the "Other Major Protestant Denominations". A larger proportion

of the latter group and of Anglicans are separated or divorced than are Catholic respondents in the sample. The larger numbers of Protestant females than males should be associated with the age distribution, since it is known that females live, on the average, several years longer than males among the Canadian urban population.

(f) Ethnicity (See Appendix, Table IVf)

It will be observed that whereas the Anglican sample is made up, overwhelmingly, of those of British background, and that over two-thirds (69.26%) of the Other Major Protestants are similarly British by birth or origin, on the other hand the Catholic sample is made up predominantly of respondents of Italian, Sicilian, other European, and French Canadian stock. It includes only 15.95% of British birth or ancestry.

The ethnic variable should be recognized to be one of the most important variables in any comparative study of religious affiliation and its secular correlates. Therefore, a comparison will be made between the respective strengths of influence of ethnicity and religious affiliation and their secular correlates, as manifested in reported behaviour and attitudes.

(g) Generation (See Appendix, Table IVg)

There is a notable difference between the modal generation of immigrants of each of the religious affiliate groups, i.e. for Catholics the first generation is the mode, for Anglicans the second generation, and for Other Major Protestants, the second and the fourth generations are modal. These differences reflect the various waves of immigrants

which have come into the North End of Hamilton, and to Canada as a whole since the turn of the century.

(h) Rural/urban background (See Appendix, Table IVh)

The rural/urban background of the respondent was coded according to the major place of residence up to the age of sixteen years. The range of variation of percentage coming from urban background lies between 79.1% for Catholics and 84.6% for Anglicans. From villages it lies between 5.1% for Other Major Protestant Denominations and 7.7% for Anglicans. There is then a remarkable and unanticipated similarity between the groups in terms of area of residence during childhood and early adolescence.

(i) The Interviewer (See Appendix, Table IVi<sub>1</sub> and IVi<sub>2</sub>)

The problem of separating interviewer bias from ethnicity has already been discussed in Chapter III. It can be seen from the Tables, however, that the four main interviewers each interviewed substantial proportions of the three religious groups of respondents into which this sample was split. The problem area focusses upon the Italian interviews of which Peter Narduzzi did approximately one third in Italian. However, the results of the Italian Catholic interviews can be compared with those of British Catholic interviews. A difference between these two groups could be associated with difference in ethnicity or with interviewer bias. Similarly the Italian Catholics interviewed in English could be compared with those interviewed in Italian but differences of culture or of interviewer could not be distinguished.

### Conclusion

The surprising element in this portion of the analysis consists, not in the differences between the three religious groups, but rather in the similarities of income, education and occupation. Differences in age, ethnicity, immigration generation, sex and marital status were anticipated by those who knew the area and the local immigration-history which is involved. These differences will be examined carefully in an attempt to control for these variables. It is important to ascertain in each case, whether or not a difference in secular attitudes or behaviour attributed to differences of religious affiliation, becomes negligible, when these other variables are adequately controlled.

## RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND VOTING

"The connection of religion and politics arises as a problem only in nations which are not religiously homogeneous"<sup>119</sup> writes Robert R. Alford. In his recent book he has demonstrated, by reference to a series of public opinion surveys on this subject conducted in Canada, that religious membership is one of the key variables in this country.<sup>120</sup>

The present study corroborates the findings of other research projects in this field. It emphasizes many of the continuities with similar studies in the United States,<sup>121</sup> but at the same time, it highlights the distinctive Canadian attributes of the very close association of religious affiliation and voting behaviour.

Theoretical Framework

The social characteristics which influence voting have been listed by Berelson et. al. as falling into several broad categories, namely (1) differences in occupation and income (or socio-economic status),

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<sup>119</sup>Robert R. Alford, Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies, (Chicago, Rand McNally, 1963), p. 49.

<sup>120</sup>See ibid., p. 141.

<sup>121</sup>See Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld & William McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign, (Chicago, Univ. of Chicago, 1954), Appendix A, for a summary of the findings of fourteen studies of voting behaviour.



(2) differences in religion, race or ethnicity, and (3) differences in region and urban-rural differences.<sup>122</sup> Berelson et.al. write:

the religious affiliation (and the ethnic differences it represents) appear to be a stronger influence upon vote than any other single factor . . .

And still more, ideological or attitudinal position on the issues is no more powerful an influence than religion.<sup>123</sup>

Lenski shows that in the United States, the significance of religion is as great as that of social class.<sup>124</sup> However, Alford demonstrates that social class is much less important in Canada than in Great Britain, Australia, and the United States. Moreover, he shows that religious and regional factors are of primary importance in Canada. He writes, "Canada always has the lowest level of class voting, with the single exception mentioned" (the 1958 election).<sup>125</sup>

The lower level of class voting for the national parties in Canada than in any of the other Anglo-American countries can probably be explained as mainly due to the lack of legitimacy of the Canadian nation and the lack of differentiation of the major parties along Left-Right lines.<sup>126</sup>

On the other hand, Lipset writes:

Whenever a Canadian region, class, ethnic group, or province comes into serious conflict with its

<sup>122</sup> See ibid., p. 54.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., pp. 65-66.

<sup>124</sup> See Lenski, op.cit., pp. 324-327.

<sup>125</sup> Alford, op.cit., p. 102.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 284.

party of traditional allegiance, it must either change over to the other party, with which it may be in even greater disagreement on other issues, or form a new "third" party. The result of combining this social diversity with a rigid constitutional structure has been the regular rise and fall of relatively powerful "third" parties. Every single Canadian province, except Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, has been governed for some time since World War I by a "third" party.<sup>127</sup>

Since much sociological and political research has indicated that urbanism breaks down loyalties to local community and to religious groups, there is the probability that as this country becomes increasingly urbanized, social class may rise in importance as a factor influencing voting.

That religion is the major factor in the present study can be readily demonstrated by an examination of the data presented in the appendix. Each variable will be examined in greater detail later in this chapter.

Lazarsfeld et al. in a discussion of the activation effect demonstrate that while people hesitate and presume that they are making a rational choice, in reality

it would often have been possible to predict at the outset what they would decide to do in the end . . . they join the field to which they belong. What the campaign does is to activate their political pre-dispositions.<sup>128</sup>

Latent tendencies are brought out at the time of making a decision to vote.

<sup>127</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset, The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective, (New York, Basic Books, 1963), p.302.

<sup>128</sup>Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson & Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up his Mind in a Presidential Campaign, (New York, Columbia, 1952), p. 73.

"Fitness" rather than reason or calculation is the deciding factor.<sup>129</sup>

There is, in our study, a degree of social similarity among the three religious groups so that the effect of some of the variables tends to be minimized. For instance there is similarity in the social class background of the respondents of the three religious groups. But there is greater secularization of Protestants than of Catholics, as also has been found in similar studies on this continent. Secularization can be measured in the present study by the frequency or infrequency of church attendance and by the education of children in secular or religious institutions. Greater secularization, argues Alford, will give rise to a higher level of class voting for Protestants.<sup>130</sup> This is borne out in the data of the present study.

The effect of regional differences is to some extent minimized, since all respondents were residing in the North End of Hamilton at the time of the study. Consideration will, however, be given to the urban or rural unbringing (as contrasted with the present residence) of the respondents. This is a factor which can be demonstrated to be of some considerable importance, and which has tended to be neglected in some of the recent voting studies, where only the present residence of the respondents is taken into account. Since urbanization has a tendency to accentuate class differences, we would expect that the working class

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<sup>129</sup> See Berelson et.al., op.cit., p. 311.

<sup>130</sup> See Alford, op.cit., p. 111.

respondents of rural upbringing would be less likely to vote for the New Democratic Party than their urban counterparts. This expectation is amply fulfilled in the data.

That there is a valid correlation between religion and voting preference has been indicated by an examination of church attendance and its effect upon voting. Similar studies in France and in the Netherlands indicate that there are "striking differences" between those who attend their respective churches and those who are non-practising or indifferent towards their religious group, in their voting behaviour.<sup>131</sup> The present study shows that greater precision can be obtained in prediction if only the respondents with high rates of church attendance are considered.<sup>132</sup> Information provided by Lenski in his study The Religious Factor corroborates this finding.

Lipset has emphasized that traditionalism frequently underlies a decision to vote.

One of the most striking cases of deviation from leftist voting within the lower-income group is presented by some relatively poor and economically less-developed regions that regularly vote for conservative candidates. Such areas are found in the southern states of the United States, in Southern Italy, in Quebec in Canada, in the Scottish Highlands in Great Britain, and in the West of Norway. The political pattern of such regions has been summed up in the statement, "Every country has a South".<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, (London, Heinemann, 1960), pp. 224-226.

<sup>132</sup>See Appendix, Table V/b<sub>1</sub>

<sup>133</sup>Lipset, Political Man, p. 258.

Moreover, as Berelson et al. have amply indicated, voting blocs often persist long after group needs and political alternatives have changed.<sup>134</sup>

Similarly, ethnic or nationality divisions within countries have been reflected in group identification with specific parties, or by the formation of ethnic or nationality parties. Religious and ethnic differences, however, have correlated with socio-economic divisions, so that there has been an admixture of class and ethnic support. In the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Australia, the conservative parties have been supported by the more well-to-do, by the members of the historic privileged religions like the Anglican-Episcopal church and the Congregationalists, and by the ethnic group which has highest status (also disproportionately composed of wealthier individuals).<sup>135</sup>

As S.D. Clark has pointed out in several of his books, the Anglican Church in Canada has staunchly supported the status quo and has been the mainstay of the Conservative party in this country.<sup>136</sup>

But there are indications that Canada is on the whole more conservative than the United States in political outlook. Lipset, in The First New Nation, suggests that Canadians in order to maintain their identity, have disparaged various elements in American life which are identified with an excessive emphasis on equalitarianism and individualism. Although both the United States and Canada were countries with "frontier" experience and

<sup>134</sup> See Berelson et al., op.cit., p. 74.

<sup>135</sup> Lipset, Political Man, p. 221.

<sup>136</sup> See S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, (Toronto, Univ. of Toronto, 1948), and The Developing Canadian Community, (Toronto, Univ. of Toronto, 1962).

virgin land, "Canadians turned away from them as a source of defining themselves".<sup>137</sup> The Canadian frontier was pioneered by the forces of law and order:

claims to the interior of the continent were staked . . . by advancing armies and police forces, large corporations, enterprises and ecclesiastical organizations supported by the state.<sup>138</sup>

Canada, then, has been more conservative in outlook than her neighbour to the south, for reasons which can be traced, in part at least, to historical factors.

Arnold W. Green summarizes Lipset's study with its emphasis on traditional ways of voting as follows:

A combination of middle-income, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant background is usually associated with "conservatism". A combination of working class, recent immigrant stock, and Catholic background is usually associated with liberalism.<sup>139</sup>

All the studies point to the existence of the traditional ways of voting which are associated with specific religious groups and which may be modified by other social factors.

On the other hand the question may well be raised "What about a party which has recently come into being, from where does it obtain its

<sup>137</sup>Lipset, The First New Nation, p. 258.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>139</sup>Arnold W. Green, Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society, (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 362.

supporters?" A research project which analyzed data obtained from a vote analysis of by-elections in Peterborough and Niagara Falls, Ontario, in 1960, is useful in its examination of the New Party vote.<sup>140</sup> The New Party has since become known as The New Democratic Party. It was found in Niagara Falls that the men (55%) were more likely to favour the New Party than the women (44%); the younger group, age 21 - 30 years (30% voted for the New Party) as against the older group, age 61 years and over (9%); urban more than rural (25% as compared with 15.2%); and socio-economic classes 3 to 7 on the Blisshen scale (27% to 30%) more than classes 1 and 2 (7%).

Lipset has given a list of social characteristics correlated with variations in "leftist" voting in the lower-income groups. He bases his conclusions on studies conducted in the following countries: Canada, the United States, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Australia, Japan, India, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Austria, Italy, Great Britain, and Hungary. Among those social characteristics contributing to a higher leftist vote Lipset includes larger cities, larger plants, groups with high unemployment rates, minority ethnic or religious groups, men, manual workers, specific occupational groups, (e.g. Longshoremen), and the less skilled workers. He regards left voting as a response to group needs, i.e. (1) security of income, (2) need for satisfying work, and (3) need for status.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup>Pauline Jewitt, "Voting in 1960 Federal By-Elections", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Feb. 1962, pp. 35-49.

<sup>141</sup>See Lipset, Political Man, pp. 220-261.



In Chapter II of this thesis consideration was given to the religious homogeneity of many social groups. Similarly, it has been found that there is considerable homogeneity, politically, in these groups. Because of the social similarities, people are likely to marry within their own political tradition. Political discussion usually occurs within groups rather than between them.<sup>142</sup> When the influence of the mass media is examined, it is found that the majority of respondents read and listened to the side of the question which they already favoured and that they were much less inclined to expose themselves to the opinions of their opponents.<sup>143</sup>

Religious influence has been shown in a number of studies, to derive from in-group association and mutual reinforcement rather than from direct suggestion or pressure by the formal religious institutions concerned. In a more recent review of the Protestant Denominations' church publications on a federal election issue, it was commented that Presbyterians and Baptists had carte blanche whereas

Anglicans witnessed an unequal but friendly debate among columnists, a debate in which the Liberals won. United Churchmen also witnessed an unequal debate in which the Liberals won:<sup>144</sup>

In studies of the religious variable and voting behaviour, the stand of the churches, as expressed in their own publications, has usually been neglected. Only the traditional views of the churches have been considered, and the

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<sup>142</sup>See Berelson et al., op.cit., pp. 103-106.

<sup>143</sup>See ibid., p. 251.

<sup>144</sup>D.D. Evans, "The Church Press and the Election", Christian Outlook, May, 1963, p. 14.



public's stereotyped reaction to the traditional stand in politics is noted in several studies. In Canadian research both Pauline Jewitt and John Meisel have quoted respondents who linked the Liberal party in this country with the Catholic vote. However, Meisel's study concludes that those who are "close to the church" are less likely to vote Liberal than the rank and file Catholics.<sup>145</sup> In spite of this finding many Protestants retain their stereotype of Catholics as staunch supporters of the Liberal party.

However, Alford comments on the Catholic voter:

Assuming that there is an association between class and party, and one between religion and party, almost every possible combination of class position and party identification involves cross-pressures for Catholics. The matter is further complicated by the contradictory tendencies within Catholicism itself, for it is at one and the same time profoundly conservative religiously and, sometimes, powerfully progressive socially. The very success of the Church in holding its members close may intensify these cross-pressures, since religion cannot as easily become compartmentalized for Catholics as for Protestants.<sup>146</sup>

The stereotype of the Catholic voter usually does not include any awareness of the diverse strands present within Catholicism.

Other social variables should also be taken into account in any analysis of voting behaviour. Some of the most important of these are age and generation of immigrants. The immigrant generation can scarcely be

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<sup>145</sup>John Meisel, "Religious Affiliation and Electoral Behaviour: A Case Study", in Canadian Society, op.cit., pp. 337-352.

<sup>146</sup>Alford, op.cit., p. 56.

considered without at the same time taking into account the successive "waves" of immigrants coming into Hamilton and the respective age groupings of these "waves". For instance, in the present study, most of the Anglican first generation tend to be in the older age categories whereas the majority of Italian immigrants of the first generation tend to be in the younger age groups.

Berelson et al. point out the importance of a consideration of age-generations. They write:

It is a phenomenon that is recurrent in politics, public opinion, and especially in popular culture -- the idea of "age-generations" with distinctive tastes dating back to peculiar conditions under which each came of age.<sup>147</sup>

Jewitt has made the observation that, although in the 1960 by-elections the young people supported the New Party, yet in 1958 it was the Conservative party that "captured the imagination of the young".<sup>148</sup> The young are more inclined to waver before coming to a more stable voting tradition later in life. (Another factor which could have an influence upon predictability of elections is that "leftist" voting is usually underpredicted in the polls. For instance, the Democratic vote in the United States has frequently been underestimated.)<sup>149</sup>

<sup>147</sup>Berelson et al., op.cit., p. 301.

<sup>148</sup>Jewitt, op.cit., p. 49.

<sup>149</sup>See Rensis Likert, "Public Opinion Polls" in Sociology, Leonard Broom and Philip Selznick, eds., 3rd edition, (New York, Harper Row, 1963), pp. 295-300.

With reference to the effect of age itself upon voting behaviour, it has been noted that "Advancing years may not bring political conservatism but it does bring social conservatism".<sup>150</sup> Lazarsfeld has also pointed out that the younger people, who are generally less church-influenced than their elders, show less influence of religion upon their vote.<sup>151</sup>

Sex is another variable which should be taken into consideration. Lipset has shown that women are more inclined to uphold the status quo, and to be dominated by "traditionalistic" values, especially in Europe. They are also, within the Protestant church groups, far more inclined to regular church attendance than men.<sup>152</sup> However, in North America there is less evidence that sex is an important variable. Berelson et al. note that "there are only minor differences in voting between men and women . . . there is little relevance of this characteristic (sex) to political matters, at least so far as party preference is concerned".<sup>153</sup>

Any discussion of voting behaviour must also give consideration to the groups of people who are subject to cross-pressures. An example of a cross-pressured respondent would be a Catholic member of a secular trade union. His religious status indicates a Liberal vote but his trade union

<sup>150</sup>Lazarsfeld, op.cit., p. 25.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>152</sup>Lipset, Political Man, p. 259.

<sup>153</sup>Berelson et al., op.cit., p. 73.

membership indicates a vote for the New Democratic Party. With the presence of cross-pressures comes a loss of political stability. The voters who are subject to them are liable to become party changers, waverers, undecided or apathetic.<sup>154</sup>

Interest is another factor which may influence the respondent. Great interest in politics tends to bring about a decision one way or the other,<sup>155</sup> but low interest tends to lead the potential voter towards apathy.

Lipset is of the opinion that the existence of a group of cross-pressured people who show conditional loyalty to one political party prevents the disruptive effect of absolute cleavages within a society. Therefore no party can cater to the interests of only one social group, but must compromise to a certain degree. This aspect of voting is therefore integrative, he concludes.<sup>156</sup> Ogburn and Nimkoff state that the level of apathy rises with an open class system:

The more open the class structure of a society, the more politically apathetic its working class is likely to be.<sup>157</sup>

This may in part reflect the cross-pressures which are operant in a mobile society. It may also be indicative of the compromises which each

<sup>154</sup>See Lazarsfeld et al., op.cit., p. xxi & p. 60 ff., also Lipset, Political Man, p. 32.

<sup>155</sup>Lipset, Political Man, p. 60.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>157</sup>William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology, (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1964), p. 522.

party has to make if it is to obtain a sufficiently large section of the necessary votes to become powerful. Therefore the differences between the major parties in Canada tend to become blurred. For many members of the working class it may not be a vital issue which of the parties wins in a particular election.

In an examination of religious affiliation and voting preference the only sociological study of note in recent years in Ontario was done by John Meisel in Kingston. He reports:

The influence of religion was so great in Kingston that it can be isolated temporarily and considered independently from the other factors affecting the vote . . . .<sup>158</sup>

It is the political preference entertained by the mass of one's co-religionists which seems to be an effective signpost in an election where no great issues determine one's choice. Not the application of one's religious principles, not even the position taken by the leaders of one's church, but the political tradition assigned to the religious organization viewed as a social group seems to be a decisive factor.<sup>159</sup>

An examination of Meisel's findings reveals that:

(a) Members of the United Church have a somewhat stronger attachment to political parties than do adherents of the other two denominations in the study, i.e. Church of England and Roman Catholic.

(b) Two-thirds of the adherents of each of the Church of England

<sup>158</sup> John Meisel, "Religious Affiliation and Electoral Behaviour: A Case Study", Blishen et al., op.cit., pp. 340.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p. 351.

and of the United Church showed a preference for the Conservatives; seven out of every ten Catholics appeared on the Liberal side of the scale.

(c) It was in the lower age-groups that the gap in numbers was narrowest between those voting Liberal and those casting Conservative ballots.

(d) Those Catholics "close to the church" in Kingston, were perhaps less attached to one party than were the other Catholics questioned. They behaved differently in the 1955 election than did the Catholic group as a whole.<sup>160</sup>

Bearing these findings in mind, I would hypothesize that, in Hamilton in 1962:

(1) The majority of Catholics will express a preference for the Liberal Party;

(2) Anglicans will predominantly support the Conservative Party;

(3) Other Major Protestant Denominations will also, primarily, support the Conservative party;

(4) The younger age groups will be less attached than older groups to voting according to the tradition of their own religious affiliation.

(5) Taking into consideration the findings of Jewitt's study it is anticipated that the New Democratic Party will be supported primarily by young, urban males in our sample, -- I would add, "of Protestant A affiliation", since the voting pattern of Catholics in Canada has shown a

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<sup>160</sup>Ibid., pp. 343, 346, 347, 350.

very decided adherence to the Liberal party, regardless of social background.

The above, anticipated patterns of voting behaviour will be modified in our sample because of the differing social characteristics of the three religious groups in question, as discussed in Chapter IV.

The discussion thus far has been concerned with an examination of the literature in this field; it is now time to operationalize our concepts, to test the hypotheses presented, using local data.

#### The Empirical Data

The empirical data of our study overwhelmingly supports the five hypotheses as presented above.<sup>161</sup> It is very evident that the percentage expressing preference for the Liberal party becomes less as the hierarchical character of the social organization of the religious denomination decreases, and that the percentage for the other left wing parties increases as indicated in the following table:

|                | Percentage Expressing Preference for Party, by Religious Denomination |                                |                                 |
|----------------|---|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|                | <u>Liberal</u>  | <u>N.D.P.<br/>&amp; C.C.F.</u> | <u>Total Left<br/>Wing Vote</u> |
| Roman Catholic | 56.35%  | 4.76%                          | 61.11%                          |
| Anglican       | 30.61   | 14.29                          | 44.90                           |
| Presbyterian   | 23.33   | 16.66                          | 40.00                           |
| United Church  | 16.67   | 16.67                          | 33.34                           |
| Baptist        | 7.69  | 23.08                          | 30.77                           |

Table 2

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<sup>161</sup>Combining the Conservative elements together, that is Conservative and Social Credit Parties, and the "leftist" groups together, that is N.D.P. and C.C.F. Parties, sufficiently large numbers were obtained in the cells to run a chi-square of Conservative and Social Credit, Liberal, N.D.P. and C.C.F., and the three major religious groups in our study. The chi-square was found to be very significant. (41.34, p. <.001)

The structure of social organization of the denomination can be regarded as one index of difference between the denominations. There are several possible explanations for this relationship.

In the first place, considering only the Liberal party, the traditional alignment of the parties indicates that the Roman Catholic church has been linked historically with the Liberal party. The more closely the Protestant denomination concerned resembles the Catholic church, the more likely that its members vote for the Liberal party. This similarity or dissimilarity may be considered at two levels,-- that of ideology, and of social organization of the institutions concerned.

There may also be political reasons why Catholics vote for the Liberal party. It may be a case of political expediency. Catholic voters may feel that their interests are better protected by this party than by the others. Whether this is a valid assumption is currently beyond the scope of this study.

Both Meisel and Jewitt have given evidence of the Protestant stereotype of the Liberal party as one which is associated with the Catholic church. Where the latter is seen to be politically opposed to the interests of Protestant groups, voting non-Liberal may be felt to be voting against the power of the Catholic church. Groups such as the "Orangemen" may foster this, however, Lenski has shown that prejudice is more likely to take place at the subcommunity rather than the associational level. He reports:

Though the churches have often been accused of fostering intergroup tension and hostility our evidence



indicates that actually the subcommunities are the primary source of this in Detroit at present.<sup>162</sup>

It is very evident from Table 2 that as the percentage of voting preference for the Liberals decreases, so that of the other two left-wing parties, N.D.P. and C.C.F., increases, although the total voting percentage for all Left parties decreases, with the descending level of hierarchical organization in the religious group.

Social class differences between the three religious groups of our sample are very slight and therefore this has been eliminated as a plausible explanation of the observed data.

These differences may be explained in various ways, but whatever the explanation chosen, it is plain that the differences are too great to be "explained away".

An examination of the Conservative vote shows that the Anglicans had the highest percentage expressing preference for the Conservative party. The Anglican church has been, through the years, closely associated with the Conservative party, whereas there have been times when other Protestant groups have opposed that party. The candidate for the Conservatives in this particular area was Anglican and this also may have had some direct influence upon voting.

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<sup>162</sup>Lenski, op.cit., p. 73.

A consideration of the ethnicity and religious affiliation of each of the candidates contesting the seat locally is in order at this time.

Religious Affiliation of the Candidates for the Seat of Hamilton West, of which the North End forms a part.

| <u>Party</u>   | <u>Candidate</u> | <u>Religious<br/>Affiliation</u> | <u>Ethnicity</u> |
|----------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| Conservative   | Ellen Fairclough | Anglican                         | Anglo-Saxon      |
| Liberal        | Balys Kronas     | Catholic                         | Lithuanian       |
| New Democratic | Gary Chertkoff   | Jewish                           | Russian          |

Table 3

It is difficult to discover whether the Conservative and Liberal candidates were chosen because of their religious affiliation or if the latter was merely coincidental. Since there are indications that the majority of Liberals are Catholic and that the majority of the Conservatives are Protestant, then even a random drawing of names from a list of potential candidates, would favour a candidate with traditional religious affiliation with reference to the political party concerned. After an examination of the influence of social characteristics of our sample, an attempt will be made to bring all these factors together and to see what would probably have been the results if our sample had been equally divided in social characteristics among the three religious groups, also to see whether the sex, ethnicity or religious affiliation of these candidates was likely to have influenced the results.

Voting Preference and Relative Frequency of Church Attendance

From Table Vb in the appendix it can readily be seen that church attendance, when it is high, accentuates the differences between the three religious groups and their respective voting preferences. For example, Catholics claiming a high rate of church attendance expressed a voting preference for the Liberal party to the extent of 62.35%, whereas Catholics of low church attendance expressed a Liberal vote preference 39.47% of the time. Similarly, the Anglicans predominantly expressed a preference for the Conservative party with the high attenders registering 41.67% in favour and low attenders 37.84%, but the absolute numbers of Anglican high attenders is low and therefore these figures should be regarded as tentative. The difference between high and low attenders is most strikingly brought out in the case of the Other Major Protestant Denominations. Fifty per cent of the high attenders expressed a preference for the Conservative party whereas among low attenders the preference was as follows: 20.83% Conservative and Social Credit, 25.00% Liberal, 25.00% N.D.P. and C.C.F. This was the only group showing a reversal of the pattern. Alford would undoubtedly point to the increased secularization of the Other Major Protestants and suggest that they are therefore more likely to vote according to their class rather than their religious affiliation. There may also be another factor such as conservatism -- used in a more general sense -- which links both religious and political conservatism, both attendance and staying with the traditional voting preference of the religious group.

