

THE ACTIVE AND THE INACTIVE CHURCH MEMBER: A
SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF
ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH, WINNIPEG

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
The University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
James Edward Winston Jackson
April 1964



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The study of St. George's Anglican Church, Winnipeg, was an exploratory and descriptive one. An attempt was made to discover what variables were associated with the degree of involvement in church affiliation. A two-fold typology was employed for this purpose. Those who were more involved in the church were referred to as Active members; those who were less involved were termed Inactive. For both types, definition was based upon the respondents' reported frequency of church attendance.

The thesis was based on an analysis of three hundred and three questionnaires filled in during two services on Sunday, April 28, 1963. In order to examine the subject in greater detail, personal interviews were conducted during the summer of 1963 with sixty-seven of the middle-aged males on the church's parish list.

Age, sex, marital status, educational level, and socioeconomic position were found to be associated with the parishioners' degree of involvement in the church. Among those interviewed, it was found that the Active members displayed greater generational mobility, tended towards the middle of the socioeconomic range represented by the church's membership, and tended to maintain more rigid stands on social and religious issues. Furthermore, they exhibited more rigid behaviour patterns associated with religious practices and, for example, with political

voting patterns.

In addition to the focus on the Active-Inactive typology, some attempt was made to comment upon the general social characteristics of the parishioners of St. George's.

In the light of the findings concerning the Active and the Inactive members it was suggested, in the final chapter of the thesis, that further research, similar to that undertaken at St. George's, might well prove fruitful in increasing the sociologist's understanding of religious institutions.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Two themes have dominated the sociological analysis of religious institutions. The first, and the one which has received the greater attention, is analysis from the point of view of variables which affect church affiliation, the degree of involvement in church activities, the frequency of church attendance, the doctrinal tendencies of the individual, and the impact of religion on the individual, and, by extension, on society. The second main area of endeavour has been directed towards the understanding of the functions of religion and of the church. While in the first case, the various studies have yielded a substantial body of information, our knowledge of the church's functions and of religion's functions generally, has not, as yet, been convincingly demonstrated by empirical studies.¹

The major interest in the examination of the membership of St. George's Anglican Church is in relating the degree of participation in the church to other measurable variables. American studies² have indicated that there are

1

Statements concerning the functions of religion appear to have been arrived at through a process of intuition rather than based on empirical evidence. For example see:

significant differences between those people who are closely associated with a church as compared to those who are less involved in one.² However, there are few, if any, studies which relate this variable to particular churches.

Since there is virtually no literature in the specific field, the present study is, by necessity, exploratory and descriptive. It can only hope to discover what some of the variables associated with the degree of church participation might be: it is to be hoped that the conclusions arrived at as a result of the research might be used as starting points for other parish studies. Undoubtedly there will be some

David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 127-239; E.K. Nottingham, Religion and Society (New York: Random House, 1954), pp. 12-18. Sociologists' failure to come to grips with the problem of the functions of the church are, however, understandable since "... (1) specification of expected functions of religious institutions--either on purely logical grounds or on the basis of generalization from empirical evidence--is less precise and likely to be less readily accomplished than for almost any other area of social organization (economic, political, family, communicational, institutions), and that (2) any attempt to apply most of the available functional theories of religion to complex societies rather than primitive ones is more likely to lead to frustration than to fruitful understanding or insight." Allan W. Eister, "Religious Institutions in Complex Societies: Difficulties in the Theoretic Specification of Function," American Sociological Review, 22:387-88, 1957.

² Three examples which might be cited are: G.E. Lenski, The Religious Factor (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961); J.H. Fichter, Social Relations in the Urban Parish (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954); and Arthur Elliott, "A Sociological Study of One Hundred Active Church Members and One Hundred Irregularly Attending Church Members in Five Protestant Churches in Louisville, Kentucky, 1953" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Louisville, Louisville, 1953).

findings which will be peculiar to the church under investigation; hopefully, some of the findings, if verified by future studies, will contribute to our knowledge about the structure of parish life.

Essentially, the question posed in the research has been: Are the more active participants in the church significantly different from the less active participants? If there are differences, what are they? Who are the more likely to be active: the young or the old, males or females, the single or the married, the wealthy or the poor? Are views on political and religious questions in any way related to an individual's degree of participation in a church? Of course--and this point must be vigorously emphasized--the reasons why people participate in a church in varying degrees undoubtedly depend on a whole complex of known and unknown variables interacting with one another and influencing the individual.

The thesis also attempts to describe the characteristics of the church's membership generally and, where possible, to relate these to the population characteristics of the geographical area in which the church operates.

Sociologists concerned with the analysis of religious adherents have attempted to classify church members into types. One typology is J.H. Fichter's, where, for Roman Catholics, he distinguishes the "nuclear", the "modal",

the "marginal", and the "dormant" parishioner.³ Gerhard Lenski has similarly divided the "actively involved" from the "marginal" church member.⁴ Since the present study was not planned to deal with large numbers, a simple two-fold typology was adopted.

While the terms Active and Inactive are not altogether happy choices, they represent an attempt to label those people who are the more active participants in the church--the Active-- as distinct from those who are less active, the Inactive. As an index of participation we have taken, as Lenski did, the respondents' reported frequency of church attendance. An Active church member is here defined as one who claims to attend church services, on average, four or more times per month. The Inactive member, conversely, is one who claims to attend church services, on average, three or fewer times per month.

Admittedly the above typology is open to many criticisms. It may be argued that any differences between the two groups may be accounted for by factors of little moment. Nevertheless, it may prove interesting--and indeed provide a few suggestions for further research--to discover what sorts of people tend to be regular church attenders as compared to those whose attendance is less regular.

³J.H. Fichter, Social Relations in the Urban Parish (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 9-79.

⁴G.E. Lenski, The Religious Factor (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), pp. 21-22.

St. George's Anglican Church was selected for several reasons. First--and most important--the thesis adviser was able to obtain permission for the research to be done there. In addition, the writer lived conveniently close to the church, and also had some knowledge of the religious life exhibited in it. Although St. George's is looked upon as one of the wealthier Anglican parishes in Winnipeg,⁵ nevertheless in the matter of churchmanship and the attitudes of its parishioners generally, St. George's can perhaps be regarded as a typical urban Anglican parish.

Having noted why St. George's was selected for study, let us briefly review its history. It divides itself into two parts. The first is the history of a down-town parish of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The second phase is the history of a parish in the south of Winnipeg, beginning during the first World War and continuing up to the present day.

The first services in St. George's "were held in a small school building on the N.E. corner of the Central School grounds",⁶ in the fall of 1883. There were twenty families supporting the parish. In the following year, 1884, the first St. George's Church was opened on the corner of Lydia Street and William Avenue in down-town Winnipeg;

⁵The writer has often heard St. George's referred to as "St. George's-and-all-Cadillacs".

⁶A.D. McElheran, "Parish of St. George's, Winnipeg, Within the Diocese of Rupert's Land" (unpublished paper on file at St. George's Anglican Church, Winnipeg, no date), p. 2. I am indebted to Mr. McElheran's paper for the brief history of St. George's presented here.

a financial statement of 1886 places the value of this church at \$1,745.75.

Probably due to increasing parishioners, a new church, seating 350, and costing \$12,000.00, was built on the corner of Isabel Street and Bannatyne Avenue in 1894. By 1900, 150 families were on the parish list.

According to Mr. A.D. McElheran, the second phase of St. George's history--that of a south Winnipeg parish--began because

as time went by the population of the centre of Winnipeg began to change and the area of the parish changed also from that of a residential section to a commercial and industrial area.⁷

Hence, in the spring of 1916 a decision was made to relocate the parish in the south of Winnipeg--about three miles from its original sites.

The transfer of the whole parish, it might be pointed out, is unusual for the Anglican Church, which is organized on a parish basis.⁸ Although parish boundaries are

⁷A.D. McElheran, "Parish of St. George's, Winnipeg, Within the Diocese of Rupert's Land" (unpublished paper on file at St. George's Anglican Church, Winnipeg), p. 9.

⁸An Anglican church is built to serve people living within a geographical area, not, as for example with the United Church, to serve a particular congregation. Generally in the Anglican Church, when new residential areas build up, they are included in an old parish or else a totally new parish is created to contain them.

frequently altered to accommodate shifting populations, it is contrary to the tradition of the Anglican Church for parishes to be transferred entirely from one area to another.⁹ One of the consequences of St. George's leaving its down-town site is that that area now has a scarcity of Anglican churches.

The location selected for the new St. George's Church was on the corner of Wilton Street and Grosvenor Avenue, in the Crescentwood area of Winnipeg. Services began in this church on September 17, 1916. In 1924 a parish hall was built, and in 1927, the church was enlarged to seat 520. In the 1954 annual report, this church was valued at \$36,500. In the years 1947 to 1951, three campaigns were carried out to raise funds for a new parish hall and chapel. The Wells organization (a fund-raising organization) was called in in 1952 and raised about \$108,000; the previous three campaigns together had raised about \$84,000. The first part of the extension was completed in 1952, the remainder in 1954. The total cost of these improvements was about \$220,000. In 1954, it was decided to rebuild the church and a campaign to raise \$320,000 was completed, again with the assistance of the Wells Organization. On March 31, 1958, the new church, seating 650,

⁹For example, see Guy Mayfield, The Church of England: Its Members and Its Business (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 16-29.

and costing about \$425,000, was opened.

The average annual receipts for the four years 1959 to 1962, exclusive of departmental funds and real estate sold, were \$94,448. This figure compares with approximately \$29,000 in 1950 and \$12,000 in 1940. In the ten year period, 1940 to 1950, the receipts increased by over 140 per cent; in the following decade the increase was about 225 per cent. The operating budget of the church in 1963¹⁰ was \$46,695. The estimated property assets of the church are somewhere over the \$700,000 mark.

It is estimated that 642 families are on the membership file at St. George's.¹¹ The three Sunday services (8:30 a.m., 11 a.m., and 7 p.m. --between 75 and 80 per cent of the people who attend St. George's go to the 11 a.m. service) attracted an average of 533 people per Sunday in 1963. Those confirmed numbered 1,086 in 1963; there were 797 Easter communicants in the same year. (Throughout the year on the first Sunday of the month, the 11 a.m. service is Holy Communion.) The Sunday School¹²

¹⁰"81st Annual Meeting, 1963," (annual financial report on file at St. George's Anglican Church, Winnipeg, 1964).

¹¹This statistic, and the ones following, were kindly provided by St. George's Church.

¹²See Appendix F for a copy of a St. George's Sunday programme, with a list of the various church activities.

has seventeen teachers and 342 pupils. A youth group has 65 members. As well, there are no fewer than six women's organizations and seven children's activities operating within the framework of St. George's. From the preceding statistics, it is clear that St. George's is a large, complex, and "successful" religious organization.

The casual observer present at a Sunday morning service cannot escape the impression that St. George's is a church of the relatively wealthy. Part of this impression is derived from the church itself which is perhaps best described as tastefully luxurious. It has thickly carpeted floors and padded pews. The people are well dressed. Many of the men are known to be prominent in business and professional circles. If one were to judge from comments made about the families belonging to the church built in 1894, on Isabell and Bannatyne Avenue, then it would seem that historically St. George's is a church composed largely of community leaders. Of the down-town St. George's (1894 - 1918) Mr. A.D. McElheran noted:

The vestries and officials of the church and departments were composed of leading business men of Winnipeg and their wives and daughters. It would be impossible to mention all of them but some of the names which appear in the records fairly frequently are: Thomas W. Taylor, one time Mayor of Winnipeg and also a member of the Manitoba Legislature. James Taylor, John N. Heuhn - J.M. Johnston - J.H. Brock, who later founded the Great-West Life Assurance Company - A. Jardine, who became

secretary of the same company - the Birt family - the Hickson family - the Briggs family - the Brundrett family¹³

About one-half of the houses in the present St. George's parish area were built after 1945 and the remainder were built prior to that date.¹⁴ Two of the 1961 Canada Census tract areas roughly correspond to St. George's parish boundaries;¹⁵ the median house values for these two census areas are \$19,614 and \$13,735, which compare to a median of \$12,999 for homes in metropolitan Winnipeg.¹⁶ In terms of house values, the area itself is not therefore markedly above the median for Winnipeg.¹⁷ There are signs to indicate that some of the older parts of the area are starting to deteriorate, though, on the whole, the northern part of it would still be considered a fashionable area in which to live, having once been one of the more exclusive parts of Winnipeg. Cheaper housing, mostly built after 1945, comprises the southern regions of St. George's parish.

¹³ A.D. McElheran, "Parish of St. George's, Winnipeg, Within the Diocese of Rupert's Land" (unpublished paper on file at St. George's Anglican Church, Winnipeg, no date), p. 5.

¹⁴ See census tracts 43 and 44, Census of Canada (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Bulletin CT-17, 1961), p. 15.

¹⁵ See Appendix B for a map showing the parish boundaries of St. George's and the corresponding census tracts (1961) used for comparative purposes.

¹⁶ Metropolitan Winnipeg's population passed the one-half million mark in 1963.

¹⁷ Unless otherwise stated, Winnipeg is to be taken to mean metropolitan Winnipeg throughout this thesis.

CHAPTER II

ST. GEORGE'S CONGREGATIONS ON A TYPICAL SUNDAY

Introduction

As suggested in Chapter I, the major interest of the present study is an analysis of those members who were faithful church attenders as compared to those whose attendance was less regular.¹ A secondary interest is in relating the characteristics of St. George's congregations² to the features of the populations of the geographical area in which the church operates, and to the larger city of which St. George's forms a part. An examination of the data revealed that there were also important sociological variations between males and females, and between the morning and the evening congregations; hence, where significant,

¹See the definitions of the Active and the Inactive church members on page 4.

²The use of the term "congregation" throughout the thesis is to be taken as synonymous with "those present at the church during a service". The term is not used to suggest that there are two distinct and unrelated congregations meeting at St. George's.

analysis was done according to these two additional variables. In comparing St. George's membership with the populations of the local area and with Winnipeg, analysis will be made with a view to commenting on the probable consequences it has for these two larger social units.³

The Methodology

In order to achieve a picture of the general sociological characteristics of St. George's congregations on a typical⁴ Sunday, a short questionnaire was administered on April 28, 1963. The following questions were included on the form: sex, age, marital status, country of birth, ethnic origin of both of the respondents' parents, occupational status, occupation, education, income, frequency of church attendance, whether or not the person had always been an Anglican, and, finally, whether or not the person lived within the parish boundaries of St. George's.⁵

³There is little difficulty in considering metropolitan Winnipeg as a social unit since its boundaries are rather clear-cut. There is considerable difficulty, however, in discussing the parish area as one. All that may be said is that probably for most Anglicans living in the area St. George's would be considered their church. For comparative purposes the census areas which most closely approximate the parish boundaries of St. George's have been considered to form a loose social unit. (See Appendix B for a map showing the parish boundaries of the church and the corresponding census areas.)

⁴See footnote 4 p. 13.

⁵See footnote 5 p. 13.

Permission for the study and, in particular, the administration of the questionnaire was received from the governing body of the church, the vestry. After gaining its approval, a Sunday was selected which, it was felt, would be representative of the church's congregations on an average Sunday for the months between October and June.

The questionnaire was not announced prior to the morning service on April 28. No notification was given so as to minimize possible bias caused by those people who might avoid, or come especially for the questionnaire.⁶

As the eleven o'clock congregation began to enter the church on the surveyed Sunday, two assistants stood inside the church's entrances and counted all those whom they estimated to be 14 years of age and over. Needless to say, inaccuracies occurred in the count due to guessing whether or not some of the children were over or under 14 years of

⁴"Typical" in the sense that it would probably represent average congregations for the months October to June. It should be recognized that there are marked seasonal variations just as there are variations between special Sundays. The 8:30 a.m. congregation was not surveyed because few people attend that service.

⁵See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire.

⁶The form of the questionnaire and the methodological approach generally, was modeled after studies done in Winnipeg by Dr. W.S.F. Pickering. See "The Inner-City Church," Bulletin 187 (Toronto: The Council for Social Service, The Anglican Church of Canada, 1963).

age. Moreover, there was considerable movement, especially among the sidesmen,⁷ into and out of an ante-room which is one of the possible entrances to the church. At best, then, the count was rough. From it it was estimated that there were 247 people over the age of 14 present.

During the notice period⁸ the questionnaires, which had been placed in envelopes with pencils, were handed out by the sidesmen. In the meantime, the study director⁹ briefly told the congregation about the survey, solicited their co-operation, and read through and explained the questionnaire to them. The time taken for the handing out and the filling in of the questionnaires was estimated to be just under ten minutes. The sidesmen collected the forms during the hymn which immediately followed. Questionnaires for the choir were distributed prior to the service and were collected after it was over.

The congregation returned 246 completed forms plus 6 blanks, while the choir returned 11 of them. (One extra questionnaire was returned at the evening service by a woman who had taken an extra one for her son who was sick. It was not considered in the analysis.) The total number of

⁷Sidesmen act as ushers and collect the offerings from the congregation.

⁸The notice period consists of the various church announcements.

⁹Dr. W.S.F. Pickering.

questionnaires accounted for at the morning service numbered 264. ($246 + 6 + 11 + 1 = 264$)

The evening congregation and the choir were also asked to fill in the questionnaire. The same procedures were followed, and a total of 56 completed forms resulted. Due to the small congregation a more accurate count of those 14 years of age and over was obtained. There was one refusal, (1.8 per cent of the total).

At the two services a total of 320 ($264 + 56 = 320$) questionnaires were accounted for; and since of the 621 originally placed in envelopes, 287 remained, those not accounted for totaled 14. $[621 - (320 + 287) = 14]$

At worst the refusal rate was 6.3 per cent. (20 out of 320.) But since there were numerous children in the congregations it is possible that some of them took questionnaires, but on seeing they were only for people 14 years of age and over, either returned them blank (6 blanks were returned) or took them home. There is, then, good reason to believe that the refusal rate for people over 14 years of age was considerably lower than 6.3 per cent. (4.4 per cent if the 6 blanks were considered to have come from children under 14 years of age.)

On the whole, the response to the questionnaire was excellent. On the completed forms there were few questions not answered. Even for the most sensitive questions, such as age for women and income for men, the completion rate was

favorable. Anonymity, and the fact that the questionnaire was filled in in a group situation, undoubtedly facilitated co-operation.

For purposes of simplicity, the choir was considered as part of the morning congregation. As it turned out, the choir fell entirely within the Active group.¹⁰ They were included in the analysis with the morning congregation because, on an inspection of the data, they fitted the general pattern of that congregation.

The last question on the form was used to determine whether or not individuals had been at St. George's previously the same day. Again, for simplicity's sake, those who attended both the morning and the evening service were considered in the analysis with the former group. This simplification would not affect the results significantly since there were only ten "twicers", of whom seven were members of the choir (who were considered as part of the morning congregation anyway). Two males and one female made up the remaining three "twicers". The reason they were excluded from double consideration was that the sample would be biased toward their characteristics. Since the object of

¹⁰It is to be recalled that the Active member is defined as a person who claims to attend church services, on average, four or more times per month. The Inactive member is one who claims to attend church services, on average, three or fewer times per month.

the study was to focus on different types of parishioners and not on the number of people who attended St. George's, it was thought best to exclude this small group from double consideration.

According to the formulated definition of Active and Inactive, sixty-four males fell into the Active category, while fifty-nine fell into the Inactive one.¹¹ Of the women, ninety-five were Active and seventy-four were Inactive. Four men and seven women did not respond to the question which determined into which category they would be placed. Hence, in those tables where the analysis was in terms of the Active-Inactive typology 169 women and 123 men formed the total; in tables where this typology did not play a part, the total for men was 127 and for women it was 176.

With the typology in mind, we may now proceed to a consideration of some of the characteristics of the Congregations on one Sunday, which was both thought and assumed to be typical for that church in the months from October to June.

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See footnote 10, p. 16. For a fuller discussion of the Active and the Inactive member see p. 4.

Respondents and the Parish Boundaries

About two-thirds of the members of the two congregations lived within St. George's parish boundaries. (See Table 1.) There appeared to be a slightly greater tendency for the males to live outside the parish (37.0 per cent) than for the females to do so (30.7 per cent). For both males and females the Inactive group had a greater tendency to live outside the parish boundaries. (See Tables 2 and 3.)

Table 1. Church Attendance Survey: Number Who Live Inside and Outside the Parish Boundaries, Male and Female

Residence	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Live within parish	79	(62.2)	121	(68.7)	200	(66.0)
Live outside parish	47	(37.0)	54	(30.7)	101	(33.4)
No response	1	(0.8)	1	(0.6)	2	(0.6)
	127	(100.0)	176	(100.0)	303	(100.0)

Table 2. Church Attendance Survey: Number Who Live Inside and Outside the Parish Boundaries, Active and Inactive, Males

Residence	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Live within parish	45	(70.3)	34	(57.6)	79	(64.2)
Live outside parish	19	(29.7)	24	(40.7)	43	(35.0)
No response	-		1	(1.7)	1	(0.8)
Total	64	(100.0)	59	(100.0)	123	(100.0)

Table 3. Church Attendance Survey: Number Who Live Inside and Outside the Parish Boundaries, Active and Inactive, Females

Residence	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Live within parish	70	(73.7)	49	(66.2)	119	(70.4)
Live outside parish	25	(26.3)	25	(33.8)	50	(29.6)
Total	95	(100.0)	74	(100.0)	169	(100.0)

One possible explanation for the less frequent attendance of the non-parish worshippers is that distance discourages them. However, since there was a good proportion of the Active group who lived outside the parish areas, there was no conclusive evidence to suggest that mere distance necessarily decreases frequency of church attendance. In fact, as studies of down-town Anglican churches in Winnipeg have shown,¹² there are churches where eighty per cent of the congregations live outside the parish boundaries. The present study would suggest that proximity to the church is only one of many factors which help to determine how often an individual attends church.