However, since the voting pattern is seen to be accentuated by much church attendance, it is highly probable that there is a valid correlation between religious affiliation and voting behaviour. It is here assumed that there is greater commitment to the church if attendance is frequent than if it is infrequent. However, the writer is not unaware that church attendance may increase for other than religious reasons. For the vast majority of people, since the religious affiliation is not changed throughout life, and since religious training at least in an informal way is frequently included in childhood training, religion can be considered to precede voting preference for the individual. Voting, after all, is an adult activity but religion is considered appropriate for both children and adults. This fact then would indicate the causality of religion, although the influence may not be direct, as has been discussed previously.

When the low attenders were considered separately, a chi-square indicated that religion is still significant in prediction of voting behaviour. ( $\chi^2 = 19.73$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This indicates that even nominal affiliation to a religious group can still be indicative of voting preference, although religious influence takes place presumably through the religious subcommunity rather than through religious association. Even although the particular respondent may never attend church, religious influence may be felt, in terms of voting in the manner traditional to the particular religious group of family and friends. As we have noted earlier, these groups tend to be religiously homogeneous, so that the pressure is

usually in the direction of that of the religious group with which the respondent is nominally affiliated.

### Voting Preference and Ethnicity

There has been severe criticism of many of the studies of religious influence because the ethnic factor has not been taken into account. Typical of these is an article by Bernard C. Rosen on Lenski's book, The Religious Factor:

The failure to control for ethnicity is in my opinion the most serious flaw of this study . . . There is a growing body of data to suggest that the differences between the various Catholic groups are often greater than those between Catholics and Protestants. Important ethnic differences also exist between Protestant groups . . . . the fact remains that until religion is separated from its ethnic matrix we shall not know whether we are dealing with a "religious" factor or with a more inclusive ethnic variable of which religion is only a part.<sup>163</sup>

Fortunately, in the present sample it has been possible to separate British-background respondents and "others" in each religious-affiliation group. Also in the Catholic case, it has been possible to split "others" into the following categories: Italian, French, Irish, and South-East European groups, leaving once again a residual category labelled "others". In the first instance using only British and "others" for each religious group and comparing the voting behaviour, by the method of "effect parameters",<sup>164</sup> religion is more significant than ethnicity. (Percentage

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<sup>163</sup>Bernard C. Rosen, Book Review of G. Lenski, "The Religious Factor", American Sociological Review, Vol. 27, Feb. 1962, p. 112.

<sup>164</sup>John A. Michael, "High School Climates and Plans for Entering College", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 25, Winter, 1961, p. 585-595. The method of calculation of effect parameters is given on page 591n. It is the average percentage difference calculated for both columns and rows, separately, and then compared.

differences: due to religion 27.20, due to ethnicity 14.02.) Turning to the Catholic vote and breaking it down according to ethnicity, (Table Vc in the appendix), in every ethnic group the majority expressed a preference for the Liberal party. We may conclude then, that in the present study, religious affiliation is of greater importance than ethnicity where voting preference is concerned. This is supported by the study of Ruby Jo Kennedy where she shows that religion is of more importance than ethnicity in intermarriage in New Haven.<sup>165</sup> If this is also true for Canada as a whole and Hamilton in particular, and unfortunately no research has come to my attention to confirm or deny it, then more families would be religiously homogeneous than ethnically homogeneous and religion could be expected to exert a stronger influence in the home.

Vallee, Schwartz and Darknell, in a paper on this subject suggest that ethnicity may be manifested in voting, either through (a) the support of a group of a candidate from the same or a closely related ethnic group no matter what party the candidate is affiliated with, or (b) by support of a party by an ethnic group (which is usually an aspect of a class or of an "immigrant" vote).<sup>166</sup> However, there may be intense competition for the support of ethnic minorities.<sup>167</sup>

Also, where religion claims to be the interpreter of ultimate

<sup>165</sup>Kennedy, op.cit.

<sup>166</sup>Frank G. Vallee, Mildred Schwartz and Frank Darknell, "Ethnic Assimilation and Differentiation in Canada", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 1957, Vol. XXIII, pp. 540-549.

<sup>167</sup>David C. Corbett quoted in ibid., p. 548.

values and the meaning of life, then on this score too, it may be expected to exert more influence than ethnicity. Herberg, of course, has insisted that in the United States at least, religion is becoming more and more important as ethnicity declines in importance with succeeding generations. This argument could be applied to Canada, but a considerably higher percentage of our sample are first generation immigrants than would be true for the country as a whole, or for the United States.

### Voting Preference and Generational Differences

When voting preference is broken down into generational categories, it is most obvious that there is a consistently larger number of respondents who object to the voting question in the first generation. (See Table Vd). Those who object in the first generation are: Roman Catholic 27.08%, Anglican 33.33%, and Other Major Protestant 35.29%. This figure decreases sharply with successive generations and may reflect the distrust of immigrants by those whom they consider "officials", as indicated by other immigrant studies. It can also be understood in terms of the lower educational level of the first generation immigrants, with consequently less appreciation of the nature and importance of research. Also some immigrants come to Canada from countries where democracy was threatened and may feel that a question concerning voting is a threat to their freedom or is a form of political "witch-hunting".

The number of Catholics who express a preference for the Liberal party remains almost constant throughout, for the generations. When we examine the statistics for Anglicans, however, we find that, contrary to

the general trend, the first generation frequently identifies with the Liberal party. We might speculate that the first generation Anglicans, who are usually English-speaking, identify with their social class, rather than with their religious group. The majority of them are from Great Britain, and as Alford has pointed out, social class is much more important in British politics than it is in Canada.<sup>168</sup> But in this country both John Porter and S.D. Clark have shown that the Anglican church in Canada identifies with the Conservative party in politics, traditionally, as discussed in an earlier section. Unfortunately, the number of Anglicans in our sample is not large and these results should therefore be regarded as very tentative indications of trends.

With the Other Major Protestant group, it is noteworthy that in the first generation no one has indicated a preference for the New Democratic party, whereas 21.74% of the second generation and 19.44% of the third and fourth generations indicated N.D.P. as their choice. However, caution must be exercised here, when drawing conclusions, since, once again, numbers are very small. While Conservative preference is ahead of Liberal in each generational group, yet the difference decreases with successive generations. The percentage of "undecided" remains fairly constant throughout the generations. Many of these first generation immigrants would be coming to Canada from rural backgrounds, and as has already been noted, urbanization tends to bring with it secularization, and

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<sup>168</sup>See Alford, op.cit.



this is much more noticeable for Protestants than for Catholics. Successive generations would be more influenced by this urbanizing effect than the first generation. A larger proportion of Other Major Protestants are non-British in background and therefore assimilation would be expected to be slower and this would be especially noticeable in the first generation. Assimilation combined with urbanization for Protestants brings in its wake a greater identification with social class, and for the working class this would mean voting with their class for the New Democrats.

Using the method of effect parameters, religion has had more effect than generation of immigration in the case of the Conservative and the Liberal votes. But with the N.D.P. and C.C.F. vote, immigrant generation was of greater importance than religion. Most important is the observation that no first generation Protestant expressed a preference for these latter parties although relatively large percentages did so in the third and fourth generations.

#### Voting Preference and Age

Contradicting the findings of previous studies, in our sample, increasing age brought increasing political conservatism rather than social conservatism.<sup>169</sup> Using once again the method of effect parameters, age is more significant than religion in both Liberal and combined N.D.P.

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<sup>169</sup>In the current literature on voting, the term social conservatism is taken to mean voting according to the pattern which is dominant in the social groups of the respondents, whereas political conservatism refers to voting for Right wing parties.

and C.C.F. vote. But religion is more influential in the Conservative vote. However, this is logical since age works with Anglicanism and Other Major Protestants to intensify the influence of religion, whereas with the Left wing parties it works against it, and increasing age brings a drift towards the Right wing and political conservatism. When the three parameters are averaged, religion is found to be slightly more influential than age, (percentage differentials: for religion 21.07, for age 18.82).

It is noticeable in each religious group, that a voting preference for the N.D.P. diminished very considerably after the age of sixty years. This confirms the findings of Jewitt's study where the N.D.P. was supported predominantly by the young, as discussed under the topic of age-generations heretofore.

The numbers who object to the question increase with increasing age and this is accentuated among the Protestant respondents. However, more of the Protestants are first generation in the older age categories than are Catholics of similar age. It could be also that the older people felt more confidence in telling the young interviewers to "mind your own business".

One other factor that is affected by age is the numbers of those who are "undecided" as to voting preference. The percentage of "undecided" decreased in the case of Catholic and Anglican respondents. It was, however, not markedly different in the case of Other Major Protestants. It could be that "undecided" for the younger respondents is a polite

pseudonym for objecting to the question. In the case of the Other Major Protestants a larger sample would be needed to give reasonable assurance that a reversal of trend was taking place.

#### Voting Preference and Income

It is commonly assumed that groups at different levels of the socio-economic scale will support different political parties, and that usually, the higher the income, the more it is that persons will express preference for the Conservative party. Also, the N.D.P. is seen as the party of the "common man". In consequence, it was predicted that a higher proportion of higher-income Catholics would favour the Conservative party, and that a higher proportion of lower-income respondents of all religious affiliations would favour the N.D.P. and C.C.F. parties. This first prediction was verified with regard to Catholics. The second prediction was found to be inapplicable to Catholic respondents although it was verified in the case of Anglicans and respondents of Other Major Protestant Denominations. The Catholics, who are mainly high attenders, are consequently less secularized and therefore would be less influenced by a class voting pattern, presumably are drawn to the conservative end of the spectrum by the conservative tendencies inherent in Catholicism. The Protestants on the other hand, being more secularized, tend to vote with their social class. It is noteworthy that in each religious group the percentage who stated that they were "undecided" decreased at the higher level of income. This finding probably reflects an educational difference.

### Voting Preference and Education

In a comparison of grade school educated as compared with high school educated groups, for both groups of Protestants, higher education decreases the traditional vote, but for the Catholics it increases it. It is suggested that the grade school educated Protestants are more likely to have come from rural background than their high school educated counterparts. The urbanized are more secularized in the Protestant group and therefore are more likely to vote according to class patterns, but, as has been indicated earlier, Roman Catholic urban are less secularized than Protestants. Those of low education and Catholic were much more inclined to indicate that they objected to the question or that they were undecided. Here again, it must be remembered that a larger proportion of the Catholic respondents are first generation immigrants, than among the Protestant groups.

Education is seen to be much less important than the religious variable. By the method of effect parameters the difference due to religion was 30.05 and due to education it was 20.34.

### Voting Preference and Urban or Rural Background

The association of voting preference and urban or rural background has largely, of necessity, been discussed under other headings, with regard to social class background and secularization.

As has been noted earlier in this chapter, studies of the social characteristics relevant to voting behaviour have concentrated their attention on the present place of residence of the respondents and have

too frequently ignored the former locations, and more particularly the place of residence during childhood and adolescence, of the respondents.

Although there are considerable differences in rural and urban background respondents in each of the religious groupings, yet, using the method of effect parameters, it can be demonstrated that religion is far more significant as a variable influencing voting than is urban or rural background.

In each of the three religious groups there was greater heterogeneity of answers obtained from those coming from urban backgrounds than from those who were brought up in rural areas. The small numbers of rural-background Protestants prevents the presentation of more than tentative indications of trends in this respect. However, it is worthy of note that there is a marked contrast in the Other Major Protestant group where no rural but 22.22% of urban-background respondents expressed preference for the N.D.P. and C.C.F. parties. Amongst the Anglicans, however, more rural than urban background indicated that they would vote for these parties. Many of the rural Anglicans come from British background, and as we have seen the British voter is much more class conscious.

It should be noted that 30.77% of the Catholics of rural background objected to the question. This could be seen to be a function of the lower educational achievement of rural as compared with urban Catholics, as discussed in the previous section.

#### Voting Preference and Sex

The outstanding differences between men and women in the 1962 election in the North End of Hamilton, were that in the first place, it

was predominantly the men who expressed the desire to vote for the N.D.P. or C.C.F. parties. This is confirmed in Jewitt's study<sup>170</sup> where the men were the primary supporters of the N.D.P. Their connection with this party could be largely through membership in the trade unions which were known to "back up" the party.

As was anticipated, the women in both the Other Major Protestant group and the Catholic group were more socially conservative than their male counterparts, that is they adhered more closely to the traditional way of voting of their religious group. However, this was not observed in the case of the Anglican group, where men predominantly voted Conservative and the women Liberal. It is probable that many of the Anglican women know the candidate personally, since many of them go to "the Cathedral", to attend church or social events there. It may be that the well-known proverb is applicable here, "a prophet is without honour in his own country". None of the other candidates were known personally, to any large extent, in the North End. Many women were "undecided" or objected to the question, did not give an answer, or were not eligible to vote. Nearly forty per cent of the women fell into these categories whereas none of the men did so. This can have distorted the voting pattern.

In every case religion was more important than sex in influencing the voting distribution. (Percentage differences: for religion 23.24, for sex 15.49.)

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<sup>170</sup>Jewitt, op.cit.

### Conclusions

The empirical evidence overwhelmingly confirms the predictions that (1) Catholic voters support the Liberal party, and (2) Protestants support the Conservative party; that (3) the younger age groups are less attached to voting according to the tradition of their own religious affiliation than older groups, and (4) the N.D.P. and C.C.F. parties in the North End of Hamilton are supported predominantly by the younger male Protestants of urban upbringing, with low rates of church attendance. (5) Religious affiliation is shown to be more important than any other variable considered, including ethnicity. However, age was nearly as important in voting behaviour as religious affiliation. All other variables were clearly of secondary importance as shown in the following table summarizing the "effect parameters" of the variable:

|  | <u>Religion</u> | <u>Other Variable</u> | <u>Type of Table</u> |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Religion and immigrant generation      | 27%             | 14%                   | 3 x 3*               |
| Religion and age                       | 21%             | 19%                   | 3 x 3                |
| Religion and income                    | 33%             | 23%                   | 3 x 3                |
| Religion and education                 | 30%             | 20%                   | 3 x 3                |
| Religion and ethnicity                 | 21%             | 13%                   | 2 x 2                |
| Religion and rural or urban upbringing | 22%             | 6%                    | 2 x 2                |
| Religion and sex                       | 23%             | 5%                    | 2 x 2                |

Table 4

It is evident that in the North End of Hamilton, religion of the respondent is more influential than any other variable tested, which confirms Robert

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\*The 3 x 3 tables compare Catholics, Anglicans and Other Major Protestant Denominations and the 2 x 2 tables compare Catholics and Protestants only.

Alford's findings for ten public opinion surveys conducted in Canada, where 'the differences between the religions within similar strata were consistently larger than the differences between classes within the same religion.'<sup>171</sup>

The results obtained here, however, must be considered with reference to the social characteristics of the three religious groups, as discussed in Chapter IV. It has been observed that Catholics of high church attendance much more frequently vote Liberal than those of low attendance. The overall high attendance of Catholics inflates the total Liberal vote of Catholics and the generally low attendance of Protestants inflates the third party vote at the expense of the Conservatives.

The generally higher age of the Protestant groups than the Catholic group, probably means that the Conservative vote is overestimated if we are to generalize from these findings to other Ontario urban working class populations, since older Protestants vote more frequently for the Conservative party than younger ones. Also since the Protestant groups have a lower proportion of males than the Hamilton population in general, and the men more generally support the New Democratic party, the Conservative vote will once again be inflated by the abnormally high number of women in our Protestant sample. If the sample of Protestants was to approach more nearly the national average, then a higher proportion of N.D.P. voting would be anticipated in this group than was found in our sample.

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<sup>171</sup>Alford, op.cit., p. 276.



Ethnicity does not appear to have been as important a variable as some of the literature indicates. Or it may not have been an important factor in this particular election in this polling area. Both Kronas (Liberal) and Chertkoff (N.D.P.) are East-European names, and these candidates may have gained a certain amount of support from this block of immigrants. However, it was the Conservative candidate, a British Canadian, who won this election although probably the majority of her support came from the middle class districts of the riding. She was also Minister of Immigration at the time of the election.

## VI

### RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND WORK

To date almost nothing has been done to explore the relevance of Weber's thesis for the world of work in contemporary American society.<sup>172</sup>

This chapter will examine the relationship of religious affiliation and economic attitudes and behaviour. The empirical data will be analyzed under three headings, (a) attitudes toward work, (b) level of ambition, and (c) house ownership, as an example of savings.

#### (a) Attitudes toward work

In the light of Lenski's findings about attitudes toward work among manual workers in the Detroit area, it was hypothesized that, at the working class level, the Weber thesis would not in part be confirmed, i.e. that there would be little difference between the attitudes of Catholic and of Protestant workers. In fact "Catholicism is conducive to more positive attitudes towards the less demanding (and hence less rewarding) positions".<sup>173</sup> Lenski also found that Americans are far more likely to have a negative attitude toward work than first-and second-generation

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<sup>172</sup>Lenski, op.cit., p. 94.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

immigrants.<sup>174</sup>

The attempt to test attitudes toward work in Hamilton was made by asking the employed respondents the following question:

"If you suddenly didn't have to work, how would you feel?"

In answer, the majority of North End respondents in each religious group indicated that they would regard the cessation of work with a certain amount of disfavour. Although both Anglicans and Other Major Protestants were less favourable to a life without work than Catholics in the sample, a chi-square test of Other Major Protestants and of Catholics indicated that the differences were not significant at the 5% level. Unfortunately, the numbers of Protestants in this sample are small since a larger proportion of the respondents are women, many of whom were not working, than in the Catholic group, and hence were not asked this question.

In an attempt to answer the question, 'Why is there not a difference between Catholics and Protestants in our sample in their attitudes toward work?', due consideration must be given to the influence of the labour unions. As Lenski has pointed out, the labour unions' "philosophy of life" is opposed to the values which are traditionally embodied in the "Protestant Ethic" and the "Spirit of Capitalism". Work is considered by the unions to be evil, and therefore, the less there is of it the better. Hence demands are made for a shorter working week, and for longer holidays with pay. The intrinsic value of work is not thought to be self-evident.

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<sup>174</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

Hard work was seen by the early Lutherans as a "calling", an acceptable way of serving God; by the followers of Calvin as a means of assurance of salvation; by the Deists, like Benjamin Franklin, as the essence of "character-building"; but by the North American labour unionist it is seen frequently as the means of acquiring the goods deemed essential to the enjoyment of leisure.

In Hamilton, an attempt was made to test this postulate and see whether there really was a difference between those labour union members who said that they attended all, or nearly all, of the important meetings and those who attended infrequently, since many of the latter may be members by necessity, rather than by choice, whereas the former should manifest higher commitment to the values of the labour unions. It is apparent in Table VIu that the infrequent attenders at union meetings, i.e. the less committed, in our sample, to the values of the union, showed a higher percentage of their number unfavourable to the cessation of work, as was anticipated. This was true of both Catholic and Other Major Protestant respondents, indicating that trade unionism exerts an influence which is independent of religious affiliation. However, this finding should be accepted with caution, since the numbers in the sample are very small.

The craftsman, with his intrinsic satisfaction and pride in his work, is being replaced by the automated worker with extrinsic satisfaction in the size of the "pay-packet", the extent of the "fringe-benefits", the comparative degree of comfort provided by good local working condi-

tions, and compatible companionship "on the job".<sup>175</sup>

It has been emphasized earlier that Protestants are more secularized than Catholics, as indicated by reference to frequency of church attendance. Therefore it is to be expected that Protestants will more generally attach themselves to the secular ethic, the spirit of the trade union movement, than to the value system of the Protestant Ethic. It should be noted here that the implications for attendance for Catholics and Protestants are different. For Catholics there is a moral imperative to attend church, for grace is mediated through the sacraments of the church. As Joseph Fichter has pointed out, Easter duties and weekly attendance at Sunday mass are morally obligatory.<sup>176</sup> The majority of Protestant groups postulate a very different relationship of the individual and the church, since the Protestant is usually regarded as competent to appropriate the means of grace for himself. Protestant services are frequently regarded as "worship" services and the Protestant usually feels that attendance is, to some extent at least, optional rather than morally imperative. This may largely account for the difference in church attendance rates between Protestants and Catholics. Also, since the majority of Protestants, unlike Catholics, have low rates of church attendance, it is assumed that they have a lower level of commitment to the values of the religious group.

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<sup>175</sup>See Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream, (New York, Doubleday, 1955), p. 85 ff.

<sup>176</sup>Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., "The Profile of Catholic Religious Life", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 58, September 1952.

Turning now to Catholicism, there has been in the church, two streams of thought with regard to work, the positive which stems from the pride of the Mediaeval craftsman in his work, and the negative which regards work as an evil imposed upon man since the Fall. The negative attitude was further accentuated by the mechanization, automation and extreme division of labour in modern industry, which, of course, can affect both Catholics and Protestants. Probably the explanation for the results in the present study lies mainly in the type of occupational role and the measure of autonomy it provides in the working situation. Table VI demonstrates that in each religious group, those who are employed in service occupations, transportation, utilities or construction, are predominantly unfavourable to the cessation of work, regardless of whether they are Protestant or Catholic. Those engaged in heavy or light manufacturing are much more likely to regard the termination of work as a blessing. Of those who work in the steel mills, several respondents mentioned summer temperatures of 130°F -- whether this is factual or not belabours the question -- it is an indication of the way the men feel about their work that is of interest here. Looking now at the general situation, men in industry are often governed by the speed of the equipment or the exigencies of chemical processing. On the other hand, there are other workers who are not governed by the speed of the machines. What they like about their jobs, presumably, is the autonomy it provides. The automated workers may be motivated to do much hard work by the high wages and fringe benefits, but if these are taken away the incentive is gone and the atti-

tude toward their work is negative. The independent workers on the other hand, find more intrinsic satisfaction in their jobs. Any analysis which compares Protestant and Catholic attitudes to work without due regard to the kind of occupation they are engaged in is useless, even though there is control for social class. The only satisfactory study to compare Catholics and Protestants would be one where working conditions and occupational roles were identical for the two groups.

An examination of Table VIb reveals that high attendance for Catholics is conducive to a less favourable attitude toward the cessation of work than the respondents of low attendance, hence confirming Lenski's findings for Catholics in less demanding occupations. But it throws doubt on the theory that traditional religious doctrine is substantially influencing attitudes towards work, at least in the manner indicated by Weber. However, the current research literature provides many examples where work is valued as an opportunity for social activity rather than for its own sake or as a moral imperative. One middle-aged cotton mill worker throughout the interview, repeated time and again, "my whole life was finished when the mill shut down". She had found another job, but it was the companionship of co-workers at the mill that she missed.

As people become older and face retirement, many of them face the future with fear or apprehension. Work has meaning for them. Peter Townsend has written of the older inhabitants of Bethnal Green:

These men, all in their late sixties or early seventies, viewed retirement with uneasiness and ill-concealed fear. Most agreed with the sentiments of one man who said,

"I'll retire when someone pole-axes me". Many said they would miss being at work and would have nothing to do. They felt work kept them in good health and enabled them to preserve a standard of living they would otherwise have to surrender. The emphasis was on occupation. One man said, 'Work fills a gap when you get older. There was a time when I was waiting for the time I could get away, but now I'm glad, because it fills a gap'.<sup>177</sup>

On the other hand retirement is usually anticipated some years in advance and for some people, a period of attitude-realignment may be taking place a few years prior to actual retirement.

In reply to the question put to them, many respondents in each religious group indicated that they would still keep working, even though they were no longer required to do so. Probing for reasons for their answers, it was found that the "need to keep busy" was a frequent response. Many respondents, both Catholic and Protestant, could not imagine themselves in a situation where they did not need to work for money. Many Anglicans, in addition to the need to keep busy, also indicated that they would be lost without work. The Other Major Protestants, in addition to these two answers indicated that they liked to keep active. Some respondents in each group showed anxiety, indicating that they would be nervous or would get bored if they did not have work to give regularity and pattern to life. One respondent, an extreme case, tersely answered, "I'd go nuts!" At least ten per cent in each religious group stated that they would not change their present way of living but would continue at the same work, even if the financial necessity were removed.

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<sup>177</sup>Peter Townsend, The Family Life of Old People. An Inquiry in East London, (Middlesex, Penguin, 1963), p. 158.



It was thought that ethnicity might have a bearing on work-attitudes. It was noticed that the British were consistently more favourable to the abandonment of work than others.<sup>178</sup> This trend seems plausible in the light of Harrington's recent work on the "culture of apathy".<sup>179</sup> The author points out that the immigrants or their descendants who stay on in an area selected for urban renewal are usually those who have sunk into a state of apathy about the future. The more-recently arrived immigrants live in the area, but they do not "belong" to the culture of poverty, in terms of the value-system, they look for the opportunity to "get ahead". Although Harrington's thesis refers to districts where the residents are much more generally affected by poverty than the North Enders, yet its basic tenets may still hold true for the inhabitants of the district under consideration. It should be evident in the present study that very few of British-background residents are recent arrivals from Great Britain. The majority are third or fourth generation and many just consider themselves "Canadians". Most of the first generation respondents came to this country in the nineteen-twenties and are now close to retirement. Many of their children have moved to the suburbs, especially to the working class district known locally as "the mountain".

Lenski found that first generation immigrants from Europe showed more evidence of positive attitudes towards a "calling" than third or

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<sup>178</sup>A chi-square was not significant at the 5% level of probability in either the Catholic or the Other Major Protestant groups.

<sup>179</sup>See Michael Harrington, The Other America: Poverty in the United States, (New York, Macmillan, 1964), pp. 10, 11.

later generations. Catholic respondents in the North End sample also showed a significant difference between first generation and later generations,<sup>180</sup> as far as attitudes toward terminating work were concerned; the difference is in the anticipated direction.

It was expected that the older respondents would be more receptive to the idea of cessation of work, due to anticipatory socialization in preparation for coming retirement. For both Anglicans and Other Major Protestant respondents, although the numbers in the sample were small, there were noticeably larger percentages of older respondents who are favourable to the idea of termination of work. This is not the case for the Catholic respondents, where there is very little difference between the older and younger groups. However, it is probable that the "40 years and over" group of working Protestants have a considerably higher median age than the Catholic counterpart, which might account for the differences found in our sample.

When the sex variable is considered, the numbers concerned are too small for working women to be compared with male workers of the same religious affiliation. Comparing male workers of the Catholic and Other Major Protestants groups, the differences did not prove to be statistically significant.<sup>181</sup> Of the female workers of Other Major Protestant affiliation, a very tentative conclusion would be that they are overwhelm-

<sup>180</sup> $\chi^2 = 4.1$ , d.f. = 1, P less than .05.

<sup>181</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.36$ , d.f. = 1.

ingly unfavourable to the cessation of work, but numbers are exceedingly low in these cells. Probably these women are married or widowed and would rather be at home.

Urban and rural upbringing made very little difference. Numbers are not sufficiently large to compare these two categories in each religious group, but the urban Catholics can be compared with urban Other Major Protestants. The percentages are identical when those favourable to the cessation of work are compared with the combined total percentages of neutral respondents and those unfavourable to it.<sup>182</sup>

Educational level made very little difference to the Other Major Protestants,<sup>183</sup> but among Catholic respondents, a larger number of grade-school-educated interviewees were unfavourable to the thought of leaving work. This can be considered to also confirm Lenski's finding on this subject, if it is assumed that the less educated group are in the less demanding jobs.

A comparison of higher and lower income Catholics revealed that there was little difference between them on attitudes toward leaving work. In the Protestant group the numbers were too small to arrive at any definite conclusions. It would appear that in the Catholic sample at least, income and education are not highly correlated. This could be the result of the employment of large numbers of Italian Catholics, who form nearly one half of the Catholic sample, in construction work which has fairly

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<sup>182</sup>See Table VIh in the appendix.

<sup>183</sup>See Table VIi in the appendix.

high remuneration and low educational requirements.

The interviewers probed for alternative activities, when the respondents stated that they would stop working if they had the opportunity.<sup>184</sup> The modal response for Catholics and Anglicans was "to travel" and for Other Major Protestants it was to "start my own business". This confirms the general tenor of the Weber thesis, in which Catholics would be presumed to prefer expressive activities, while the Protestants would prefer instrumental activities, to use the terms so frequently employed by Talcott Parsons.<sup>185</sup> It is clear from the answer of the non-Anglican Protestants in our sample, that, although they were not favourable to continuing on with their present job, they did not want to give up work, per se, but rather to give up working for others. This perhaps brings new light to bear on the reason why there is no significant difference between Catholic and Protestant replies with regard to attitudes toward termination of work. Clearly the interpretation of the question was different for Catholics than for the Other Major Protestants. In embarking upon business-ownership, at least in fantasy, the emphasis upon individualism in Protestantism is brought to the surface. 30.77% of this group chose this as their alternative activity, whereas only 5.21% of the Catholic workers chose this, but it should be noted that in terms of absolute numbers in the first case, the sample was rather small. Chinoy has noted the desire for leaving the automated shop and the daydreams of being an entrepreneur which factory

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<sup>184</sup>See Table VIg in the appendix.

<sup>185</sup>Talcott Parsons, The Social System, p. 49.

workers frequently entertain. He writes:

Stimulated both by the still lively small-business tradition and by their urgent desire to escape from factory jobs, many of these workers continue to believe that at least modest success as a small entrepreneur is possible for the hardworking, personable man with ideas and initiative. They therefore verbally entertain, in usually disorderly succession, various business ambitions which are critically scrutinized and rejected as impractical or are mulled over, dreamed about, vaguely examined, and eventually permitted to fade away because there is little likelihood of their immediate realization.<sup>186</sup>

#### (b) Level of Ambition

To obtain an index of level of ambition the following question was put to the respondents:

"If you were a boy starting over again, and could get whatever training you needed, what kind of occupation or business would you go into?"

Table VI in the appendix indicates that there is an almost identical level of ambition in the Catholic and in the Other Major Protestant groups. It should be noted, however, that the numbers answering were small since only working people were asked this question. Just over 50% of each group expressed a desire to be a professional, (usually a doctor, lawyer, or engineer), or that they would have preferred to have owned their own business. Other Major Protestants once again take the lead in desiring entrepreneurial activity, when the two categories are separated. In both religious groups there was the recurring theme, that the respond-

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<sup>186</sup>Ely Chinoy, "The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers", American Journal of Sociology, March 1952, Vol. 57, p. 459.

ent lacked education or money to be able to pursue the desired course.

Recent research is in accord with these findings. Information from a study by Raymond Mack indicates that there is no relationship 'between religious affiliation and either income goal or work oriented plans for the future'.<sup>187</sup> Mack et al. have written:

Intuitively a good argument can be made for the idea that the "American Dream", the mobility ethic, is so strong in our culture that it will override in influence sub-cultural religious dogma.<sup>188</sup>

They found no significant difference either in social mobility patterns or in aspirational level between samples of Protestants and Catholics in their study.

Alexander Inkeles shows that level of satisfaction in the U.S.S.R., U.S., Germany, Italy, Sweden and Norway varies directly with the distance of the worker from the bottom of the social prestige scale.<sup>189</sup> Unfortunately the percentages for each country cannot be directly compared since the questions asked were not all identical, and even if they had been there would be the problem of subtle meaning of phraseology, which can change slightly during the process of translation, and which, frequently is unavoidable. Inkeles' study does not indicate whether there is any difference which can be attributed to religion within the same occupational

<sup>187</sup> Raymond Mack, Raymond J. Murphy and Seymour Yellin, "The Protestant-Ethic, Level of Aspiration and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test", American Sociological Review, 1956, Vol. 21, p. 300.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>189</sup> Alex Inkeles, "Industrial Man: The Relation of Status to Experience, Perception, and Value", American Journal of Sociology, July, 1960, Vol. 64, p. 6.

category, however.

Lipset and Bendix in their comprehensive study of social mobility have found that the difference frequently explained in terms of religion can be explained better, in the majority of cases, by reference to ethnicity.<sup>190</sup>

Lenski has shown in his study that men may be motivated to work by two different sets of values. Both of these are sometimes thought to embody the essentials of the Protestant Ethic. The author found that Protestants are more likely to value work for the intrinsic satisfaction that it gives, in the classical Weberian tradition whereas Catholics are more inclined to emphasize the extrinsic rewards of high income and chances of advancement. These values are not to be thought of as antithetical, states Lenski, but rather they are variations on the same theme.<sup>191</sup>

It is probable that, in our sample, although the level of ambition appears to be identical in Catholic and Other Major Protestant groups, the anticipated rewards may be different. The question of ambition can be linked to that of satisfaction with the present job. Table VIw indicates that the large majority of workers express satisfaction with their present jobs. When workers were asked, "What do you like most about your job?", approximately one third stated they were completely satisfied. The Anglican group were generally more satisfied, but this is probably due to the larger number of skilled workers of British background in this group.

Seventy-five per cent or more of the workers in each religious

<sup>190</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, (Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California, 1962), pp. 48-56.

<sup>191</sup>Lenski, op.cit., pp. 89-92.

group expressed satisfaction with the present job, when they were asked if they thought of changing their job. This is perhaps surprisingly high in the light of Chinoy's comments that

they themselves are still striving by constantly talking about their intention to leave the shop, even though, as we have seen, they admit when pressed that they would probably never do so.<sup>192</sup>

It is evident from the present study that both Catholics and Protestants would have preferred to have been "working for themselves" either as professionals or as entrepreneurs, but, nevertheless, they remain reasonably contented with their present jobs.

### (c) Savings

Commenting on home ownership in the North End, Peter C. Pineo observes:

Most of the houses are single family units -- 202 are detached and 75 attached. 64 per cent own their own houses and of these about half report no mortgage. The equity in their houses must be the principal asset of these people and may prove to be an important determinant of other things.<sup>193</sup>

Home ownership, in this study, has been taken to be an index of the capital which a household has accumulated. No questions were asked in the study about financial assets apart from this. The only other item which could be taken into consideration would be the family car, but

We were surprised to find that only 53 per cent of the households reported having a car, and even more surprised to find that both the husband and wife drove in

<sup>192</sup>Chinoy, op.cit., p. 459.

<sup>193</sup>Pineo, op.cit., p. 3.



in only 27 cases of the 15<sup>4</sup> which had cars . . . .  
 The cars were almost all Canadian (i.e., U.S. brands)  
 rather than European and tended to be of the 1955  
 vintage.<sup>194</sup>

The "age" of most of the cars in the North End (i.e. a mean of 7 years)  
 would preclude them from being considered as a great financial asset.

If the Weber thesis is to hold today, and if home ownership can  
 be taken as a valid index of family savings in the North End, then we  
 would expect more Protestants than Catholics to own their own homes. In  
 an examination of attitudes toward savings Lenski has reported that 22%  
 of the working class white Protestants said that they were saving for  
 some long-range goal, such as the purchase of a home, higher education for  
 their children, or security later in life. By contrast, only 11% of the  
 working class made this type of statement.<sup>195</sup> The level of achievement  
 of home ownership in the North End, by these standards is very high  
 indeed.

An examination of home ownership and religious affiliation in  
 Table VI in of the appendix shows that there are significant differences  
 between the percentages owning their own homes in the three religious  
 groups.<sup>196</sup> But these differences were not in the predicted direction.  
 An examination of other social characteristics of these groups may

<sup>194</sup>Ibid., p. 3-4.

<sup>195</sup>Ibid., p. 112.

<sup>196</sup> $\chi^2 = 8.4$ , d.f. = 2, P less than .02. See Table VI in the  
 appendix.

reveal explanations for these differences.

In every religious group it was noted that high rate of church attendance is associated with a high percentage of home ownership. Religious causality should not, however, be inferred. It is very probable that greater participation in church activities indicated a nearer approximation to middle class values in other ways, of which home ownership is just one indicator.

It was anticipated that the older age groups would show a large number of home owners, as compared with parallel groups of younger respondents. This proved to be the case in each religious group. By the method of effect parameters, the percentage difference due to age was 37.56 percentage points and due to religion was 28.12 percentage points. Age is therefore more significant than religion in the purchasing of a home.

Ethnicity is a variable which could have considerable influence in the purchase of a home. In some cultures the emphasis may be upon purchase of a home, before such other items as a car. A comparison was made in the three religious groups between those respondents of British background and "others" (which is a residual category for all non-British respondents). Religion was found to be the more important variable of the two.<sup>197</sup> However, the direction of the difference was not the same in all cases. British Catholics were much less likely to purchase a home than other Catholics, whereas British Other Major Protestants were more

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<sup>197</sup> Average percentage difference due to religion 29.82%, due to ethnicity 15.99%.

likely to purchase a home than the non-British. However, the non-British can be comprised of various ethnic groups, and the only group large enough to be further broken into its component parts is the Catholic group. An examination of Table VI<sub>Q2</sub> in the appendix will reveal that British Catholics are the lowest with 42.31% home ownership, and Italian Catholics are the highest with 83.82%. This is even more surprising when we consider that the majority of the Italian group are young couples and that they are recent immigrants. One factor that may not have been taken into consideration is that frequently the Italian extended families purchase a large old home, and share it between, perhaps the parents and the two sons with their families. All have contributed to the purchase, and when the father or his two sons, or their respective wives were asked, "Do you own or rent this home?", each one would reply, "We own it", referring to the one house, whereas the British usually mean that they own their house independent of other relatives.

Ethnicity is tied in with the generational variable, since the ethnic groups came to Hamilton at different historical periods. In a comparison within the group, "second and later generations", a chi-square indicates that there are significant differences between the three religious groups and the numbers of home owners as compared to renters in each group.<sup>198</sup> Small numbers of first-generation Protestants preclude a statistical comparison here. However, it is noted that a considerably higher

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<sup>198</sup>  $\chi^2 = 9.7$ , d.f. = 2, P less than .01.

percentage of both Catholics and Other Major Protestants first generation immigrants own their own homes. It should be noted that the first generation Catholics are predominantly a younger group, whereas the Other Major Protestant group are predominantly in the over 61 years category.<sup>199</sup> Perhaps the trend indicates that the first generation is composed of a higher percentage of people who emigrated to this country because of "opportunities to get ahead"; it is therefore not a cross-section of the total population of the country of origin. Also the Catholic first generation percentage would be raised very considerably by the large number of Italians in this group as noted above.

In a comparison of income groups split between under \$4,000, and the \$4,000-and-over categories, it was found that income made a considerable difference, in home ownership rates. For Catholics the difference was in the direction anticipated, i.e. the higher income group. For Anglicans income is an important factor, too, but for Other Major Protestants, a higher percentage of the low income category owned their own homes. This anomaly has a simple explanation. The group contains a very high percentage of widows. When their husbands were living and they purchased their homes, many of them probably had a much higher income than at present. Many of them stated that the reason they continued to live in the district was that they have a home there and that their friends are close by, within walking distance.

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<sup>199</sup>See Table IVj, in the appendix.

It is clear from the foregoing analysis, that one of the major determinants of home ownership is ethnicity, and the cultural valuation placed upon home ownership which it entails. Another important factor is income, age and generation of immigration. If home ownership or rental is taken as an index of the priority given to saving as compared with spending for present needs, then clearly all these factors mentioned must be taken into consideration.

### Conclusion

It is evident that there is a general cultural ethic which overrides the separate religious ethics of Catholics and Protestants. In the secular sphere, active trade union members are much more likely to adopt an unfavourable attitude towards work than less active members.

The level of ambition of both Catholics and Protestants is almost identical, although the anticipated rewards may be different. Both Catholics and Protestants think they would prefer to be working for themselves, but in spite of this there is a fairly high level of satisfaction with the present job.

There is a surprisingly high level of home ownership in the North End by both Catholics and Protestants. Factors associated with home ownership are a high rate of church attendance, age, and ethnicity.

In conclusion, there is no substantial evidence that Catholics in the North End of Hamilton are less favourably oriented towards work than Protestants. As Lenski has shown, however, other factors, such as the

larger family size, may inhibit upward mobility of Catholics when compared with Protestants. Even this last statement has been challenged by Lipset and Bendix, who consider that the ethnic variable is probably more important than religious affiliation.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>200</sup>Lipset and Bendix, op.cit., pp. 48-56.

## VII

### LEISURE

Our subject is the leisure which has become available on an increasing scale, to the populations of the modern industrial West. Since these are societies mainly oriented to work, leisure is seen in contrast to it; and since they are prosperous and productive, leisure is not only time free but time paid for. Something can be done with it. That is why leisure in the current meaning has taken on the complexities of choice, and become problematical.<sup>201</sup>

Mass leisure is a feature of life in the sixties in North America. Earlier in the century, leisure was available only to the upper classes.<sup>202</sup> Now, it is the "working man" who has the larger amount of leisure time and the short working hours which are upheld by rigorous union control. On the other hand, the upper middle classes tend, unofficially at least, to be working longer hours, with leisure-time pursuits subservient to the functions which they serve in the furtherance of business interests.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>201</sup>Eric Larrabee and Rolf Meyersohn, Mass Leisure (Glencoe, Free Press, 1960), p. x.

<sup>202</sup>See Thorstein Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class", in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power: a Reader in Social Stratification. (Glencoe, Free Press, 1960), pp. 35-45.

<sup>203</sup>See William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man. (New York, Doubleday Anchor, 1956).

Choice in leisure time activities will be used as a supplementary guide to the attitude of the three religious groups in our sample, toward work. Our problem at this time is, do Protestants still adhere to the Protestant Ethic or do they subscribe to the "Social Ethic"?<sup>204</sup> In other words, should leisure, or free time, be used only for those activities which are "instrumental" or should it also be used for "expressive" activities? It will be recalled that in Puritan New England, both historians and novelists have portrayed the inhabitants as pursuing only instrumental activities that were "edifying", during leisure periods. Expressive activities which we now often refer to as "recreational", were considered a waste of time and money, and therefore sinful.<sup>205</sup> Basically, we are asking the question, do elements of this attitude still linger on in Protestantism today, or has the reverse occurred, as William Whyte claims, and do men feel guilty if they work too hard? Of the "organization man" Whyte writes:

He believes in leisure, but so does he believe in the Puritan insistence on hard, self-denying work -- and there are, alas, only twenty-four hours a day. How, then, to be "broad gauge"? The "broad-gauge" model we hear so much about these days is the man who keeps his work separate from leisure and from the rest of his life. Any organization man who managed to accomplish this feat wouldn't get very far. He still works hard, in short, but now he has to feel somewhat guilty about it.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>204</sup>See ibid.

<sup>205</sup>See Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1960).

<sup>206</sup>Whyte, op.cit., p. 20.



Very little empirical research has been done until recently in the area of leisure and the working class. Is leisure, now, class patterned rather than religiously patterned and are so-called "religious differences" really "ethnic-differences"?

### Hobbies

The respondents were asked whether they had a hobby, if so, what hobby, and how frequently they engaged in it. The replies have been categorized into "instrumental" and "expressive". These hobbies excluded activities such as reading, sports, or listening to TV, which were included in other questions. There is here an obvious problem, in that a hobby can be instrumental for one person, and expressive for another. Or it may change in meaning during the lifetime of an individual. For instance, colour photography could be an instrumental hobby when it is used as an adjunct to work. On the other hand, it could be solely used for recreation and its aesthetic appeal, and therefore categorized as expressive.<sup>207</sup> Its classification could also change during the lifetime of the individual concerned. However, for our purposes, "useful", educational or money-making hobbies such as knitting or do-it-yourself projects were termed instrumental; gratifying but non-profit-making hobbies such as listening to music were termed expressive.

Larrabee quotes an owner of a large New York hobby shop as saying "in the past few years the greatest development has been in the arts and

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<sup>207</sup>It will be obvious from the context here, that "instrumental" is being used in the sense of "goal-oriented" and "expressive" as gratificational.

crafts -- by the numbers".<sup>208</sup> (i.e. ready-to-paint sets of artists' materials.) The problem is whether to classify this hobby as an expressive or an instrumental one.

### Reading

One leisure time pursuit which will be examined in detail is reading. Generally, reading is considered to be "educational", although it is recognized that the type of material read may be very diverse. Nevertheless, in an area of the city where the median formal educational attainment is 7 - 8 years of schooling, any type of reading can be regarded as a means of maintaining functional literacy. For instance, few of the first generation Southern-Italians or Sicilians have more than 5 years of schooling. Probably, the occasional reading of an ethnic newspaper is important to keep them functionally literate.<sup>209</sup>

Before analyzing the empirical data of our study, some consideration will be given to studies indicative of social class differences in the uses of leisure. R. Clyde White writes of school children,

children of the upper lower class had about three hours more leisure during the four-day period than did those of the upper middle class; they devoted almost twice as

<sup>208</sup> Eric Larrabee, "What's Happening to Hobbies?" in Larrabee and Meyersohn, eds., op.cit., p. 271.

<sup>209</sup> The term "functionally literate" is used in the research studies on literacy, especially as it pertains to literacy among the underprivileged and in the developing nations, to refer to reading for enjoyment. A person who is barely literate finds that reading is a very arduous task and is therefore scarcely a pleasurable leisure-time activity after a hard days' work.

as many hours to radio, television, movies and sports as did the upper middle class and correspondingly less to each of the other activities.<sup>210</sup>

Alfred C. Clarke reports that when respondents were asked what they would do with an extra two hours a day, those in Class I of the socio-economic prestige scale stated that they would read or study, whereas many in Class V indicated they would rest or loaf.<sup>211</sup> We have noted earlier that "loafing", when urgent business is not pressing, is an acceptable pattern in some communities in both rural and urban areas.<sup>212</sup>

Professor Pineo writes of the North End:

Listening to radio and watching TV are the dominant leisure activities. Nearly ninety per cent of the respondents reported they watched television at least a few times a week. Reading, probably of the newspaper, was also reported with a high frequency. Second in frequency to this participation in mass culture were the activities of "visiting and having visitors" and "gardening".<sup>213</sup>

Visiting as a leisure activity, of either friends or relatives, will be examined in the second half of this chapter. The empirical data on hobbies will now be considered.

#### Hobbies and the North End Data

A comparison of those engaged in instrumental as contrasted with expressive hobbies showed no significant differences between the three

<sup>210</sup>R. Clyde White, "Social Class Differences" in ibid., p. 103.

<sup>211</sup>Alfred C. Clarke, "The Use of Leisure and Its Relation to Levels of Occupational Prestige", American Sociological Review, Vol. 21, 1956.

<sup>212</sup>See studies by Vogt, O'Dea and Whyte referred to in Chapter II.

<sup>213</sup>Pineo, op.cit., p. 12.

religious groups. It could be that there is so much overlapping of categories as indicated earlier, that this is not a very useful dichotomy for this particular case. Or, the class patterning of leisure activity could completely override any religious differences.

#### Reading and the North End Data

Lenski has demonstrated that Catholic women tend to avoid the more serious and demanding forms of activity and to turn instead to activities which are chiefly gratificational, in their leisure time.<sup>214</sup> It had consequently been predicted, in the North End study, that Catholics would engage less in reading than Protestants. This prediction was fulfilled and there were significant differences found between the three religious groups.<sup>215</sup> When a series of social factors was tested for its effect upon reading, as compared with religious affiliation, only education surpassed the latter, as was anticipated.

#### Reading among Catholics, Anglicans and Other Major Protestants

| <u>Percentage differences,</u><br><u>Religion</u> | <u>Percentage differences</u><br><u>Other Variables</u> | <u>Type of</u><br><u>Table</u> |
|---|---|--------------------------------|
| 22%   | 18% Income  | 3 x 3                          |
| 27%   | 19% Age   | 3 x 3                          |
| 15%   | 12% Immigrant Generation                                | 3 x 3                          |
| 10%   | 15% Education   | 2 x 2                          |
| 10%   | 7% Ethnicity  | 2 x 2                          |
| 19%   | 6% Sex  | 2 x 2                          |

Table 5

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<sup>214</sup>Lenski, op.cit., pp. 227-229.

<sup>215</sup> $\chi^2 = 12.47$ , d.f. = 4. The probability that it occurred by chance is less than 2%.

Controlling for religious differences in our sample, factors associated with a high level of frequent reading are high school education, income over \$4,000, British background, second or later immigrant generation, and older age groups. Now it can be seen that these are all factors associated with the Protestant as compared with the Catholic groups in our sample. The latter has a larger proportion of respondents who are first generation immigrants. Just over 40% of the Catholic sample are Italians, and this ethnic group has a very low rate of frequent readers. The Catholic group is the only one of the three which contains completely unschooled respondents, and these are mostly Italians. It also is a younger group in terms of median age -- presumably those families who have young children do not find the time or tranquillity to read much. Therefore it is considered that there is, quite possibly, a spurious relationship between religious affiliation and reading. Further research is needed on this subject to come to a decision here.

Reading has been considered in this section because of its close link with education and hence with social mobility, as well as being an indicator of attitudes toward leisure and its "proper" use.

Visiting patterns are also of interest in view of their association with potential rates of social mobility for the groups in question.

#### Friendship and Kinship Visiting Patterns

Tremendous interest has been generated in recent years by the findings of a number of research studies which centre on friendship and kinship visiting patterns in the large urban centres of industrial societies.

These studies may be divided for convenience into four categories, (a) the examination of the patterns among the working class living in "urban renewal" areas, as contrasted with the middle class living in suburbia, (b) the differences between urban and rural areas, (c) ethnic differences, and (d) religious differences. Only the first of these can show a substantial body of empirical data to support its theoretical base. The last three areas have produced much more speculation than solid empirical studies. It is in the fourth area that the present study will proceed, after a discussion of the background material contained in the research and literature of class, ethnic and regional differences.

(a) Class differences

Recent research both in Great Britain and the United States, has emphasized the importance of the extended kinship network to people of the working class. By way of contrast, the emphasis in the middle class is upon mobility, both social and geographical. Friendship usually takes priority over kinship in the suburbs, according to recent studies. Talcott Parsons considers that extended family relations are not compatible with the demands of modern industrial societies.<sup>216</sup> However, this viewpoint has been challenged by Litwak who argues that a "modified" extended family is consonant with occupational mobility in modern industrial areas. The extended family provides aid across class lines but does not hinder

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<sup>216</sup>Talcott Parsons, "Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification", in R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1960), pp. 116 ff.

mobility based on merit.<sup>217</sup> Sussman and Burchinal, after a comprehensive examination of recent research in this field, have come to the conclusion that

The description of the isolated, nuclear American family system, if valid, is most suited to the white, urban middle class segment of society. Presumably, the leisure time of the members of these families is absorbed in the activities of secondary, special interest social groups. Since urban, lower-class family members participate less than middle class family members in voluntary organizations, it is believed that social activities of adult lower class family members are restricted to informal visiting patterns.<sup>218</sup>

The authors emphasize in their study that the "modified extended family" exists and functions in modern industrial society. The kin network is linked by both mutual aid and by social activities. One of their findings was that

While there may be a difference in the absolute amount of financial aid received by families of middle and working class status, there are insignificant differences in the proportion of families in these two strata who report receiving, giving or exchanging economic assistance in some form.<sup>219</sup>

While economic aid may be important, nevertheless, Sussman and Burchinal consider that social activities are the principal functions of the kin family network. These include visiting, joint participation in recreational activities and ceremonial behaviour which is significant to family

<sup>217</sup>Eugene Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion", American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, Feb. 1960.

<sup>218</sup>Marvin B. Sussman and Lee Burchinal, "Kin Family Network: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning", Marriage and Family Living, Aug. 1962, p. 234.

<sup>219</sup>Ibid., p. 236.

unity. These dominate the leisure time pursuits of urban working class members. Of the function of the family among immigrants they write

Once new immigrants became established in the city they served as informants, innkeepers and providers for later kin arrivals. Once these followers arrived the kin family network then functioned most effectively to protect and acculturate their members into urban ways.<sup>220</sup>

The authors conclude their review of the current research by rejecting the concept of the isolated nuclear family in modern urban society. Now to examine some of the recent studies in more detail.

There have been many studies conducted recently, and especially in Great Britain, which place heavy emphasis on the importance of the frequency of visits of kin which occur among manual labourers.

Young and Willmott in their study of families in Bethnal Green, a district of East London, reported that eighty per cent of the women they interviewed had seen their mothers during the previous week.<sup>221</sup> The importance of the mother in working class families is stressed by Elizabeth Bott.<sup>222</sup> Young and Willmott give a resume of studies in this area and summarize their conclusions as follows:

if our argument is right, we would expect the stressing of the mother-daughter tie to be widespread, perhaps universal, phenomenon in the

<sup>220</sup>Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>221</sup>Michael Young and Peter Willmott, Family and Kinship in East London, (Middlesex, Penguin, 1957) p.

<sup>222</sup>See Elizabeth Bott, Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families, (London, Tavistock, 1957).



urban areas of all industrial countries, at any rate in the families of urban workers. Future research will show whether this expectation is justified.<sup>223</sup>

Madeleine Kerr, writing of Ship Street, a dockside area of Liverpool, England, states that the residents are interested "only in personal relationships centred on their family group".<sup>224</sup> Elizabeth Bott emphasizes that the relationships are with a network of kin rather than an organized group.<sup>225</sup>

Herbert Gans writing of Italian-American families in Boston, states that the West Enders socialize primarily with people of their own age and sex. He reports that "the large majority of West Enders are clearly working class".<sup>226</sup> Gans concludes that their way of life can be better understood as a class phenomenon than as an ethnic one.<sup>227</sup> This statement is open to debate, and certainly in the present study, there are both similarities and differences between Italian and other ethnic working class groups in the North End.

The current literature of the working class subculture abounds with examples of the importance of the kinship network in this sector of

<sup>223</sup>Young and Willmott, op.cit., p. 195-6.

<sup>224</sup>Madeleine Kerr, The People of Ship Street. (London, Routledge, 1958), p. 5.

<sup>225</sup>See Bott, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>226</sup>Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans. (Glencoe, Free Press, 1962), p. 25.

<sup>227</sup>See ibid., Chapter 2.

modern urban society. However classical urban sociology has been slow to assimilate these findings since traditionally urban society was thought to break down kin relationships. The research in this field will now be discussed briefly.