Change of Denomination

Just over thirty per cent of the St. George's congregations had, at some time or another, been members of other denominations. (See Table 4.) Men, slightly more than women, tended to have always been Anglican. However, this difference may only reflect the fact that, as will be shown later, more young males were represented in St. George's congregations as compared to young females, and presumably

¹² W.S.F. Pickering, "The Inner-City Church," Bulletin 187 (Toronto: The Council for Social Service, The Anglican Church of Canada, 1963), p. 12.

most of the young (14 to 19 years of age) had always been Anglican.

Table 4. Church Attendance Survey: Number Who Have Always Been Anglican, Male and Female

Religion	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Always Anglican	91	(71.6)	117	(66.5)	208	(68.6)
Not always Anglican	34	(26.8)	58	(32.9)	92	(30.4)
No response	2	(1.6)	1	(0.6)	3	(1.0)
Total	127	(100.0)	176	(100.0)	303	(100.0)

For both men and women the Active group had a higher proportion who had always been Anglican (78.1 per cent compared to 62.7 per cent in the case of men, and 69.5 per cent compared to 64.9 per cent in the case of women) as compared to the Inactive group. (See Tables 5 and 6.)

Compared to the down-town Anglican churches, St. George's had a greater percentage (30.4) who were not brought up as Anglicans: in the down-town churches it was found that just over one-quarter of the sampled congregations had been brought up as Anglicans.¹³ It would seem that either there has been a greater degree of evangelical

¹³See footnote 13 p. 22.

endeavour at St. George's, or else there are other factors which attract people from various denominations into St. George's. A question which might be further examined is whether or not there is a greater number of converts in the suburban as opposed to the down-town churches. And if so, why?

Frequency of Church Attendance

According to the formulated definition of Active and Inactive, 54.5 per cent of the people sampled fell into the Active category. The remainder, by definition, fell into the Inactive one.

Table 5. Church Attendance Survey: Number Who Have Always Been Anglican, Active and Inactive, Males

Religion	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%
Always Anglican	50	(78.1)	37	(62.7)	87	(70.7)
Not Always Anglican	14	(21.9)	20	(33.9)	34	(27.7)
No response	-		2	(3.4)	2	(1.6)
Total	64	(100.0)	59	(100.0)	123	(100.0)

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Ibid., p. 12. It is to be noted, however, that the percentages in the down-town churches varied from 19 to 30.

Table 6. Church Attendance Survey: Number Who Have Always Been Anglican, Active and Inactive, Females

Religion	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Always Anglican	66	(69.5)	48	(64.9)	114	(67.5)
Not Always Anglican	29	(30.5)	26	(35.1)	55	(32.5)
Total	95	(100.0)	74	(100.0)	169	(100.0)

A comparison of Tables 7 and 8 reveals that the females demonstrated a slightly greater tendency than did the males to say that they went to church services four or more times a month.

It might be suggested, tentatively, that the evening congregation was made up to a greater extent than the morning congregation, of people who attended church more regularly. (See Tables 7 and 8.) Larger samples, however, would be necessary before one could make any sound generalizations on the subject.

Table 7. Church Attendance Survey: Frequency of Church Attendance (on the Average per Month), Morning and Evening, Males

Frequency	Morning		Evening		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Once or fewer	7	(7.0)	2	(7.4)	9	(7.1)
About twice	14	(14.0)	3	(11.1)	17	(13.4)
About three	26	(26.0)	7	(25.9)	33	(26.0)
Four or more times	49	(49.0)	15	(55.6)	64	(50.4)
No response and other	4	(4.0)	-		4	(3.1)
Total	100	(100.0)	27	(100.0)	127	(100.0)

Table 8. Church Attendance Survey: Frequency of Church Attendance (on the Average per Month), Morning and Evening, Females

Frequency	Morning		Evening		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Once or fewer	10	(6.2)	-		10	(5.7)
About twice	19	(11.9)	2	(12.5)	21	(11.9)
About three times	43	(26.9)	2	(12.5)	45	(25.6)
Four or more times	82	(51.2)	12	(75.0)	94	(53.4)
No response	6	(3.8)	-		6	(3.4)
Total	160	(100.0)	16	(100.0)	176	(100.0)

The Sex Ratio

The morning congregation represented 85.3 per cent of the total sample, while the evening congregation made up the remaining 14.7 per cent. Table 9 indicates that the men were almost equally represented at the morning and evening services in terms of the Active-Inactive typology, while a greater proportion of the Inactive females were present at the morning service as compared to the evening one.

Table 9. Church Attendance Survey: Distribution at the Morning and Evening Services, Active and Inactive, Males and Females

Service	Males				Females				Total	
	Active No.	%	Inactive No.	%	Active No.	%	Inactive No.	%	No.	%
Morning	49	(76.6)	47	(79.8)	83	(87.4)	70	(94.7)	249	(85.3)
Evening	15	(23.4)	12	(20.2)	12	(12.6)	4	(5.3)	43	(14.7)
Total	64	(100.0)	59	(100.0)	95	(100.0)	74	(100.0)	292	(100.0)

A glance at Table 10 indicates that females outnumbered the males in the congregations: for every 100 males there were over 116 females. Table 10 also indicates that the morning service was by no means similar to the

evening service in terms of its sex ratio. Roughly speaking, the morning congregation was composed of ^{four-tenths} ~~one-third~~ males, while at the evening service two-thirds of the congregation were male.

Table 10. Church Attendance Survey: Distribution By Sex, Morning and Evening

Sex	Morning		Evening		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male	99	(38.2)	28	(63.6)	127	(41.9)
Female	160	(61.8)	16	(36.4)	176	(58.1)
Total	259	(100.0)	44	(100.0)	303	(100.0)

Almost fifty-five per cent of the sample said that they went to church four or more times per month on the average. (See Table 11.) Women showed a slightly greater tendency to fall into this category than did the men. Of the women, 56.2 per cent reported that they went to church four or more times per month, while 52.0 per cent of the men claimed they went that often.

Table 11. Church Attendance Survey: Active-Inactive Typology, Distribution By Sex

Typology	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Active	64	(52.0)	95	(56.2)	159	(54.5)
Inactive	59	(58.0)	74	(43.8)	133	(45.5)
Total	123	(100.0)	169	(100.0)	292	(100.0)

The sex ratio of St. George's appeared to be more representative of the populations of its area and metropolitan Winnipeg than were the down-town anglican churches in Winnipeg. There a study¹⁴ indicated that women formed 64 per cent of the congregations. Table 12 indicates that St. George's had 56.9 per cent females, while Winnipeg and the St. George's parish area had 51.4 and 53.8 per cent respectively. (See Table 12.) If the congregations are considered together, the females were not greatly over-represented. However, it is to be remembered that at the main service of the church (eleven o'clock), the females accounted for over six out of every ten people surveyed. (See Table 10.) The opposite tendency at the evening service helped to balance the sex ratio. In anticipation of

¹⁴Ibid., p. 7.

the "Age-Structure" section of the present chapter, it might be noted that the different sex ratio at the evening service appeared to be largely the result of a greater tendency for the young males to attend church as compared to the females of the same age group.

Table 12. The Sex Ratio of Metropolitan Winnipeg (1961), St. George's Parish Area (1961), and the St. George's Congregations on the Surveyed Sunday (1963), 15 Years of Age and Over

Sex	Winnipeg ¹		Parish Area ¹		St. George's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Males	161,590	(48.6)	5,013	(46.2)	119	(43.1)
Females	170,038	(51.4)	5,834	(53.8)	157	(56.9)
Total	331,628	(100.0)	10,847	(100.0)	276	(100.0)

¹These figures, and the ones in all subsequent tables dealing with the Parish Area and Winnipeg, are based on the Census of Canada, "Bulletin CT - 17" (Ottawa: The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1963).

According to the reported frequency of church attendance, women would appear to attend St. George's more regularly than men. Since men said that they went to church less frequently, they would nonetheless be almost as large a group on the parish list as are the women. If an analysis were to be made of the list, it is suspected that the sex

ratio of the church would more closely parallel that of the parish area and that of Winnipeg than was seen by the analysis of typical congregations.

St. George's follows the typical pattern observed in American churches where it has been noted that

. . . women attend worship services more faithfully than men and express greater interest in religion than do men.¹⁵

Perhaps the following quotation hints at one of the reasons for the over-representation of women in the church:

The church's traditional "extra" activities as well as worship services may be more appropriate for females than males. The roles of women are chiefly family-centered, with a tendency to depend largely upon personal influences. Religion, dealing largely with personality, is perhaps more easily appreciated by them than by men.¹⁶

The Age-Structure

Similar to the sex ratio, the age-structure of St. George's follows the general pattern of the down-town

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G.E. Lenski, The Religious Factor, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 312.

16

D.O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), p. 399.

Anglican churches in Winnipeg. The age-structure parallels neither the parish area's nor metropolitan Winnipeg's.

Comparison of Figures 1, 2 and 3 reveals disparities between the age-structures of the various bodies. It shows, for one thing, that the parish area itself does not reflect the age-structure of Winnipeg. One of the suspected reasons for the striking gap of people in the 20 to 34 year age groups at St. George's was that, for the most part, people from these age groups cannot afford to live in the parish area. As Figures 2 and 3 illustrate, the parish area had about six per cent fewer people in these age groups than did the population of Winnipeg. The parish area's age-structure, on the whole, tended to be slightly older. The congregations' age-structures more closely approximated that of the parish area than it did Winnipeg's.

Although the age-structure of the congregations was closer to that of the parish area than to that of Winnipeg, it was nevertheless strikingly different from it. The age group 15 to 19 was over-represented in the church's congregations by about ten per cent in the case of males, and by about three-and-one-half per cent in the case of females. The greatest variation between the age-structure of the parish area and St. George's congregations appeared in the age group 25 to 34. Here the females were under-represented by 13.2 per cent, while the males were under-represented by 9.5 per cent. In the age group 35 to 44 both the males

Figure 1. Age-Pyramid of St. George's Congregations,
15 Years of Age and Over, Per Cent
Distributions

Males (n = 119)

Females (n = 157)

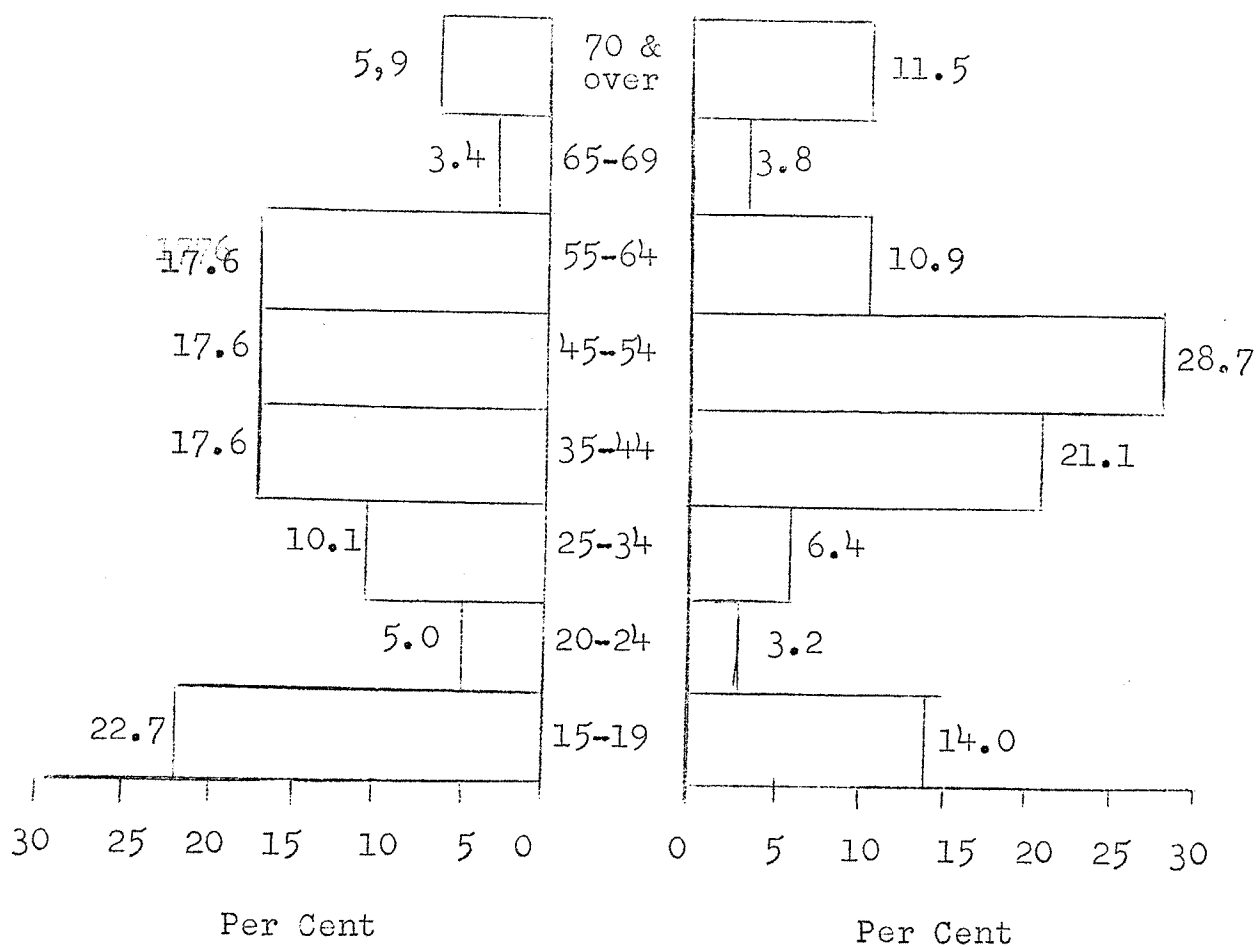


Figure 2. Age-Pyramid of St. George's Parish Area,
15 Years of Age and Over, Per Cent
Distributions

Males (n = 5,013)

Females (n = 5,834)

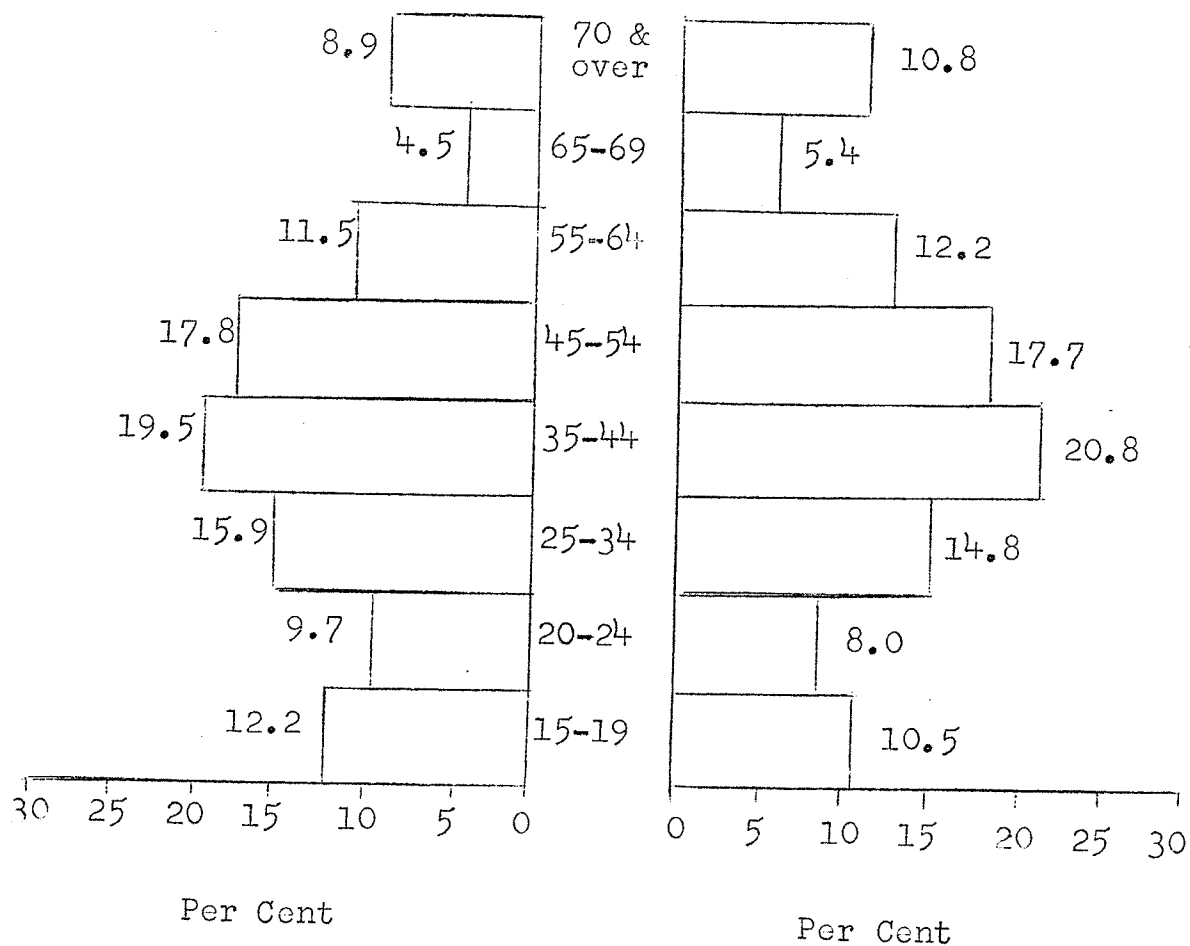
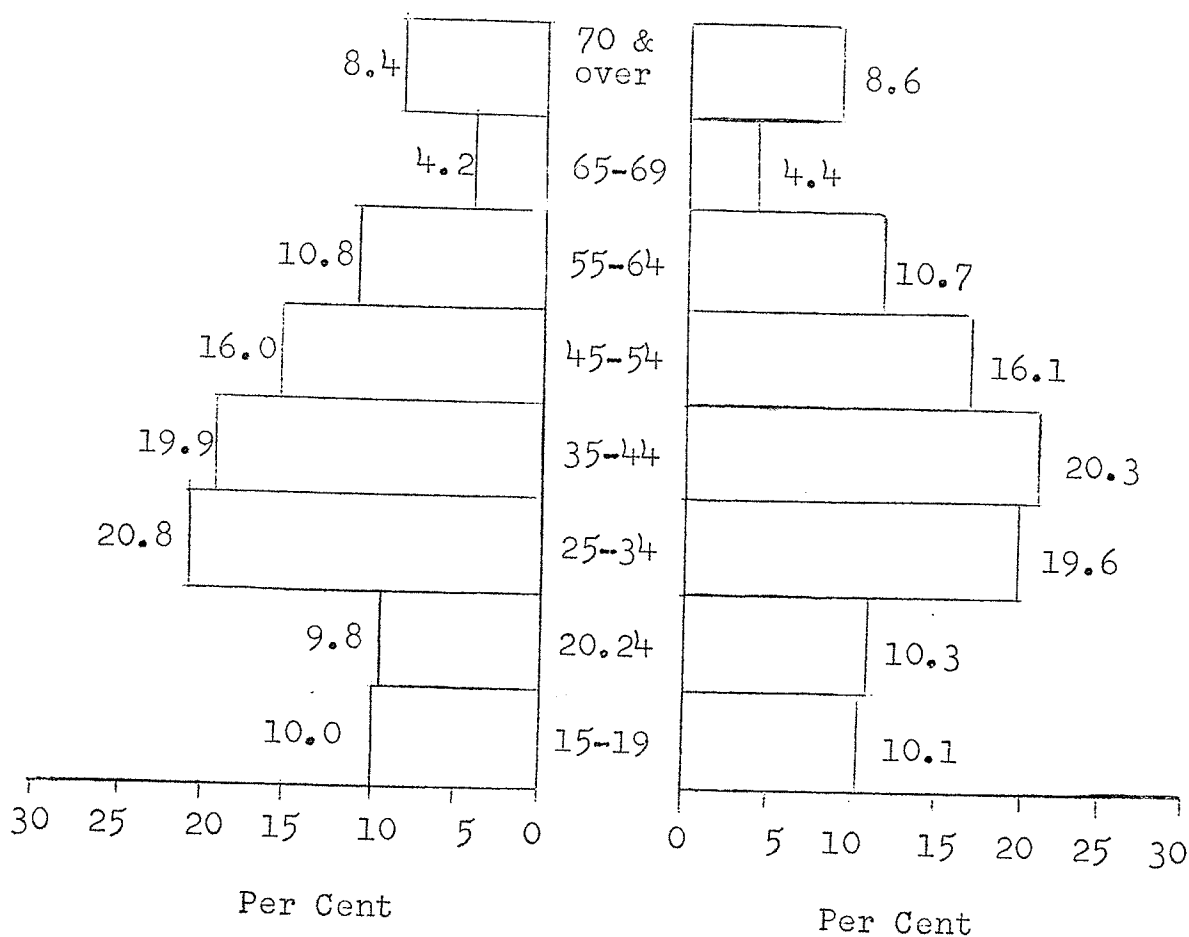


Figure 3. Age-Pyramid of Metropolitan Winnipeg,
15 Years of Age and Over, Per Cent
Distribution

Males (n = 161,590)

Females (n = 170,038)



and the females were slightly under-represented in the church's congregations on a typical Sunday. Females, in the age group 45 to 54 were over-represented by 11.0 per cent. The males in this age group were under-represented by 2.2 per cent. In the next age group, 55 to 64, the males were over-represented by about six per cent, while the females were under-represented by less than one per cent. Both males and females were slightly under-represented in the 65 to 69 age group. In the 70 and over category, the men were under-represented by 3.0 per cent; the females were over-represented by just 0.7 per cent.