(b) Rural and urban differences

In 1954-5 Phillip Garigue conducted a study in Montreal to find out the extent and importance of kinship contacts in this large urban centre.<sup>228</sup> He interviewed fifty-two French Canadians and collected geneological tables from those of urban background. He discovered that the mean number of kin known to the respondent was two hundred and fifteen. The respondents reported spending much time with their kin and there was much reciprocation of services. These included the loan of needed objects, babysitting, shopping, care of the household during the mother's illness or confinement and loans or gifts of an economic nature.<sup>229</sup>

Evidence points to the strong ties between kin which are not broken down by urban society, per se, although they may be weakened by the mobility experienced in the middle classes.

Ethnic differences within the working class may also be a factor that should be taken into consideration. These differences have already been inferred in the discussion of Italians and French Canadians above.

<sup>228</sup> Phillip Garigue, "French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life", American Anthropologist, 1956, pp. 1090-1100.

<sup>229</sup> See also Marvin B. Sussman, "The Help Pattern in the Middle Class Family", American Sociological Review, Vol. 18, Feb. 1953.

(c) Ethnic differences

John Kosa in his study of Hungarians in Ontario has pointed out that migration within their culture took place in the context of the sib, "custom ruled that the immigrant should not be joined by his brother but rather by a son of another sib family".<sup>230</sup> The traditional pattern of migration should be examined for particular ethnic groups to discover whether the immigrants come to settle in an area in which their kinfolk are already established, or whether it is the ethnic custom to settle as isolated nuclear families.

Finally there is the association between the attitudes and values upheld by the religious group, with regard to the family.

(d) Religious differences

Max Weber has written:

The great achievement of ethical religions, above all of the ethical and asceticist sects of Protestantism, was to shatter the fetters of the sib. These religions established the superior community of faith and a common ethical way of life in opposition to the community of blood, even to a large extent in opposition to the family.<sup>231</sup>

Lenski has pointed out that Protestantism was originally a sectarian-type revolt in which "separation" was emphasized. He suggests

<sup>230</sup> John Kosa, Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada, (Toronto, Univ. of Toronto, 1957), p. 15.

<sup>231</sup> Max Weber, The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism, trans. & ed., by Hans H. Gerth, (Glencoe, Free Press, 1951), p. 257.

that:

Protestantism still retains lingering traces of its more radical past. One of these traces may be found in its attempt to create church-related organizations as a substitute for secular social relationships, especially those of the extended family.<sup>232</sup>

Whereas the Protestant Churches appear to stand in a competitive relationship with the kin group to some degree, the Catholic Church stands in what is more nearly a complementary relationship. The Church and kin group seem more often to be mutually reinforcing organizations in the lives of devout Catholics.<sup>233</sup>

Lenski found in the 1952 survey that the attraction of the kin group was stronger for Catholics than for Protestants. It is hypothesized that this would also be the case for the respondents of the North End.

#### Visiting and the North End Study

Professor Pineo reports on the North End of Hamilton,

All but 50 of the 327 respondents reported contact with kin outside the nuclear family living in the Hamilton area . . . 223 of the respondents report contact with some member of their extended family at least once per week. This figure (68%) may be compared to the figure of 66 per cent reporting contact at least once a week among housewives interviewed in the Detroit area study of 1955 . . . . 106 reported that the kin they see most frequently live in the North End. There is with respect to this a clear relationship between proximity and frequency of contact . . . We suspected, during the

<sup>232</sup> Lenski, op.cit., p. 246-7.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., p. 247-8.

design of the study, that because the North End is an older part of the city, it might be the centre of certain kin networks.<sup>234</sup>

In a recent paper, Peter C. Pineo emphasized that men reported seeing their brothers most frequently and the women, their sisters, in the North End. Statistics he presented are as follows:

Percentages reporting weekly contact with brothers and sisters, by sex

|         | <u>Men</u> | <u>Women</u> |
|---------|------------|--------------|
| Brother | 28         | 13           |
| Sister  | 22         | 23           |
| NUMBER  | 153        | 174          |

Table 6<sup>235</sup>

He pointed out verbally at this conference that whereas in London, England, the bond between sisters seemed to be the most important one, in the North End of Hamilton the bond between brothers was the most important family tie. He suggested that the lack of stable jobs in the area may be a factor in the close ties between male members of the family who apprise each other of conditions on the local job market. Now to examine the empirical data of the present study.

Comparing the amount of reported visiting with kin as contrasted with friends, no significant differences were found between the three religious groups.<sup>236</sup> Every group reported that they had most contact with

<sup>234</sup> Pineo, op.cit., p. 5-6.

<sup>235</sup> Mimeo. sheet accompanying paper at Conference of the Dept. of Sociology at the University of Toronto, March, 1963. No title, n.d.

<sup>236</sup>  $\chi^2 = 1.52$ , d.f. = 4, not significant at the 5% level of probability.

kin.<sup>237</sup>

Since religious affiliation was not indicated as a significant variable, a range of other variables was tested by the method of effect parameters to see whether there was a particular variable associated with the predominance of visiting kin over visiting friends; results are as follows:

| <u>Percentage differences:<br/>Effect associated with<br/>religious affiliation</u> | <u>Percentage differences:<br/>Effect associated with<br/>other variables</u> | <u>Type of<br/>Table</u> |
|---|---|--------------------------|
| 12%   | 12% Age   | 3 x 3                    |
| 14%   | 15% Generation  | 3 x 3                    |
| 13%   | 14% Income  | 3 x 3                    |
| 15%   | 15% Education   | 3 x 3                    |
| 5%  | 6% Ethnicity  | 2 x 2                    |
| 11%   | 3% Sex  | 2 x 2                    |
| 5%  | 4% Rural or urban upbringing  | 2 x 2                    |

Table 7

Since no variable surpasses religious affiliation in importance by more than 1%, and since religious affiliation does not show a significant difference between Catholics and Protestants, the probable explanation is that the predominance of visiting kin over friends is class patterned. It is to be regretted that we have no empirical data in this study for the frequency of visiting kin as compared with friends in a middle class district of Hamilton.

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<sup>237</sup>See Table VIIq in the appendix.

Table VII r in the appendix shows that those respondents in all three religious groups who have low church attendance rates reported more frequently that they visited friends more often than relatives. So that high church attendance, both Protestant and Catholic, is associated with high kinship contact. Since many of the relatives are living within the same general area of the city<sup>238</sup> and since there is usually one church for each denomination in the area (including one French Catholic Church, one Italian Catholic, and one English-speaking Catholic Church) and since the majority of families in the North End are religiously endogamous, then the church is probably one of the places where North-Enders meet their relatives.

The only ethnic group which reports more frequency of contact with friends than with relatives is the French-Canadian. At first sight this appears to be a surprising finding in view of the work of Garigue<sup>239</sup> and others. However, most French Canadians have come to Hamilton because of work opportunities, and therefore may be separated from kin. There is probably much travelling to and from Hamilton and their home towns on the periphery of the Province of Quebec,<sup>240</sup> but frequency of contact would be limited to some extent by the financial costs of travelling.

Another secondary analysis of the North End data indicates that

Previous literature has shown how French Canadians migrate out of Quebec in search of work, when they are young. This may explain the influence income

<sup>238</sup> See Pineo, op.cit., p. 5-7.

<sup>239</sup> See Garigue, op.cit.

<sup>240</sup> Oral communication of Dr. Frank G. Vallee, Sept. 1962.

has on kinship involvement for with increasing income for the respondent more of the respondent's family may migrate to this city in search of work. Therefore the rise in kinship involvement in the upper income category.<sup>241</sup>

Examining Table VII it is evident that only first generation Anglicans reported visiting friends more than kin. This is probably because they came from England to work in the cotton mills in Hamilton and were attracted here primarily by the work opportunities for which they had special skills.

It is only the Anglicans under the age of forty who report seeing friends most. In education it is once again the Anglicans, this time of high school education, who see friends more often than relatives. There is very little difference in terms of income in the visiting pattern. Sex only makes a difference to the Catholic respondents; the males report about ten percentage points above females in seeing friends most.<sup>242</sup> This is probably related to the high numbers of Italians in this group, where the emphasis in Italian-North-American culture is often on the peer groups. Moreover, some Italians would say, "What do you mean, friends or relatives most? My friends are my cousins".

Peter Pineo summarizes the general situation with regard to visiting in these words:

Table 2-40 shows that the respondents reported they visit relatives more often than friends. This is

<sup>241</sup>W. Pamela Allen, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>242</sup>Table VIIx in the appendix.



despite the fact that in Table 2-32, 120 respondents reported they see their best friend in the neighbourhood "every day" while in Table 2-23, only 70 report they see any kin "every day". It would appear that the pattern is to have fewer friends but to see each one more frequently than kin are seen . . . . Table 1-7<sup>4</sup> shows that only two respondents mentioned "having relatives here" as a reason they would prefer to continue living in their present dwelling unit, and only four mentioned wanting to live nearer relatives as a reason they would prefer to move. At another point (Tables 2-31 and 2-36) when the respondents were asked how they met their best friends, the response "through relatives" was quite common. Similarly in response to the question "To whom do you go for advice or help?" (Table 2-78) relatives were mentioned frequently. Table 3-26 shows that 17 of the respondents reported they "visited kin" during their previous summer vacation.<sup>243</sup>

In conclusion the visiting patterns of the respondents in the North End of Hamilton may be viewed as class patterned, and this is modified only slightly by ethnicity. It does not appear to be associated in our study with religious affiliation. In this respect our data does not confirm Lenski's findings. However, the Detroit study included a group of middle class respondents, and religious affiliation may be of greater significance in that group.

### Conclusions

Three areas of leisure time activities, hobbies, reading, and visiting patterns, have been examined in this chapter. There were no statistically significant differences found between the three religious groups in the choice of "instrumental" or "expressive" hobbies, nor

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<sup>243</sup>Pineo, Analysis of the Marginals, p. 6-7.

between the choice of visiting friends in preference to relatives. Although a significant difference is reported between much, little, or no reading for the religious groups, it was concluded that the relationship is quite possibly spurious, when the other social differences between the groups were taken into consideration.

It is therefore concluded that the examples of leisure-time activity examined in this chapter are class patterned rather than religiously patterned.

## VIII

### CONCLUSIONS

Examination of the empirical data of the North End study gives evidence that religious affiliation is of some considerable importance as a variable in sociological study. However, every effort must be expended to ensure that the association of religious affiliation and specific secular activities and attitudes is valid. The few empirical studies previously conducted in this area have either neglected the ethnic differences of Catholic and of Protestant groups, or they have neglected group differences in other social characteristics, such as age, class, or immigrant generation. The present study has attempted to take all these factors into account and to control them wherever possible. However, the comparatively small sample size has imposed limitations upon the analysis.

Of especial interest are those tables which show comparisons of the three religious groups, broken down into their major ethnic components. It is noted that on no occasion did ethnic differences account for the total differences between the religious groups of our sample, i.e. the differences between religious groups were always greater than the differences between ethnic groups, where a significant difference had been recorded between religious affiliation and secular attitudes

and reported behaviour.

In Chapter V dealing with voting preference it was pointed out that religious affiliation is the most important single variable in the prediction of voting, in Canada, although other influential variables may have a cumulative effect when they occur in certain combinations. If the Catholic, Anglican, and Other Major Protestant samples had been equally matched in terms of other social characteristics, the differences between Catholic and Protestant voting would have been increased rather than decreased. In particular, if a larger number of young men had been present in the Protestant sample, the Protestant group would probably have shown an even larger percentage of persons voting for the New Democratic party.

In Chapters VI and VII on work and leisure, it was noted that there were differences in attitude toward work of "Other Major Protestants" and Catholics. Protestants do not consider self-employment to be work, but rather they think of it as an alternative to work. The aspirational level of both Protestants and Catholics was the same; nevertheless attitudes towards work could play a major role in the successful attainment or otherwise of their goals, and this can have implications for social mobility.

In the section on leisure activity there was little evidence of statistically significant differences between the religious groups, which could not be accounted for through other social differences in the respective samples.

The visiting patterns of Catholics, Anglicans, and Other Major

Protestants are all predominantly oriented toward their kin. This is a well-known feature of working class subculture and appears to be quite independent of religious affiliation. At this point it should be noted that the lack of a middle class study in Hamilton has imposed limitations on conclusions to be drawn from the data of this study. It might well be that there are significant differences between Catholics and Protestants in visiting kin or friends in middle class suburbia which do not exist at the working class level, but at present we lack tangible proof.

It is recognized that this study represents a beginning of the investigation of the relationship between religious affiliation and secular attitudes and behaviour. It is only a beginning, and much remains to be done. One line of future research which should be investigated and which is suggested by the present study would be an examination of the meaning of the word "work" to Catholics and to Protestants. It seems that much of the research done to date takes for granted that the word has unambiguous connotations. This is an assumption which the results of the present study lead us to question. Another avenue of research would be to follow up the relationship between hierarchical church organizations and preference for voting for the Liberal party. Is there any causal connection between these two? Unfortunately, Public Opinion Poll data were not available in sufficient time for the testing of this hypothesis with independent data.

It has been demonstrated, especially with regard to the material on voting preference, that there are differences between the relative

influence of specific variables in Canada and the United States. These differences should not obscure the similarities which have been shown to exist between the two societies. Canadian sociologists would do well to examine the areas where extrapolation from American research illumines the Canadian situation. At the same time they must be aware of areas of research in Canadian society which require specific knowledge of the distinctive background of this country for an adequate analysis.

Finally, to return to the basic question with which this thesis has dealt -- is religion an important variable in relation to political and economic life? In the area of Canadian politics the answer is unquestionably "yes" -- it is crucial to an adequate analysis of voting preference in this country. With reference to economic life, the answer would be a qualified "yes": qualified, that is, by the very important variable of social class, and at times almost obscured by a secularized version of the Protestant Ethic, the Canadian "way of life".

We come immediately to the problem of an adequate explanation of the great influence of religious affiliation in the area of voting preference, and its very minor role in economic attitudes and behaviour. At this point it is necessary to look to the historical antecedents in these two areas. In the political realm, the Anglican church in Canada, which was the State Church at one time, was allied to the Conservative party, the support of British interests and the preservation of the status quo. French and Catholic interests therefore became attached to the opposing Liberal party. The present major Protestant Denominations (i.e. non-

Anglican), in Canada which commenced as separatist sects, had taken a stand of indifference to politics. But when the privileges and interests of their religious institutions, such as schools and colleges, were threatened, they were forced to enter the political arena.<sup>244</sup> Religious affiliation had therefore become politically aligned during the nineteenth century in Canada and is continued to the present day by "traditionalism" within the religious subcommunities.

On the other hand, the imperative for dichotomization of Catholic and Protestant attitudes toward economic activity was not given the same impetus. The challenges of a new frontier country meant that the value of hard work was emphasized in all these religious groups. Social class differences in attitudes towards work predominated over religious differences. Perhaps in large measure this has been facilitated by the increasing secularization of Protestant groups, with the substitution of asceticism by consumer credit purchasing. In an earlier era in smaller communities it was not necessary to maintain one's status by ostentation. Nowadays in the comparative impersonality and mobility of the large metropolis, status is maintained by "conspicuous consumption".<sup>245</sup> Protestants have frequently adopted the philosophy of life epitomized by the trade unions and have in effect returned to the original Catholic position, that work is a burden, to be avoided if possible.

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<sup>244</sup>See S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, also see Jean Burnet's discussion of the churches and temperance legislation entitled, "The Urban Community and Changing Moral Standards", in S.D. Clark, ed., Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society.

<sup>245</sup>See Vance Packard, The Status Seekers. (New York, Cardinal Pocket Books, 1964).

This thesis will have accomplished its purpose, if it has filled a few of the gaps in our knowledge of the sociology of religion. If it can stimulate others to new and fruitful areas of research, then it can worthily claim to have a significance which reaches out beyond that of its own empirical data.

Robert Merton has summarized the role of empirical research in these words:

It is my central thesis that empirical research goes far beyond the passive role of verifying and testing theory: it does more than confirm or ~~refute~~ hypotheses. Research plays an active role: it performs at least four major functions which help shape the development of theory. It initiates, it reformulates, it deflects, and it clarifies theory.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>246</sup>Robert Merton, op.cit., p. 103.



APPENDIX #1

TABLES

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND INCOME

## Religious Affiliation and Yearly Income of the Family

| Religion                  | Roman Catholic |          |              | Anglican |          |              | Other Major Protestant |          |                    |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------------------|----------|--------------------|
|                           | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u>       |
| <u>Income:</u>            |                |          |              |          |          |              |                        |          |                    |
| Less than \$1000          | 6              | 3.7      | 3.7          | 2        | 3.8      | 3.8          | 6                      | 7.7      | 7.7                |
| \$1000 - 1999             | 15             | 9.2      | 12.9         | 4        | 7.7      | 11.5         | 12                     | 15.4     | 23.1               |
| \$2000 - 2999             | 18             | 11.0     | 23.9         | 9        | 17.3     | 29.0         | 9                      | 11.5     | 34.6               |
| \$3000 - 3999             | 37             | 22.7     | 46.6         | 13       | 25.0     | 54.0         | 13                     | 16.7     | 51.3               |
| \$4000 - 4999             | 36             | 22.1     | 68.7         | 6        | 11.5     | 65.5         | 21                     | 26.9     | 78.2               |
| \$5000 - 5999             | 20             | 12.3     | 81.0         | 7        | 13.5     | 79.0         | 7                      | 9.0      | 87.2               |
| \$6000 - 6999             | 10             | 6.1      | 87.1         | 2        | 3.8      | 82.8         | 3                      | 3.9      | 91.1               |
| \$7000 - 7999<br>and more | 7              | 4.3      | 91.4         | 2        | 3.8      | 86.6         | 3                      | 3.9      | 95.0               |
| No answer                 | 14             | 8.6      | 100.0        | 7        | 13.4     | 100.0        | 4                      | 5.1      | 100.1              |
| TOTALS                    | 163            | 100.0    | 100.0        | 52       | 100.0    | 100.0        | 78                     | 100.1    | 100.1 <sup>#</sup> |

<sup>#</sup>Percentages do not always add to 100 because of rounding.

TABLE IVa

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND EDUCATION

## Religious Affiliation and Respondent's years of Schooling

| Religion                               | Roman Catholic |          |              | Anglican |          |              | Other Major Protestant |          |              |
|--|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|--------------|------------------------|----------|--------------|
|  | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> |
| <u>Education:</u><br>(Years Completed) |                |          |              |          |          |              |                        |          |              |
| None                                   | 6              | 3.7      |              | 0        | 0        |              | 0                      | 0        |              |
| 1 - 2 yrs.                             | 6              | 3.7      | 7.4          | 1        | 1.9      | 1.9          | 0                      | 0        |              |
| 3 - 4 yrs.                             | 21             | 12.9     | 20.3         | 1        | 1.9      | 3.8          | 2                      | 2.5      | 2.5          |
| 5 - 6 yrs.                             | 43             | 26.4     | 46.7         | 7        | 13.5     | 17.3         | 11                     | 14.1     | 16.6         |
| 7 - 8 yrs.                             | 50             | 30.7     | 77.4         | 26       | 50.0     | 67.3         | 42                     | 53.8     | 70.4         |
| 9 - 10 yrs.                            | 24             | 14.7     | 92.1         | 13       | 25.0     | 92.3         | 13                     | 16.7     | 87.1         |
| 11 - 12 yrs.                           | 8              | 4.9      | 97.0         | 2        | 3.9      | 96.2         | 7                      | 9.0      | 96.1         |
| 13 yrs.                                | 1              | 0.6      | 97.6         | 1        | 1.9      | 98.1         | 0                      | 0        | 96.1         |
| 14 yrs.                                | 0              | 0        | 97.6         | 1        | 1.9      | 100.0        | 0                      | 0        | 96.1         |
| 15 yrs. or more<br>(unspecialized)     | 3              | 1.8      | 99.4         | 0        | 0        | 100.0        | 0                      | 0        | 96.1         |
| No answer                              | 1              | 0.6      | 100.0        | 0        | 0        | 100.0        | 3                      | 3.8      | 99.9         |
| TOTALS                                 | 163            |          |              | 52       |          |              | 78                     |          |              |
| Specialized Edu-<br>cation             | 7              | 4.2      |              | 3        | 4.7      |              | 8                      | 9.3      |              |

TABLE IVb

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND OCCUPATION

| Religion                    | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|                             | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Occupation:</u>          |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Professionals and Owners )  | 10             | 6.1      | 3        | 5.8      | 3                      | 3.9      |
| Managerial, white collar, ) |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| civil service, super- )     |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| visory staff )              |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Skilled clerical and        |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Salesmen                    | 6              | 3.7      | 2        | 3.8      | 3                      | 3.9      |
| Skilled trades              | 35             | 21.5     | 10       | 19.2     | 15                     | 19.2     |
| Semiskilled, including )    |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| truck drivers and )         |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| sales clerks )              | 34             | 20.9     | 16       | 30.8     | 30                     | 38.4     |
| Unskilled                   | 65             | 39.9     | 14       | 26.9     | 22                     | 28.2     |
| No Answer                   | 10             | 6.1      | 7        | 13.5     | 5                      | 6.4      |
| Vague                       | 3              | 1.8      | 0        |          | 0                      |          |
| TOTALS                      | 163            | 100.0    | 52       | 100.0    | 78                     | 100.0    |

TABLE IVc

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND AGE

## Religious Affiliation and Age of Respondent

| Religion               | Roman Catholic |      |       | Anglican |       |       | Presbyterian |      |       | United Church |      |       |
|------------------------|----------------|------|-------|----------|-------|-------|--------------|------|-------|---------------|------|-------|
|                        | N              | %    | Cum.% | N        | %     | Cum.% | N            | %    | Cum.% | N             | %    | Cum.% |
| <u>Age (in years):</u> |                |      |       |          |       |       |              |      |       |               |      |       |
| Less than 20           | 2              | 1.2  | 1.2   | 0        | 0     | 0     | 0            | 0    | 0     | 0             | 0    | 0     |
| 21 - 25                | 8              | 4.9  | 6.1   | 3        | 5.8   | 5.8   | 0            | 0    | 0     | 1             | 3.6  | 3.6   |
| 26 - 30                | 19             | 11.6 | 17.7  | 3        | 5.8   | 11.6  | 3            | 9.7  | 9.7   | 1             | 3.6  | 7.2   |
| 31 - 35                | 24             | 14.7 | 32.4  | 5        | 9.6   | 21.2  | 1            | 3.2  | 12.9  | 5             | 17.8 | 25.0  |
| 36 - 40                | 37             | 22.7 | 55.1  | 6        | 11.6  | 32.8  | 2            | 6.4  | 19.3  | 5             | 17.8 | 42.9  |
| 41 - 45                | 19             | 11.7 | 66.8  | 6        | 11.6  | 44.4  | 2            | 6.4  | 25.7  | 3             | 10.7 | 53.5  |
| 46 - 50                | 8              | 4.9  | 71.7  | 6        | 11.6  | 56.0  | 3            | 9.7  | 35.4  | 3             | 10.7 | 64.2  |
| 51 - 55                | 12             | 7.4  | 79.1  | 4        | 7.6   | 63.6  | 5            | 16.1 | 51.5  | 1             | 3.6  | 67.8  |
| 56 - 60                | 7              | 4.3  | 83.4  | 6        | 11.6  | 75.2  | 4            | 12.9 | 64.4  | 6             | 21.4 | 89.2  |
| 61 - 65                | 9              | 5.5  | 88.9  | 3        | 5.8   | 81.6  | 7            | 22.6 | 87.0  | 2             | 7.1  | 96.3  |
| 66 - 70                | 8              | 4.9  | 93.8  | 2        | 3.8   | 84.8  | 4            | 12.9 | 99.9  | 0             | 0    | 96.3  |
| 71 and over            | 9              | 5.5  | 99.3  | 8        | 15.3  | 100.1 | 0            | 0    | 99.9  | 1             | 3.6  | 99.9  |
| No answer              | 1              | 0.6  | 99.9  | 0        | 0     | 100.1 | 0            | 0    | 99.9  | 0             | 0    | 99.9  |
| TOTALS                 | 163            | 99.9 |       | 52       | 100.1 |       | 31           | 99.9 |       | 28            | 99.9 |       |

TABLE IVd<sub>1</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND AGE (Continued)

## Religious Affiliation and Age of Respondent

| Religion               | Baptist  |          |              | Lutheran |          | Other, Major Protestant |          | Total, Other Major Protestant |          |
|------------------------|----------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|-------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|
|                        | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                      | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Age (in years):</u> |          |          |              |          |          |                         |          |                               |          |
| Less than 20           | 0        | 0        |              | 0        | 0        | 0                       | 0        | 0                             | 0.0      |
| 21 - 25                | 0        | 0        |              | 1        | 33.3     | 0                       | 0        | 2                             | 2.56     |
| 26 - 30                | 2        | 15.4     | 15.4         | 0        | 0        | 0                       | 0        | 6                             | 7.69     |
| 31 - 35                | 1        | 7.7      | 23.1         | 0        | 0        | 2                       | 66.6     | 9                             | 11.54    |
| 36 - 40                | 3        | 23.1     | 46.2         | 1        | 33.3     | 0                       | 0        | 11                            | 14.10    |
| 41 - 45                | 2        | 15.4     | 61.6         | 0        | 0        | 0                       | 0        | 7                             | 8.97     |
| 46 - 50                | 0        | 0        | 61.6         | 0        | 0        | 0                       | 0        | 6                             | 7.69     |
| 51 - 55                | 1        | 7.7      | 69.3         | 1        | 33.3     | 0                       | 0        | 8                             | 10.26    |
| 56 - 60                | 0        | 0        | 69.3         | 0        | 0        | 0                       | 0        | 10                            | 12.82    |
| 61 - 65                | 1        | 7.7      | 77.0         | 0        | 0        | 0                       | 0        | 10                            | 12.82    |
| 66 - 70                | 1        | 7.7      | 84.7         | 0        | 0        | 0                       | 0        | 5                             | 6.42     |
| 71 and over            | 2        | 15.4     | 100.1        | 0        | 0        | 1                       | 33.3     | 4                             | 5.12     |
| TOTALS                 | 13       | 100.1    |              | 3        | 99.9     | 3                       | 99.9     | 78                            | 99.99    |