The elderly were not particularly over-represented in St. George's congregations. In the down-town Anglican churches in Winnipeg a survey¹⁷ showed that of those over 65 years of age the females were nine per cent over-represented while the males were seven per cent over-represented when compared to the city of Winnipeg. In St. George's, the men over 65 were under-represented from between three to four per cent of the parish area's and metropolitan Winnipeg's men over 65 years of age. The women were under-represented by less than one per cent when compared to the

¹⁷ W.S.F. Pickering, "The Inner-City Church," Bulletin 187 (Toronto: The Council for Social Service, The Anglican Church of Canada, 1963), p. 7.

parish area's population, and over-represented by over two per cent when compared to the percentage of women in metropolitan Winnipeg who are over 65 years of age. If anything, St. George's would appear to follow the American pattern of church attendance where it has been observed that

. . . in all of the [religious] groups there is evidence that the rate of church attendance declines appreciably among the elderly (over 75 years of age) ...¹⁸

For the females, the strongest representation occurred in the 45 to 54 year age group. The men of St. George's displayed a different pattern. Those over 55 years of age represented 28.4 per cent of the male congregations while in the parish area 26.4 per cent of the males fell into this category. The most active period for the males was in the age groups 15 to 19, and 55 to 64 where they were over-represented in terms of the male parish area population by 10.5 and 6.1 per cent respectively.

The morning congregation's age-structure varied markedly from that of the evening congregation. For the males, the mean age of those present at the morning service was 45.0 years, while for the evening congregation the mean age was 23.0 years. Similarly, the mean female age of those at the morning service was 46.7 years, while at the

¹⁸ G.E. Lenski, The Religious Factor, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), pp. 314-15.

evening service the mean female age was 29.1 years. There can be little doubt that the two services attract different groups: the morning service drew the middle-aged, the evening congregation was dominated by the young.

Both males and females exhibited little variation in mean age in terms of the Active-Inactive typology. They did, however, present somewhat different distributions. An examination of Table 13 reveals, for example, that, at the morning service, the Active males had a greater proportion of their members in the over-thirty-five age groups, while the Inactive tended to have a greater percentage in the under-thirty-five age groups. The same general tendency occurred among the females (see Table 14), except for them, the division occurred at the age of forty-five rather than thirty-five.

At the evening service, the Active males all fell into age groups below 34 years of age, and yielded a mean age of 19.5 years. The Inactive males at the evening service presented a greater range and hence yielded a mean age of 27.4 years. Females, at the evening service, demonstrated little variation in age in terms of the Active-Inactive typology. However, no conclusion may safely be made about them due to the small female representation at the evening service.

Table 13. Church Attendance Survey: Age Structure,
Active and Inactive, Morning and Evening,
Males

Age	Active		Inactive		Total	
	Morning No. %	Evening No. %	Morning No. %	Evening No. %	No. %	%
14 years old	-	2 (13.3)	2 (4.3)	-	4	(3.2)
15-19 years	6 (12.2)	7 (46.7)	8 (17.0)	6 (50.0)	27	(21.9)
20-24 years	2 (4.1)	4 (26.7)	-	-	6	(4.9)
25-34 years	4 (8.2)	2 (13.3)	4 (8.4)	2 (16.7)	12	(9.8)
35-44 years	10 (20.4)	-	8 (17.0)	3 (25.0)	21	(17.1)
45-54 years	10 (20.4)	-	10 (21.3)	1 (8.3)	21	(17.1)
55-64 years	11 (22.4)	-	10 (21.3)	-	21	(17.1)
65-69 years	2 (4.1)	-	2 (4.3)	-	4	(3.2)
70 and over	4 (8.2)	-	3 (6.4)	-	7	(5.7)
Total	49(100.0)	15(100.0)	47(100.0)	12(100.0)	123	(100.0)
Mean ages ¹	46.4	19.5	43.5	27.4	40.2	

¹Other mean ages are as follows:

- (a) All morning congregation... 45.0 years
- (b) All evening congregation... 23.0 years
- (c) All Active respondents.... 40.1 years
- (d) All Inactive respondents... 40.2 years

Table 14. Church Attendance Survey: Age Structure, Active and Inactive, Morning and Evening, Females

Age	Active		Inactive		Total	
	Morning No. %	Evening No. %	Morning No. %	Evening No. %	No. %	%
14 years old	2 (2.4)	2 (16.7)	-	-	4	(2.4)
15-19 years	6 (7.2)	5 (41.7)	11 (15.7)	-	22	(13.0)
20-24 years	-	-	3 (4.3)	2 (50.0)	5	(3.0)
25-34 years	6 (7.2)	1 (8.3)	3 (4.3)	-	10	(5.9)
35-44 years	14 (16.9)	1 (8.3)	17 (24.3)	2 (50.0)	34	(20.1)
45-54 years	26 (31.3)	2 (16.7)	17 (24.3)	-	45	(26.6)
55-64 years	10 (12.1)	1 (8.3)	6 (8.6)	-	17	(10.1)
65-69 years	4 (4.8)	-	2 (2.9)	-	6	(3.5)
70 and over	10 (12.1)	-	8 (11.4)	-	18	(10.6)
No response	5 (6.0)	-	3 (4.3)	-	8	(4.7)
Total	83(100.0)	12(100.0)	70(100.1)	4(100.0)	169	(99.9)
Mean ages ¹	48.2	28.6	45.0	30.8	44.9	

¹ Other mean ages are as follows:

- (a) All morning congregations... 46.7 years
- (b) All evening congregations... 29.1 years
- (c) All Active respondents 45.6 years
- (d) All Inactive respondents.... 44.1 years

On the whole, the females had a slightly higher mean age than the males. (40.2 years for the males as compared to 44.9 years for the females.) This difference was due not so much to the greater number of elderly women, but rather it was more the result of a weak representation in the 15 to 34 year age groups. The women dominated the 35 to 54 age groups while the men, when compared to the parish area's age structure, dominated the 55 to 64 year age group and the 15 to 19 year age group. Their lower mean age appeared to be primarily due to this generous representation in the 15 to 19 age group.

It is indeed difficult to predict the probable consequences of St. George's age-structure for the future of the church. To the naive it might appear that St. George's is in serious trouble because of its glaring weaknesses in the 20 to 34 year age group. However, it is probably the case that individual parishioners go through what might be termed "attendance cycles", and hence one might well expect that a good proportion of the non-attenders in the 20 to 34 year age group will reappear in the church's congregations somewhere between 30 and 45 years of age. All that one can legitimately conclude from the available data is that St. George's does not draw a representative proportion of the parish area's population in the various age groups. Of those who attend church, at least occasionally, there is no doubt that the evening service attracts younger people than

does the morning service. In fact, as it will be shown later, the evening service attracts an entirely different social group.

The suggested implications of St. George's for the parish area, in terms of the age groups it appears to attract, are that the church fulfils a role for the young (15 to 19 years of age) and for the middle-aged, and, to a lesser extent, for the elderly. Because of the paucity of those in the 20 to 34 year age group, it would appear that St. George's has less influence on this age group.

Marital Status

The preceding discussion on age-structure must be kept in mind when dealing with the marital status of the surveyed congregations. For in the case of the evening congregation, its seemingly "unmarried" condition merely reflects its youthfulness.

Of the total surveyed, 27.8 per cent were single as compared to 24.6 per cent for the parish area and 24.2 per cent for Winnipeg. (See Table 15.) Married people represented 63.5 per cent of St. George's congregations as compared to 66.9 per cent for the area and 68.4 per cent for Winnipeg. Widowed people were slightly over-represented in St. George's (0.2 per cent) when compared to the parish area's population. Compared to Winnipeg, St. George's was over-represented by widows by 1.3 per cent.

Table 15. Marital Status of Metropolitan Winnipeg (1961), St. George's Parish Area (1961), and the St. George's Congregations on the Surveyed Sunday (1963), Male and Female, 15 Years of Age and Over

Marital Status	Winnipeg		Parish Area		St. George's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	80,119	(24.2)	2,677	(24.6)	77	(27.8)
Married	226,000	(68.4)	7,206	(66.9)	176	(63.5)
Widowed	24,419	(7.4)	913	(8.5)	24	(8.7)
Totals	330,538	(100.0)	10,796	(100.0)	277	(100.0)

In order to reduce the effect the young members had on the marital status figures, Tables 16 and 17 were constructed. They deal only with those people born prior to 1940. Although this division was arbitrary, it may be justified in terms of the contemporary ethos (primarily middle-class) which normally expects a person to be marriageable, if not married, between 21 and 25 years of age. Since there were cases of unmarried university students in the congregations, it was felt that a later cut-off point might once again reflect youthfulness rather than drawing attention to those people who are single for reasons other than youth or having the status of student.



Table 16 reveals that of the women over 23 years of age, who were present at the church on April 28, 68.6 per cent were married, 16.8 per cent widowed, while the remainder were separated, divorced, or did not respond to the question. Table 16 also suggests that frequency of church attendance, as measured by the Active-Inactive typology, was not significantly related to marital status. No generalizations were possible concerning the evening female congregation since the sample was not sufficiently large.

Table 16. Church Attendance Survey: Marital Status, Those Born Before 1940, Active and Inactive, Females

Marital Status	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	8	(10.1)	5	(8.6)	13	(9.5)
Married	53	(67.1)	41	(70.7)	94	(68.6)
Widowed	14	(17.7)	9	(15.5)	23	(16.8)
Separated	2	(2.5)	2	(3.5)	4	(2.9)
Divorced	1	(1.3)	-		1	(0.7)
No response	1	(1.3)	1	(1.7)	2	(1.5)
Total	79	(100.0)	58	(100.0)	137	(100.0)

Compared to women, single and widowed men would appear to avoid the church. Of the men over 23 years of age, 95.3 per cent were married while the small remainder were single or widowed: only 68.6 percent of the women over 23 years of age were married. (See Tables 16 and 17.)

Table 17. Church Attendance Survey: Marital Status, Those Born Before 1940, Active and Inactive, Males

Marital Status	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	-		3	(6.8)	3	(3.5)
Married	42	(97.7)	40	(93.2)	82	(95.3)
Widowed	1	(2.3)	-		1	(1.2)
Total	43	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	86	(100.0)

Unfortunately, the census data available do not break marital status into male-female categories: only combined figures are available. Comparisons with the parish area and Winnipeg were therefore not easily made. It is suspected that widowed and single men over 23 years of age were under-represented in St. George's congregations. On this point, it might be suggested that one of the factors affecting a

man's attendance at church is his marital status. He appears to avoid the church if he is not married. Women, on the other hand, attend St. George's whether they are single, separated, divorced, or widowed. As it has been pointed out, widowed people of both sexes were slightly over-represented in St. George's congregations; however, it would probably be true to say that women were markedly over-represented while men were under-represented in terms of the parish area's distribution of widowed people, since of the twenty-four such people in the church's congregations, twenty-three of them were females. (See Tables 16 and 17.)

Country of Birth

Over eighty per cent of the members of the two congregations reported their birth place as Canada. (See Table 18.) Of the males, 99.2 per cent (all but one respondent) were born in Canada or in one of the British Commonwealth countries. (See Table 19,) All but 5.6 per cent of the women were born in British Commonwealth countries. The only comparative figures available for the parish area and Winnipeg simply give raw figures as to the number of people born in Canada as compared to those born outside her boundaries. The data on St. George's deal only with those people 14 years of age and over: the census data deal with all ages. Despite these difficulties, it is probably safe to assume that if all the age groups of the

church had been considered, undoubtedly well over eighty per cent--and most likely ninety odd per cent of the children--would have been born in Canada. The probability therefore is that over 80.9 per cent of the total St. George's congregations who were at the church on the surveyed Sunday were born in Canada. For the parish area the figure was 79.9 per cent born in Canada, while for Winnipeg the figure was 76.2 per cent. (See Table 18.) These figures suggest that the congregations are composed of the older, more established elements both in the community and in Winnipeg.

Table 18. Distribution by Country of Birth for Metropolitan Winnipeg (All Ages, 1961), St. George's Parish Area (All Ages, 1961), and the St. George's Congregations on the surveyed Sunday (14 Years of Age and Over, 1963), Male and Female

Country of Birth	Winnipeg		Parish Area		St. George's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Born in Canada	362,951	(76.2)	12,296	(79.9)	245	(80.9)
Born outside Canada	113,038	(23.8)	3,085	(20.1)	57	(18.8)
No Response	-		-		1	(0.3)
Total	475,989	(100.0)	15,381	(100.0)	303	(100.0)

Although the Anglican Church is traditionally Anglo-Saxon, the astounding fact that 96.3 per cent of the members of St. George's congregations were born in British

Commonwealth countries suggests that St. George's is rather introverted in terms of its relations with non-Anglo-Saxon peoples. While it may be true that over thirty per cent of the congregations were converts to Anglicanism (see Table 6), it would appear that these converts came almost exclusively from Anglo-Saxon backgrounds. Indeed, the figure of 96.3 per cent may even be low, since six of the respondents reported their place of birth as the United States. (See Table 19.) It is quite possible that some of these people would trace their ancestry back to England, Scotland, Wales, or Ireland.

Table 19. Church Attendance Survey: Country of Birth, Male and Female

Country of Birth	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Canada	105	(82.6)	140	(79.6)	245	(80.8)
United Kingdom	18	(14.2)	23	(13.1)	41	(13.5)
Other Commonwealth	3	(2.4)	3	(1.7)	6	(2.0)
Other European	1	(0.8)	2	(1.1)	3	(1.0)
U. S. A.	-		6	(3.4)	6	(2.0)
No response	-		2	(1.1)	2	(0.7)
Total	127	(100.0)	176	(100.0)	303	(100.0)

There appeared to be a greater tendency for the Inactive to have been born in Canada as compared to the Active members. This tendency was particularly noticeable among the females of the congregations. (See Tables 20 and 21.)

Table 20. Church Attendance Survey: Country of Birth, Active and Inactive, Males

Country of Birth	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Canada	51	(79.7)	51	(86.4)	102	(83.0)
United Kingdom	10	(15.6)	7	(11.9)	17	(13.8)
Other Commonwealth	2	(3.1)	1	(1.7)	3	(2.4)
U. S. A.	1	(1.6)	-		1	(0.8)
Total	64	(100.0)	59	(100.0)	123	(100.0)

Table 21. Church Attendance Survey: Country of Birth, Active and Inactive, Females

Country of Birth	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Canada	74	(77.9)	62	(83.9)	136	(80.4)
United Kingdom	13	(13.7)	9	(12.2)	22	(13.0)
Other Commonwealth	2	(2.1)	1	(1.3)	3	(1.8)
Other European	2	(2.1)	-		2	(1.2)
U. S. A.	4	(4.2)	1	(1.3)	5	(3.0)
No response	-		1	(1.3)	1	(0.6)
Total	95	(100.0)	74	(100.0)	169	(100.0)

St. George's is an Anglo-Saxon church. It therefore would play a role for the Anglo-Saxon group in the area in which it operates. While it may be true that members of non-Anglo-Saxon origin are on the parish list, it appears nevertheless, that the dynamics of the church operate so as to discourage such people from regularly crossing its portals.

Ethnic Origin of Parents

Similar to the findings on "Country of Birth", the ethnic origin of the respondents' parents pointed to an Anglo-Saxon domination of St. George's. In every category except British Isles, St. George's was under-represented in terms of the ethnic composition of the parish area's and Winnipeg's populations. (See Table 22.) Direct comparisons with these two larger populations were difficult, however, because the data collected at St. George's only considered those people over thirteen years of age. Another difficulty was that some of the respondents reported their parents' ethnic origin as "Canadian" and no similar classification was used in the federal census data. Although there were difficulties in precise comparisons, it is suspected that the general tendencies observed would hold true even if more precise comparisons were possible.

Table 22. Ethnic Group Composition of Metropolitan Winnipeg (All Ages, 1961), St. George's Parish Area (All Ages, 1961), and the St. George's Congregations on the Surveyed Sunday (Based on Ethnic Origin of Respondents' Mothers and Fathers, Respondents 14 Years of Age and Over, 1963), Both Sexes

Ethnic Group	Winnipeg		Parish Area		St. George's ¹	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
British Isles	231,964	(45.0)	9,740	(63.4)	546	(93.2)
French	39,777	(8.4)	709	(4.6)	5	(0.8)
German	50,206	(10.5)	1,097	(7.1)	8	(1.4)
Italian	5,785	(1.2)	145	(1.0)	-	
Netherlands	14,881	(3.1)	381	(2.5)	9	(1.5)
Polish	24,904	(5.2)	500	(3.2)	1	(0.2)
Russian	4,102	(0.9)	115	(0.7)	1	(0.2)
Scandinavian	17,834	(3.7)	583	(3.8)	-	
Ukranian	53,918	(11.3)	779	(5.1)	2	(0.3)
Other European	40,934	(8.6)	1,154	(7.5)	6	(1.0)
Asiatic	3,198	(0.7)	48	(0.3)	-	
Other and not stated	6,486	(1.4)	130	(0.8)	8	(1.4)
Total	475,989	(100.0)	15,381	(100.0)	586	(100.0)

¹ The figures for St. George's have been rounded off for simplification. It must be remembered that the figures for St. George's are for both parents and are therefore double the number of respondents. For example, the "one" Polish person in St. George's means that one of the respondents had one parent who was of Polish ancestry; the respondent himself would only be "half" Polish.

Perhaps the most striking feature about St. George's congregations was the paucity of members who do not draw at least some of their national background from United Kingdom countries. Among the males of the congregation, every one listed at least one United Kingdom country as the national origin of one of his parents. The females had only eight members who do not list some United Kingdom country in their background. And perhaps one of the reasons for the representation of females from non-United Kingdom countries in the congregations was that they married people who had some such background, and who joined their husbands in the Anglican Church.

As one observer of American religious life has noted:

Our religious institutions have tended to be the last strongholds of the foreign language cultures or for that matter the various early American cultures, such as that of New England or that of the pre-Civil War South.¹⁹

Indeed, St. George's would appear to be one of the "strongholds" of English culture in the Crescentwood area of Winnipeg.

In terms of the Active-Inactive typology a few notable differences appeared. Among both the males and the females

¹⁹David W. Barry, "The Fellowship of Class", The City Church, 6:6, 1955.

there was a marked tendency for those of Scottish background to fall into the Active category. (17.9 per cent of the Active males were of Scottish background as compared to 9.2 per cent for the Inactive group; among the females 18.1 per cent of the Active were of Scottish background while 12.5 per cent of the Inactive females fell into this category.) The Inactive group for both males and females demonstrated a tendency to be of English background as compared to the Active group which, for both sexes, demonstrated a tendency to have come from more and varied ethnic background. (See Tables 23 and 24.) On the question of ethnic background and church attendance, it is interesting to note that church affiliation is more frequent in Scotland than in England.²⁰

If it is true that an individual's socioeconomic status is correlated with ethnic similarity with the majority group in the area, then the data would suggest that the Inactive group probably tends to come from higher social strata.

Since St. George's was almost exclusively Anglo-Saxon, the consequences of the operation of such an organization within the parish area particularly, and Winnipeg generally, would be to provide a focus for Anglo-Saxon people of the

²⁰ See John Hight, "Church Going in Scotland", New Society, December, 1963, p. 13.

Table 23. Church Attendance Survey: National Origin of Respondents' Mothers and Fathers, Active and Inactive, Males

National Origin ¹	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
English	70	(54.6)	69.00	(58.4)	139.00	(56.5)
Scotch	23	(17.9)	10.84	(9.2)	33.84	(13.8)
Irish	10	(7.8)	13.00	(11.1)	23.00	(9.4)
Welsh	2	(1.6)	0.50	(0.4)	2.50	(1.0)
Canadian ²	18	(14.1)	19.00	(16.1)	37.00	(15.0)
American	-		1.00	(0.8)	1.00	(0.4)
Scandinavian	3	(2.4)	2.33	(2.0)	5.33	(2.2)
Other European	2	(1.6)	2.33	(2.0)	4.33	(1.7)
Total	128	(100.0)	118.00	(100.0)	246.00	(100.0)

¹In some cases respondents gave more than one national origin for either one or both of their parents; in such cases halves and thirds were used in compiling the frequency distribution.

²If "Canadian" responses are assumed to contain some Anglo-Saxon background, then there were no respondents who fell entirely outside the Anglo-Saxon group: every male respondent had some Anglo-Saxon background be it from his mother or his father.

Table 24. Church Attendance Survey: National Origin of Respondents' Mothers and Fathers, Active and Inactive, Females

National Origin ¹	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
English	92.0	(48.2)	86.5	(58.4)	178.5	(52.8)
Scotch	34.5	(18.1)	18.5	(12.5)	53.0	(15.7)
Irish	27.0	(14.2)	19.5	(13.2)	46.5	(13.7)
Welsh	2.0	(1.1)	2.0	(1.4)	4.0	(1.2)
Canadian ²	15.0	(7.9)	11.0	(7.4)	26.0	(7.7)
American	2.5	(1.3)	0.5	(0.3)	3.0	(0.9)
Scandinavian	2.0	(1.1)	1.5	(1.0)	3.5	(1.0)
Other European	13.0	(7.0)	5.5	(3.8)	18.5	(5.5)
No Response	2.0	(1.1)	3.0	(2.0)	5.0	(1.5)
Total	190.0	(100.0)	148.0	(100.0)	338.0	(100.0)

¹In some cases the respondents gave two national origins for one parent; in such cases 0.5 was scored in each of the categories. This scoring technique accounts for the decimal points in the frequency distributions.

²If one considers "Canadian" responses as having some Anglo-Saxon background, then six of the Active members came entirely from non-Anglo-Saxon parentage, while two of the Inactive members came from non-Anglo-Saxon parentage.

area. And since St. George's brings together a similar ethnic group it probably functions to reinforce a group consciousness, in this case, an Anglo-Saxon group consciousness. In a sense, then, St. George's operates to integrate the Anglo-Saxon element within the area; in a sense, too, it would function to divide the community into Anglo-Saxons and non-Anglo-Saxons. It may well be true that:

From the ethnic standpoint, the church has been the supreme instrument for maintaining cultural diversity.²¹

Level of Education

The members of the congregations exhibited a relatively high level of education. Well over forty (43.5) per cent of those who were not students had spent some time in a university, while in the parish area and in Winnipeg the corresponding percentages were 23.1 and 8.4 respectively. Those who had no formal education or who had ended their education at the elementary level accounted for 4.5 per cent of the members of the congregations, 13.2 per cent of the parish area's population, and 34.1 per cent of Winnipeg's population. Excluding students, the estimated mean number

²¹C. L. Wilson, "A Social Picture of a Congregation", American Sociological Review, 10:418, 1945.

of years spent at school by members of the congregations was 12.1 years; this compares to figures of 10.6 and 8.3 years for the parish area's and Winnipeg's populations. (See Table 25.)

Striking differences appeared between the Active and the Inactive groups for both the males and the females. The Active females had spent, on the average, slightly more years in school than their Inactive counterparts. (See Table 26.) This average is, however, misleading. For, if only those who had spent some time at a university are considered, then one sees that 33.7 per cent of the Active females fell into this category, while 41.2 per cent of the Inactive did. Combined, the two groups were represented by 37.1 who had spent some time at university. The difference in mean years at school would appear to be largely caused by the greater percentage of the Inactive members who had not graduated from high school. The preceding statistics suggest that the Inactive females tend to dominate the extremes of the educational continuum presented by females in the congregations.

For males other than students, the pattern was much clearer. The Inactive group had spent more years on the average at school, and represented a significantly higher proportion of the church's university graduates than the Active group. While it was made up of 29.6 per cent

Table 25. Highest Grade of School Attended For Non-Students in Metropolitan Winnipeg (1961), St. George's Parish Area (1961), and the St. George's Congregations on the Surveyed Sunday (1963), Both Sexes

Education	Winnipeg		Parish Area		St. George's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	13,653	(4.3)	197	(2.0)	2	(0.9)
Elementary	94,445	(29.8)	1,095	(11.2)	8	(3.6)
High School 1 to 2 years	76,435	(24.1)	1,660	(17.0)	25	(11.1)
High School 3 to 5 years	105,275	(33.4)	4,575	(46.7)	92	(40.9)
Some University	26,474	(8.4)	2,260	(23.1)	98	(43.5)
Total	316,282	(100.0)	9,787	(100.0)	225	(100.0)
Estimated Mean ¹ years at school	8.3 years		10.6 years		12.1 years	

¹The estimated mean years at school was computed by considering the census categories as having the following averages:

None 0 years
 Elementary - 1 or more years 4 years
 High School - 1 to 2 years 9 years
 High School - 3 to 5 years 11 years
 Some University - 1 or more years ... 15 years

University graduates, the Inactive group had 41.9 per cent with university degrees. (See Table 27.) The Active group had spent an estimated 11.9 years at school, while the Inactive group had spent 13.1 years in educational institutions. The estimated mean time spent at school for all the males was 12.5 years.

Table 26. Church Attendance Survey: Education Levels of Non-Students, Active and Inactive, Females

Education	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No formal education	-		1 (1.6)		1 (0.7)	
1 to 8 years	1 (1.3)		3 (4.8)		4 (2.8)	
9 to 10 years	8 (10.0)		10 (15.9)		18 (12.6)	
High School graduate	42 (52.5)		21 (33.3)		63 (44.0)	
Some University	12 (15.0)		13 (20.6)		25 (17.5)	
University graduate	15 (18.7)		13 (20.6)		28 (19.6)	
No response and other	2 (2.5)		2 (3.2)		4 (2.8)	
Total	80(100.0)		63(100.0)		143(100.0)	
Estimated Means ¹	12.0 years		11.6 years		11.8 years	

¹See footnote on Table 27.

Table 27. Church Attendance Survey: Education Levels of Non-Students, Active and Inactive, Males

Education	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No formal education	1	(2.3)	-		1	(1.2)
1 to 8 years	4	(9.1)	-		4	(4.6)
9 to 10 years	2	(4.5)	5	(11.6)	7	(8.0)
High School graduates	15	(34.0)	14	(32.6)	29	(33.3)
Some University	8	(18.2)	6	(13.9)	14	(16.1)
University graduate	13	(29.6)	18	(41.9)	31	(35.6)
No response	1	(2.3)	-		1	(1.2)
Total	44	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	87	(100.0)
Estimated Means ¹	11.9 years		13.1 years		12.5 years	

¹"Estimated Means" have been arrived at by considering the education categories as having the following averages:

No formal education 0 years
 1 to 8 years 4 years
 9 to 10 years 9 years
 High School graduate 11 years
 Some University 13 years
 University graduate 16 years

In terms of the Winnipeg and the parish area populations, it is clear that St. George's draws the majority of the members of its congregations from the better educated segments. On the whole, the less educated people were not represented in the congregations in proportion to the number of such people found in the parish area. For the males, the Active group appeared to have significantly less education than the Inactive group. (The reasons for this differential will be dealt with in the second part of the thesis.) For females a slight tendency in the opposite direction was observed, although more Inactive females had university degrees than had Active ones.

Occupational Status and Occupational Rating

It is commonly known that education is closely related to occupational rating. It was no surprise, therefore, that the less educated Active group also had a lower occupational rating than the better educated Inactive group.

Table 28 indicates, however, that there was no significant relation between the males' occupational status and the Active-Inactive typology. Both groups had just over seventy per cent who worked for a living. Analysis of the females, on the contrary, tend to support the thesis that those who are most involved in the church (as measured by the Active-Inactive typology) are more likely than not to be non-earning housewives. (See Table 29.) More of

the female students fell into the Inactive category than into the Active one: the same held true for the males who were students. Further, it should be noted, that over seventy per cent of the evening congregation was made up of students as compared to just over sixteen per cent in the morning congregation: females exhibited somewhat the same pattern as did the males so far as the number of students at the two services was concerned.

Table 28. Church Attendance Survey: Occupational Status, Morning and Evening, Active and Inactive, Males

Status	Active		Inactive		Total	
	Morning No. %	Evening No. %	Morning No. %	Evening No. %	No. %	%
Work for a living	37 (75.5)	2 (13.3)	33 (70.2)	6 (50.0)	78	(63.4)
Student	6 (12.2)	13 (86.7)	10 (21.3)	6 (50.0)	35	(28.5)
Unemployed	2 (4.1)	-	-	-	2	(1.6)
Retired	4 (8.2)	-	4 (8.5)	-	8	(6.5)
Total	49(100.0)	15(100.0)	47(100.0)	12(100.0)	123	(100.0)

Table 29. Church Attendance Survey: Occupational Status, Morning and Evening, Active and Inactive, Females

Status	Active		Inactive		Total	
	Morning No. %	Evening No. %	Morning No. %	Evening No. %	No. %	%
Non-earning housewife	61 (73.5)	3 (25.0)	44 (62.8)	2 (50.0)	110	(65.0)
Work for a living	10 (12.10)	2 (16.7)	10 (14.3)	1 (25.0)	23	(13.6)
Student	8 (9.6)	7 (58.3)	14 (20.0)	1 (25.0)	30	(17.7)
Retired	3 (3.6)	-	2 (2.9)	-	5	(3.0)
Unemployed	1 (1.2)	-	-	-	1	(0.6)
Total	83(100.0)	12(100.0)	70(100.0)	4(100.0)	169	(100.0)

Of those males present at the evening service who worked for a living, the mean Warner Scale²² rating was 3.00 as compared to 1.96 for the morning congregation. (See footnote to Table 30.) The Active males had a lower occupational rating than the Inactive by 0.23 on the seven-point Warner Scale (see Table 30), supporting the results

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W. Lloyd Warner's scale for rating occupations is a seven point one where a higher score means a lower occupational rating.

In the highest category, with a rating of "1", come

obtained in a somewhat similar study of five Protestant churches in Louisville, Kentucky, where it was found that:

such professionals as lawyers, doctors, engineers, and other people with post graduate training; owners of businesses valued at \$75,000 or over are placed in the highest category; regional and divisional managers of large financial and industrial enterprises also fall into the top category, as do certified public accountants.

In category "2" are those professionals such as high school teachers, nurses, librarians, and generally those who have university or equivalent training; owners of businesses valued between \$20,000 and \$75,000 fall into this category; assistant managers and office and department managers fall into this category as do accountants, real estate and insurance salesmen.

Those occupations given a rating of "3" include: social workers, grade school teachers, librarians (no degree); owners of businesses valued between \$5,000 and \$20,000, and all minor officials of business; auto salesmen, bank clerks, secretaries to executives, and contractors fall into this category.

Those occupations assigned a rating of "4" include owners of businesses valued between \$2,000 and \$5,000; bookkeepers, mail clerks, factory foremen, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, railroad engineers and conductors.

Those occupations rated as "5" include some of the following: telephone operators; apprentice carpenters, plumbers, and electricians; barbers, firemen, policemen, and bartenders.

Rated as "6" are: assistants to skilled tradesmen, night watchmen, taxi and truck drivers, and gas station attendants.

Rated as "7" are odd-job men, janitors, and laborers.

For a discussion of his scale see Social Class in America (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960). See Appendix C for a reproduction of the scale.

The occupational rating average of the total active group is somewhat lower than that of the total irregular group, the difference being .4 on a seven point [Warner] scale.²³

In the present study it was found that if only the morning congregation was considered, then the Active group was lower by .50 on the Warner scale. However, the distribution into the various categories indicated a slight tendency for the Inactive group to gravitate toward the extremes of the ratings of the members' occupations. (While 28.2 per cent of the Active group fell into category one, 41.0 per cent of the Inactive did so; in categories four to seven the Inactive had 10.3 per cent while the Active had 5.2 per cent in these categories.) The observed tendency for the Inactive to dominate the extremes is noted at this time because, as will become particularly clear in the analysis of the interviews, the tendency is an important one. While it is true that there is this slight tendency for the Inactive to gravitate toward the extremes, it is to be remembered that the vast majority (91.0 per cent) of the males of St. George's who work for a living

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Arthur Elliott, "A Sociological Study of One Hundred Active Church Members and One Hundred Irregular Attending Church Members in Five Protestant Churches in Louisville, Kentucky, 1953," (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Louisville, Louisville, 1953), p. 29.

fell into one of the top three Warner Scale categories.

(See Table 30.)

Table 30. Church Attendance Survey: Occupational Rating (Warner Scale), Those Who Work for a Living, Active and Inactive, Male

Rating	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One	11	(28.2)	16	(41.0)	27	(34.6)
Two	16	(41.0)	14	(35.9)	30	(38.4)
Three	10	(25.6)	4	(10.2)	14	(18.0)
Four	1	(2.6)	2	(5.1)	3	(3.8)
Five	-		1	(2.6)	1	(1.3)
Six	-		1	(2.6)	1	(1.3)
Seven	1	(2.6)	-		1	(1.3)
No answer	-		1	(2.6)	1	(1.3)
Total	39	(100.0)	39	(100.0)	78	(100.0)
Mean ¹	2.15		1.97		2.06	

¹Other means:

Morning congregation: 1.96 (n=69)
 Evening congregation: 3.00 (n=8)

Judging from the occupational rating of those males who work for a living, the evening congregation would appear to be made up of a lower socioeconomic group than the morning congregation. Moreover, the evening congregation tended to be made up of people with the status of student to a greater extent than the morning congregation. Although there were only slight differences between the Active and Inactive males in terms of occupational status, the Active females tended to a greater extent than the Inactive to be non-earning housewives. The occupational ratings of the males indicated that the Inactive group, on the average, tended to come from higher occupational levels. However, they also had a tendency to dominate the lower extreme as well. (See Table 30.) Hence, one might expect that one of the factors which plays a part in determining the frequency of church attendance is the occupational level from which one comes. The regular attenders tended to come from the middle of the range represented by the congregations.

Income

The high level of education and the concentration of St. George's members into the top three categories of the Warner Scale both suggest that the present study is dealing with a relatively high socioeconomic group.

Incomes were found to be well over double that of the incomes of those who work for a living in the St. George's parish, and triple that of the incomes for Winnipeg. (See Table 31.) For all the males of St. George's Church who worked for a living, the mean income was \$11,421; for the St. George's parish area it was \$4,900; and for Winnipeg the mean was \$3,907. It is also noteworthy that over fifty per cent of the males of St. George's Church who reported their incomes, made over \$10,000 per year. Demonstrating the same pattern as the males, the females of St. George's Church who worked for a living had mean incomes of \$6,139; the parish mean was \$2,200; and the mean for females in Winnipeg was \$1,961. (See Table 32.) It would appear, indeed, that the congregations are composed of the wealthier elements within the area.²⁴

Examination of the footnotes to Tables 33 and 34 lends strong support to the notion that the evening service attracts a different socioeconomic class than does the morning service. The mean income at the evening service for the males who worked for a living was \$6,314 as compared to \$11,993 for the males at the morning service.

²⁴ Similar findings have been made in the United States; for example, see Arthur Elliott, "A Sociological Study of One Hundred Active Church Members and One Hundred Irregularly Attending Church Members in Five Protestant Churches in Louisville, Kentucky, 1953," (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Louisville, Louisville, 1953), p. 27.

Table 31. Income of Those who Work for a Living in Metropolitan Winnipeg (1961), St. George's Parish Area (1961), and the St. George's Congregations on the Surveyed Sunday (1963), Males

Income	Winnipeg		Parish Area		St. George's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$1,000	7,752	(6.8)	252	(7.5)	-	
\$1,000-1,999	8,888	(7.9)	220	(6.6)	-	
\$2,000-2,999	16,217	(14.4)	302	(9.0)	1	(1.5)
\$3,000-3,999	29,319	(26.0)	633	(18.9)	1	(1.5)
\$4,000-5,999	35,506	(31.6)	1,042	(31.1)	5	(7.6)
\$6,000-9,999	12,150	(10.8)	606	(18.1)	25	(37.9)
\$10,000 and over	2,793	(2.5)	294	(8.8)	34	(51.5)
Total	112,625	(100.0)	3,349	(100.0)	66	(100.0)
Mean ¹	\$3,907		\$4,900		\$11,421	

¹ The mean for Winnipeg was taken from Census of Canada, "Bulletin CT-17", (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961), p. 20. The Parish area mean was computed by averaging the means given for census tract areas 43 and 44. The mean for St. George's was computed by using the raw figures collected from the church attendance survey.

Table 32. Income of Those who Work for a Living in Metropolitan Winnipeg (1961), St. George's Parish Area (1961), and the St. George's Congregations on the Surveyed Sunday (1963), Females

Income	Winnipeg		Parish Area		St. George's	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$1,000	13,751	(23.4)	447	(24.7)	-	
\$1,000-1,999	15,794	(27.0)	399	(22.0)	-	
\$2,000-2,999	17,506	(30.0)	439	(24.2)	-	
\$3,000-3,999	7,828	(13.3)	296	(16.3)	5	(27.8)
\$4,000-5,999	3,129	(5.3)	168	(9.3)	6	(33.3)
\$6,000 and over	600	(1.0)	63	(3.5)	7	(38.9)
Total	58,608	(100.0)	1,812	(100.0)	18	(100.0)
Mean ¹	\$1,961		\$2,200		\$6,139	

¹The mean for Winnipeg was taken from Census of Canada, "Bulletin CT-17", (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961, p. 20. The Parish area mean was computed by averaging the means for census tract areas 43 and 44. The mean for St. George's was computed by using the raw figures collected from the church attendance survey.

(See footnote to Table 33.) Similarly, the females present at the evening service who worked for a living averaged lower incomes than did their working sisters who were present at the morning service. (\$3,767 as compared to the morning service mean of \$6,613: see footnote to Table 34.)

The incomes of the Active-Inactive male groups also reflected that, on the average, the Inactive group came from a slightly higher socioeconomic level. The mean income of the morning congregation's Inactive males was \$12,733 while at the same service the Active males averaged \$11,369, a difference of \$1,364. If median incomes are considered, then the gap grows to over two thousand dollars. (See footnote to Table 33.)

Just as the Active females had a slightly higher educational level than the Inactive, so too, they had a higher mean income (Inactive: \$4,525; Active: \$7,430). At the morning service the Active females who worked for a living had a mean income of \$8,250; the Inactive \$4,743. (See Table 34.)

Three significant generalizations emerge from the preceding discussion. First, it is clear that the Active male tends to be from a lower socioeconomic stratum than his Inactive fellow member. Second, in addition to attracting the youth, the evening service tends to draw people of a lower social strata than does the morning service.

Table 33. Church Attendance Survey: Income, Those who Work for a Living, Active and Inactive, Males

Income	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$3,000	-		1 (2.6)		1 (1.3)	
3,000-4,999	1 (2.6)		1 (2.6)		2 (2.6)	
5,000-6,999	7 (18.0)		6 (15.3)		13 (16.7)	
7,000-9,999	10 (25.6)		6 (15.3)		16 (20.5)	
10,000-14,999	9 (23.1)		9 (23.1)		18 (23.0)	
15,000-24,999	5 (12.8)		6 (15.3)		11 (14.1)	
Over \$25,000	2 (5.1)		3 (7.7)		5 (6.4)	
Not disclosed	5 (12.8)		7 (18.1)		12 (15.4)	
Total	39(100.0)		39(100.0)		78(100.0)	
Mean Incomes ¹	\$11,170.59		\$11,625.00		\$11,390.91	

¹Other Figures, which have, as the table above, been calculated from raw figures given by the respondents, are:

Mean Incomes:

Morning congregation, Active and Inactive: \$11,993.22
 Evening congregation, Active and Inactive: \$ 6,314.29
 Morning congregation, Active respondents: \$11,368.75
 Morning congregation, Inactive respondents: \$12,733.33

Median Incomes:

Morning congregation, Active respondents: \$ 9,850.00
 Morning congregation, Inactive respondents: \$12,000.00

Table 34. Church Attendance Survey: Income, Those who Work for a Living, Active and Inactive Females

Income	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
\$3,000-4,999	4	(33.3)	4	(36.4)	8	(34.8)
5,000-6,999	2	(16.7)	4	(36.4)	6	(26.1)
7,000-9,999	2	(16.7)	-		2	(8.7)
10,000-14,999	1	(8.3)	-		1	(4.3)
Over \$15,000	1	(8.3)	-		1	(4.3)
Not disclosed and other	2	(16.7)	3	(27.2)	5	(21.8)
Total	12	(100.0)	11	(100.0)	23	(100.0)
Mean Incomes ¹	\$7,430.00		\$4,525.00		\$6,139.00	

¹Other figures, calculated from the raw figures supplied by the respondents, are:

Mean Incomes:

Morning congregation, Active and Inactive: \$6,613.33(n=15)
 Evening congregation, Active and Inactive: \$3,766.66(n=3)
 Morning congregation, Active respondents: \$8,250.00(n=8)
 Morning congregation, Inactive respondents: \$4,742.86(n=7)

Median Incomes:

Morning congregation, Active respondents: \$7,000.00(n=8)
 Morning congregation, Inactive respondents: \$5,000.00(n=7)

And third, the typical congregation is composed of the wealthier elements in the parish area, and in Winnipeg.