TABLE IVd<sub>2</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND SEX/MARITAL STATUS

| Religion                   | Roman Catholic |          |              | Anglican |          |              | Total<br>Other Major Protestant |          |              |
|----------------------------|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|--------------|---------------------------------|----------|--------------|
|                            | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> | <u>N</u>                        | <u>%</u> | <u>Cum.%</u> |
| <u>Sex/marital status:</u> |                |          |              |          |          |              |                                 |          |              |
| Married male               | 75             | 46.0     |              | 16       | 30.8     |              | 32                              | 41.0     |              |
| Married female             | 71             | 43.6     | 89.6         | 20       | 38.5     | 69.3         | 30                              | 38.5     | 79.5         |
| Single male                | 3              | 1.8      | 91.4         | 2        | 3.8      | 73.1         | 1                               | 1.3      | 80.8         |
| Single female              | 3              | 1.8      | 93.2         | 2        | 3.8      | 76.9         | 0                               | 0        | 80.8         |
| Widower                    | 3              | 1.8      | 95.0         | 3        | 5.8      | 82.7         | 0                               | 0        | 80.8         |
| Widow                      | 6              | 3.7      | 98.7         | 5        | 9.6      | 92.3         | 11                              | 14.1     | 94.9         |
| Separated/divorced         |                |          |              |          |          |              |                                 |          |              |
| Male                       | 0              | 0        | 98.7         | 0        | 0        | 92.3         | 2                               | 2.6      | 97.5         |
| Female                     | 2              | 1.2      | 99.9         | 4        | 7.7      | 100.0        | 2                               | 2.6      | 100.1        |
| Common-law stated          | 0              | 0        | 99.9         | 0        | 0        | 100.0        | 0                               | 0        | 100.1        |
| <hr/>                      |                |          |              |          |          |              |                                 |          |              |
| TOTALS                     | 163            | 99.9     |              | 52       | 100.0    |              | 78                              | 100.1    |              |
| Total, male                | 81             |          |              | 21       |          |              | 35                              |          |              |
| Total, female              | 82             |          |              | 31       |          |              | 43                              |          |              |

TABLE IVe

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND ETHNICITY

| Religion                                | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|---|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|   | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Ethnicity:</u>                       |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| French Canadian                         | 19             | 11.66    |          |          | 2                      | 2.56     |
| British Canadian                        | 11             | 6.75     | 12       | 23.08    | 18                     | 24.39    |
| English                                 | 10             | 6.13     | 24       | 46.15    | 17                     | 21.79    |
| Scottish                                | 5              | 3.07     | 7        | 13.46    | 17                     | 23.08    |
| North West European                     | 8              | 4.91     | 1        | 1.92     | 6                      | 7.69     |
| East European                           | 9              | 5.52     | 1        | 1.92     | 3                      | 3.89     |
| South East European<br>(except Italian) | 13             | 7.98     | 0        |          | 4                      | 5.12     |
| North Italian                           | 22             | 13.50    | 0        |          | 0                      |          |
| South Italian                           | 32             | 19.63    | 0        |          | 0                      |          |
| Sicily                                  | 14             | 8.59     | 0        |          | 0                      |          |
| Non-British mixed<br>background         | 3              | 1.84     | 1        | 1.92     | 0                      |          |
| British and other                       | 3              | 1.84     | 5        | 9.62     | 5                      | 6.41     |
| Irish                                   | 14             | 8.59     | 1        | 1.92     | 4                      | 5.12     |
| TOTALS                                  | 163            | 100.00   | 52       | 99.99    | 78                     | 100.05   |

TABLE IVf



# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND GENERATION

| Religion           | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|                    | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Generation:</u> |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| First Generation   | 89             | 50.31    | 9        | 17.31    | 19                     | 24.36    |
| Second Generation  | 29             | 17.79    | 22       | 42.31    | 23                     | 29.48    |
| Third Generation   | 17             | 10.43    | 13       | 25.00    | 13                     | 16.67    |
| Fourth Generation  | 35             | 21.47    | 8        | 15.38    | 23                     | 29.49    |
| <hr/>              |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| TOTALS             | 163            | 100.00   | 52       | 100.00   | 78                     | 100.00   |

TABLE IVg

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND URBAN/RURAL BACKGROUND

| Religion              | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|                       | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Background:</u>    |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Farm                  | 22             | 13.5     | 3        | 5.8      | 11                     | 14.1     |
| Village               | 12             | 7.4      | 4        | 7.7      | 4                      | 5.1      |
| Town, city,<br>suburb | 129            | 79.1     | 44       | 84.6     | 63                     | 80.7     |
| No answer             | 0              |          | 1        | 1.9      | 0                      |          |
| <hr/>                 |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| TOTALS                | 163            | 100.00   | 52       | 100.00   | 78                     | 99.9     |

TABLE IVh

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND INTERVIEWER

| Religion            | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          | <u>Total</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|--------------|
|                     | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |              |
| <u>Interviewer:</u> |                |          |          |          |                        |          |              |
| P. Allen            | 31             | 44.94    | 15       | 21.73    | 23                     | 33.33    | 100.00%      |
| G. Anderson         | 44             | 53.66    | 15       | 18.29    | 23                     | 28.05    | 100.00%      |
| B. Czarnocki        | 24             | 61.54    | 6        | 15.38    | 9                      | 23.08    | 100.00%      |
| M. Hill             | 21             | 41.18    | 11       | 21.57    | 19                     | 37.25    | 100.00%      |
| G. Repar            | 6              | 42.86    | 5        | 35.71    | 3                      | 21.43    | 100.00%      |
| J. Pineo            | 3              | 75.00    | 0        | 0.00     | 1                      | 25.00    | 100.00%      |
| R. Yachetti         | 5              | 100.00   |          |          |                        |          | 100.00%      |
| P. Narduzzi         | 29             | 100.00   |          |          |                        |          | 100.00%      |

TABLE IV<sub>1</sub>

|                     |    |       |    |       |    |       |
|---------------------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-------|
| <u>Interviewer:</u> |    |       |    |       |    |       |
| P. Allen            | 31 | 19.0  | 15 | 28.8  | 23 | 29.4  |
| G. Anderson         | 44 | 26.9  | 15 | 28.8  | 23 | 29.4  |
| B. Czarnocki        | 24 | 14.7  | 6  | 11.5  | 9  | 11.5  |
| M. Hill             | 21 | 12.8  | 11 | 21.1  | 19 | 24.3  |
| G. Repar            | 6  | 3.6   | 5  | 9.6   | 3  | 3.8   |
| J. Pineo            | 3  | 1.8   | 1  | 1.2   | 0  | 0.0   |
| R. Yachetti         | 5  | 3.0   | 0  | 0.0   | 0  | 0.0   |
| P. Narduzzi         | 29 | 17.7  | 0  | 0.0   | 0  | 0.0   |
|                     |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |    | <hr/> |
| TOTAL               |    | 99.5  |    | 99.8  |    | 99.6  |

TABLE IV<sub>2</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, GENERATION, AND AGE

| Religion    | Roman Catholic |        |        |        |                |        | Anglican |       |        |        |                |        | Other Major Protestant |        |        |        |                |       |
|-------------|----------------|--------|--------|--------|----------------|--------|----------|-------|--------|--------|----------------|--------|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|----------------|-------|
| Generation  | First          |        | Second |        | Third & Fourth |        | First    |       | Second |        | Third & Fourth |        | First                  |        | Second |        | Third & Fourth |       |
|             | N              | %      | N      | %      | N              | %      | N        | %     | N      | %      | N              | %      | N                      | %      | N      | %      | N              | %     |
| <u>Age:</u> |                |        |        |        |                |        |          |       |        |        |                |        |                        |        |        |        |                |       |
| Under 40    | 46             | 56.10  | 15     | 53.57  | 29             | 55.77  | 2        | 2.22  | 6      | 27.27  | 9              | 42.86  | 2                      | 10.53  | 5      | 21.74  | 21             | 58.33 |
| 41 - 60     | 20             | 24.39  | 12     | 42.86  | 14             | 26.92  | 1        | 1.11  | 11     | 50.00  | 10             | 47.62  | 6                      | 31.58  | 13     | 56.52  | 12             | 33.33 |
| 61 and over | 16             | 19.51  | 1      | 3.57   | 9              | 17.31  | 6        | 6.66  | 5      | 22.73  | 2              | 9.52   | 11                     | 57.89  | 5      | 21.74  | 3              | 8.33  |
| TOTALS      | 82             | 100.00 | 28     | 100.00 | 52             | 100.00 | 9        | 99.99 | 22     | 100.00 | 21             | 100.00 | 19                     | 100.00 | 23     | 100.00 | 36             | 99.99 |

TABLE IVj

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                           | <u>Roman Catholic</u> |          | <u>Anglican</u> |          | <u>Other Major Protestants</u> |          |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|--------------------------------|----------|
|                                    | <u>N</u>              | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>        | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                       | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>          |                       |          |                 |          |                                |          |
| Conservative and<br>Social Credit  | 14                    | 11.11    | 19              | 38.77    | 24                             | 31.58    |
| Liberal                            | 71                    | 56.35    | 15              | 30.61    | 13                             | 17.10    |
| New Democratic Party<br>and C.C.F. | 6                     | 4.76     | 7               | 14.29    | 14                             | 18.42    |
| Undecided                          | 18                    | 14.28    | 4               | 8.16     | 14                             | 18.42    |
| Objects                            | 17                    | 13.49    | 4               | 8.16     | 11                             | 14.47    |
| TOTALS                             | 126                   | 99.99    | 49              | 99.99    | 76                             | 99.99    |

TABLE Va<sub>1</sub>

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND VOTING PREFERENCE (Continued)

| Religion                           | <u>Presbyterian</u> |          | <u>United Church</u> |          | <u>Baptist</u> |          |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|----------------|----------|
|                                    | <u>N</u>            | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>             | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>          |                     |          |                      |          |                |          |
| Conservative and<br>Social Credit  | 8                   | 26.67    | 11                   | 36.66    | 4              | 30.77    |
| Liberal                            | 7                   | 23.33    | 5                    | 16.67    | 1              | 7.69     |
| New Democratic Party<br>and C.C.F. | 5                   | 16.66    | 5                    | 16.67    | 3              | 23.08    |
| Undecided                          | 5                   | 16.66    | 5                    | 16.67    | 4              | 30.77    |
| Objects                            | 5                   | 16.66    | 4                    | 13.33    | 1              | 7.69     |
| <hr/>                              |                     |          |                      |          |                |          |
| TOTALS                             | 30                  | 100.00   | 30                   | 100.00   | 13             | 100.00   |

TABLE Va<sub>2</sub>

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                           | Roman Catholic |          |          |          | Anglican |          |          |          | Other Major Protestant |          |          |          |
|------------------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Attendance                         | High           |          | Low      |          | High     |          | Low      |          | High                   |          | Low      |          |
|                                    | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>          |                |          |          |          |          |          |          |          |                        |          |          |          |
| Conservative and<br>Social Credit  | 10             | 11.76    | 4        | 10.53    | 5        | 41.67    | 14       | 37.84    | 14                     | 50.00    | 10       | 20.83    |
| Liberal                            | 53             | 62.35    | 15       | 39.47    | 2        | 16.67    | 13       | 35.14    | 1                      | 3.57     | 12       | 25.00    |
| New Democratic Party<br>and C.C.F. | 2              | 2.35     | 4        | 10.51    | 0        | 0.00     | 7        | 18.92    | 2                      | 7.14     | 12       | 25.00    |
| Undecided                          | 22             | 14.12    | 6        | 15.79    | 3        | 25.00    | 1        | 2.70     | 7                      | 25.00    | 7        | 14.58    |
| Objects                            | 8              | 9.41     | 9        | 23.68    | 2        | 16.67    | 2        | 5.41     | 4                      | 14.29    | 7        | 14.58    |
| TOTALS                             | 85             | 100.00   | 38       | 100.00   | 12       | 100.00   | 37       | 100.00   | 28                     | 100.00   | 48       | 100.00   |

TABLE Vb

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                        | Roman Catholic |        |         |        |                 |        |                   |        |       |        |                   |        |
|---------------------------------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|-----------------|--------|-------------------|--------|-------|--------|-------------------|--------|
|                                 | British        |        | Italian |        | French Canadian |        | South East Europe |        | Irish |        | Other than listed |        |
| Ethnicity                       | N              | %      | N       | %      | N               | %      | N                 | %      | N     | %      | N                 | %      |
|                                 |                |        |         |        |                 |        |                   |        |       |        |                   |        |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>       |                |        |         |        |                 |        |                   |        |       |        |                   |        |
| Conservative and Social Credit  | 4              | 16.00  | 3       | 6.98   | 2               | 10.52  | 2                 | 12.50  | 3     | 22.31  | 0                 | 0.00   |
| Liberal                         | 16             | 64.00  | 24      | 57.14  | 9               | 47.37  | 6                 | 37.50  | 8     | 61.54  | 8                 | 66.67  |
| New Democratic Party and C.C.F. | 1              | 4.00   | 1       | 2.38   | 2               | 10.53  | 1                 | 6.25   | 1     | 7.69   | 0                 | 0.00   |
| Undecided                       | 2              | 8.00   | 7       | 16.67  | 5               | 26.32  | 2                 | 12.50  | 1     | 7.69   | 1                 | 8.33   |
| Objects                         | 2              | 8.00   | 7       | 16.67  | 1               | 5.26   | 5                 | 31.25  | 0     | 0.00   | 3                 | 25.00  |
| TOTALS                          | 25             | 100.00 | 42      | 100.00 | 19              | 100.00 | 16                | 100.00 | 13    | 100.00 | 12                | 100.00 |

TABLE Vc<sub>1</sub>



RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND VOTING PREFERENCE (Continued)

| Religion                           | <u>Anglican</u> |          |                   |          | <u>Other Major Protestants</u> |          |                   |          |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|----------|-------------------|----------|--------------------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
| Ethnicity                          | <u>British</u>  |          | <u>All Others</u> |          | <u>British</u>                 |          | <u>All Others</u> |          |
|                                    | <u>N</u>        | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>          | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>          | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>          |                 |          |                   |          |                                |          |                   |          |
| Conservative and<br>Social Credit  | 17              | 42.50    | 2                 | 20.00    | 19                             | 35.18    | 5                 | 22.73    |
| Liberal                            | 10              | 25.00    | 5                 | 50.00    | 6                              | 11.11    | 7                 | 31.82    |
| New Democratic Party<br>and C.C.F. | 4               | 10.00    | 3                 | 30.00    | 9                              | 16.67    | 5                 | 22.73    |
| Undecided                          | 4               | 10.00    | 0                 | 0.00     | 11                             | 20.37    | 3                 | 13.64    |
| Objects                            | 5               | 12.50    | 0                 | 0.00     | 9                              | 16.67    | 2                 | 9.09     |
| TOTALS                             | 40              | 100.00   | 10                | 100.00   | 54                             | 100.00   | 22                | 100.00   |

TABLE Vc<sub>2</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, GENERATION, AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                        | <u>Roman Catholic</u> |          |               |          |                           |          | <u>Anglican</u> |          |               |          |                           |          |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|----------|---------------|----------|---------------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|---------------|----------|---------------------------|----------|
|                                 | <u>First</u>          |          | <u>Second</u> |          | <u>Third &amp; Fourth</u> |          | <u>First</u>    |          | <u>Second</u> |          | <u>Third &amp; Fourth</u> |          |
| Generation                      | <u>N</u>              | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>      | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                  | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>        | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>      | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                  | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>       |                       |          |               |          |                           |          |                 |          |               |          |                           |          |
| Conservative and Social Credit  | 2                     | 4.17     | 4             | 14.29    | 8                         | 15.68    | 2               | 22.22    | 8             | 38.10    | 9                         | 45.00    |
| Liberal                         | 27                    | 56.25    | 15            | 53.57    | 29                        | 56.86    | 4               | 44.44    | 6             | 28.57    | 5                         | 25.00    |
| New Democratic Party and C.C.F. | 2                     | 4.17     | 1             | 3.57     | 3                         | 5.88     | 0               | 0.00     | 2             | 9.52     | 5                         | 25.00    |
| Undecided                       | 4                     | 8.33     | 6             | 21.43    | 8                         | 15.69    | 0               | 0.00     | 3             | 14.29    | 1                         | 5.00     |
| Objects                         | 13                    | 27.08    | 2             | 7.14     | 3                         | 5.88     | 3               | 33.33    | 2             | 9.52     | 0                         | 0.00     |
| TOTALS                          | 48                    | 100.00   | 28            | 100.00   | 51                        | 100.00   | 9               | 100.00   | 21            | 100.00   | 20                        | 100.00   |

TABLE Va<sub>1</sub>

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, GENERATION, AND VOTING PREFERENCE (Continued)

| Religion                           | <u>Other Major Protestant</u> |          |               |          |                         |          |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|---------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|
| Generation                         | <u>First</u>                  |          | <u>Second</u> |          | <u>Third and Fourth</u> |          |
|                                    | <u>N</u>                      | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>      | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>          |                               |          |               |          |                         |          |
| Conservative and<br>Social Credit  | 6                             | 35.29    | 8             | 34.78    | 10                      | 27.78    |
| Liberal                            | 2                             | 11.76    | 4             | 17.39    | 7                       | 19.44    |
| New Democratic Party<br>and C.C.F. | 0                             | 0.00     | 6             | 26.09    | 8                       | 22.22    |
| Undecided                          | 3                             | 17.65    | 4             | 17.39    | 7                       | 19.44    |
| Objects                            | 6                             | 35.29    | 1             | 4.35     | 4                       | 11.11    |
| TOTALS                             | 17                            | 100.00   | 23            | 100.00   | 36                      | 100.00   |

TABLE Vd<sub>2</sub>

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, INCOME, AND VOTING

| Religion                       | Roman Catholic |       |            |        |          |       | Anglican |       |            |       |          |        | Other Major Protestant |        |            |       |          |       |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-------|------------|--------|----------|-------|----------|-------|------------|-------|----------|--------|------------------------|--------|------------|-------|----------|-------|
| Income                         | Under          |       | \$3,000 to |        | \$5,000  |       | Under    |       | \$3,000 to |       | \$5,000  |        | Under                  |        | \$3,000 to |       | \$5,000  |       |
|                                | \$3,000        |       | \$4,999.99 |        | and over |       | \$3,000  |       | \$4,999.99 |       | and over |        | \$3,000                |        | \$4,999.99 |       | and over |       |
|                                | N              | %     | N          | %      | N        | %     | N        | %     | N          | %     | N        | %      | N                      | %      | N          | %     | N        | %     |
| <u>Voting</u>                  |                |       |            |        |          |       |          |       |            |       |          |        |                        |        |            |       |          |       |
| <u>Preference:</u>             |                |       |            |        |          |       |          |       |            |       |          |        |                        |        |            |       |          |       |
| Conservative and Social Credit | 1              | 3.57  | 4          | 7.55   | 5        | 15.62 | 5        | 35.71 | 4          | 23.63 | 7        | 58.33  | 13                     | 52.00  | 8          | 24.24 | 3        | 21.43 |
| Liberal                        | 15             | 53.37 | 31         | 58.49  | 20       | 62.50 | 3        | 21.43 | 8          | 47.06 | 2        | 16.67  | 5                      | 20.00  | 4          | 12.12 | 3        | 21.43 |
| New Democratic Party & C.C.F.  | 3              | 10.71 | 1          | 1.89   | 1        | 6.24  | 2        | 14.28 | 2          | 11.76 | 3        | 25.00  | 1                      | 4.00   | 7          | 21.21 | 6        | 42.85 |
| Undecided                      | 3              | 10.71 | 11         | 20.75  | 3        | 9.38  | 1        | 7.14  | 2          | 11.76 | 0        | 0      | 4                      | 16.00  | 10         | 30.30 | 0        | 0     |
| Objects                        | 6              | 21.43 | 6          | 11.32  | 2        | 6.25  | 3        | 21.43 | 1          | 5.88  | 0        | 0      | 2                      | 8.00   | 4          | 12.12 | 2        | 14.28 |
| TOTALS                         | 28             | 99.99 | 53         | 100.00 | 12       | 99.99 | 14       | 99.99 | 17         | 99.99 | 12       | 100.00 | 25                     | 100.00 | 33         | 99.99 | 14       | 99.99 |

TABLE Ve

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, EDUCATION AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                       | Roman Catholic |        |       |       |            |        | Anglican |        |       |       |            |       | Other Major Protestant |       |       |        |            |        |
|--------------------------------|----------------|--------|-------|-------|------------|--------|----------|--------|-------|-------|------------|-------|------------------------|-------|-------|--------|------------|--------|
| Education Grade Completed      | 0 - 6          |        | 7 - 8 |       | 9 and over |        | 0 - 6    |        | 7 - 8 |       | 9 and over |       | 0 - 6                  |       | 7 - 8 |        | 9 and over |        |
|                                | N              | %      | N     | %     | N          | %      | N        | %      | N     | %     | N          | %     | N                      | %     | N     | %      | N          | %      |
| <u>Voting Preference:</u>      |                |        |       |       |            |        |          |        |       |       |            |       |                        |       |       |        |            |        |
| Conservative and Social Credit | 4              | 8.00   | 5     | 11.36 | 5          | 15.62  | 5        | 62.50  | 9     | 33.33 | 5          | 33.33 | 5                      | 45.45 | 14    | 31.82  | 4          | 22.22  |
| Liberal                        | 30             | 60.00  | 19    | 43.18 | 22         | 68.75  | 1        | 12.50  | 9     | 33.33 | 5          | 33.33 | 0                      | 0     | 10    | 22.73  | 2          | 11.11  |
| New Democratic Party & C.C.F.  | 1              | 2.00   | 4     | 9.09  | 1          | 3.13   | 0        | 0      | 4     | 14.81 | 3          | 20.00 | 0                      | 0     | 9     | 20.45  | 5          | 27.78  |
| Undecided                      | 8              | 16.00  | 9     | 20.45 | 1          | 3.13   | 1        | 12.50  | 1     | 3.70  | 2          | 13.33 | 4                      | 36.36 | 6     | 13.64  | 4          | 22.22  |
| Objects                        | 7              | 14.00  | 7     | 15.91 | 3          | 9.37   | 1        | 12.50  | 4     | 14.82 | 0          |       | 2                      | 18.18 | 5     | 11.36  | 3          | 16.67  |
| TOTALS                         | 50             | 100.00 | 44    | 99.99 | 32         | 100.00 | 8        | 100.00 | 27    | 99.99 | 15         | 99.99 | 11                     | 99.99 | 44    | 100.00 | 18         | 100.00 |

TABLE Vf

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, AGE, AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                           | Roman Catholic |        |         |        |         |        |
|------------------------------------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
|                                    | Under 40       |        | 40 - 60 |        | Over 60 |        |
| Age                                | N              | %      | N       | %      | N       | %      |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>          |                |        |         |        |         |        |
| Conservative and<br>Social Credit  | 7              | 11.29  | 3       | 7.69   | 4       | 16.00  |
| Liberal                            | 38             | 61.29  | 18      | 46.15  | 15      | 60.00  |
| New Democratic Party<br>and C.C.F. | 2              | 3.23   | 4       | 10.25  | 0       | 0.00   |
| Undecided                          | 9              | 14.52  | 6       | 15.38  | 2       | 8.00   |
| Objects                            | 6              | 9.68   | 8       | 20.51  | 4       | 16.00  |
| TOTALS                             | 62             | 100.00 | 39      | 100.00 | 25      | 100.00 |

TABLE Vg<sub>1</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, AGE, AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                        | Anglican |        |         |        |         |        | Other Major Protestants |        |         |        |         |        |
|---------------------------------|----------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|-------------------------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| Age                             | Under 40 |        | 40 - 60 |        | Over 60 |        | Under 40                |        | 40 - 60 |        | Over 60 |        |
|                                 | N        | %      | N       | %      | N       | %      | N                       | %      | N       | %      | N       | %      |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>       |          |        |         |        |         |        |                         |        |         |        |         |        |
| Conservative and Social Credit  | 6        | 40.00  | 5       | 23.81  | 8       | 57.14  | 5                       | 19.23  | 12      | 37.50  | 7       | 38.89  |
| Liberal                         | 4        | 26.67  | 9       | 42.86  | 2       | 14.29  | 5                       | 19.23  | 7       | 21.86  | 1       | 5.56   |
| New Democratic Party and C.C.F. | 3        | 20.00  | 3       | 14.28  | 1       | 7.14   | 6                       | 23.07  | 8       | 25.00  | 0       | 0.00   |
| Undecided                       | 1        | 6.67   | 3       | 14.29  | 0       | 0.00   | 7                       | 26.92  | 3       | 9.38   | 4       | 22.22  |
| Objects                         | 1        | 6.67   | 1       | 4.76   | 3       | 21.43  | 3                       | 11.54  | 2       | 6.25   | 6       | 33.33  |
| TOTALS                          | 15       | 100.00 | 21      | 100.00 | 14      | 100.00 | 26                      | 100.00 | 32      | 100.00 | 18      | 100.00 |

TABLE Vg<sub>2</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, SEX, AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                        | Roman Catholic |       |        |        | Anglican |        |        |        | Other Major Protestant |       |        |        |
|---------------------------------|----------------|-------|--------|--------|----------|--------|--------|--------|------------------------|-------|--------|--------|
|                                 | Male           |       | Female |        | Male     |        | Female |        | Male                   |       | Female |        |
| Sex                             | N              | %     | N      | %      | N        | %      | N      | %      | N                      | %     | N      | %      |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>       |                |       |        |        |          |        |        |        |                        |       |        |        |
| Conservative and Social Credit  | 6              | 7.41  | 8      | 9.76   | 11       | 52.38  | 8      | 25.81  | 7                      | 20.00 | 17     | 39.54  |
| Liberal                         | 33             | 40.74 | 38     | 46.34  | 5        | 23.81  | 10     | 32.25  | 7                      | 20.00 | 6      | 13.95  |
| New Democratic Party and C.C.F. | 5              | 6.17  | 1      | 1.22   | 5        | 23.81  | 1      | 3.23   | 9                      | 25.71 | 5      | 11.63  |
| Undecided                       | 6              | 7.40  | 12     | 14.63  | 0        | 0.00   | 4      | 12.90  | 2                      | 5.71  | 11     | 25.58  |
| Objects                         | 11             | 13.58 | 7      | 8.54   | 0        | 0.00   | 3      | 9.68   | 7                      | 20.00 | 4      | 9.30   |
| No answer                       | 3              | 3.70  | 2      | 2.44   | 0        | 0.00   | 3      | 9.68   | 0                      | 0.00  | 0      | 0.00   |
| Not applicable                  | 17             | 20.99 | 14     | 17.07  | 0        | 0.00   | 2      | 6.45   | 3                      | 8.57  | 0      | 0.00   |
| TOTALS                          | 81             | 99.99 | 82     | 100.00 | 21       | 100.00 | 31     | 100.00 | 35                     | 99.99 | 43     | 100.00 |