Also worthy of comment is the socioeconomic homogeneity of the congregations. Only three of the males had incomes below \$5,000 per year, and two of them were present at the lower prestige evening service.

Conclusion

The preceding discussion of the St. George's congregations was intended to provide a picture of the kinds of people who attend that church by using a few simple variables and relating them to the morning and the evening congregations, male-female differences, and to the Active-Inactive typology. Due to the simplicity and brevity of the questionnaire, only superficial data were obtained; however, since the analysis of the congregations was intended to provide a foil against which a more detailed examination of one group within the church might be compared, the brief questionnaire fulfilled its intended purpose. Presented alone it would justifiably be open to charges of abstracted empiricism. It is hoped that some of the dynamics of St. George's Church will emerge when the results of the interviews with the middle-aged male members are compared with the results of the church attendance survey.

What, briefly, are some of the salient features of

typical St. George's congregations? Perhaps their most striking feature is their class homogeneity. Although, drawing people from slightly different social strata, the morning and the evening services are both almost exclusively composed of white collar workers and those from the professional and managerial classes. The congregations as a whole draw their members from the middle and upper socioeconomic groups within the parish area.

Because of the class homogeneity of the congregations, it is suspected that the one-third of the members who live outside the parish boundaries, go to St. George's partly because of socioeconomic similarities; or perhaps, as has often been observed, because "religious affiliation functions as an indicator of class".²⁵

Perhaps, too, the thirty-odd per cent of the members of the congregations who are converts to Anglicanism may be interpreted, in part, as a group of people who, on having reached the professions or the higher echelons of the business world, felt more at their own level in St. George's Church which is predominantly middle-class. Moreover, one of the seeming sociological requisites for joining St. George's is ^{having} ~~to have~~ some Anglo-Saxon background. Hence, one might suspect that the rising Ukranian, if he

²⁵Peter L. Berger, The Noise of the Solemn Assemblies, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 75.

felt so inclined, would probably join a United Church (which, it appears, is more amenable to ethnic diversity, yet is to the rising non-Anglo-Saxon, a satisfactorily middle-class church). For the Anglican Church generally, and St. George's in particular, it would appear that membership is not sociologically probable if one is of non-Anglo-Saxon background. Perhaps it might be said of St. George's that it

has served as a principal rallying point for an ethnic group, and that through this group or otherwise, it has become, unwittingly perhaps, an organ of the group or of a social class in the community.²⁶

Although the above evaluation may have certain elements of truth in it, one must keep in mind the wisdom of statements such as the following:

Though it is clearly evident that church people tend to group themselves in churches and denominations according to certain social traits, it is probable that we find more heterogeneity in class-status in the average church than in any other large voluntary social grouping.²⁷

²⁶C.J. Nuesse and T.J. Harte (eds.), The Sociology of the Parish, (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1951), p. 11.

²⁷Louis Bultena, "Church Membership and Church Attendance in Madison, Wisconsin", American Sociological Review, 14:387, 1949.

Typical of most churches, St. George's has a greater proportion of females present on a typical Sunday, than one would expect from a knowledge of the sex ratio of the area in which the church operates. The present study indicated that women were more likely than men to attend church more regularly and, consequently, more likely to fall into the Active group than men were.

Both the morning and the evening congregations were relatively homogeneous in terms of their age-structures. Once again, this homogeneity may perhaps best be interpreted as a tendency towards similarity in class-structure. With the exception of young people 14 to 19 years of age (who, perhaps, were at church with their parents), the age-structure of the morning congregation, when considered along with the occupational ratings and incomes, indicates that the congregation is made up of people who are at an age where they have reached a relatively high social and economic stratum. It would seem that the majority of the Anglicans in the area who are in the age group 20 to 34 either do not go to church or else they go to one where they feel more at their own social and economic level. St. George's homogeneity appears to be a good example of David W. Barry's statement that:

Our Protestant churches in the city are on the whole not community-oriented or neighborhood-oriented, but group-oriented.²⁸

Indeed, the fact that the males at the morning congregation have a mean income of almost twelve thousand dollars points not only to the fact that their incomes are well above the level of the parish area's, but also to the fact that St. George's is composed of a group whose income is high.

Of the males of the congregations, if the 14 to 22 age group is eliminated, 95.3 per cent were married as compared to 68.6 per cent of females in the same age groups. The males, it might therefore be suggested, go to church partly because of their wives or for the sake of their children; the females, in contrast, attend church regardless of their marital status.

A few notable differences appeared between the Active and Inactive parishioners. The Active non-student males, for example, had less formal education, while, on average, the Inactive females had spent fewer years at school. In contrast to the females, who worked for a living, the Active male tended to come from a slightly lower occupational stratum than his Inactive fellow church member. The

²⁸ David W. Barry, "The Fellowship of Class", The City Church, 6:5, 1955.

Active members had a greater tendency to have always been Anglican, to have been born outside Canada, and to have a slightly older average age than the Inactive.

In brief, then, St. George's is attended by people of Anglo-Saxon background who have reached the higher echelons of the economic, and presumably, the social world. However, the reference to the church as "St. George's-and-all-Cadillacs" is misleading; a truer evaluation would be "St. George's-and-all-late-model-Chevrolets", since, as will be shown in the forthcoming discussion of the interviews, the "Cadillac" people of St. George's do not show a propensity for regular church attendance.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERVIEWED SAMPLE: THE METHODOLOGY AND A BRIEF CONSIDERATION OF SOME OF THE FEATURES OF THE ACTIVE AND INACTIVE MIDDLE-AGED MALES

Introduction

No adequate description of the Active and the Inactive church member is possible from a simple church attendance survey. At best, information collected in such a fashion is superficial. Hopefully it provided a simplified yet accurate picture of those who attend St. George's Church. One of its difficulties, however, was that it could not hope to provide a cross-section of the membership of the church in terms of the whole range of degrees of participation in the church. Those people who attend St. George's infrequently, or not at all, were under-represented in relation to the number of such people on the parish list. In order to get a more representative sample and, at the same time, add depth to the study, it was decided to conduct a number of interviews. Owing to limited research time, and a budget which did not provide for research assistants, concentrated study was limited to one group within the church. If both sexes and all ages had been included, the resulting numbers in the various categories would have been so small

as to deny statistical generalizations.

The middle-aged male group was selected for a variety of reasons. It is trite, but nevertheless true, to say that in the structure of the western society's family the male is the formal head. Moreover, he is generally the bread-winner in the economy. And this being the case, he is largely responsible for the socioeconomic position of his family. In Anglican churches men are usually in the majority on the governing bodies. These appointments invariably go to middle-aged men. Such men are, then, important figures in the church as well as in the family. Furthermore, because the male is the bread-winner, and consequently the person who largely determines into which social stratum his family fits, it would not be an exaggeration to say that if a church is "wealthy" it is largely due to its middle-aged male parishioners. They form the crucial economic base of the church.

A further reason for selecting this group for intensive study was that they are numerically well represented at St. George's. (See Chapter II, "Age-Structure".) Moreover, it was thought that they would be more articulate than the females, the youth, or the elderly.

The Methodology

Treacherous difficulties were encountered in obtaining a sample of the middle-aged men. The operational definition of middle-aged was taken to mean anyone between the ages of forty and seventy. The only clue as to age available on the parish file was the year of birth of the members' children. If children were listed on the file, then those men who had had their first child between 1923 and 1943 were considered to fall within the desired age range. Men with no children on the records were also included in the preliminary list drawn up. This tentative list was then shown to a St. George's clergyman who was asked to strike off the names of any men whom he knew did not fall within the desired age range. The names remaining after his perusal were considered the universe from which the sample was to be taken.

It is readily admitted that the above procedure lacked accuracy; it was, however, the only approach which appeared to be possible. Bias undoubtedly entered as a result of the dates of birth for children being set between 1923 and 1943. Those men who married either young or late in life were perhaps excluded even though they fell within the age range which had been defined as middle-aged. Moreover, the clergyman who checked the list did not know all of the men and, therefore, a few younger and older men got

into the universe, even though they were not within the desired age range.

After the final list of names was established, each name was assigned a number starting with 100 and running to 321 where the list was expired. A table of random numbers¹ was then used to select 102 of the 221 names on the list.

After the sample had been selected, letters were sent out,² usually ten per week, to the men selected for interviews. An attempt was made to contact the individual by phone about two days after the introductory letters were sent out and, where the individual was willing, an interview was arranged. Since the interviewing was done for the most part during July, August, and September it was often difficult to contact people because they were frequently away on holidays.

After interviewing had started, a further, and rather unsuspected, complication arose. Unhappily, the parish files contained names of people who were either not Anglicans or not members of St. George's Church. There were cases, for example, where both the husband's and the wife's

¹M.G. Kendall, and B.B. Smith, Tables of Random Sampling Numbers, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1939).

²See Appendix D for a copy of the letter.

name appeared on the parish file but where only the wife was an Anglican or a member of St. George's Church. As a result, the originally selected sample became smaller by seven members when the names of those who should not have been on the parish list were excluded. (See Table 35.)

Sixty-seven of the one hundred and two originally selected sample were interviewed. There were numerous reasons for not interviewing all of those men to whom letters were sent: (1) he was not an Anglican and his name should not be on the parish list; (2) he was not a member of St. George's Church and his name should not be on the parish list; (3) he was deceased; (4) he was not in the approximate age range; (5) he was ill or in hospital; (6) he was moving; (7) it was not possible to contact him; (8) he agreed to an interview but not time could be arranged before the cut-off date had been reached; and (9) he simply refused to be interviewed.

Since it was thought that the refusal rate would be significantly high, the reasons for individual refusals were carefully noted when, and if, phone contact was made. (See Table 35.) Moreover, the house values of those who simply refused to be interviewed was estimated by the researcher and compared to the values of the interviewed respondents' homes. On the average, the former lived in more expensive houses. For those refusing interviews the median house value was \$37,500, while for those interviewed the

Table 35. Analysis of Legitimate Refusals, Reasons for No Interview, Refusals, and Completed Interviews

Legitimate Refusals:

1. Not Anglican	2
2. Not a member of St. George's	4
3. Deceased	1
	<hr/>
Total	7

Total possible sample therefore equals 95. (102 - 7 = 95.)

Reasons for No Interview, Refusals, and Completed Interviews:

	No.	%
1. No interview due to old age	1	(1.1)
2. No interview due to illness	5	(5.3)
3. No interview due to moving	2	(2.1)
4. No interview due to no contact	4	(4.2)
5. Accepted interview, unable to arrange time	6	(6.3)
6. Refusal	10	(10.5)
7. Completed interviews	67	(70.5)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	95	(100.0)

median was \$23,500. (See Table 36.) The bias, therefore, appeared to be against the wealthier members on St. George's parish list.

Table 36. Estimated Value of Interviewed Sample's Homes and the Estimated Value of the Refusals' Homes¹

House Value	Refusals		Interviewed	
	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$10,000	-		3 (4.5)	
10,000-14,999	-		3 (4.5)	
15,000-24,999	3 (30.0)		26 (38.8)	
25,000-49,999	4 (40.0)		21 (31.3)	
Over \$50,000	3 (30.0)		8 (11.9)	
Apartment residents	-		6 (9.0)	
Total	10(100.0)		67(100.0)	
Mean	\$37,800		\$30,402	
Medians	\$37,500		\$23,500	

¹The values of the houses were estimated by the researcher on visiting them.

Of those in the total possible sample, 70.5 per cent were interviewed. Flat refusals accounted for 10.5 per cent and various other reasons were responsible for the remaining 19.0 per cent who were not interviewed. (See Table 35.) On the whole, it appeared that the bias of the research was against the Inactive church members, as well as against the wealthier members of the church.

Since the interviewing was done by one person the advantage of consistent bias was present; that is, the inevitable biases of the interviewer probably had a reasonably consistent affect during the interviews.

Interviews were usually carried out in the respondent's home, or, less frequently, at the respondent's place of employment. Where possible, and it proved possible in all but four or five cases, the interviews were conducted in the absence of the respondent's family. It is hoped, therefore, that differential interviewing situations did not bias the study significantly.

For the most part the respondents seem to have enjoyed the interviews, and in almost every case reasonably good rapport was established. Depending on the individual, the interviews varied from twenty-five minutes to over two hours. The most common time required was somewhere in the order of thirty-five to forty-five minutes.

Frequency of Church Attendance

Of the sixty-seven men interviewed, twenty-four (35.9 per cent) claimed they went to church four or more times per month on the average, and consequently fell into the Active category. The remainder, by definition, fell into the Inactive one.³

Since the church attendance survey was done in the church there was a tendency for the regular church attenders to be over-represented. As might be expected, a greater proportion of the interviewed sample fell into categories representing less frequent church attendance. (See Table 37.) Over fifty per cent fell into the "once or fewer" times per month category, and many of these attended church only on special occasions, or not at all.

Age-Structure and Marital Status

The attempt to restrict the sample to middle-aged males was only partially successful. An examination of Table 38 illustrates that the operational definition of middle-aged, as those between the ages forty and seventy, was not rigidly adhered to. (The reasons for imprecision have been discussed in the "Methodology" section of the present chapter.) For the most part, however, the

³Henceforth, unless otherwise noted, reference to the Active and the Inactive members is to be taken to mean those men interviewed.

Table 37. Interviewed Sample: Frequency of Church Attendance

Frequency	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Once a month or less	-		22	(51.2)	22	(32.8)
About twice a month	-		13	(30.2)	13	(19.4)
About thrice a month	-		8	(18.6)	8	(11.9)
Four or more per month	24	(100.0)	-		24	(35.9)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Table 38. Interviewed Sample: Age Distribution

Age	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 35 years	2	(8.3)	1	(2.3)	3	(4.5)
35 - 44 years	2	(8.3)	2	(4.7)	4	(6.0)
45 - 54 years	7	(29.2)	14	(32.5)	21	(31.3)
55 - 64 years	9	(37.5)	20	(46.5)	29	(43.2)
65 - 69 years	3	(12.5)	2	(4.7)	5	(7.5)
Over 70 years	1	(4.2)	4	(9.3)	5	(7.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Mean Ages	55.2 years		55.8 years		55.6 years	
Median Ages	58.5 years		56.0 years		57.0 years	

interviewed sample fell within the desired age range. And in as much as the definition of middle-aged was an attempt to exclude the very young and the elderly, the resulting sample met its intended objective.

The mean age for those interviewed was 55.6 years; there was less than one year's difference between the Active and the Inactive groups' mean ages. The two, however, did exhibit somewhat different distributions. The Active tended to have a slightly greater representation in the 65-69 age group (12.4 per cent) than did the Inactive group (4.7 per cent). On the whole, however, the two groups had a reasonably similar age-structure, so that we may assume that age itself was not a major determining factor in the frequency of church attendance for the middle-aged males interviewed.

Discussion of the marital status of the interviewed sample need not be prolonged since everyone was married. The findings of the interviews and the fact that 95.3 per cent of the adult men who responded to the church attendance survey (see Table 17, p. 43) fell into the "married" category suggests that unmarried men tend to avoid St. George's Church.

Number of Children

Other studies have suggested that the presence of children in the home affect attendance at church.⁴

Questions relating to the number of children born to the respondents and the number of children living with the respondents were therefore asked to see if any such relationship existed.

On the average, the Active members tended to have had fewer children and also had fewer living at home than had the Inactive ones. (See Tables 39 and 40.) Although the difference was not great, there was no evidence to suggest that those men with children living at home had any greater tendency to attend church regularly. If anything, the present study would suggest an inverse relationship.

⁴For example:

(a) "The general tendency is for families with children under eighteen at home to participate more fully in the church's religious education programme." Arthur Elliott, "A Sociological Study of One Hundred Active Church Members and One Hundred Irregularly Attending Church Members in Five Protestant Churches in Louisville, Kentucky, 1953", (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Louisville, Louisville, 1953), p. 25.

(b) "Among Protestants there is evidence that both marriage and the presence of minor children in the home lead to some increase in church attendance." G.E. Lenski, The Religious Factor, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 14.

Table 39. Interviewed Sample: Number of Children Born to Respondents

Number	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	-		2 (4.7)		2 (3.0)	
One	7 (29.2)		4 (9.3)		11 (16.4)	
Two	5 (20.8)		16 (37.3)		21 (31.3)	
Three	7 (29.2)		12 (27.9)		19 (28.4)	
Four	5 (20.8)		6 (13.8)		11 (16.4)	
Five	-		2 (4.7)		2 (3.0)	
Six	-		<u>1 (2.3)</u>		<u>1 (1.5)</u>	
Total	24(100.0)		43(100.0)		67(100.0)	
Mean per Respondent	2.47		2.60		2.54	

Table 40. Interviewed Sample: Number of Children Living with Respondents

Number	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	7 (29.2)		13 (30.2)		20 (29.7)	
One	8 (33.3)		11 (25.7)		19 (28.4)	
Two	6 (25.0)		13 (30.2)		19 (28.4)	
Three	2 (8.3)		4 (9.3)		6 (9.0)	
Four	1 (4.2)		1 (2.3)		2 (3.0)	
Five	-		<u>1 (2.3)</u>		<u>1 (1.5)</u>	
Total	24(100.0)		43(100.0)		67(100.0)	
Mean per Respondent	1.25		1.35		1.31	

Education

Excluding students, the males who responded to the church attendance survey had spent an estimated 12.5 years at school. (See Table 27, p. 58.) The interviewed sample yielded an almost identical average, 12.6 years. The same pattern also emerged with respect to the Active-Inactive typology. Paralleling the church attendance survey, where it was found that the Active had spent an estimated average of 11.9 years and the inactive 13.1 years, the interviewed sample yielded respective averages of 11.9 and 12.9 years. (See Table 41.) Almost fifty-five per cent of the Inactive members who were interviewed had spent some time at university as compared to 41.7 per cent of the Active ones.

Why do the more educated tend to attend church less frequently? There are many possibilities. Two of them will be noted here. First, perhaps the better educated are less likely to commit themselves to definite stands or rigid behaviour patterns, and hence, are less apt to become fervent church attenders. And second, the university educated tended, as might be expected, to fall into the top socioeconomic stratum represented by the church's membership, and, if the observations resulting from the church attendance survey are correct, this group does not show as great a tendency to regular church attendance as do the strata immediately below this group. (See "Occupational Status and Occupational Rating", Chapter II.)

Table 41. Interviewed Sample: Education

Education	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1 to 8 years	2	(8.3)	1	(2.3)	3	(4.5)
9 to 10 years	3	(12.5)	4	(9.3)	7	(10.4)
High School graduate	9	(37.5)	14	(32.5)	23	(34.3)
Some university	3	(12.5)	7	(16.3)	10	(14.9)
University degree	7	(29.2)	17	(39.6)	24	(35.9)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Estimated Mean-years at School ¹	11.9		12.9		12.6	

¹See footnote on Table 27 for the value ascribed to the various categories.

The interviews and the church attendance survey indicate that the membership of the church is made up of reasonably well educated people, as compared to the education level of the parish area's and Winnipeg's populations. (See Table 25, p. 56.) The Inactive parishioners interviewed, once again, were found to have had more education than their Active counterparts. We may expect therefore that the Inactive members will represent, on the average,

a higher social stratum than the Active.

Occupational Rating and Generational Mobility

Unexpectedly--and in distinct contrast to the results of the church attendance survey--the interviewed sample of Active males had almost the same occupational rating as their Inactive counterparts. Why should this be so?

Table 42 offers a possible answer to this question. The Active group was composed almost exclusively of men who were to be found in the top three Warner Scale categories.⁵ The Inactive group broke rather clearly into two sections, those who fell into the first two Warner Scale categories and those who fell into categories four and five. Clearly it would appear that if an individual did not fall into one of the top three categories, then it was improbable that he would attend church regularly, and most likely he would not attend at all. (All but one of the Active respondents came from the top three Warner Scale categories: see Table 42.) The conflicting findings of the church attendance survey and the interviews, on the question of occupational ratings, would seem to be explained best by

⁵See footnote 22, Chapter II, p. 61, for a brief note on the Warner Scale; alternatively, see Appendix C for a reproduction of the Scale.

noting that the members of St. George's from the lower socioeconomic strata do not go to church with any regularity, and, hence, were not present on the surveyed Sunday. Thus, the Inactive members' higher occupational level which emerged from the church attendance survey resulted because the lower socioeconomic Inactive members were not at the church when the survey was carried out. When the interviews were conducted, it became clear that the Inactive members tended towards both extremes, while the Active members dominated the upper and middle range of the socioeconomic distribution of the church's membership. (See Table 42.)

The tendency of the Inactive parishioners to dominate the extremes, and especially the upper extreme, of the economic group represented at St. George's was also illustrated by the fact that almost fifty per cent (48.9) of them resided in homes estimated to be worth over \$25,000. Only one-third (33.3 per cent) of the Active members lived in such handsome dwellings. (See Table 43.)

Table 44 relates occupation type to the Active-Inactive categories. There were two especially notable points which emerged from this analysis. First, there was a higher proportion of "business men" who fell into the Active category than into the Inactive one (62.4 per cent compared to 39.7 per cent). Second, nine of the eleven "professional" men interviewed fell into the Inactive

Table 42. Generational Mobility: An Analysis of the Interviewed Respondents' Occupational Level as Compared to Their Fathers' Occupational Level (Warner Scale)

A. Fathers' Occupation	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One	10	(41.7)	17	(39.6)	27	(40.2)
Two	5	(20.8)	18	(41.8)	23	(34.3)
Three	3	(12.5)	2	(4.7)	5	(7.5)
Four	4	(16.7)	1	(2.3)	5	(7.5)
Five	2	(8.3)	4	(9.3)	6	(9.0)
No Response	-		1	(2.3)	1	(1.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Mean Score	2.30		1.98		2.09	
B. Respondents' Occupation						
One	14	(58.3)	24	(55.8)	38	(56.6)
Two	5	(20.8)	12	(27.9)	17	(25.4)
Three	4	(16.7)	-		4	(6.0)
Four	-		5	(11.6)	5	(7.5)
Five	-		2	(4.7)	2	(3.0)
Seven	1	(4.2)	-		1	(1.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Mean Score	1.79		1.81		1.81	
Generational Mobility (Mean score B - Mean score A.)						
	+ 0.51		+ 0.17		+ 0.28	

category, lending support to the notion that the better educated, higher prestige professionals were not particularly inclined to regular church attendance.

Table 43. Interviewed Sample: Estimated House Value

House Value ¹	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$10,000	1	(4.2)	2	(4.6)	3	(4.5)
10,000-14,999	2	(8.3)	1	(2.3)	3	(4.5)
15,000-24,999	12	(50.0)	14	(32.6)	26	(38.8)
25,000-49,999	6	(25.0)	15	(34.9)	21	(31.3)
Over \$50,000	2	(8.3)	6	(14.0)	8	(11.9)
Appartment residents	1	(4.2)	5	(11.6)	6	(9.0)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Estimated Mean Value	\$26,348.		\$32,197.		\$30,402.	
Medians	\$20,000.		\$27,500.		\$23,500.	

¹The cost of the house was estimated by the interviewer and recorded.

Table 44. Interviewed Sample: Occupation Type (Warner Scale)

Occupation Type	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professionals	2	(8.3)	9	(20.9)	11	(16.4)
Proprietors	1	(4.2)	3	(6.9)	4	(6.0)
Business Men	15	(62.4)	17	(39.7)	32	(47.7)
Clerks and Kindred Workers, etc.	4	(16.7)	9	(20.9)	13	(19.4)
Manual Workers	1	(4.2)	4	(9.3)	5	(7.5)
Protective and Service Workers	1	(4.2)	1	(2.3)	2	(3.0)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

In the present study, a direct relation was found to exist between church participation and generational mobility. Thus, if one assumes that religious interest correlates with the degree of participation in the church, then the findings of the research would not lend support to Gerhard Lenski's observations of

. . . a marked relationship between inter-generational income mobility and religious interest . . . the degree of religious interest tended to vary inversely with the degree of upward mobility.⁶

⁶G.E. Lenski, "Social Correlates of Religious Interest", American Sociological Review, 18:540, 1953.

Compared to their fathers, the Active members had risen, on the average, 0.51 on the seven point Warner Scale, while the Inactive members had risen 0.17. (See Table 42.) Although, the Warner Scale scores cannot be taken too literally, they do provide a relative picture of the occupational level of the respondents and their fathers. It may well be true that they have not risen above their fathers by as much as the analysis would indicate. However, it is reasonable to assume that relative to their fathers, the Active group had risen further than had the Inactive group.

In the analysis of the church attendance survey it was found that 91.0 per cent of the males came from the top three Warner Scale categories. The interviews revealed that all but one of the Active group came from the top three Warner Scale categories and thirty-six of the forty-three Inactive members came from the top two Warner Scale categories--the remainder fell into categories four and five. (See Table 42.) If the top three Warner Scale categories are considered to represent the middle and the upper-middle class, then there is to be little question that St. George's members are predominantly middle and upper-middle class people.

It would seem that a male of the middle-aged group under examination fell into the Active category only if

he came from one of the top three Warner Scale categories. (There was one exception.) If we accept, on the evidence produced from the analysis of the church attendance survey, that the Inactive come from higher socioeconomic strata than the Active group, then one sees a kind of "class balancing" operating at St. George's. A seemingly social prerequisite for Active status in the church is a sufficiently high occupational level. The evidence which emerged from the interviews was that the Active group tended to come from the middle socioeconomic strata of the church's membership, while the Inactive tended to dominate the extremes. They represented the higher and lower strata of the church's membership.

Social Friends

One of the tests of the extent to which an organization serves to integrate a group is to observe friendship patterns which are related to the given organization. Has the organization any influence on the establishment of social friends?

The respondents were asked to give the initials of their three closest social friends, after which they were asked to reveal: (a) whether or not any were Anglicans, (b) if any were Anglican, did they go to St. George's?, (c) what were the occupations of their social friends?,

and (d) were any of them relatives?

As Tables 45 and 46 indicate, there was no systematic naming of Anglicans or members of St. George's as the respondents' closest social friends. On the average, about one-half of the respondents' three closest social friends were Anglicans, while just over one-quarter were members of St. George's. Most of the non-Anglicans named were members of the United Church or their affiliation was not known. There was no significant difference between the number of Anglicans named or the number of members of St. George's named according to the Active-Inactive typology. Although, in both cases, the Active group named slightly more Anglicans and members of St. George's among their three closest social friends. This tendency was not significant however. Moreover, there was no apparent tendency for the Active members or the Inactive to select a greater proportion of their friends from among relatives (see Table 47); however, since the Active parishioners had a slightly greater number of relatives living in Winnipeg (see Table 48), it would, perhaps, suggest, if anything, that the Inactive ones were more oriented towards their relatives than were the Active.

By far the most important single factor in the selection of social friends was similarity of socioeconomic level. For both the Active and the Inactive members, the

three social friends named came from an occupational strata which averaged 0.05 higher than themselves on the seven-point Warner Scale. (The Inactive had a Warner Scale mean rating of 1.81, their social friends a mean rating of 1.76; the Active had a Warner Scale mean rating of 1.79, their social friends a mean rating of 1.74. See Tables 42 and 49.) This precise parallel was undoubtedly partly due to accident but nonetheless suggests that the tendency for both groups was to choose their friends from their own occupational stratum.

Table 45. Interviewed Sample: Of Three Closest Social Friends Number are Anglican

Number	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	2	(8.3)	9	(20.9)	11	(16.5)
One	10	(41.8)	10	(23.2)	20	(29.8)
Two	5	(20.8)	15	(34.9)	20	(29.8)
Three	5	(20.8)	7	(16.3)	12	(17.9)
Other	2	(8.3)	2	(4.7)	4	(6.0)
Total	24(100.0)		43(100.0)		67(100.0)	
Mean/Member	1.59		1.48		1.52	

Table 46. Interviewed Sample: Of Three Closest Social Friends Number Who Go to St. George's

Number	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	10	(41.7)	24	(55.8)	34	(50.7)
One	11	(45.8)	12	(27.9)	23	(34.3)
Two	-		4	(9.3)	4	(6.0)
Three	1	(4.2)	1	(2.3)	2	(3.0)
Other	2	(8.3)	2	(4.7)	4	(6.0)
Total	24(100.0)		43(100.0)		67(100.0)	
Mean/Member	0.63		0.56		0.60	

Table 47. Interviewed Sample: Of Three Closest Social Friends Number Who are Relatives

Number	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	17	(70.8)	30	(69.9)	47	(70.2)
One	4	(16.7)	5	(11.6)	9	(13.4)
Two	-		3	(6.9)	3	(4.5)
Three	3	(12.5)	4	(9.3)	7	(10.4)
Other	-		1	(2.3)	1	(1.5)
Total	24(100.0)		43(100.0)		67(100.0)	
Mean/Respondent	0.54		0.55		0.55	

Table 48. Interviewed Sample: Number of Relatives and Members of Family Living in Winnipeg

Number	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Many	3	(12.5)	3	(6.9)	6	(9.0)
A few	2	(8.3)	4	(9.3)	6	(9.0)
Hardly any	12	(50.0)	17	(39.6)	29	(43.2)
None	7	(29.2)	19	(44.2)	26	(38.8)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Table 49. Interviewed Sample: Occupational Level of Three Closest Social Friends (After Warner)

Occupation Rating	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One	36	(50.0)	61	(47.3)	97	(48.3)
Two	13	(18.0)	37	(28.7)	50	(24.8)
Three	2	(2.8)	9	(7.0)	11	(5.5)
Four	3	(4.2)	6	(4.6)	9	(4.5)
Five	3	(4.2)	4	(3.1)	7	(3.5)
Six	1	(1.4)	-	-	1	(0.5)
Seven	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	14	(19.4)	12	(9.3)	26	(12.9)
Total	72	(100.0)	129	(100.0)	201	(100.0)
Mean/Respondent	1.74		1.76		1.75	

Since many of the respondents were not sure of their friends' religious affiliation and since those who did know their friends' religious affiliation invariably named it as United Church or Anglican, the suggestion follows that one's religion would not appear to be a primary determinant for the selection of social friends. A common socioeconomic level, as measured in the present study by occupation, would appear to be much more crucial than religion in the selection of social friends.

Differential Group Ties

It was suggested in the preceding section that the Inactive members appeared to be slightly more oriented towards their relatives than were the Active. This proposition was not supported in the analysis of answers to a question⁶ inquiring into the differential group ties of the respondents.

⁶The question read: "With which of the following groups do you feel the closest bonds? Would you rank the list from those you have the strongest bonds with, to those with whom you feel the least tie?"

- your immediate family
- friends in organizations
- your relatives
- the groups you worship with
- social friends
- people you work with
- other (specify)

Almost every respondent said that his closest bonds were with his immediate family. The Active members ranked their friends in unspecified organizations third, after their immediate family and their relatives. (See Table 50.) In contrast, the Inactive respondents ranked their friends in organizations next to last, only above the group with whom they worshipped. The Inactive claimed their social friends were next to their immediate family. Although these tendencies will be further explored in the next chapter, it may be suggested, at this early point, that the Inactive are more oriented towards their social friends than are the Active members, and equally less oriented towards friends in organizations.

It is interesting and perhaps significant to note that both the Active and the Inactive groups ranked the group with whom they worshipped last. The suggested function⁷ of church participation as integrative is perhaps therefore open to question on the grounds that it plays a minor and undoubtedly indirect role in producing social solidarity. In terms of the respondents' perception, close bonds with the group they worship with were not felt; this was the case for both the Active and the Inactive groups.

⁷For example: "Worship in common--the sharing of the symbols of religion--has united human groups into the closest ties known to man." E.K. Nottingham, Religion and Society, (New York: Random House, 1954), p. 2.

Table 50. Interviewed Sample: Differential Group Ties: Mean Rank of Six Groups (Highest Mean Possible was 6, Lowest was 1)¹

Group	Active (mean)	Inactive (mean)	Total (mean)
Immediate family	5.9	5.9	5.9
Friends in organizations	3.3	2.7	2.8
Relatives	4.0	3.4	3.6
Group they worship with	2.2	2.0	2.1
Social friends	3.0	3.5	3.3
People they work with	2.6	2.8	2.7

¹The higher the mean score the closer the bonds felt with that group.

Political Tendency

Having observed that the members of St. George's are mainly from the upper social strata (see Chapter II, and the "Occupational Rating and Generational Mobility" section of the present chapter), is it possible that they also tend to gravitate towards certain political parties? Are there noteworthy differences between the Active and the Inactive members in the matter of political outlook?

The suggestion that the Church of England or the Anglican Church in Canada is the Tory Party at prayer receives some, but not overwhelming support, in the analysis of the middle-aged males of St. George's Anglican Church. Of the sixty-seven respondents, twenty-seven (40.3 per cent) said that they generally tended to vote Conservative in federal elections; twelve (17.9 per cent) said they usually voted Liberal; and twenty-three (34.3 per cent) said they fluctuated between the Liberal and Conservative parties. The remaining five respondents (7.5 per cent) favored the New Democratic Party, had no political preference, or refused to answer the question.⁸ (See Table 51.)

Comparison of the Active and the Inactive members revealed that the former were more likely than the latter to be committed to one of the political parties; that is, they showed a greater tendency to be either Liberal or Conservative, rather than falling into the category of people who said that they changed between these two parties. While 29.2 per cent of the Active group claimed they fluctuated between the two major parties, 37.2 per cent of the Inactive made a similar claim. (See Table 51.)

⁸The question read: "Could you tell us which party you generally tend to favour in federal elections"?

Table 51. Interviewed Sample: Political Tendency

Party	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
New Democratic Party	1	(4.2)	1	(2.3)	2	(3.0)
Liberal	5	(20.8)	7	(16.3)	12	(17.9)
Conservative	10	(41.6)	17	(39.6)	27	(40.3)
Change: Liberal or Conservative	7	(29.2)	16	(37.2)	23	(34.3)
Change: no pattern	-		1	(2.3)	1	(1.5)
No answer	1	(4.2)	1	(2.3)	2	(3.0)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

In a study conducted by the use of mailed questionnaires in 1960, covering the C.C.F. (now the New Democratic Party, or N.D.P.), the Liberal, and the Conservative parties, it was found that "the Conservative Party has heavy Anglican support".⁹ This observation was supported in the analysis of St. George's middle-aged males. In the four federal

⁹ S. Peter Regenstreif, "Some Aspects of National Party Support in Canada", The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 29:63, 1963.

elections held between 1957 and 1963, 82.7 per cent of the constituents voted Liberal or Conservative, but 92.5 per cent of the St. George's respondents reported that they generally voted for either of these two parties. (See Table 52.) While 17.3 per cent of the voters in the constituency voted for the N.D.P. or Social Credit parties, only 3.0 per cent of the respondents said they voted for the socialist party and none said that they supported the Social Credit Party. It should be noted, however, that three of the sixty-seven either said that they had no particular tendency ($n=1$) or else refused to answer the question ($n=2$).

If one considers the Social Credit Party and the N.D.P. to represent the extremes in Canadian politics, it is clear that these extremes are not represented in St. George's to the same extent as they are present in the Winnipeg South federal constituency. And of the two respondents who said they supported the N.D.P., neither could be described as a "left-wing intellectual". This group was virtually unrepresented among those interviewed.

For the present study, perhaps the most important single observation to be made about political tendencies, is that the Active members were inclined to identify themselves with a specific party--they appeared to be more committed--than did the Inactive members. This characteristic

of the Active members will be further developed in the chapters to follow.

Table 52. The summed 1957, 1958, 1962, and 1963 Federal Election Returns in the Winnipeg South Constituency, and the Respondents' Reported Political Tendency in Federal Elections¹

Party	"Winnipeg South" for the four years		St. George's	
	No.	%	No.	%
Liberal or Conservative	153,213	(82.7)	62	(92.5)
CCF or NDP	26,843	(14.5)	2	(3.0)
Social Credit ²	5,200	(2.8)	-	
No Response, No Pattern	-		3	(4.5)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	185,256	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

¹ Statistics were taken from The Winnipeg Free Press for each of the four years: Liberal and Conservative votes were considered together because over one-third of the interviewed respondents reported that they fluctuated between these two parties.

² The Social Credit Party ran no candidate in the 1958 election; the total shown is a sum of the three elections in which that party had a candidate.

Attitudes Towards Socialized Medicine

Related questions to the one asked on political attitudes, were two which inquired into the respondents' views on socialized medicine.

The first one¹⁰ simply asked if the respondent thought that all people, regardless of financial condition, had the right to adequate medical care. A higher proportion of the Active (79.1 per cent), compared to the Inactive (67.6 per cent), took the position that medical care was an unqualified right. The Inactive were more likely than the Active to say that such care was (a) not a social or political right (11.6 per cent), or that (b) it was a right but individuals should help to pay for it (13.8 per cent). (See Table 53.)

The question was variously interpreted. Some, for example, responded affirmatively, and then added that the medical care now provided was adequate:

Yes, the care now is adequate. (A)¹¹

They are entitled to it and get it. (I)

¹⁰The question read: "Do you think that all people, regardless of financial condition, have the right to adequate medical care?"

¹¹The letters "(A)" or "(I)" following the quotations denotes whether the quoted respondent was Active or Inactive.

Table 53. Interviewed Sample: Is Adequate Medical Care a Right?

View	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unqualified right	19	(79.1)	29	(67.6)	48	(71.7)
No right but should have it	1	(4.2)	2	(4.7)	3	(4.5)
No right	2	(8.3)	5	(11.6)	7	(10.4)
Right but should help pay for it	1	(4.2)	6	(13.8)	7	(10.4)
Other	1	(4.2)	1	(2.3)	2	(3.0)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

One of the respondents, from, it should be noted, a lower economic level than the majority interviewed, replied that,

They should have [adequate medical care] --they don't. They try to make it appear that everyone does--but they don't. (I)

Some respondents (10.4 per cent) felt that adequate medical care was not a right. Three of the more striking responses indicating this point of view were:

Who has the right to anything? (A)

People who can pay, should. Welfare cases should be put on the end of a pick and shovel! (I)

No. The world owes no one a living. (I)

Just over ten per cent felt that medical care was a right but nevertheless the individual should help to pay for it. These were more moderate responses than those above: the following are typical of this point of view:

Yes. They all should pay for it though, even if only a part. (I)

Yes. But they [welfare cases] have to help themselves: we've got to see they're provided for. (I)

On the whole, almost ninety per cent maintained that adequate medical care should be available to all, although some did not consider it a right, or felt that socialized medicine could not solve the problem of inadequate medical care. A good proportion of the interviewed sample would probably agree with the sentiments of one Active respondent who accepted the idea of socialized medicine but hastened to add: "I'm frightened by socialized medicine".

Even though a high proportion of the respondents felt that adequate medical care was a right, a much lower proportion felt that the Manitoba Government should establish a medical programme, such as that in England, which would

pay for dentist's and doctor's fees.¹² While 41.7 per cent of the Active respondents said that they would favour such a programme, only 23.2 per cent of the Inactive group expressed a similar view. Those who unconditionally accepted such a programme expressed themselves variously; the following are some of the more typical responses:

Yes. After all we've got to rescue some of the deteriorating. (A)

It would be a good thing, yes. (A)

I think so, yes. The poor might have a problem paying. (I)

The country should support any party which would give the country this. (I)

The above kinds of responses accounted for 29.8 per cent of the respondents' replies. (See Table 54.)

Over nineteen per cent agreed with the principle of socialized medicine but felt that it could not be applied realistically. The following three responses are examples of those put in the category of people who were not against the principle but who objected to the working out of such a plan:

¹²The question read: "Would you be in favour of the Manitoba Government establishing a medical programme, such as that in England, which would pay for dentists' and doctors' fees?"

Not patterned after the English plan. I'm not against the principle: perhaps along the Saskatchewan plan. (A)

I don't approve of government medicare because of the doctors' interests. Private plans are not always effective however. I'm not against the principle though. (I)

Not as in England: in modified form, yes. It jeopardizes the medical practices.... too much state control. (I)

Table 54. Interviewed Sample: Should the Manitoba Government Institute a Medical Programme which would Pay for Dentists' and Doctors' Fees?

View	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unconditional yes	10	(41.7)	10	(23.2)	20	(29.8)
Agree with principle but feels it is not practical	3	(12.5)	10	(23.2)	13	(19.4)
Only for those who need it	-		2	(4.7)	2	(3.0)
No: Disagree with principle	11	(45.8)	21	(48.9)	32	(47.8)
	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Almost one out of every two respondents ~~were~~ against the principle of the Manitoba Government establishing a medical programme which would pay for dentists' and doctors' fees. The objections were expressed with varying degrees of vigor. Witness, for example, the following reactions:

No. It's too socialistic! (A)

No. What is, is best. (I)

No. The individual has no choice. (I)

No. I don't see why you should socialize doctors when you don't socialize merchants. (I)

No. We've got too much socialized stuff now. (I)

The results of the questions on socialized medicine lend themselves to two major conclusions. First, the Active respondents were more likely to favour government sponsored medical care programmes than were the Inactive respondents. The former were also more likely to maintain that adequate medical care is an unqualified right. The second conclusion, which reaffirms earlier observations, was that the Active members were more likely to take a definite position and hence were less disposed to see the issues as two-sided. (While 87.5 per cent of the Active respondents maintained a "yes" or a "no" position on a government sponsored medical care programme, only 72.1 per cent of the Inactive took similar positions. Similarly, 87.4 per cent of the Active group maintained that adequate medical care is either an

unqualified right or no right, while the same was found to be true for only 79.2 per cent of the Inactive group.) Clearly, the active members were more committed to a position on medicare, as they were more committed to a political party.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, the most important methodological problem was encountered as a result of deficiencies in the parish list. There was no way of knowing how many church members had been left off the list or how many non-church members it contained.¹³ The present study may, therefore, be rightfully challenged on the grounds that a cross-section of the actual middle-aged male group was not attained. We can only hope that there was no systematic exclusion of people in the keeping of the parish list. Samples for future analysis of church memberships ought to be based on a source other than unreliable parish lists. Confronted with the latent recognition of the problems involved in using the parish list, the present study has proceeded on the tentative assumption that the universe

¹³When phone contact was made it was discovered that seven out of the 102 should not have had their names on the parish list. Four more were not contacted and may have moved, been dead, or simply were away from their homes for the period of the study.

from which the sample was taken had no systematic biases built into it and, therefore, the sample may also be assumed to be representative.