TABLE Vh



RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, RURAL/URBAN UPBRINGING, AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                           | <u>Roman Catholic</u> |          |              |          | <u>Anglican</u> |          |              |          | <u>Other Major Protestant</u> |          |              |          |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------|--------------|----------|-----------------|----------|--------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
|                                    | <u>Rural</u>          |          | <u>Urban</u> |          | <u>Rural</u>    |          | <u>Urban</u> |          | <u>Rural</u>                  |          | <u>Urban</u> |          |
|                                    | <u>N</u>              | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>        | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                      | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>          |                       |          |              |          |                 |          |              |          |                               |          |              |          |
| Conservative and<br>Social Credit  | 1                     | 3.85     | 13           | 12.87    | 3               | 50.00    | 16           | 37.21    | 4                             | 30.77    | 20           | 31.75    |
| Liberal                            | 13                    | 50.00    | 58           | 57.43    | 1               | 16.67    | 13           | 30.23    | 3                             | 23.08    | 10           | 15.87    |
| New Democratic Party<br>and C.C.F. | 1                     | 3.85     | 5            | 4.95     | 1               | 16.67    | 6            | 13.95    | 0                             | 0.00     | 14           | 22.22    |
| Undecided                          | 3                     | 11.57    | 15           | 14.85    | 0               | 0.00     | 4            | 9.30     | 4                             | 30.77    | 10           | 15.87    |
| Objects                            | 8                     | 30.77    | 10           | 9.90     | 1               | 16.67    | 4            | 9.30     | 2                             | 15.38    | 9            | 14.29    |
| <hr/>                              |                       |          |              |          |                 |          |              |          |                               |          |              |          |
| TOTALS                             | 26                    | 100.00   | 101          | 100.00   | 6               | 100.00   | 43           | 100.00   | 13                            | 100.00   | 63           | 100.00   |

TABLE Vj

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, RELIGIOUS ENDOGAMY OR EXOGAMY, AND VOTING PREFERENCE

| Religion                           | Roman Catholic |          |           |          | Anglican   |          |           |          | Other Major Protestant |          |           |          |
|------------------------------------|----------------|----------|-----------|----------|------------|----------|-----------|----------|------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|
|                                    | Endogamous     |          | Exogamous |          | Endogamous |          | Exogamous |          | Endogamous             |          | Exogamous |          |
|                                    | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>   | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>  | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>  | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Voting preference:</u>          |                |          |           |          |            |          |           |          |                        |          |           |          |
| Conservative and<br>Social Credit  | 12             | 16.44    | 2         | 25.00    | 13         | 50.00    | 1         | 20.00    | 18                     | 51.43    | 3         | 30.00    |
| Liberal                            | 56             | 76.71    | 5         | 62.50    | 7          | 26.92    | 3         | 60.00    | 10                     | 28.57    | 2         | 20.00    |
| New Democratic Party<br>and C.C.F. | 5              | 6.85     | 1         | 12.50    | 6          | 23.08    | 1         | 20.00    | 7                      | 20.00    | 5         | 50.00    |
| TOTALS                             | 73             | 100.00   | 8         | 100.00   | 26         | 100.00   | 5         | 100.00   | 35                     | 100.00   | 10        | 100.00   |

TABLE V<sub>k</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion                | <u>Roman Catholic</u> |          | <u>Anglican</u> |          | <u>Other Major Protestants</u> |          |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------------|----------|--------------------------------|----------|
|                         | <u>N</u>              | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>        | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                       | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Attitude:</u>        |                       |          |                 |          |                                |          |
| Favourable <sup>#</sup> | 39                    | 43.33    | 8               | 42.10    | 13                             | 38.24    |
| Neutral                 | 8                     | 8.89     | 0               | 0.00     | 4                              | 11.76    |
| Unfavourable            | 43                    | 47.78    | 11              | 57.90    | 17                             | 50.00    |
| <hr/>                   |                       |          |                 |          |                                |          |
| TOTALS                  | 90                    | 100.00   | 19              | 100.00   | 34                             | 100.00   |

TABLE VIa

<sup>#</sup>Indicates favourable attitude toward the cessation of work.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion          | Roman Catholic |          |            |          | Anglican    |          |            |          | Other Major Protestants |          |            |          |
|-------------------|----------------|----------|------------|----------|-------------|----------|------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|------------|----------|
| Church Attendance | <u>High</u>    |          | <u>Low</u> |          | <u>High</u> |          | <u>Low</u> |          | <u>High</u>             |          | <u>Low</u> |          |
|                   | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>   | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>    | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>   | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>   | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Attitude:</u>  |                |          |            |          |             |          |            |          |                         |          |            |          |
| Favourable        | 25             | 42.37    | 11         | 40.74    | 2           | 100.00   | 6          | 35.29    | 3                       | 30.00    | 10         | 41.67    |
| Neutral           | 3              | 5.09     | 4          | 11.82    | 0           |          | 0          |          | 3                       | 30.00    | 1          | 4.16     |
| Unfavourable      | 31             | 52.54    | 12         | 44.44    | 0           |          | 11         | 64.71    | 4                       | 40.00    | 13         | 54.17    |
| TOTALS            | 59             | 100.00   | 27         | 100.00   | 2           | 100.00   | 17         | 100.00   | 10                      | 100.00   | 24         | 100.00   |

TABLE VIIb

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, AGE, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion         | Roman Catholic |        |             |        | Anglican |        |             |        | Other Major Protestants |        |             |        |
|------------------|----------------|--------|-------------|--------|----------|--------|-------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| Age              | Under 40       |        | 40 and over |        | Under 40 |        | 40 and over |        | Under 40                |        | 40 and over |        |
|                  | N              | %      | N           | %      | N        | %      | N           | %      | N                       | %      | N           | %      |
| <u>Attitude:</u> |                |        |             |        |          |        |             |        |                         |        |             |        |
| Favourable       | 22             | 42.31  | 17          | 44.74  | 2        | 28.57  | 6           | 50.00  | 5                       | 33.33  | 8           | 42.10  |
| Neutral          | 6              | 11.54  | 2           | 5.26   | 0        |        | 0           |        | 1                       | 6.67   | 3           | 15.80  |
| Unfavourable     | 24             | 46.15  | 19          | 50.00  | 5        | 71.43  | 6           | 50.00  | 9                       | 60.00  | 8           | 42.10  |
| TOTALS           | 52             | 100.00 | 38          | 100.00 | 7        | 100.00 | 12          | 100.00 | 15                      | 100.00 | 19          | 100.00 |

TABLE VIc

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion         | Roman Catholic |        |       |        | Anglican |        |       |        | Other Major Protestants |        |       |        |
|------------------|----------------|--------|-------|--------|----------|--------|-------|--------|-------------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| Ethnicity        | British        |        | Other |        | British  |        | Other |        | British                 |        | Other |        |
|                  | N              | %      | N     | %      | N        | %      | N     | %      | N                       | %      | N     | %      |
| <u>Attitude:</u> |                |        |       |        |          |        |       |        |                         |        |       |        |
| Favourable       | 9              | 60.00  | 30    | 44.78  | 8        | 57.14  | 0     |        | 9                       | 45.00  | 4     | 28.57  |
| Neutral          | 0              |        | 0     |        | 0        |        | 0     |        | 2                       | 10.00  | 2     | 14.29  |
| Unfavourable     | 6              | 40.00  | 37    | 55.22  | 6        | 42.86  | 5     | 100.00 | 9                       | 45.00  | 8     | 57.14  |
| TOTALS           | 15             | 100.00 | 67    | 100.00 | 14       | 100.00 | 5     | 100.00 | 20                      | 100.00 | 14    | 100.00 |

TABLE VIa

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, GENERATION, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion         | Roman Catholic |          |                         |          | Anglican     |          |                         |          | Other Major Protestants |          |                         |          |
|------------------|----------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|--------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|
| Generation       | <u>First</u>   |          | <u>Second to Fourth</u> |          | <u>First</u> |          | <u>Second to Fourth</u> |          | <u>First</u>            |          | <u>Second to Fourth</u> |          |
| <u>Attitude:</u> | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> |
| Favourable       | 16             | 34.04    | 23                      | 53.49    | 1            | 50.00    | 7                       | 41.18    | 2                       | 40.00    | 11                      | 37.93    |
| Neutral          | 6              | 12.77    | 2                       | 4.65     | 0            |          | 0                       |          | 1                       | 20.00    | 3                       | 10.34    |
| Unfavourable     | 25             | 53.19    | 18                      | 41.86    | 1            | 50.00    | 10                      | 58.82    | 2                       | 40.00    | 15                      | 51.72    |
| TOTALS           | 47             | 100.00   | 43                      | 100.00   | 2            | 100.00   | 17                      | 100.00   | 5                       | 100.00   | 29                      | 100.00   |

TABLE VIe

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, EDUCATION, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion         | Roman Catholic |        |              |        | Anglican    |        |              |        | Other Major Protestants |        |              |        |
|------------------|----------------|--------|--------------|--------|-------------|--------|--------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|--------------|--------|
|                  | High School    |        | Grade School |        | High School |        | Grade School |        | High School             |        | Grade School |        |
| Education        | N              | %      | N            | %      | N           | %      | N            | %      | N                       | %      | N            | %      |
| <u>Attitude:</u> |                |        |              |        |             |        |              |        |                         |        |              |        |
| Favourable       | 11             | 47.83  | 28           | 41.79  | 1           | 12.50  | 7            | 63.64  | 5                       | 41.67  | 8            | 38.09  |
| Neutral          | 3              | 13.04  | 5            | 7.46   | 0           |        | 0            |        | 1                       | 8.34   | 3            | 14.29  |
| Unfavourable     | 9              | 39.13  | 34           | 50.75  | 7           | 87.50  | 4            | 36.36  | 6                       | 50.00  | 10           | 47.62  |
| TOTALS           | 23             | 100.00 | 67           | 100.00 | 8           | 100.00 | 11           | 100.00 | 12                      | 100.01 | 21           | 100.00 |

TABLE VI f



# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, INCOME, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion         | Roman Catholic |        |                 |        | Anglican      |        |                 |        | Other Major Protestants |        |                 |        |
|------------------|----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|---------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|
|                  | Under \$4,000  |        | \$4,000 or over |        | Under \$4,000 |        | \$4,000 or over |        | Under \$4,000           |        | \$4,000 or over |        |
| Income           | N              | %      | N               | %      | N             | %      | N               | %      | N                       | %      | N               | %      |
| <u>Attitude:</u> |                |        |                 |        |               |        |                 |        |                         |        |                 |        |
| Favourable       | 17             | 44.74  | 18              | 40.00  | 4             | 50.00  | 4               | 36.36  | 3                       | 21.43  | 10              | 52.63  |
| Neutral          | 2              | 5.26   | 5               | 11.11  | 0             |        | 0               |        | 2                       | 14.29  | 1               | 5.26   |
| Unfavourable     | 19             | 50.00  | 22              | 48.89  | 4             | 50.00  | 7               | 63.64  | 9                       | 64.28  | 8               | 42.11  |
| TOTALS           | 38             | 100.00 | 45              | 100.00 | 8             | 100.00 | 11              | 100.00 | 14                      | 100.00 | 19              | 100.00 |

TABLE VIg

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, URBAN OR RURAL UPRINGING, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion         | Roman Catholic |        |       |   | Anglican |   |       |   | Other Major Protestants |        |       |   |
|------------------|----------------|--------|-------|---|----------|---|-------|---|-------------------------|--------|-------|---|
|                  | Urban          |        | Rural |   | Urban    |   | Rural |   | Urban                   |        | Rural |   |
| Upbringing       | N              | %      | N     | % | N        | % | N     | % | N                       | %      | N     | % |
| <u>Attitude:</u> |                |        |       |   |          |   |       |   |                         |        |       |   |
| Favourable       | 30             | 42.86  | 9     |   | 6        |   | 2     |   | 12                      | 42.86  | 1     |   |
| Neutral          | 8              | 11.43  | 0     |   | 0        |   | 0     |   | 2                       | 7.14   | 2     |   |
| Unfavourable     | 32             | 45.71  | 11    |   | 10       |   | 1     |   | 14                      | 50.00  | 3     |   |
| TOTALS           | 70             | 100.00 | 20    |   | 16       |   | 3     |   | 28                      | 100.00 | 6     |   |

TABLE VIh

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, SEX, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

MALES ONLY

| Religion         | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestants |          |
|------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------------------|----------|
|                  | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Attitude:</u> |                |          |          |          |                         |          |
| Favourable       | 29             | 43.94    | 5        | 33.33    | 13                      | 48.15    |
| Neutral          | 7              | 10.61    | 0        |          | 4                       | 14.81    |
| Unfavourable     | 30             | 45.45    | 10       | 66.67    | 10                      | 37.04    |
| TOTALS           | 66             | 100.00   | 15       | 100.00   | 27                      | 100.00   |

TABLE VII

## RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND ALTERNATIVES TO WORK

| Religion                               | <u>Roman<br/>Catholic</u><br><u>N</u> | <u>Anglican</u><br><u>N</u> | <u>Other Major<br/>Protestants</u><br><u>N</u> |
|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| <u>Work Alternatives:</u>              |                                       |                             |  |
| Travel                                 | 11                                    | 5                           | 4  |
| Sports                                 | 3                                     |                             | 5  |
| Improve self, read                     | 3                                     |                             | 1  |
| Work around house or garden            | 3                                     | 3                           | 2  |
| Start own business                     | 6                                     | 1                           | 8  |
| Charitable Work                        |                                       |                             | 1  |
| Live Better                            | 4                                     |                             | 5  |
| Have better house                      | 6                                     | 1                           | 4  |
| Move out of North End                  | 2                                     |                             |  |
| Move out of city                       | 4                                     | 1                           | 5  |
| Other Alternative                      | 21                                    | 5                           | 4  |
| No change                              | 48                                    | 5                           | 14   |
| Total number of working<br>respondents | 115                                   | 12                          | 26 <sup>#</sup>                                |

TABLE VIj

<sup>#</sup>The total number of respondents and the total number of replies do not correspond because some of the respondents named several activities. The IBM cards were overpunched in this column.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND FANTASY OF STARTING CAREER OVER AGAIN:

AN INDEX OF CAREER AMBITION

| Religion  | Roman Catholic |          |                | Anglican |          |                | Other Major Protestants |          |                |
|---|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|----------|----------------|-------------------------|----------|----------------|
|   | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>Total %</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Total %</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> | <u>Total %</u> |
| <u>Career Ambition:</u>                                   |                |          |                |          |          |                |                         |          |                |
| To professions  | 32             | 45.71    | } 52.85        | 6        | 28.57    | } 33.33        | 12                      | 38.71    | } 51.61        |
| To be entrepreneur  | 5              | 7.14     |                | 1        | 4.76     |                | 4                       | 12.90    |                |
| To skilled trade  | 18             | 25.71    |                | 9        | 42.86    |                | 10                      | 32.26    |                |
| Satisfied, or change<br>within the same<br>level of skill | 15             | 21.43    |                | 5        | 23.80    |                | 5                       | 16.13    |                |
| TOTALS  | 70             | 99.99    |                | 21       | 99.99    |                | 31                      | 100.00   |                |

TABLE VIa

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND HOME OWNERSHIP

| Religion                                 | Roman Catholic |          |                | Anglican |          |                | Other Major Protestants |          |                |
|--|----------------|----------|----------------|----------|----------|----------------|-------------------------|----------|----------------|
|  | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>Total %</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>Total %</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> | <u>Total %</u> |
| <u>Own or rent house:</u>                |                |          |                |          |          |                |                         |          |                |
| Own -- no mortgage                       | 59             | 36.17    | 66.85          | 20       | 38.55    | 73.09          | 26                      | 33.34    | 50.00          |
| Own -- mortgage more than half paid      | 28             | 17.18    |                | 12       | 23.01    |                | 7                       | 8.97     |                |
| Own -- mortgage less than half paid      | 20             | 12.27    |                | 6        | 11.53    |                | 6                       | 7.69     |                |
| Own -- no answer about mortgage          | 2              | 1.23     |                | 0        |          |                | 0                       |          |                |
| Rent -- unfurnished                      | 45             | 27.61    | 32.52          | 14       | 26.91    | 26.91          | 36                      | 46.16    | 48.72          |
| Rent -- furnished                        | 2              | 1.23     |                | 0        |          |                | 1                       | 1.28     |                |
| Rent -- no answer about furnished or not | 6              | 3.68     |                | 0        |          |                | 1                       | 1.28     |                |
| No answer to question                    | 1              | 0.62     | 0.62           | 0        |          |                | 1                       | 1.28     | 1.28           |
| TOTALS                                   | 163            | 99.99    | 99.99          | 52       | 100.00   | 100.00         | 78                      | 100.00   | 100.00         |

TABLE VIa

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND HOME OWNERSHIP

| Religion               | Roman Catholic |        |     |        | Anglican |        |     |        | Other Major Protestants |        |     |        |
|------------------------|----------------|--------|-----|--------|----------|--------|-----|--------|-------------------------|--------|-----|--------|
| Church Attendance Rate | High           |        | Low |        | High     |        | Low |        | High                    |        | Low |        |
|                        | N              | %      | N   | %      | N        | %      | N   | %      | N                       | %      | N   | %      |
| <u>Home Ownership:</u> |                |        |     |        |          |        |     |        |                         |        |     |        |
| Own                    | 82             | 71.93  | 24  | 55.81  | 11       | 91.67  | 26  | 66.67  | 22                      | 84.61  | 17  | 34.69  |
| Rent                   | 32             | 28.07  | 19  | 44.19  | 1        | 8.33   | 13  | 33.33  | 4                       | 15.39  | 32  | 65.31  |
| TOTALS                 | 114            | 100.00 | 43  | 100.00 | 12       | 100.00 | 39  | 100.00 | 26                      | 100.00 | 49  | 100.00 |

TABLE VIc

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, AGE, AND HOME OWNERSHIP

| Religion               | Roman Catholic |        |              |        | Anglican |        |              |        | Other Major Protestants |        |              |        |
|------------------------|----------------|--------|--------------|--------|----------|--------|--------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| Age (in years)         | Over 40        |        | 40 and Under |        | Over 40  |        | 40 and Under |        | Over 40                 |        | 40 and Under |        |
|                        | N              | %      | N            | %      | N        | %      | N            | %      | N                       | %      | N            | %      |
| <u>Home Ownership:</u> |                |        |              |        |          |        |              |        |                         |        |              |        |
| Own                    | 57             | 80.28  | 52           | 57.78  | 30       | 85.71  | 8            | 47.06  | 34                      | 69.39  | 5            | 17.86  |
| Rent                   | 14             | 19.72  | 38           | 42.22  | 5        | 14.29  | 9            | 52.94  | 15                      | 30.61  | 23           | 82.14  |
| TOTALS                 | 71             | 100.00 | 90           | 100.00 | 35       | 100.00 | 17           | 100.00 | 49                      | 100.00 | 28           | 100.00 |

TABLE VI<sub>p</sub>



# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND HOME OWNERSHIP

| Religion               | Roman Catholic |        |       |        | Anglican |        |       |        | Other Major Protestants |        |       |        |
|------------------------|----------------|--------|-------|--------|----------|--------|-------|--------|-------------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| Ethnicity              | British        |        | Other |        | British  |        | Other |        | British                 |        | Other |        |
|                        | N              | %      | N     | %      | N        | %      | N     | %      | N                       | %      | N     | %      |
| <u>Home Ownership:</u> |                |        |       |        |          |        |       |        |                         |        |       |        |
| Own                    | 11             | 42.31  | 98    | 71.53  | 31       | 72.09  | 7     | 77.78  | 29                      | 54.72  | 10    | 41.67  |
| Rent                   | 15             | 57.69  | 39    | 28.47  | 12       | 27.91  | 2     | 22.22  | 24                      | 45.28  | 14    | 58.33  |
| TOTALS                 | 26             | 100.00 | 137   | 100.00 | 43       | 100.00 | 9     | 100.00 | 53                      | 100.00 | 24    | 100.00 |

TABLE VI<sub>q1</sub>

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND HOME OWNERSHIP

| CATHOLIC RESPONDENTS   |         |        |         |        |                 |        |                                     |        |       |        |                                |        |
|------------------------|---------|--------|---------|--------|-----------------|--------|-------------------------------------|--------|-------|--------|--------------------------------|--------|
| Ethnicity              | British |        | Italian |        | French Canadian |        | East European & South-East European |        | Irish |        | Others -- not otherwise listed |        |
|                        | N       | %      | N       | %      | N               | %      | N                                   | %      | N     | %      | N                              | %      |
|                        |         |        |         |        |                 |        |                                     |        |       |        |                                |        |
| <u>Home Ownership:</u> |         |        |         |        |                 |        |                                     |        |       |        |                                |        |
| Own                    | 11      | 42.31  | 57      | 83.82  | 10              | 52.63  | 17                                  | 77.27  | 8     | 57.14  | 6                              | 42.86  |
| Rent                   | 15      | 57.69  | 11      | 16.18  | 9               | 47.37  | 5                                   | 22.73  | 6     | 42.86  | 8                              | 57.14  |
| <hr/>                  |         |        |         |        |                 |        |                                     |        |       |        |                                |        |
| TOTALS                 | 26      | 100.00 | 68      | 100.00 | 19              | 100.00 | 22                                  | 100.00 | 14    | 100.00 | 14                             | 100.00 |

TABLE VI<sub>q2</sub>

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, IMMIGRANT GENERATION, AND HOME OWNERSHIP

| Religion                | Roman Catholic |          |                             |          | Anglican     |          |                             |          | Other Major Protestants |          |                             |          |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|--------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|----------|
| Immigrant<br>Generation | <u>First</u>   |          | <u>Second to<br/>Fourth</u> |          | <u>First</u> |          | <u>Second to<br/>Fourth</u> |          | <u>First</u>            |          | <u>Second to<br/>Fourth</u> |          |
|                         | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                    | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                    | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                    | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Home Ownership:</u>  |                |          |                             |          |              |          |                             |          |                         |          |                             |          |
| Own                     | 69             | 84.15    | 40                          | 50.00    | 6            | 66.67    | 32                          | 74.42    | 13                      | 76.47    | 26                          | 44.82    |
| Rent                    | 13             | 15.85    | 40                          | 50.00    | 3            | 33.33    | 11                          | 25.58    | 4                       | 23.53    | 32                          | 55.18    |
| TOTALS                  | 82             | 100.00   | 80                          | 100.00   | 9            | 100.00   | 43                          | 100.00   | 17                      | 100.00   | 58                          | 100.00   |

TABLE VIr

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, INCOME, AND HOME OWNERSHIP

| Religion               | Roman Catholic |        |                 |        | Anglican      |        |                 |        | Other Major Protestants |        |                 |        |
|------------------------|----------------|--------|-----------------|--------|---------------|--------|-----------------|--------|-------------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|
|                        | Under \$4,000  |        | \$4,000 or over |        | Under \$4,000 |        | \$4,000 or over |        | Under \$4,000           |        | \$4,000 or over |        |
| Income                 | N              | %      | N               | %      | N             | %      | N               | %      | N                       | %      | N               | %      |
| <u>Home Ownership:</u> |                |        |                 |        |               |        |                 |        |                         |        |                 |        |
| Own                    | 47             | 62.67  | 55              | 75.34  | 19            | 67.86  | 12              | 70.59  | 21                      | 52.50  | 16              | 47.00  |
| Rent                   | 28             | 37.33  | 18              | 24.66  | 9             | 32.14  | 5               | 29.14  | 19                      | 47.50  | 18              | 53.00  |
| TOTALS                 | 75             | 100.00 | 73              | 100.00 | 28            | 100.00 | 17              | 100.00 | 40                      | 100.00 | 34              | 100.00 |

TABLE VIa

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, INDUSTRY, AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion                                  | Roman Catholic |                                 | Anglican      |                                 | Other Major Protestants |                                 |
|---|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Industry                                  | Manufacturing  | Service<br>Transport<br>& other | Manufacturing | Service<br>Transport<br>& other | Manufacturing           | Service<br>Transport<br>& other |
| <u>Attitude to<br/>Cessation of Work:</u> | <u>N</u>       | <u>N</u>                        | <u>N</u>      | <u>N</u>                        | <u>N</u>                | <u>N</u>                        |
| Favourable                                | 21             | 16                              | 7             | 1                               | 6                       | 7                               |
| Neutral                                   | 2              | 6                               |               |                                 | 2                       | 2                               |
| Unfavourable                              | 21             | 21                              | 5             | 6                               | 6                       | 11                              |
| TOTALS                                    | 44             | 43                              | 12            | 7                               | 14                      | 20                              |

TABLE VIc

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT UNION MEETINGS, AND  
ATTITUDE TOWARD CESSATION OF WORK

| Religion  | Roman Catholic  |          |                   |          | Other Major Protestant <sup>#</sup> |          |                   |          |
|---|-----------------|----------|-------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|
|   | <u>Frequent</u> |          | <u>Infrequent</u> |          | <u>Frequent</u>                     |          | <u>Infrequent</u> |          |
| Union Attendance                                    | <u>N</u>        | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>          | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                            | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>          | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Attitude toward</u><br><u>Cessation of Work:</u> |                 |          |                   |          |                                     |          |                   |          |
| Favourable  | 6               | 46.15    | 10                | 33.33    | 5                                   | 62.50    | 4                 | 36.36    |
| Neutral   | 1               | 7.70     | 2                 | 6.67     |                                     |          | 1                 | 9.09     |
| Unfavourable  | 6               | 46.15    | 18                | 60.00    | 3                                   | 37.50    | 6                 | 54.55    |
| TOTALS  | 13              | 100.00   | 30                | 100.00   | 8                                   | 100.00   | 11                | 100.00   |

TABLE VIa

<sup>#</sup>Numbers of Anglicans were too few to include in this table.

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND SATISFACTION WITH THE JOB

| Religion   | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|--|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|  | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Job Satisfaction,</u><br><u>or otherwise:</u> |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Satisfied  | 72             | 84.70    | 24       | 96.00    | 37                     | 90.24    |
| Dissatisfied                                     | 13             | 15.30    | 1        | 4.00     | 4                      | 9.76     |
| TOTALS   | 85             | 100.00   | 25       | 100.00   | 41 <sup>#</sup>        | 100.00   |

TABLE VIw

<sup>#</sup>In this table, and in the following two tables, a different deck of IBM cards was used and it was not possible to remove the non-white races, i.e. a small proportion of negro, Canadian-Indian and Japanese may be included. These should not be more than 10% of the sample in this column. Roman Catholic and Anglican columns remain unaffected.

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE JOB

| Religion                             | Roman Catholic  |       | Anglican        |       | Other Major Protestant |       |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|------------------------|-------|
|                                      | N               | %     | N               | %     | N                      | %     |
| <u>Complaints:</u>                   |                 |       |                 |       |                        |       |
| None                                 | 26              | 35.62 | 11              | 45.83 | 12                     | 31.58 |
| Pay, benefits or security            | 24              | 32.88 | 2               | 8.33  | 9                      | 23.68 |
| Physical effects                     | 12              | 16.44 | 2               | 8.33  | 6                      | 15.79 |
| Hours or distance                    | 3               | 4.11  | 3               | 12.50 | 6                      | 15.79 |
| Strictness, pressure or organization | 9               | 12.33 | 1               | 4.17  | 5                      | 13.16 |
| Equipment                            | 2               | 2.74  |                 |       | 3                      | 7.89  |
| Setting                              | 5               | 6.02  | 3               | 12.50 | 1                      | 2.63  |
| Range of tasks                       | 3               | 4.11  |                 |       | 2                      | 5.26  |
| Specific desire                      | 5               | 6.02  | 2               | 8.33  |                        |       |
| Other Complaints                     | 8               | 10.96 | 4               | 16.67 | 7                      | 18.42 |
| Number of Respondents                | 73 <sup>#</sup> |       | 24 <sup>#</sup> |       | 38 <sup>#</sup>        |       |

TABLE VIx

<sup>#</sup>These figures are not totals of the columns since one respondent may have had several complaints.



# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND CAREER PLANS

| Religion                  | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|---------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|                           | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Career Plans:</u>      |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Satisfied                 | 96             | 75.59    | 29       | 82.86    | 47                     | 79.66    |
| Would like to change      | 23             | 18.11    | 4        | 11.35    | 6                      | 10.16    |
| Wants to buy own business | 4              | 3.15     |          |          | 3                      | 5.08     |
| Other                     | 4              | 3.15     | 2        | 5.71     | 3                      | 5.08     |
| TOTALS                    | 127            | 100.00   | 35       | 100.00   | 59                     | 100.00   |

TABLE VIy

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND READING

| Religion                     | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|                              | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Frequency of Reading:</u> |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Often                        | 56             | 34.36    | 28       | 53.85    | 41                     | 53.25    |
| Sometimes                    | 50             | 30.67    | 15       | 28.85    | 18                     | 23.38    |
| Never                        | 57             | 34.97    | 9        | 17.30    | 18                     | 23.38    |
| TOTALS                       | 163            | 100.00   | 52       | 100.00   | 77                     | 100.01   |

TABLE VIIa

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND READING

| Religion                     | Roman Catholic |          |          |          | Anglican |          |          |          | Other Major Protestant |          |          |          |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Attendance                   | High           |          | Low      |          | High     |          | Low      |          | High                   |          | Low      |          |
| <u>Frequency of Reading:</u> | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Often                        | 41             | 35.65    | 13       | 30.23    | 10       | 83.33    | 18       | 46.15    | 16                     | 61.54    | 25       | 49.02    |
| Sometimes                    | 31             | 26.96    | 18       | 41.86    | 2        | 16.67    | 12       | 30.77    | 6                      | 23.08    | 12       | 23.52    |
| Never                        | 43             | 37.39    | 12       | 27.91    | 0        |          | 9        | 23.08    | 4                      | 15.38    | 14       | 27.45    |
| TOTALS                       | 115            | 100.00   | 43       | 100.00   | 12       | 100.00   | 39       | 100.00   | 26                     | 100.00   | 51       | 99.99    |

TABLE VIIb

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, EDUCATION, AND READING

| Religion                     | Roman Catholic |          |              |          | Anglican    |          |              |          | Other Major Protestant |          |              |          |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------|--------------|----------|-------------|----------|--------------|----------|------------------------|----------|--------------|----------|
|                              | High School    |          | Grade School |          | High School |          | Grade School |          | High School            |          | Grade School |          |
| Education                    | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>    | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Frequency of Reading:</u> |                |          |              |          |             |          |              |          |                        |          |              |          |
| Often                        | 20             | 54.05    | 36           | 28.57    | 10          | 58.82    | 17           | 51.52    | 14                     | 70.00    | 24           | 46.15    |
| Sometimes                    | 12             | 32.43    | 38           | 30.16    | 4           | 23.53    | 10           | 30.30    | 5                      | 25.00    | 11           | 21.15    |
| Never                        | 5              | 13.51    | 52           | 41.27    | 3           | 17.65    | 6            | 18.18    | 1                      | 5.00     | 17           | 32.69    |
| TOTALS                       | 37             | 99.99    | 126          | 100.00   | 17          | 100.00   | 33           | 100.00   | 20                     | 100.00   | 52           | 99.99    |

TABLE VIIc

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, INCOME, AND READING

| Religion                     | Roman Catholic |       |                       |        |                  |        | Anglican      |        |                       |        |                  |        | Other Major Protestant |       |                       |        |                  |        |
|------------------------------|----------------|-------|-----------------------|--------|------------------|--------|---------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------|------------------|--------|
|                              | Under \$3,000  |       | \$3,000 to \$4,999.99 |        | \$5,000 and over |        | Under \$3,000 |        | \$3,000 to \$4,999.99 |        | \$5,000 and over |        | Under \$3,000          |       | \$3,000 to \$4,999.99 |        | \$5,000 and over |        |
| Income                       | N              | %     | N                     | %      | N                | %      | N             | %      | N                     | %      | N                | %      | N                      | %     | N                     | %      | N                | %      |
| <u>Frequency of reading:</u> |                |       |                       |        |                  |        |               |        |                       |        |                  |        |                        |       |                       |        |                  |        |
| Often                        | 13             | 33.33 | 23                    | 31.51  | 14               | 37.84  | 7             | 46.67  | 8                     | 42.11  | 9                | 81.82  | 17                     | 65.38 | 15                    | 44.12  | 8                | 61.54  |
| Sometimes                    | 11             | 28.20 | 22                    | 30.13  | 13               | 35.13  | 5             | 33.33  | 7                     | 36.84  | 1                | 9.09   | 5                      | 19.23 | 8                     | 23.53  | 4                | 30.77  |
| Never                        | 15             | 38.46 | 28                    | 38.36  | 10               | 27.03  | 3             | 20.00  | 4                     | 21.05  | 1                | 9.09   | 4                      | 15.38 | 11                    | 32.35  | 1                | 7.69   |
| TOTALS                       | 39             | 99.99 | 73                    | 100.00 | 37               | 100.00 | 15            | 100.00 | 19                    | 100.00 | 11               | 100.00 | 26                     | 99.99 | 34                    | 100.00 | 13               | 100.00 |

TABLE VIId

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND READING

| Religion                     | Roman Catholic |        |             |        | Anglican |        |             |        | Other Major Protestant |       |             |        |
|------------------------------|----------------|--------|-------------|--------|----------|--------|-------------|--------|------------------------|-------|-------------|--------|
| Ethnicity                    | British        |        | Non-British |        | British  |        | Non-British |        | British                |       | Non-British |        |
|                              | N              | %      | N           | %      | N        | %      | N           | %      | N                      | %     | N           | %      |
| <u>Frequency of Reading:</u> |                |        |             |        |          |        |             |        |                        |       |             |        |
| Often                        | 11             | 42.31  | 45          | 32.85  | 23       | 53.49  | 5           | 55.56  | 30                     | 55.55 | 11          | 47.83  |
| Sometimes                    | 9              | 34.61  | 41          | 29.93  | 12       | 27.91  | 3           | 33.33  | 13                     | 24.07 | 5           | 21.74  |
| Never                        | 6              | 23.08  | 51          | 37.23  | 8        | 18.61  | 1           | 11.11  | 11                     | 20.37 | 7           | 30.43  |
| TOTALS                       | 26             | 100.00 | 137         | 100.01 | 43       | 100.01 | 9           | 100.00 | 54                     | 99.99 | 23          | 100.00 |

TABLE VIIe<sub>1</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND READING

| Religion                     | R o m a n      C a t h o l i c |          |                |          |                        |          |                                     |          |              |          |              |          |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------|----------------|----------|------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| Ethnicity                    | <u>British</u>                 |          | <u>Italian</u> |          | <u>French Canadian</u> |          | <u>East &amp; South East Europe</u> |          | <u>Irish</u> |          | <u>Other</u> |          |
|                              | <u>N</u>                       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>                            | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>     | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Frequency of Reading:</u> |                                |          |                |          |                        |          |                                     |          |              |          |              |          |
| Often                        | 11                             | 42.31    | 18             | 26.47    | 8                      | 42.10    | 10                                  | 45.45    | 6            | 42.86    | 3            | 21.43    |
| Sometimes                    | 9                              | 34.61    | 19             | 27.94    | 5                      | 26.31    | 6                                   | 27.27    | 5            | 35.71    | 6            | 42.86    |
| Never                        | 6                              | 23.08    | 31             | 45.59    | 6                      | 31.58    | 6                                   | 27.27    | 3            | 21.43    | 5            | 35.71    |
| TOTALS                       | 26                             | 100.00   | 68             | 100.00   | 19                     | 99.99    | 22                                  | 99.99    | 14           | 100.00   | 14           | 100.00   |

TABLE VIIe<sub>2</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, IMMIGRANT GENERATION AND READING

| Religion                     | Roman Catholic |        |        |        |                |        | Anglican |       |        |        |                |       | Other Major Protestant |       |        |        |                |        |
|------------------------------|----------------|--------|--------|--------|----------------|--------|----------|-------|--------|--------|----------------|-------|------------------------|-------|--------|--------|----------------|--------|
| Immigrant Generation         | First          |        | Second |        | Third & Fourth |        | First    |       | Second |        | Third & Fourth |       | First                  |       | Second |        | Third & Fourth |        |
|                              | N              | %      | N      | %      | N              | %      | N        | %     | N      | %      | N              | %     | N                      | %     | N      | %      | N              | %      |
| <u>Frequency of Reading:</u> |                |        |        |        |                |        |          |       |        |        |                |       |                        |       |        |        |                |        |
| Often                        | 26             | 31.71  | 11     | 37.93  | 19             | 36.54  | 4        | 44.44 | 11     | 50.00  | 13             | 61.90 | 8                      | 44.44 | 12     | 52.17  | 21             | 58.33  |
| Sometimes                    | 20             | 24.39  | 11     | 37.93  | 19             | 36.54  | 3        | 33.33 | 7      | 31.82  | 5              | 23.81 | 6                      | 33.33 | 6      | 26.09  | 6              | 16.67  |
| Never                        | 36             | 43.90  | 7      | 24.14  | 14             | 26.92  | 2        | 22.22 | 4      | 18.18  | 3              | 14.28 | 4                      | 22.22 | 5      | 21.74  | 9              | 25.00  |
| TOTALS                       | 82             | 100.00 | 29     | 100.00 | 52             | 100.00 | 9        | 99.99 | 22     | 100.00 | 21             | 99.99 | 18                     | 99.99 | 23     | 100.00 | 36             | 100.00 |

TABLE VIIf



# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, AGE, AND READING

| Religion                     | Roman Catholic |       |       |        |         |       | Anglican |        |       |        |         |        | Other Major Protestant |       |       |        |         |        |
|------------------------------|----------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|----------|--------|-------|--------|---------|--------|------------------------|-------|-------|--------|---------|--------|
|                              | Under 40       |       | 40-60 |        | Over 60 |       | Under 40 |        | 40-60 |        | Over 60 |        | Under 40               |       | 40-60 |        | Over 60 |        |
| Age (in years)               | N              | %     | N     | %      | N       | %     | N        | %      | N     | %      | N       | %      | N                      | %     | N     | %      | N       | %      |
| <u>Frequency of Reading:</u> |                |       |       |        |         |       |          |        |       |        |         |        |                        |       |       |        |         |        |
| Often                        | 33             | 36.66 | 13    | 28.26  | 10      | 38.46 | 6        | 42.86  | 12    | 54.54  | 10      | 76.92  | 15                     | 53.57 | 16    | 51.62  | 10      | 55.55  |
| Sometimes                    | 30             | 33.33 | 16    | 34.78  | 4       | 15.38 | 7        | 50.00  | 5     | 22.73  | 3       | 23.08  | 3                      | 10.71 | 10    | 32.26  | 5       | 27.78  |
| Never                        | 27             | 30.00 | 17    | 36.96  | 12      | 46.15 | 1        | 7.14   | 5     | 22.73  | 0       | 0.00   | 10                     | 35.71 | 5     | 16.12  | 3       | 16.67  |
| TOTALS                       | 90             | 99.99 | 46    | 100.00 | 26      | 99.99 | 14       | 100.00 | 22    | 100.00 | 13      | 100.00 | 28                     | 99.99 | 31    | 100.00 | 18      | 100.00 |

TABLE VIIg

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, SEX, AND READING

| Religion                     | Roman Catholic |          |          |          | Anglican |          |          |          | Other Major Protestant |          |          |          |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Sex                          | Male           |          | Female   |          | Male     |          | Female   |          | Male                   |          | Female   |          |
| <u>Frequency of Reading:</u> | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> |
| Often                        | 31             | 38.27    | 25       | 30.49    | 12       | 57.14    | 16       | 51.61    | 18                     | 52.94    | 23       | 53.49    |
| Sometimes                    | 23             | 28.39    | 27       | 32.93    | 7        | 33.33    | 8        | 25.80    | 8                      | 23.53    | 10       | 23.25    |
| Never                        | 27             | 33.33    | 30       | 36.58    | 2        | 9.52     | 7        | 22.58    | 8                      | 23.53    | 10       | 23.25    |
| TOTALS                       | 81             | 99.99    | 82       | 100.00   | 21       | 99.99    | 31       | 99.99    | 34                     | 100.00   | 43       | 99.99    |

TABLE VIIh

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND HOBBIES

| Religion        | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|-----------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|                 | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Hobbies:</u> |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Instrumental    | 42             | 87.50    | 28       | 93.33    | 25                     | 80.64    |
| Expressive      | 6              | 12.50    | 2        | 6.67     | 6                      | 19.36    |
| <hr/>           |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| TOTAL HOBBIES*  | 48             | 100.00   | 30       | 100.00   | 31                     | 100.00   |

\*These figures should not be confused with the total number of respondents.

TABLE VIIn

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND VISITING

| Religion                          | Roman Catholic |          | Anglican |          | Other Major Protestant |          |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|------------------------|----------|
|                                   | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                  |                |          |          |          |                        |          |
| Friends more often than relatives | 51             | 33.77    | 19       | 38.00    | 26                     | 36.62    |
| Friends less often                | 68             | 45.04    | 24       | 48.00    | 33                     | 46.48    |
| The same                          | 32             | 21.19    | 7        | 14.00    | 12                     | 16.90    |
| TOTALS                            | 151            | 100.00   | 50       | 100.00   | 71                     | 100.00   |

TABLE VIIq

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, CHURCH ATTENDANCE, AND VISITING

| Religion                          | Roman Catholic |        |     |        | Anglican |       |     |       | Other Major Protestant |        |     |        |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------|-----|--------|----------|-------|-----|-------|------------------------|--------|-----|--------|
|                                   | High           |        | Low |        | High     |       | Low |       | High                   |        | Low |        |
| Attendance                        | N              | %      | N   | %      | N        | %     | N   | %     | N                      | %      | N   | %      |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                  |                |        |     |        |          |       |     |       |                        |        |     |        |
| Friends more often than relatives | 31             | 29.25  | 17  | 42.50  | 3        | 27.27 | 16  | 41.02 | 8                      | 33.33  | 18  | 38.30  |
| Friends less often                | 52             | 49.06  | 16  | 40.00  | 6        | 54.54 | 18  | 46.15 | 12                     | 50.00  | 21  | 44.68  |
| The same                          | 23             | 21.70  | 7   | 17.50  | 2        | 18.18 | 5   | 12.82 | 4                      | 16.67  | 8   | 17.02  |
| TOTALS                            | 106            | 100.01 | 40  | 100.00 | 11       | 99.99 | 39  | 99.99 | 24                     | 100.00 | 47  | 100.00 |

TABLE VIIf

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND VISITING

| Religion                    | Roman Catholic |          |                    |          | Anglican       |          |                    |          | Other Major Protestant |          |                    |          |
|-----------------------------|----------------|----------|--------------------|----------|----------------|----------|--------------------|----------|------------------------|----------|--------------------|----------|
| Ethnicity                   | <u>British</u> |          | <u>Non-British</u> |          | <u>British</u> |          | <u>Non-British</u> |          | <u>British</u>         |          | <u>Non-British</u> |          |
|                             | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>           | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>       | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>           | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>               | <u>%</u> | <u>N</u>           | <u>%</u> |
| <u>Visiting:</u>            |                |          |                    |          |                |          |                    |          |                        |          |                    |          |
| Friends more than relatives | 9              | 34.61    | 42                 | 33.60    | 18             | 43.90    | 1                  | 11.11    | 20                     | 39.21    | 6                  | 30.00    |
| Friends less often          | 11             | 42.30    | 57                 | 45.60    | 18             | 43.90    | 6                  | 66.67    | 23                     | 45.10    | 10                 | 50.00    |
| The same                    | 6              | 23.08    | 26                 | 20.80    | 5              | 12.19    | 2                  | 22.22    | 8                      | 15.69    | 4                  | 20.00    |
| TOTALS                      | 26             | 99.99    | 125                | 100.00   | 41             | 99.99    | 9                  | 100.00   | 51                     | 100.00   | 20                 | 100.00   |

TABLE VII<sub>s</sub><sub>1</sub>

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETHNICITY, AND VISITING

| Religion                          | R o m a n      C a t h o l i c |       |         |       |                 |        |                            |        |       |        |       |       |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|---------|-------|-----------------|--------|----------------------------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| Ethnicity                         | British                        |       | Italian |       | French Canadian |        | East and South East Europe |        | Irish |        | Other |       |
|                                   | N                              | %     | N       | %     | N               | %      | N                          | %      | N     | %      | N     | %     |
|                                   |                                |       |         |       |                 |        |                            |        |       |        |       |       |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                  |                                |       |         |       |                 |        |                            |        |       |        |       |       |
| Friends more often than relatives | 9                              | 34.61 | 19      | 28.78 | 8               | 50.00  | 7                          | 38.89  | 4     | 30.77  | 4     | 33.33 |
| Friends less often                | 11                             | 42.30 | 30      | 45.45 | 6               | 37.50  | 9                          | 50.00  | 5     | 38.46  | 7     | 58.33 |
| The same                          | 6                              | 23.08 | 17      | 25.76 | 2               | 12.50  | 2                          | 11.11  | 4     | 30.77  | 1     | 8.33  |
| <hr/>                             |                                |       |         |       |                 |        |                            |        |       |        |       |       |
| TOTALS                            | 26                             | 99.99 | 66      | 99.99 | 16              | 100.00 | 18                         | 100.00 | 13    | 100.00 | 12    | 99.99 |

TABLE VII<sub>32</sub>

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, IMMIGRANT GENERATION, AND VISITING

| Immigrant<br>Generation                 | Roman Catholic |        |        |        |                   |        | Anglican |        |        |        |                   |        | Other Major Protestant |        |        |        |                   |       |
|---|----------------|--------|--------|--------|-------------------|--------|----------|--------|--------|--------|-------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|-------------------|-------|
|   | First          |        | Second |        | Third &<br>Fourth |        | First    |        | Second |        | Third &<br>Fourth |        | First                  |        | Second |        | Third &<br>Fourth |       |
|   | N              | %      | N      | %      | N                 | %      | N        | %      | N      | %      | N                 | %      | N                      | %      | N      | %      | N                 | %     |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                        |                |        |        |        |                   |        |          |        |        |        |                   |        |                        |        |        |        |                   |       |
| Friends more<br>often than<br>relatives | 27             | 36.00  | 6      | 20.69  | 18                | 38.30  | 4        | 50.00  | 8      | 36.36  | 7                 | 35.00  | 4                      | 26.67  | 8      | 34.78  | 14                | 42.42 |
| Friends less<br>often                   | 35             | 46.67  | 16     | 55.17  | 17                | 36.17  | 3        | 37.50  | 11     | 50.00  | 10                | 50.00  | 9                      | 60.00  | 13     | 56.52  | 11                | 33.33 |
| The same                                | 13             | 17.33  | 7      | 24.14  | 12                | 25.53  | 1        | 12.50  | 3      | 13.64  | 3                 | 15.00  | 2                      | 13.33  | 2      | 8.70   | 8                 | 24.24 |
| TOTALS                                  | 75             | 100.00 | 29     | 100.00 | 47                | 100.00 | 8        | 100.00 | 22     | 100.00 | 20                | 100.00 | 15                     | 100.00 | 23     | 100.00 | 33                | 99.99 |

TABLE VIIt



# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, AGE, AND VISITING

| Religion                          | Roman Catholic |        |       |       |         |       | Anglican |        |       |        |         |        | Other Major Protestant |        |       |       |         |        |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------|-------|-------|---------|-------|----------|--------|-------|--------|---------|--------|------------------------|--------|-------|-------|---------|--------|
|                                   | Under 40       |        | 40-60 |       | Over 60 |       | Under 40 |        | 40-60 |        | Over 60 |        | Under 40               |        | 40-60 |       | Over 60 |        |
| Age (in years)                    | N              | %      | N     | %     | N       | %     | N        | %      | N     | %      | N       | %      | N                      | %      | N     | %     | N       | %      |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                  |                |        |       |       |         |       |          |        |       |        |         |        |                        |        |       |       |         |        |
| Friends more often than relatives | 27             | 31.76  | 16    | 39.02 | 8       | 33.33 | 8        | 50.00  | 8     | 36.36  | 3       | 25.00  | 11                     | 40.74  | 9     | 31.03 | 6       | 40.00  |
| Friends less often                | 40             | 47.06  | 16    | 39.02 | 11      | 45.83 | 6        | 37.50  | 11    | 50.00  | 7       | 58.33  | 9                      | 33.34  | 16    | 55.17 | 8       | 53.33  |
| The same                          | 18             | 21.18  | 9     | 21.95 | 5       | 20.83 | 2        | 12.50  | 3     | 13.64  | 2       | 16.67  | 7                      | 25.92  | 4     | 13.79 | 1       | 6.67   |
| TOTALS                            | 85             | 100.00 | 41    | 99.99 | 24      | 99.99 | 16       | 100.00 | 22    | 100.00 | 12      | 100.00 | 27                     | 100.00 | 29    | 99.99 | 15      | 100.00 |

TABLE VIIu

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, INCOME, AND VISITING

| Religion                          | Roman Catholic |       |                       |        |                  |        | Anglican      |        |                       |        |                  |        | Other Major Protestant |       |                       |       |                  |        |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------|-----------------------|--------|------------------|--------|---------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------------|--------|
|                                   | Under \$3,000  |       | \$3,000 to \$4,999.99 |        | \$5,000 and over |        | Under \$3,000 |        | \$3,000 to \$4,999.99 |        | \$5,000 and over |        | Under \$3,000          |       | \$3,000 to \$4,999.99 |       | \$5,000 and over |        |
| Income                            | N              | %     | N                     | %      | N                | %      | N             | %      | N                     | %      | N                | %      | N                      | %     | N                     | %     | N                | %      |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                  |                |       |                       |        |                  |        |               |        |                       |        |                  |        |                        |       |                       |       |                  |        |
| Friends more often than relatives | 14             | 42.42 | 27                    | 38.03  | 8                | 23.53  | 5             | 35.71  | 8                     | 42.10  | 5                | 50.00  | 8                      | 33.33 | 10                    | 33.33 | 4                | 30.77  |
| Friends less often                | 15             | 45.45 | 28                    | 39.44  | 19               | 55.88  | 6             | 42.86  | 9                     | 47.39  | 5                | 50.00  | 14                     | 58.33 | 12                    | 40.00 | 7                | 53.85  |
| The same                          | 4              | 12.12 | 16                    | 22.53  | 7                | 20.59  | 3             | 21.43  | 2                     | 10.52  | 0                | 0      | 2                      | 8.33  | 8                     | 26.66 | 2                | 15.38  |
| TOTAL                             | 33             | 99.99 | 71                    | 100.00 | 34               | 100.00 | 14            | 100.00 | 19                    | 100.01 | 10               | 100.00 | 24                     | 99.99 | 30                    | 99.99 | 13               | 100.00 |

TABLE VIIv

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, EDUCATION, AND VISITING

| Religion                          | Roman Catholic |        |       |        |            |       | Anglican |       |       |        |            |        | Other Major Protestant |       |       |        |            |        |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------|-------|--------|------------|-------|----------|-------|-------|--------|------------|--------|------------------------|-------|-------|--------|------------|--------|
|                                   | 0 - 6          |        | 7 - 8 |        | 9 and over |       | 0 - 6    |       | 7 - 8 |        | 9 and over |        | 0 - 6                  |       | 7 - 8 |        | 9 and over |        |
| Education Grade Completed         | N              | %      | N     | %      | N          | %     | N        | %     | N     | %      | N          | %      | N                      | %     | N     | %      | N          | %      |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                  |                |        |       |        |            |       |          |       |       |        |            |        |                        |       |       |        |            |        |
| Friends more often than relatives | 23             | 32.86  | 17    | 35.42  | 11         | 34.37 | 3        | 33.33 | 6     | 24.99  | 10         | 62.50  | 14                     | 36.36 | 13    | 33.33  | 8          | 40.00  |
| Friends less often                | 33             | 47.14  | 23    | 47.92  | 11         | 34.37 | 5        | 55.55 | 15    | 60.00  | 4          | 25.00  | 6                      | 54.54 | 17    | 43.59  | 10         | 50.00  |
| The same                          | 14             | 20.00  | 8     | 16.67  | 10         | 31.25 | 1        | 11.11 | 4     | 16.00  | 2          | 12.50  | 1                      | 9.09  | 9     | 23.08  | 2          | 10.00  |
| TOTALS                            | 70             | 100.00 | 48    | 100.01 | 32         | 99.99 | 9        | 99.99 | 25    | 100.00 | 16         | 100.00 | 11                     | 99.99 | 39    | 100.00 | 20         | 100.00 |

TABLE VIIw

# RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, SEX, AND VISITING

| Religion                             | Roman Catholic |       |        |        | Anglican |        |        |        | Other Major Protestant |        |        |        |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|-------|--------|--------|----------|--------|--------|--------|------------------------|--------|--------|--------|
|                                      | Male           |       | Female |        | Male     |        | Female |        | Male                   |        | Female |        |
| Sex                                  | N              | %     | N      | %      | N        | %      | N      | %      | N                      | %      | N      | %      |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                     |                |       |        |        |          |        |        |        |                        |        |        |        |
| Friends more often<br>than relatives | 30             | 38.46 | 21     | 28.77  | 7        | 36.84  | 12     | 38.71  | 12                     | 37.50  | 14     | 35.00  |
| Friends less often                   | 32             | 41.02 | 36     | 49.31  | 10       | 52.63  | 14     | 45.16  | 13                     | 40.63  | 21     | 52.50  |
| The same                             | 16             | 20.51 | 16     | 21.92  | 2        | 10.53  | 5      | 16.13  | 7                      | 21.87  | 5      | 12.50  |
| <hr/>                                |                |       |        |        |          |        |        |        |                        |        |        |        |
| TOTALS                               | 78             | 99.99 | 73     | 100.00 | 19       | 100.00 | 31     | 100.00 | 32                     | 100.00 | 40     | 100.00 |