From the members interviewed, it would seem that about one-third of the middle-aged males attend church regularly; one-third go to church two or three times per month; the remaining one-third attend church infrequently, rarely or never. However, since it is suspected that the majority of refusals came from people who would fall into the Inactive category, it would probably be true to say that a slightly greater percentage would not attend church regularly.

Frequency of church attendance was not found to be significantly related to either the number of children born to the respondents or the number living at home with them. If anything, an inverse relationship was suggested.

With regard to education, similar findings were recorded as had been made from the analysis of the church attendance survey. Compared to the Inactive members, the Active had, on the average, slightly less education, and had a smaller proportion of the church's university-educated members among its ranks.

One of the factors which may well have contributed to the Active members' lower educational level is the fact that of the eleven professionals¹⁴ interviewed, nine of them

¹⁴"Professional" as defined in the Warner Scale; see appendix C.

fell into the Inactive category. In terms of occupational rating, the Active and the Inactive were almost of the same level however. The Inactive dominated the extremes of the range presented by St. George's members; the Active members fell into the middle. In terms of occupation, the Active members exhibited greater generational mobility than did the Inactive ones. The Active members appeared to be more vigorous both in terms of upward mobility in the economic world and in terms of church attendance. Also noteworthy was the fact that a good many "business men"¹⁵ were to be found among the ranks of the Active. Does the business world select the church attender (and especially the Anglican) for its management positions? Or, alternatively, does the church attract business men?

The respondents' social friends invariably came from the same socioeconomic level as the respondents themselves. United Church members were named among their three closest social friends almost as often as Anglicans. There also was little difference between the Active and the Inactive members in the naming of social friends; there was no indication that even the most faithful church attenders selected their social friends from among Anglicans. In the matter of choice, social and economic considerations

¹⁵"Business men" used here in the sense defined by Warner in his occupational rating scale: see appendix C.

appeared to be by far the most important criteria.

Inquiry into perceived group ties revealed that friends in organizations and relatives were more important for the Active members than they were for the Inactive members who, to a greater extent, gravitated towards their social friends. The significance of these differences will be further commented upon in the chapters to follow.

Just as the Active members were committed to faithful church attendance so, too, they appeared to be committed to a political party. The Inactive, on the other hand, more frequently stated that they fluctuated between the Liberal and the Conservative parties. The N.D.P. was not popular among the members of St. George's, and no one claimed to support the Social Credit Party. If the N.D.P. and Social Credit parties are considered the extremes in Canadian politics then it would appear that the middle-aged males of St. George's tend towards the political centre.

The questions related to attitudes towards socialized medicine revealed that fewer than thirty per cent of the respondents felt that the Manitoba Government should introduce a medical programme which would pay for dentists' and doctors' fees. Most appeared to approve of the status quo on medical services. The questions on medical care also revealed that the Active members were more likely to take a definite stand--one way or another--on the issue,

just as they had tended to claim support for one of the political parties.

The preceding discussion of the Active and Inactive members has been, at best, cursory. The next phase of the study will consider the individual in relation to the church. In so doing it is hoped that a more intensive and deeper understanding of the two groups--Active and Inactive--will emerge. Hopefully, too, a broad overview of the kind of religion present among the church's members will become apparent.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH AND THE RESPONDENTS

Introduction

The general objective of the present chapter is to discuss the respondents' relations with the church as a social institution. What do they think the role of the church ought to be in the modern world? Moreover, an attempt will be made to see what factors appear to be important for church attendance. Why do the respondents go to St. George's in particular? The question of denominational change and the question on non-parish members will also be considered.

The Perceived Role of the Church in Political and Personal Matters

Respondents were asked, indirectly, about what they felt the role of the church was in contemporary society. Should it, in the respondents' views, be limited merely to performing Sunday services, weddings, and funerals, or should it play a greater part in everyday life?

On a political question, as to whether or not the

church has the right to take a stand on Canada's acquisition of nuclear arms;¹ the Active and Inactive groups exhibited a similar pattern in their responses. About one out of every two (49.2 per cent) felt the church had no right to, and should not, take a stand on the issue. In this group, invariably one of two views was expressed. The following two statements are representative:

No, the church should leave that to the leaders of battle--the church should concentrate on spiritual matters. (A)

The church should stay out of all politics. (I)

A rather atypical, yet interesting, response by one of the older Inactive members was:

Every Anglican has to have his own opinion and that being so, how can the church speak for the whole body of the congregation?

Apart from the above response, the vast majority of those respondents who felt the church should not voice its opinion on political matters reasoned that the church either should "stick to religion", or it should simply not take stands on political issues. (See Table 55.)

It is interesting and, indeed, significant, that the active group did not perceive the church's role in political

¹The question read: "Do you think the church has the right to take a stand on whether or not Canada should accept nuclear arms?"

issues any differently from the Inactive group.

Table 55. Interviewed Sample: Views of the Church's Role in Political and Personal Issues as Revealed Through Questions on the Acquisition of Nuclear Arms and on Birth Control

Nuclear Arms: the Church has:	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Right and should take a stand	11	(45.8)	19	(44.2)	30	(44.8)
Right but should not take a stand	1	(4.2)	1	(2.3)	2	(3.0)
No right and should not take a stand	12	(50.0)	21	(48.8)	33	(49.2)
No right but should take a stand	-		2	(4.7)	2	(3.0)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Birth Control: the Church has:	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Right and should take a stand	13	(54.2)	28	(65.1)	41	(61.2)
Right but should not take a stand	1	(4.2)	-		1	(1.5)
No right and should not take a stand	10	(41.6)	15	(34.9)	25	(37.3)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

For, in other studies, it has been observed that:

The most committed members were the most inclined towards the traditionalistic concept which does not permit the church to "meddle" in politics.²

Of the forty-five per cent of the respondents who felt the church had the right and ought to express its opinions on political matters, there were numerous rather guarded responses such as:

Yes, but sense should rule. (A)

It [the church] should take a stand on every moral and many political issues. (A)

Although the Active members had greater contact with the church than the Inactive, they did not demonstrate any greater tendency to say that the church should take an active part in political debate.

When asked about the church taking a stand on birth control,³ the respondents generally felt that such an issue was more within the proper realm of the church. Over sixty per cent felt that the church should take a stand, one way

²David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), p. 386.

³The question read: "What about birth control: should the church take a stand on this issue?"

or another, on birth control. Twenty-eight (65.1 per cent) of the forty-three Inactive members interviewed agreed that the church should take a stand on birth control: thirteen (54.2 per cent) of the twenty-four in the Active group expressed a similar sentiment. (See Table 55.)

Of the members who felt that the church should take no stand, one way or the other, on birth control, two main reasons were given: (a) that birth control is a personal matter and, therefore, is of no concern to the church, or (b) that the church should, as it were, "stick to religion". Some typical responses which illustrated the above points of view were:

It's [birth control] up to the individual--not to the church. (A)

It's a personal matter: the teachings of the church will influence . . . people should not bring more into the world than they can look after. (A)

No, the church should stick to religion. (A)

It is difficult to account for the different reactions to the questions relating to the church's role in political and personal matters. It is possible that a greater proportion of the respondents regard religion as a personal matter and, therefore, the church in their eyes may legitimately express its views on personal matters such as birth control, yet should not interfere with political

issues. Political issues, for many of the respondents, are more out of the reach of the church since they refer to those things which do not immediately affect the individual.

The question dealing with aid to private denominational schools⁴ likewise illustrated the dominant impression among those interviewed that religion should not be mixed with non-religious matters. As might be expected, a greater proportion (65.3 per cent) of the Inactive group felt that private schools should receive no aid compared to the number of the Active group who expressed a similar view (58.3 per cent). However, conclusions based on the respondents' reactions to the question of private school aid are difficult to make since there were a variety of reasons given for supporting or not supporting denominational schools with public funds. Some respondents objected to such support because there would follow a proliferation of private schools which would make standardization in education difficult; some felt that private schools were business enterprises and, therefore, should not receive government aid; many, of course, felt that the denominational schools should carry on and those people wishing to send

⁴The question read: "Do you think that the provincial government should give financial assistance to private denominational schools?" (Yes or No.) "Why do you say that?"

their children to them should be free to do so, but at their own expense; and, finally, many felt the present school system was adequate. (See Table 56.) One interesting reason given for providing aid to private schools was that they are "the last bastions of free enterprise" (I).

Table 56. Interviewed Sample: Views on Whether or Not Private Schools Should Receive Financial Assistance from the Provincial Government

Should Government support private schools?	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes, unqualified	6	(25.0)	8	(18.6)	14	(20.9)
Yes, with reservations	4	(16.7)	6	(13.8)	10	(14.9)
No	14	(58.3)	28	(65.3)	42	(62.7)
No response	-		1	(2.3)	1	(1.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Few respondents felt that denominational schools should be supported because they held religion as an essential part of the educational process; the reason for supporting denominational schools was mainly because it was thought unfair that some people pay school taxes and

also pay tuition fees at private schools.

The Motivation to Church Attendance

In an attempt to understand the religious life of the group under examination, the respondents were asked to indicate which of nine given reasons was the most important for their attendance at church.⁵ In short, an attempt was made to measure why the frequency of church attendance was greater for one group than for the other.

The nine reasons have been grouped into four categories. The results were as follows: the "social reasons" category⁶

⁵Seven of the nine given reasons are based on a question used in the Detroit Area study. See G.E. Lenski, The Religious Factor, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 347. The revised question used in the present study read: "Here is a list of various reasons why different people say they attend church. Which of the reasons do you think is the most important for your attendance at church?" (See Table 58 for the results of the question.)

Because I've always gone	1
To see my friends	2
Family and friends expect it	3
To set a good example for the children	4
God expects it	5
To hear the sermon	6
To learn how to be a better person	7
Makes me feel better	8
I like the ritual and atmosphere	9
Other (specify)	

⁶"Social reasons" has been taken to include the following reasons for church attendance: "Because I've always gone", "To see my friends", "Family and friends expect it", and "To set a good example for the children".

included 24.2 per cent of the respondents; 10.1 per cent fell into the "specifically religious" category;⁷ 25.6 per cent fell into the "intellectual" category;⁸ and 28.2 per cent fell into the "personal and emotional" category.⁹

Almost twelve per cent of the respondents gave unclassifiable responses. (See Table 57.)

Table 57. Interviewed Sample: Four Categories of Reasons Why Respondents Go to Church, as Revealed by Their Differential Selection of the Most Important Reason for Their Attendance at Church¹

Category	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Social reasons	4.25	(17.7)	11.95	(27.7)	16.20	(24.2)
Specifically religious	3.25	(13.5)	3.50	(8.1)	6.75	(10.1)
Intellectual reasons	8.00	(33.3)	9.15	(21.3)	17.15	(25.6)
Personal and emotional	4.50	(18.8)	14.40	(33.6)	18.90	(28.2)
Other	4.00	(16.7)	4.00	(9.3)	8.00	(11.9)
Total	24.00	(100.0)	43.00	(100.0)	67.00	(100.0)

¹See Table 58 for the original distribution into the nine possible categories.

⁷"Specifically religious" included only one category, "God expects it".

⁸"Intellectual" included the categories "To hear the sermon", and "To learn how to be a better person".

⁹"Personal and emotional" was composed of "Makes me feel better", and "I like the ritual and atmosphere".

Table 58. Interviewed Sample: Differential First Choices of Nine Given Reasons for Going to Church

Reason	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Because I've always gone	1.00	(4.2)	4.75	(11.0)	5.75	(8.6)
To see my friends	-		-		-	
Family and friends expect it	-		1.25	(2.9)	1.25	(1.9)
To set a good example for the children	3.25	(13.5)	5.95	(13.8)	9.20	(13.7)
God expects it	3.25	(13.5)	3.50	(8.1)	6.75	(10.1)
To hear the sermon	-		2.45	(5.7)	2.45	(3.7)
To learn how to be a better person	8.00	(33.3)	6.70	(15.6)	14.70	(21.9)
Makes me feel better	3.00	(12.5)	8.95	(20.9)	11.95	(17.8)
I like the ritual and atmosphere	1.50	(6.3)	5.45	(12.7)	6.95	(10.4)
Other	4.00	(16.7)	4.00	(9.3)	8.00	(11.9)
Total	24.00	(100.0)	43.00	(100.0)	67.00	(100.0)

The Inactive respondents were more likely than the Active to indicate what has been taken to mean a "social" reason for their attendance at church. (27.7 per cent compared to 17.7 per cent for the Active.) And, as might be expected, the Inactive were less inclined to fall into the "specifically religious" category than their Active counterparts. (8.1 per cent as compared to 13.5 per cent for the Active parishioners.) The "personal and emotional" category tended to attract the Inactive members more readily than the Active ones: while 18.8 per cent of the Active fell into this category, as many as 33.5 per cent of the Inactive were similarly classified.

Compared to the Active parishioners, the Inactive appeared to go to church because of personal and emotional satisfactions, or in order to fulfil their social obligations. Conversely, the Active members responded so as to suggest they attended to a greater extent because of specifically religious reasons or because of the intellectual appeal of the church.

Caution must be observed, however, because in the above categorization there undoubtedly would be blurring between the categories; hopefully they do indicate tendencies.

When asked to describe any personal satisfactions they received by going to church, the respondents displayed a somewhat different pattern from the one observed from the analysis of the preceding question. In the open-ended question,¹⁰ the respondents indicated that it was the "personal and emotional" gratifications that provided the greatest single satisfaction. (Almost a half of the responses fell into this category.)

Some typical reactions which were placed into it were:

I feel refreshed and strengthened after the service. (A)

It makes me feel better. (A)

You get a lift out of the atmosphere--the singing and the music. You feel the congregation is getting something out of it. (I)

Something in one's self responds. (I)

To me it represents a sort of spiritual cleansing. (A)

You get a feeling of not being alone; some feeling of working with others. (I)

These quotations indicate the kinds of responses which were placed into the "personal and emotional" category.

¹⁰The question read: "Could you suggest some of the personal satisfactions, if any, that you think you get by going to church?"

Religious overtones occasionally appeared, but since no adequate definition of what would constitute a specifically religious response could be formulated, it was decided to place such responses into the "personal and emotional" category, which is virtually a psychological one. Moreover, many of the responses were difficult to classify. For instance, one Inactive respondent replied: "I find a great deal of satisfaction: it's a duty and I get something out of it."; another, who fell into the Active category, said, "My wife likes me to go ... I go with my wife. The atmosphere is appealing; there is satisfaction in being in the church." The above two examples illustrate the problem in classification. Do they go into the "personal and emotional" category or do they belong in the "social satisfaction" category? In cases such as the above, the response was scored one-half in each of the two appropriate categories. It was felt that if the response was placed entirely into one or the other category, the results would be prejudiced. In order to preserve the integrity of the respondents' replies, where two categories were clearly covered in their responses, each category was scored one-half a point in the frequency distribution. (See Table 59.)

The "social satisfactions" category developed because, on inspection of the data, it became clear that a significant number of the responses indicated that some people went to

church because they felt it was a social obligation, or because they enjoyed meeting their friends there, and, generally, enjoyed the social aspects of attendance at church services. The following responses are typical of those placed in the "social satisfaction" category:

I thoroughly enjoy the singing. I enjoy meeting certain friends and shaking hands with the minister. (A)

One gets a sense of well-being; a sense of smug satisfaction that I'm righteous. The rector is a friend . . . I like the people there. (A)

You feel you've done your duty. (A)

You feel you've done something you've been trained to do. (I)

About nineteen per cent (18.6) of the interviewed sample fell into the "social satisfaction" category. (See Table 59.)

Approximately the same percentage fell into the "intellectual" category (19.4 per cent) as into the "social satisfaction" category (18.6 per cent). Once again, a few examples will be cited to note the range, yet common theme, of the responses:

In going to church you're looking for a broader conception. . . (I)

A person should go because someone created us--we've got a lot to be thankful for. It's a right thing to do. (A)

I feel the church is a good force in the community and I feel support is worthwhile. (A)

Table 59. Interviewed Sample: Categories of Personal Satisfaction Respondent has by Going to Church

Category	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intellectual	5	(20.8)	8.0	(18.6)	13.0	(19.4)
Personal and emotional	13	(54.2)	19.5	(45.4)	32.5	(48.5)
Social	4	(16.7)	8.5	(19.8)	12.5	(18.6)
Satisfaction but cannot verbalize	2	(8.3)	-		2.0	(3.0)
No personal satisfaction	-		4.0	(9.3)	4.0	(6.0)
Other	-		3.0	(6.9)	3.0	(4.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43.0	(100.0)	67.0	(100.0)

Four (9.3 per cent) of the forty-three Inactive respondents claimed that they got no personal satisfaction out of going to church. The remaining 7.5 per cent of the respondents fell into the "other" or "satisfaction but cannot verbalize" categories. No responses found their way into a "specifically religious" category in the open-ended question, although religious overtones were occasionally struck.

Three themes appear to have dominated the responses. The first, and the most common, was the response which indicated the personal and emotional satisfactions received from attending church services: there was a kind of emotional uplifting, a kind of "spiritual cleansing" as one respondent aptly put it. The second theme, which we have called "intellectual", was characterized by responses which indicated an intellectual appreciation of the church, such as its role in the community, or, alternately, religion's role in explaining the nature of man to man, or man's relation with the universe. The third major theme, which has been called "social satisfactions", were those responses which ranged from pleasing one's wife by going to church, to going because one is expected to go by one's social milieu, to the expressed feeling that church attendance is simply "a right thing to do". Admittedly, the three categories are not clear cut. They are offered as tentative. It is entirely conceivable, for example, that those who said they felt better as a result of attending church, and, hence, were placed in the "personal and emotional" category, felt better partly because they had fulfilled an obligation, which in turn might be interpreted as a "social satisfaction". Similarly, the distinction between "intellectual" and the other two categories may well have little foundation.

A further observation which might be offered, is that

the respondents found it difficult to express the satisfactions they received in going to church. Many of the responses were vague. (For example: "Something in one's self responds".) Aside from the fact that the question posed was difficult, and little time was available for serious reflection on it, would it be possible to interpret the ambiguities in the responses as a lack of conscious recognition of why the informants went to church? Were they aware of what the church meant to them? Is church attendance simply a social amenity? Perhaps in St. George's there exists what Peter Berger refers to as

a starry-eyed optimism, a naive credulity in the ideologies of the status quo, something that goes well together with an unthinking if benign conservatism in all areas of life. When all is said and done, religion then becomes a solemn ratification of an existence of trying to get along with a minimum of awareness.¹¹

No matter how the vagueness of the respondents replies is interpreted, one fact is clear. Virtually every respondent thought church attendance had value. And almost all would agree that regular attendance is to be admired, even though it is for no other reason than habit.

¹¹Peter L. Berger, The Noise of the Solemn Assemblies, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 13-14.

Change of Denomination

Lending support to the findings of the church attendance survey, the interviewed males demonstrated that a greater proportion of the Active members had always been Anglican as compared to the Inactive ones. (See Table 60.) A higher proportion of the interviewed men (37.3 per cent) were converts to Anglicanism than had been observed from the analysis of the typical St. George's congregations, where it was found that 26.8 per cent of the males were converts. (See Table 4, p. 21.) The findings of the interviews and the church attendance survey stress the surprisingly high degree of conversion to the Anglican Church. And since St. George's may have more converts among its membership than any of the down-town Anglican churches in Winnipeg,¹² the suggestion follows that perhaps the more suburban churches attract converts more readily. Why this appears to be the case is open to many interpretations. The

¹²See W.S.F. Pickering, "The Inner-City Church", Bulletin 187 (Toronto: The Council for Social Service, The Anglican Church of Canada, 1963), p. 12. Of the five churches considered in W.S.F. Pickering's study, "a little more than a quarter had at one time been members of another denomination". The percentages varied from 19 per cent in one church to 30 per cent in another.

suggestion which might be offered is that converts tend to gravitate towards churches of higher prestige and, therefore, St. George's, for example, receives a greater proportion of such people than do the lower prestige downtown churches.

Table 60. Interviewed Sample: Was Respondent Brought Up as an Anglican?

Denomination	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Anglican	16	(66.7)	26	(60.4)	42	(62.7)
Other	8	(33.3)	17	(39.6)	25	(37.3)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Parish Boundaries

The interviewer, who was familiar with the parish boundaries, classified the respondents' homes as to whether or not they were situated within the parish boundaries.

A similar pattern emerged among the interviewed members as had been seen from the analysis of the church attendance survey. Once again, it was found that the Active member was more likely than his Inactive counterpart

to live within the parish boundaries. (See Table 61.) For the two groups combined, about one-third lived outside the parish of St. George's.