TABLE VIIx

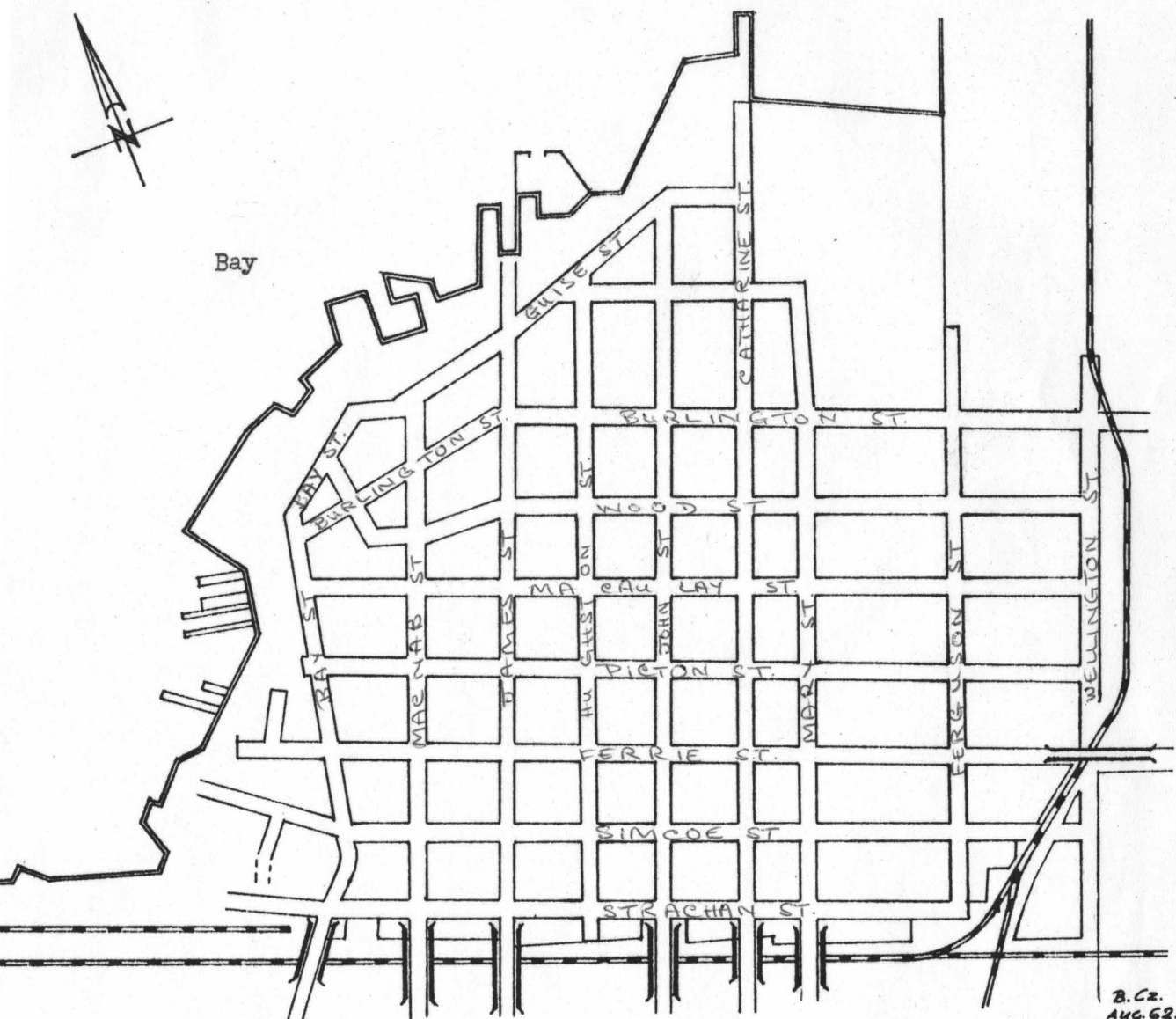
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, URBAN OR RURAL UPBRINGING, AND VISITING

| Religion                             | Roman Catholic |        |       |        | Anglican |        |       |        | Other Major Protestant |        |       |       |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|--------|-------|--------|----------|--------|-------|--------|------------------------|--------|-------|-------|
|                                      | Urban          |        | Rural |        | Urban    |        | Rural |        | Urban                  |        | Rural |       |
| Upbringing                           | N              | %      | N     | %      | N        | %      | N     | %      | N                      | %      | N     | %     |
| <u>Visiting:</u>                     |                |        |       |        |          |        |       |        |                        |        |       |       |
| Friends more often<br>than relatives | 39             | 31.97  | 12    | 41.38  | 16       | 37.21  | 3     | 50.00  | 23                     | 38.33  | 3     | 27.27 |
| Friends less often                   | 55             | 45.08  | 13    | 44.83  | 21       | 48.84  | 3     | 50.00  | 28                     | 46.67  | 5     | 45.45 |
| The same                             | 28             | 22.95  | 4     | 13.79  | 6        | 13.95  | 0     | 0.0    | 9                      | 15.00  | 3     | 27.27 |
| TOTALS                               | 122            | 100.00 | 29    | 100.00 | 43       | 100.00 | 6     | 100.00 | 60                     | 100.00 | 11    | 99.99 |

TABLE VIIy

APPENDIX #2

AREA MAP



### THE NORTH END OF HAMILTON

#### CENSUS TRACT NO. 14

The district known as the "North End of Hamilton" is bounded on the North and West by a bay of Lake Ontario. On the East and South it is separated from the rest of the city by an extensive system of railway tracks. Access to the area is by means of bridges, as indicated above.

APPENDIX #3

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE



Case Number \_\_\_\_\_

Completed: Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

Disposition: Assigned to \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Returned \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Returned \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Returned \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Returned \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Interview: Man \_\_\_\_\_ Wife \_\_\_\_\_ Single \_\_\_\_\_

Family composition \_\_\_\_\_

## RECORD OF CALLS:

| Time | Date | Interviewer | Outcome | Remarks |
|------|------|-------------|---------|---------|
|      |      |             |         |         |
|      |      |             |         |         |
|      |      |             |         |         |
|      |      |             |         |         |
|      |      |             |         |         |
|      |      |             |         |         |
|      |      |             |         |         |
|      |      |             |         |         |
|      |      |             |         |         |

NOTE: ATTACH THIS SHEET TO COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE.  
ATTACH THIS SHEET TO REPORT OF NON-INTERVIEW



3. A. Do you, and those who **live around here**, think of this part of the city as a neighbourhood? (RECORD VERBATIM COMMENTS AND REACTIONS)

B. IF YES: Why is that? (In what respects?)

What would you say its boundaries are?

What do you call the neighbourhood? (Do you have a name for it?)

C. IF NO TO PART A: What keeps it from being a neighbourhood?

4. Are the people who live around here all pretty much alike in the amount of money they have and the way they live? (What are they like?) (How are they different?) (What sort of people are they?)

5. A. How long have you lived in this house/apartment? \_\_\_\_\_

B. Where else in the Hamilton area have you lived? (Get addresses to the nearest intersection) When was that? (How long did you live there?)

| Address | Years there |
|---------|-------------|
|         |             |
|         |             |
|         |             |
|         |             |
|         |             |

- C. Where were you born? City \_\_\_\_\_ Province \_\_\_\_\_  
Country \_\_\_\_\_

IF NOT CANADA: How long have you been in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_ years.

How old were you when you came?

- D. About how many times did you and your family move from one town to another while you were growing up (before you were 16)? \_\_\_\_\_ times.

- E. Did you grow up on a farm, in a town, in a city, or in a suburb?  
(CIRCLE ONE CODE)

Farm. . . . .1

Town.....2

City.....3

Suburb.....4

Other (specify)

- F. Now, could you tell me about other cities or places you have lived -- I want to find out all the places you've lived for 6 months or more, since you were 16 years old. Where did you live when you were 16? (ENTER IN CHART BELOW) How long did you live there? How big a place was that?

IF HAMILTON: Have you ever lived anywhere besides Hamilton?

Where did you move when you left \_\_\_\_\_ ?

What year was that? Did anyone go with you? (Who?)

[illegible]



6. A. Where were your parents born?

Mother: Province \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Father: Province \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

B. Where were your grandparents born?

Mother's mother: Prov. \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's father: Prov. \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Father's mother: Prov. \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

Father's father: Prov. \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

7. If someone asked you your nationality, what would you say?

8. A. Where was your wife/husband born? City \_\_\_\_\_  
Province \_\_\_\_\_ Country \_\_\_\_\_

B. How long did she/he live in \_\_\_\_\_ (PLACE OF BIRTH)?  
Where did she/he live next? (ENTER IN CHART BELOW)

| Place | Years there | Size  |
|-------|-------------|-------|
| _____ | _____       | _____ |
| _____ | _____       | _____ |
| _____ | _____       | _____ |
| _____ | _____       | _____ |

9. A. IF RESPONDENT BORN OUTSIDE CANADA, OR SPENT MORE THAN 5 YEARS OUTSIDE CANADA: Are you a Canadian citizen?

Yes ..... 1  
No ..... 2  
Other (SPECIFY)  
..... 3

B. Do you intend to stay in Canada?

Yes ..... 1  
No ..... 2\*  
Indefinite .. 3\*

\*IF NO OR INDEFINITE: Where do you want to go?

10. A. IF MOVED TO HAMILTON AFTER AGE 16: Did you have friends or relatives, or any members of your family, already here in Hamilton when you came? (Who?)
- B. Why did you decide to come here? (Why did you come at that particular time?)
- C. When you first came, did you intend to stay?
11. A. ASK ALL: What religion do you consider yourself to be?  
(If Protestant or Jewish, ask for denomination).
- B. Is your wife/husband of the same religion as you? (If not, ask what?)
- C. How often do you go to church? \_\_\_\_\_ times per \_\_\_\_\_  
How about your wife/husband? \_\_\_\_\_ times per \_\_\_\_\_
- D. What church do you usually go to? \_\_\_\_\_
12. A. At the present time, are you (is your husband) working, looking for a job, or not working but not looking for a job?
- Working ..... 1\*  
Not Working ..... 2\*\*  
Not looking ..... 3\*\*\*

\*B. IF WORKING: What kind of work do you (does he) do?

What kind of business or company do you (does he) work for?

Where is it located?

How long have you (has he) held this job?

How many weeks during the past year were you (was he) without work because of unemployment or layoff?

\*\*\*

- \*\*C. IF NOT WORKING, OR NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING:  
 What kind of work did you (he) do on your (his) last job?  
 What kind of business or company did you (he) work for?  
 Where was it located?  
 How long did you (he) hold that job?  
 How long have you (has he) been without work?

- \*\*\*D. IF NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR A JOB? How does it happen you're (he's) not looking for work -- are you (is he) retired, unable to work because of poor health, or is there some other reason? (SPECIFY)

Retired ..... 1  
 Poor health ..... 2  
 Other ..... 3

13. A. ASK ALL MEN AND SINGLE WOMEN: How satisfied are (were) you with your present (last) job? Would you say you were very satisfied, satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

Very satisfied ..... 1  
 Satisfied ..... 2  
 Somewhat dissatisfied ..... 3  
 Very dissatisfied ..... 4

- B. What kinds of things do (did) you wish were different about your job and the place you work/ed (your kind of work)? What about your work don't (didn't) you especially like? (What else?)

14. A. ASK ALL, IF WORKING: What are your (his) job/career plans for the future? Do you (does he) intend to keep this job (stay where you are) as long as you (he) can, are you thinking about making a change, or do you definitely plan to change?

Keep same job ..... 1  
 Thinking of change ..... 2\*  
 Definitely change ..... 3\*

\*IF CHANGE: What sort of change do you (does he) have in mind?

B. ASK ALL, IF LOOKING FOR JOB: What kind of work are you (is he) looking for?

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Industry \_\_\_\_\_

ASK MEN AND SINGLE WOMEN ONLY: How are you going about looking for a job?  
(Probe: Is there any likelihood you'll have to move to find a job?  
Do you think you might have to move to find a cheaper place to live?)

15. A. What kind of work did your father do when you were growing up?

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Industry \_\_\_\_\_

B. How far did you father go in school? \_\_\_\_\_

C. What kind of work did your grandfathers do?

Mother's father: Occ. \_\_\_\_\_ Ind. \_\_\_\_\_

Father's father: Occ. \_\_\_\_\_ Ind. \_\_\_\_\_

16. A. What was the last grade of regular school you attended?

\_\_\_\_\_ Did you complete this grade? \_\_\_\_\_

B. How old were you when you stopped going to school? \_\_\_\_\_

C. ASK ALL, EXCEPT THOSE WITH COLLEGE DEGREE: Why did you leave school at that time -- was it all the schooling you wanted, were you discouraged because you were getting poor grades, did you dislike school, or were there other reasons?

All schooling wanted .....1

Poor grades.....2

Disliked school.....3

Other (Specify).....4

17. A. ASK MEN AND SINGLE WOMEN ONLY: MARRIED WOMEN SKIP TO Q. 22:

What was the first job you had, either part-time or full-time, after your 16th birthday?

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Industry \_\_\_\_\_

B. How old were you when you started on that job?





20. A. How long after you arrived in Hamilton did you get your first job?
- B. What kinds of jobs did you want to get when you first came?
- C. How did you go about getting a job? (Who helped?)
- D. What was the first job you got here? (ADD TO CHART BELOW)
- E. What other jobs have you held here?

| Occupation | Industry | Years | Length | Reasons for leaving |
|------------|----------|-------|--------|---------------------|
|            |          |       |        |                     |
|            |          |       |        |                     |
|            |          |       |        |                     |
|            |          |       |        |                     |
|            |          |       |        |                     |
|            |          |       |        |                     |
|            |          |       |        |                     |

Have you had any periods of unemployment since you've been in Hamilton?  
(ADD TO LIST)

21. A. If you were a boy starting over again, and could get whatever training you needed, what kind of occupation or business would you go into?
- B. IF DIFFERENT FROM PRESENT OCCUPATION: What kept you from getting into that kind of work?

22. A. ASK ALL: Does your wife (do you) work for pay?

- B. IF YES: What does she (do you) do?

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Industry \_\_\_\_\_

How many hours a week does she (do you) work? \_\_\_\_\_

What other jobs has she (have you) had in her (your) lifetime?

- C. IF NO: Has she ( have you) ever worked since you've been married?

When was that?

What was the job she (you) worked at longest?

23. ASK ALL MEN AND WOMEN WHO WORK: If you suddenly didn't have to work, how would you feel? (PAUSE, AND RECORD ALL COMMENTS)

Do you think it would change your way of living? (How?) (Do you think you might move?)

24. A. ASK ALL: I guess there are some newcomers moving into this part of the city. Have you noticed any difference in the sort of people who are moving in? (What differences?) (Have you noticed if they are of different nationalities?) (RECORD VERBATIM ALL COMMENTS AND NOTE PARENTHETICALLY ALL REACTIONS AND EXPRESSIONS, ETC.)

- B. IF RESPONDENT HAS NOTICED NEWCOMERS: On the whole, do you think the newcomers are making any difference to the area? (What difference?)

- C. Do they seem to fit in all right?

- D. Do the people you know in the area pretty much agree with you on this? (IF NO: What do they feel?)

- E. IF RESPONDENT HAS NOT NOTICED NEWCOMERS IN OWN AREA: In parts of the city where there are newcomers, do they seem to be making any difference to the neighbourhoods? (What difference?)

25. A. Would you say that the people living around here are friendly to newcomers? In what way?

B. Are there any ways in which newcomers are at a disadvantage? (How?)

26. If a newcomer asked you how to make friends in this area what would you tell him to do? Where could he go to make friends?

27. A. Do you know any family which has recently moved out of the area? (IF YES) Why did they move?

B. Have you ever thought you might move out? (What is it that made you think this?) (How about the other members of your family, how do they feel?)

- 29 C NUMBER OF ROOMS

C. IF YES (CONT'D): Do you have any problem parking around here?  
(What is the problem?)

D. IF NOT ANSWERED ABOVE: Where do you usually park?

E. Would you tell me which of the following sorts of things you use the car for? Tell me if you use the car always, sometimes, or never.  
How about for:

|                                 | <u>Always</u> | <u>Sometimes</u> | <u>Never</u> |
|---------------------------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| <u>IF WORK</u> : Work?          | 1             | 2                | 3            |
| Shopping?                       | 1             | 2                | 3            |
| To get the children to sch'l    | 1             | 2                | 3            |
| To go to club or lodge meetings | 1             | 2                | 3            |
| For pleasure                    | 1             | 2                | 3            |

F. ASK IF RESPONDENT'S FAMILY HAS NO CAR: Would you tell me how you travel for the following purposes:

|                                 | <u>Bus</u> | <u>Walk</u> | <u>Get ride</u> | <u>Other</u> |
|---------------------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
| To go to work (IF WORK)         | 1          | 2           | 3               | 4            |
| For shopping                    | 1          | 2           | 3               | 4            |
| To get the children to school   | 1          | 2           | 3               | 4            |
| To go to club or lodge meetings | 1          | 2           | 3               | 4            |
| When you go visiting            | 1          | 2           | 3               | 4            |

Do you have any relatives, or members of your family, living in the Hamilton area? Where do they live (TO NEAREST INTERSECTION) How often do you see them?

| <u>Relationship</u> | <u>Address</u> | <u>Frequency of seeing</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
|                     |                | _____ times per _____      |
|                     |                | _____ times per _____      |
|                     |                | _____ times per _____      |
|                     |                | _____ times per _____      |
|                     |                | _____ times per _____      |

A. Do you see your relatives, or members of your family, who live outside the immediate neighbourhood (more than a few blocks from you) as often as you wish?

B. Do you go to visit them, or do they come to visit you? Would you say they come here most often, that you go there most often, or is it about half and half?

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| They come here most often..... | 1 |
| You go there most often .....  | 2 |
| About half and half .....      | 3 |

C. Did any of them ever live in this immediate area (within a few blocks of here?) When was that? (LIST BELOW)

3. A. How many families or single individuals who live in this immediate neighbourhood (within a few blocks of here) would you say were good friends?

B. ASK MEN AND SINGLE WOMEN ONLY: Do any of them work with you? (How many?)

4. Of these friends, think of the family or single individual in this area that you would consider your best friend. Would you tell me how long you have known them (him/her)?

How did you first meet?

How often do you see them? \_\_\_\_\_ times per \_\_\_\_\_.

Where do you see them most often?

5. How many families or single individuals who live elsewhere in the Hamilton area would you classify as good friends?

6. Of these, now, think of your closest friend -- one who does not live in this part of the city. Would you tell me how long you have known them?

How did you first meet?

How often do you see them? \_\_\_\_\_ times per \_\_\_\_\_.

Where do you see them most often?

Where do they live? (TO NEAREST INTERSECTION)

7. Would you say you visit with friends more or less often than with relatives?

Friends more often..... 1  
Friends less often..... 2  
About the same..... 3

8. Are your friends in this area about the same age as you are, younger than you, older than you, or do they vary in age?

Same age..... 1  
Younger..... 2  
Older ..... 3  
Vary ..... 4



39. A. ASK MEN AND SINGLE WOMEN ONLY: What about the people you work with  
-- how many of them do you spend time with outside the job?

B. What sorts of things do you do together?

C. How many of the people you work with live around here?

All or almost all.....1  
More than half.....2  
Less than half.....3  
A few.....4  
None.....5

40. A. ASK ALL:

How about you and your neighbours? How often do you visit with or  
stop and talk with people who live within a few blocks of you? Would  
you say you talk with them almost every day, a few times a week, once  
in a while, or almost never?

Almost every day.....1\*  
A few times a week....2\*  
Once in a while.....3\*  
Almost never.....4

B.\* IF AT ALL (1, 2 OR 3 ABOVE): How many different families do you stop  
and talk with this way? \_\_\_\_\_.

41.-ASK A THROUGH D BELOW ABOUT ALL BUT RESPONDENT'S OWN ETHNIC GROUP !

A. How would you feel about living in a neighbourhood in which there were  
a lot of French-Canadians? (Why do you say that?) (What do you think  
it would be like?)

B. How about one which was largely Polish? (Why do you say that?)  
(What do you think it would be like?)

C. How about one with a lot of Italians? (Why do you say that?) (What  
do you think it would be like?)



D. How about one with a lot of Ukrainians? (Why do you say that?)  
(What do you think it would be like?)

E. ASK ALL: How would you feel about living in a neighbourhood where almost everyone was of the same nationality as you are? (Why do you say that?)

42.-A. ASK WOMEN AND SINGLE MEN ONLY: Now, let's see. Where do you usually go to buy groceries and meat? (GET STORE NAME).

Is that an (ETHNIC) store?

B. What are some of the reasons you go there, instead of (a supermarket) (a smaller grocery)? (PROBE DIRECTLY ON ALL NOT MENTIONED: Is the service any different? Does the size matter to you? Is there a difference in the kinds of things you can buy there? Anything else?)

C. Do you have a bill or do you pay cash? \_\_\_\_\_.

D. For other things besides groceries, what sorts of stores do you shop in? We mean things like clothes, furniture and gifts. (GET LOCATION OF STORES AS WELL AS TYPE).

E. Do you have to do a lot of travelling to do your shopping?

F. What do you think would make shopping easier for you? (Is there anything about the location of the stores that could be better?) (Is there any particular type of store you'd like?)

43. A. ASK ALL: What clubs or lodges do you belong to? (ASK FOR EACH: How often does it meet? How often do you attend?)

Are any of these connected with the church?

- B. Does anyone else in your family belong to clubs like these? (PROBE AS ABOVE) Are any of these connected with the church?

- C. Do you (does your husband) belong to a labour union? (How often do you go to meetings?)

44. A. IF CANADIAN CITIZEN (CHECK Q. 9A, P.4): Did you vote in the last city election?

Yes.....1

No.....2

- B. Have you ever voted in a federal election? Yes....1  
No.....2

- C. If there were a federal election today, how do you think you'd vote?

Conservative.....1

Liberal.....2

NDP.....3

Social Credit.....4

Other (SPECIFY)

.....5

45. A. If someone asked you to classify your family, would you say it was upper class, middle class, working class, or lower class?

Upper.....1

Middle.....2\*

Working.....3\*

Lower.....4

- B. \*IF MIDDLE OR WORKING: Why do you say that?

46. A. Have any of your children finished school yet? (CHECK FACE SHEET). How far did each go? (LIST SEPARATELY) Why did they leave school at that time?

- B. How far did your wife/husband go in school? \_\_\_\_\_ grade

47. A. I'm going to read out a list of some of the things people do with their spare time. Would you tell me whether you do each of these, and if so, how often -- that is, every day, a few times a week, once a week, or less than once a week. (RECORD COMMENTS BELOW EACH)

|   | Every<br>Day | Few Times<br>a Week | Once<br>a Week | Less than<br>Once/Wk | Never |
|---|--------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|-------|
| Watching television                       | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Reading a book or magazine                | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Playing card games                        | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Visiting or having visitors               | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Listening to records or the radio         | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Having drinks at home                     | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Going out for drinks                      | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Going to movies                           | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Going to watch sports                     | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Playing in athletic games                 | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Working at a hobby                        | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Gardening                                 | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Going to the park                         | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| <u>MEN ONLY:</u> Fixing up the house/apt. | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Working on the car                        | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Part-time work                            | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |
| Other _____                               | 1            | 2                   | 3              | 4                    | 5     |

- B. Do you find you have enough things to do in your spare time in the summer?

- C. How about the winter?

48. A. Do you usually get away for a summer vacation?

- B. Where did you go (what did you do) last summer?

49. A. Sooner or later everyone gets into a situation where they need help or advice. Try to think of some of the times when you've talked things over. Who did you talk to? (Anyone else?)

B. Have you ever gone to a lawyer for advice?

What was his nationality?

50. Taking everything into consideration would you say that this past year has been a happy one? Would you say it has been a very happy year, fairly happy, about average, fairly unhappy or very unhappy? (RECORD ALL VOLUNTEERED COMMENTS)

Very happy.....1

Fairly happy.....2

About average.....3

Fairly unhappy.....4

Very unhappy.....5

51. A. Again, thinking about the past year, would you say your family has been in good health? (Have there been any serious illnesses?) (Who was that?)

B. Do you have a family doctor?

What is his nationality?

C. About how long is it since you've had a chest x-ray?

52. A. We're interested in what the children living around here do when they play. (Taking the children one at a time) would you tell me what their most important activities are? (Even if you don't have children, I'm interested in your impressions.) (PROBE: Where do they \_\_\_\_\_?)

B. IF CHILDREN: How much time do you spend with your children? What sorts of things do you do together (ASK FOR WOMEN: as a family?)

C. Do you have any problem with the children getting into trouble? (What sort of trouble?)

53. A. Do you think this part of the city is a good place to bring up children?

B. What do you think might make it (even) easier? (What sort of changes should there be in the area? How about the house/apartment?)

C. Is it a good place for teen-agers?

54. A. What do you think about the schools around here? How good a job are they doing? (Even though you don't have children I'd like to hear your impressions.)

B. How could they do a better (an even better) job?

C. IF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL: What school do your children attend?

55. A. ASK ALL: Have you ever heard the term urban redevelopment or urban renewal?  
Yes..... 1  
No.....2\*

\*IF NO, SKIP TO PART D

B. What do you think it is all about? (What is involved?)

How did you learn this?

C. Is any going on in Hamilton? (ASK ONLY IF NOT MENTIONED ABOVE)

Yes..... 1  
No ..... 2\*

\*IF NO, SKIP TO PART D

- C. ASK ALL WHO KNOW OF NORTH-END PROJECT: What are they going to do?

How will it affect you?

Are you in favor of this? (Why? or Why not?)

SKIP TO QUESTION 56.

- D. ASK ALL WHO DON'T KNOW OF NORTH-END PROJECT: Do you think there are some things the city should do to improve this neighbourhood? (What?)

- E. If changes were made by the government in this part of the city and you had to move, where do you think you would go? Why would you go there?

56. ASK ALL: A. The last question is, what do you like least about living here? (Anything else?)

- B. And on the whole, what do you like best about living in this part of the city? (Any other things in particular?)

---

TIME INTERVIEW ENDED: \_\_\_\_\_ A.M. \_\_\_\_\_ P.M.

TO BE FILLED OUT BY INTERVIEWER IMMEDIATELY AFTER INTERVIEW:

1. Length of interview: \_\_\_\_\_ hrs. \_\_\_\_\_ mins. Date \_\_\_\_\_

2. Was anyone else present during the interview? Who?  
For how long? Did this affect the interview in any way? How?

Were there any other conditions present that may have affected the interview?

3. How cooperative was the respondent during most of the interview?

4. A. At the beginning, what appeared to be respondent's attitude toward being interviewed?

B. What differences, if any, did you see in the respondent's attitude once the interview got well under way?

5. What subjects, if any, did respondent refuse to discuss fully or seem sensitive about?

6. Did respondent give any indication of his attitude toward ethnic relations on any questions other than 24, 25, 26, 27 and 41?

7. Was there any indication that the respondent had heard of the survey from talking to neighbours, or in any way besides our letter?

STRUCTURE AND DWELLING UNIT

8. Type of Structure:

Single-family, detached ..... 1  
Single-Family, attached ..... 2  
Over store..... 3  
Apartment building..... 4\*  
\*Number of units \_\_\_\_\_

9. Outside construction material

Brick or masonry..... 1  
Stucco ..... 2  
Wood or overlaid wood ..... 3  
Mixed..... 4  
Other ..... 5

10. Overall condition of structure:

Dilapidated ..... 1  
Badly kept outside ..... 2  
Badly kept inside ..... 3  
Old but well kept up ..... 4  
Very good ..... 5

SIGNATURE OF INTERVIEWER \_\_\_\_\_

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