Table 61. Interviewed Sample: Place of Residence in Relation to St. George's Parish Boundaries¹

Residence	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No	%	No.	%
In Parish	16	(66.7)	25	(58.2)	41	(61.2)
Outside Parish	8	(33.3)	18	(41.8)	26	(38.8)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

¹Determined by the interviewer's observation.

Why Respondents Go to St. George's Church

Since over one-third of those interviewed lived outside the parish boundaries, an attempt was made to consider why these Anglicans, with other churches of their denomination nearer their homes, chose to affiliate themselves with St. George's. Is it possible that they once lived within the area and belonged to St. George's, and when they moved they retained their affiliation with it? What is the most important factor in attracting and holding people at

St. George's.

There was no overwhelming evidence to support the thesis that, on the whole, people continue as members of St. George's after they move from the parish area. No question was asked on the length of residence in the area, and, hence, there was no way of knowing how many non-parish members ever lived within the parish boundaries. The only evidence available came from a question on preferences and dislikes of St. George's.¹³

Almost one-third of those who resided within the parish area said that they went to St. George's because they had always gone there, while only 20.5 per cent of the non-parish members interviewed said that they had always attended St. George's. As might be expected, a greater proportion of those who lived within the parish area said they preferred St. George's because it was the most convenient Anglican church. The attraction of the minister was cited equally by the two groups so that it would not seem that those who lived outside the parish go to St. George's because they are attracted by the rector to a greater extent than are the members who live within the parish.

¹³The question read: "Is there anything about St. George's that makes you prefer it, or not prefer it, to other Anglican churches?"

Although the question on which the above analysis was based did not ask people why they went to St. George's the responses indicated that long affiliation with the church was a factor for both the parish area residents and for those who lived outside it. Compared to the former, the latter were less inclined to say that they went to St. George's because they had always gone there. It would seem, therefore, that other factors were more important.

Almost three out of every five said that they had no particular preference for St. George's: it was either the most convenient church or else they had always gone there. (See Table 62.) If the respondents indicated a particular preference, it was usually because of the minister or because of the kinds of people who go to St. George's. (Over one-quarter of the respondents noted particular preferences for St. George's.) Some respondents noted aspects about it which they did not like (15.1 per cent of the responses fell into this category). About five per cent of the responses indicated that there were deficiencies in some architectural or mechanical feature of the church; other complaints referred to the "coldness" of the church or the class distinctions which some of the respondents felt existed at St. George's.

The Active members tended to say that they had always gone to St. George's (and, therefore, had no particular

preference for it): while 39.6 per cent of the Active said they had always gone there, only 19.8 per cent of the Inactive made a similar claim.

Table 62. Interviewed Sample: Preference and Dislikes of St. George's as Compared to Other Anglican Churches

Preferences and Dislikes	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Preferences:						
the present minister	1.17	(4.9)	4.33	(10.1)	5.50	(8.2)
people who go there	4.17	(17.4)	1.50	(3.5)	5.67	(8.5)
other, but prefer	1.00	(4.2)	4.84	(11.2)	5.84	(8.7)
B. Do not prefer:						
convenience	3.83	(15.9)	8.00	(18.6)	11.83	(17.7)
always gone there	9.50	(39.6)	8.50	(19.8)	18.00	(26.9)
other (no preference)	1.00	(4.2)	9.00	(20.9)	10.00	(14.9)
C. Dislikes:						
lack of warmth	1.83	(7.6)	0.50	(1.2)	2.33	(3.5)
class distinctions	1.50	(6.2)	1.00	(2.3)	2.50	(3.7)
physical aspects of the church	-		3.50	(8.1)	3.50	(5.2)
other dislikes	-		1.83	(4.3)	1.83	(2.7)
Total	24.00	(100.0)	43.00	(100.0)	67.00	(100.0)

Respondents were asked if they felt a lot in common with the other members of St. George's.¹⁴ Forty-seven of the sixty-seven respondents felt they did. (See Table 63.)

Table 63. Interviewed Sample: Perceived Similarities and Dissimilarities with Other Members of St. George's

Perceived Similarities and Dissimilarities	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Similarities:						
people there	9.5	(39.5)	5.0	(11.6)	14.5	(21.6)
socioeconomic	6.5	(27.1)	11.0	(25.6)	17.5	(26.2)
common religion	2.5	(10.4)	2.0	(4.7)	4.5	(6.7)
other	0.5	(2.1)	2.0	(4.7)	2.5	(3.7)
B. Dissimilarities:						
difference in class	2.0	(8.3)	3.0	(6.9)	5.0	(7.5)
do not mix socially	1.5	(6.3)	6.5	(15.1)	8.0	(11.9)
"Just don't feel anything in common"	-		9.0	(20.9)	9.0	(13.4)
other	1.5 ¹	(6.3)	4.5	(10.5)	6.0	(9.0)
Total	24.0	(100.0)	43.0	(100.0)	67.0	(100.0)

¹One of the replies was: "St. George's seems to be a social gathering--I go to worship".

¹⁴The question read: "Do you feel you have a lot in common with the people who go there?" (Yes or No.) "In what ways?"

The perception of their common bonds was based on social and economic criteria. This similarity was expressed in a variety of ways; a few typical responses were:

I meet many elsewhere . . . they seem to be of the same social strata. (A)

They're the type we meet in business. (I)

I admit it: social and economic. (A)

They're people at the same level in the business world and we have social ties. (I)

The only thing I've in common is we're from the same economic strata. (I)

Some of the respondents did not note any particular common characteristics; they just felt that they had something in common with their fellow members of St. George's. Responses such as the following three were placed in a category termed "people there":

We have common interests . . . fits, that's all. (A)

We know them. (A)

They feel like I do. (I)

Perceptions of common religious ties were expressed in 6.7 per cent of the cases. "We are Anglicans--that's the common bond.", was, for example, one Active member's way of expressing his perception of his similarity with his fellow members of St. George's.

Those who said they had little or nothing in common with the members of St. George's, generally replied in a manner suggesting that they perceived themselves to be from a different social stratum than the members of St. George's. Some simply said, "We don't know them", or, for example, "We have nothing in common socially". Some of the respondents expressed the feeling that there were class distinctions at St. George's. One Inactive parishioner said, for example, "there is a definite class line". One respondent who, incidentally, rarely attended church, objected that "A lot go to be seen at church". Another said, "At both St. George's and St. Andrew's¹⁵ people go there to be seen . . . it's a good place to be seen".

The vast majority of the respondents judged their similarities and differences with the other members of St. George's by social and economic criteria.

Since the frequency of church attendance of the Active group was, by definition, greater than that of the Inactive group, it was no surprise that the Active claimed, to a greater extent than the Inactive, to have more friends in the church. (See Table 64.) When the two groups were considered together, about three-quarters said they had

¹⁵ A United Church in the same general area as St. George's.

fewer close friends in the church than outside it. It would seem, therefore, that having friends in the church is not a crucially determining factor in mere association with, or frequent attendance at, St. George's.

Table 64. Interviewed Sample: Does Respondent Feel He Has More Close Friends in the Church or Outside it?

Friends	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
More in the church	7	(29.2)	5	(11.6)	12	(17.9)
About the same	2	(8.3)	3	(6.9)	5	(7.5)
Fewer in the church	15	(62.5)	35	(81.5)	50	(74.6)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Since the vast majority of the people interviewed perceived their similarities with their fellow members as social and economic, it is probably safe to suggest that an important factor in determining whether or not a person associates himself with St. George's, would be to know if that person feels he is at the approximate social and economic level of the rest of the members of the church. And, as has been suggested in Chapter III of this thesis,

the dynamics of class position is undoubtedly one of the more significant factors in frequency of church attendance. The importance of this factor, however, is not to be emphasized to the point where other factors are neglected. The minister, the proximity of the church, one's age and one's sex would also appear to be of importance in determining how often a person attends church. Moreover, since almost twenty-seven per cent of the respondents said that they had always gone to St. George's, one might also suspect that there is perhaps a kind of family loyalty to St. George's, especially among the Active parishioners where 39.6 per cent said they had always gone there. Nevertheless, while it may be true that family loyalty, proximity to the church, effective preaching, and being in certain age groups are important, the present research would indicate that these are supporting, not determining, reasons for membership in St. George's. Unless one is a member of a particular socioeconomic class, chances are one will not join St. George's; and chances are that if one is not socially and economically from the middle of the group which joins the church, one's attendance will be more sporadic than those members coming from the middle of the strata represented in the church.

No evidence has been produced in the present study to suggest that people go to St. George's to symbolize a

certain socioeconomic status; however, considerable evidence points to the fact that the respondents viewed themselves and others in socioeconomic terms. Would it not be true to say, therefore, that they attach themselves to St. George's because they, as it were, "feel at home" there? That is, they feel they are associating with people with whom they feel a great deal in common in terms of socioeconomic considerations.

Participation in Church and Non-Church Activities

One of the theoretical problems for which the present study was set up was to test the hypothesis that the church fulfills psychological and social needs for the individual participant which, if not met through the church, would be met by membership and participation in other activities and organizations.

The result of the interviews would not appear to support the above hypothesis. It was found that the Inactive members belonged to an average of 3.54 non-church organizations and clubs while the Active ones belonged to an average of 4.30. (See Table 65.) Similarly, it was found that the Inactive members estimated that they spent an average of 2.07 fewer hours per week than the Active members in non-church organizations and activities. (See Table 66.) The above findings lend support to D.O. Moberg's

statement that church "members are more likely than non-members to join other community organizations".¹⁶

Table 65. Interviewed Sample: Membership in Non-Church Organizations and Clubs

Number of Activities	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	2	(8.3)	5	(11.6)	7	(10.4)
One to three	8	(33.3)	20	(46.6)	28	(41.8)
Four to six	10	(41.7)	13	(30.2)	23	(34.3)
Seven to nine	3	(12.5)	3	(6.9)	6	(9.0)
Ten and over	1	(4.2)	2	(4.7)	3	(4.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Mean / Respondent	4.30		3.54		3.81	

¹⁶David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962), p. 393.

Table 66. Interviewed Sample: Hours Per Week Spent with Activities in Non-Church Organizations and Clubs

Hours per Week	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	2	(8.3)	8	(18.6)	10	(14.9)
Less than one	1	(4.2)	8	(18.6)	9	(13.4)
One to three	7	(29.1)	8	(18.6)	15	(22.4)
Four to six	4	(16.7)	12	(27.9)	16	(23.9)
Seven to nine	4	(16.7)	-		4	(6.0)
Ten and over	6	(25.0)	7	(16.3)	13	(19.4)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Mean / Respondent	6.19		4.12		4.85	

Respondents were also asked to name any church activities¹⁷ in which they participated (aside from attending Sunday services). The Active respondents reported that they took part in 1.42 church activities on the average,

¹⁷Church activities might include the following: singing in the choir, being a sidesman, taking part in the yearly everymember canvasses, being a Sunday School Instructor, or being a member of the vestry.

as compared to 0.42 for the Inactive ones. (See Table 67.) The Active members estimated that they spent 1.12 hours per week, over and above attendance at Sunday service, in church activities compared to 0.17 hours per week spent by the Inactive members. (See Table 68.)

Judging from the number of hours spent on church and non-church activities, it would seem that the Active parishioner tends to be one who gets involved in activities; he is the one who makes organizational commitments and, so it seems, devotes much more time to them than does the Inactive parishioner.

There was little support for suggesting that the psychological and social needs satisfied by the church are replacable by participation in non-church activities. It would seem that the Inactive group is simply less active in all organizations and clubs, including the church. If church and organizational participation do in fact perform essential functions¹⁸ for the individual participant, it would seem that the "needs" of the Active as opposed to the Inactive church member are different.

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"Function" is here used in the sense of "need fulfillment".

Table 67. Interviewed Sample: Number of Church Activities

Number	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	9	(37.5)	32	(74.6)	41	(61.2)
One	5	(20.8)	6	(13.8)	11	(16.4)
Two	5	(20.8)	3	(6.9)	8	(11.9)
Three	1	(4.2)	2	(4.7)	3	(4.5)
Four	4	(16.7)	-		4	(6.0)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Mean / Respondent	1.42		0.42		0.78	

Table 68. Interviewed Sample: Hours Per Week Spent on Church Activities (Excluding Attendance at Church Services)

Hours per Week	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
None	9	(37.5)	33	(76.8)	42	(62.6)
Less than one hour	6	(25.0)	9	(20.9)	15	(22.4)
One hour per week	2	(8.3)	-		2	(3.0)
Two hours per week	2	(8.3)	-		2	(3.0)
Three hours per week	4	(16.7)	1	(2.3)	5	(7.5)
Six hours per week	1	(4.2)	-		1	(1.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)
Mean / Respondent	1.12		0.17		0.51	

Conclusion

How, then, does the middle-aged male respondent perceive the church's role in the modern world? Why does he support the church? What is it about St. George's in particular which gains and holds his membership? Is it possible that membership in St. George's is somewhat akin to membership in other non-church organizations and clubs?

The answers to the above questions are not easy. The suggestions which will be offered are to be taken as strictly tentative.

It was found that about one-half of the respondents felt that the church should take stands on political issues, while about an equal number felt that the church should have nothing to say on political issues. Analysis by the Active-Inactive typology on this question revealed little variation between the two groups. On more personal matters, as measured by the question on birth control, the respondents generally felt that the church more legitimately might take public stands. (Over thirty-seven per cent said the church should take a stand, one way or another, on the issue.) The Inactive demonstrated a slightly greater tendency than the Active members to approve of the church's taking a stand on the question of birth control.

But what do the facts mean? How are they to be interpreted?

It is probably significant that about one-half of the respondents did not feel the church should take stands on political issues, and about one-third did not feel the church should take public stands on the issue of birth control. Is it possible that these people would relegate the church to performing the mere tasks of marrying people, performing Sunday services for them, christening their children, visiting the sick, and performing funeral services? Is this the proper role for the church as seen by over forty per cent of those interviewed? Alternatively, is this group to be explained by suggesting that, for them, religion is, above all, personal and emotional and that it would lose its meaning for them if it were to become a vital center for promoting political points of view? A third possibility is that this forty per cent wishes to maintain the church in its present state because they recognize that there might be conflict between their roles as business and professional people and the role which the church might suggest that they play as Christians.

The question of government support of denominational schools revealed that 62.5 per cent of the respondents felt that no aid ought to be given. Although there were a great variety of reasons given for not supporting these schools, it would probably be true to say that the majority of respondents felt that religion has little or no part to

play in education. It should be noted, however, that perhaps some of the lack of sympathy for denominational schools may have sprung from anti-Roman Catholic sentiments since, in Manitoba, these schools are generally associated with the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, it is probably quite safe to suggest that the majority of the group interviewed confines their religion to Sunday.

In attempting to understand why the respondents support the church, one might note that "personal and emotional", "intellectual", and "social" satisfactions were found to be the most frequently reported. And of these three, "personal and emotional" satisfactions were clearly the most important, with the "intellectual" and "social" satisfactions being about equal. Specifically religious notes were seldom struck by the respondents. On the basis of the research, it might be suggested that an experienced "emotional uplift" or the creation of a sense of well-being coming from participation in church life, are important to an understanding of why St. George's receives support. And what of the notion that the church is "good for the community" and should therefore be supported? On the whole, it would appear that motives of "this world" are the main forces in church support; few if the respondents seemed to be church members out of "other-worldly" interests.

It was not found that the respondents who lived outside the parish area went to St. George's because, once having lived in the parish area and having moved, they had maintained their original church ties. The present analysis would suggest that the parishioners' socioeconomic status is crucial in determining which people affiliate themselves with St. George's. On the whole, the parishioners' perception of their similarities and dissimilarities with their fellow church members were based not on common religion but rather on social and economic criteria. In choosing a church, it would seem that the respondents went to St. George's because there they "felt at home". "They are my kind of people", as one respondent noted.

Indeed, it would seem that the most important single factor in regular church attendance (as measured by the Active classification) was an individual's possessing a socioeconomic status which was not far off the average for the total membership of the church. Those who attended less frequently appeared to fall to either extreme of the strata represented by St. George's membership.

The Active members were found to be more committed to various church and non-church activities, just as they were more committed to a political party, and just as

they tended to take a "yes" or a "no" position on questions relating to socialized medicine. In short, they were committed people.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Introduction

Do the respondents think religion has influenced them? If it has, in what ways? Do they express their purpose in life in terms of sacred or secular considerations? How do the Active and the Inactive parishioners compare in terms of specific religious beliefs and behaviour patterns? Finally, what is the nature and extent of religious intolerance among those interviewed?

The Respondents' Perceptions of the Influence of Religion On Their Lives

Of the sixty-seven men interviewed, fifty-eight (86.6 per cent) replied affirmatively to the question, "Do you think religion has had an influence on your life?" Only one of the Active respondents replied negatively while eight of the Inactive did similarly.

Those who said they felt religion had influenced their lives were asked to suggest the ways in which they felt it had. On analysis of the data, three major classifications of responses emerged. (See Table 69.) First,

there were those responses which suggested the church and religion had a general influence on the individual over time: these responses were placed into a category which will be referred to as "sociological". For the Active and the Inactive groups combined, 67.8 per cent of the responses fell into this category. The second major classification contained those responses which indicated that the respondent felt he gained a feeling of security or inner strength in his religious beliefs and practices. A category called "security and strength" was therefore established. Over fourteen per cent of the respondents fell into this category. The third category was made up of those responses which indicated that religion had little or no influence on the respondent's life: it accounted for 13.5 per cent of the responses. Only three of the sixty-seven respondent's replies did not fall into one of the above three categories.

As might be expected, the range of responses in the "sociological" category was wide. The following examples illustrate this range:

It has helped me to feel I should do something for my neighborhood. (A)

It makes you a better person, better citizen. (A)

Yes. I am much more tolerant of conditions and others than I have been--it has made me a warmer person. Money and position isn't everything. (I)

It has kept me on the straight and narrow. (I)

It gives you a better understanding of life--fair play to others--and a sense of well-being yourself. (I)

It has provided a steadying influence, it has contributed to the shaping of attitudes. (I)

Yes, religious training influences us--we'd be almost savages without religion. (I)

The above examples illustrate that some of the respondents saw the influence of religion in terms of the shaping of attitudes, some in terms of the principles it had given them, and still others in terms of an unknown impact regular church attendance had upon them.

To a greater extent than the Active members, the Inactive respondents saw the influence of religion on their lives in terms of the influences which we have termed "sociological". Of the Active respondents, 56.2 per cent fell into this category, while 74.5 per cent of the Inactive fell into the same group.

Over thirty per cent (31.2) of the Active group perceived the influence of religion in terms of a sense of strength and security which they claimed it gave them; only two (4.7 per cent) of the Inactive respondents made a response which put them in this category. The following two replies are illustrative of the kinds of responses which

Table 69. Interviewed Sample: Respondents' Perceptions of How Religion Has Influenced Their Lives

Influence	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sociological	13.5	(56.2)	32	(74.5)	45.5	(67.8)
Security and strength	7.5	(31.2)	2	(4.7)	9.5	(14.2)
Not great influence	1	(4.3)	5	(11.6)	6	(9.0)
No influence	-		3	(6.9)	3	(4.5)
Other	2	(8.3)	1	(2.3)	3	(4.5)
Total	24.0	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67.0	(100.0)

were considered to fall within the "security and strength" category:

It gives an inner calm on which I can make better judgments; religion provides a way of life; it gives one power over one's self. (A)

It's a discipline--a resource within ourselves. It gives strength, gives faith in yourself and God. (A)

One of the Active respondents and eight of the Inactive felt that religion had had little or no influence on their lives.

Then, too, there were the exceptions. One respondent,

for example, replied that

Without it [religion] what are you going to be or do? You have to have religion to gain position in life. (I)

Indeed, the benefits that one receives in church affiliation are varied!

Generally, it would appear that the Active respondents to a greater extent than the Inactive ones, perceived religion as being personal, and as a source of inner strength. The tendency, however, for the Inactive was to perceive religion as having a personal impact because of what they felt it had taught them or because of the long association they had had with it.

The Respondents' Purpose in Life

In asking the respondents about their purpose in life it was hoped to reach some picture of their general value orientations. In some senses the question¹ failed in that, like most such questions, it did not distinguish between those people who had seriously considered the question and those who had given the matter little thought. For the most part the impression was that the people interviewed had not overly concerned themselves with such matters.

¹The question read: "Could you attempt to tell us what you feel your purpose in life is?"

It is interesting, nevertheless, to record what they think their purposes "ought" to be, even though they may not be the principles which guide their lives.

Responses which have been called "specifically religious" accounted for 5.2 per cent of the total responses. The following Active respondent's reply was considered to fall within the "specifically religious" category: "The purpose is to prepare one's self for the next world". As might be expected, the Active group demonstrated a greater tendency than the Inactive to give such a response. (12.5 per cent for the Active as compared to 1.2 per cent for the Inactive: see Table 70.)

Table 70. Interviewed Sample: Purpose in Life

Purpose	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Religious-oriented	3.00	(12.5)	0.50	(1.2)	3.50	(5.2)
Help humanity	7.83	(32.6)	11.33	(26.4)	19.16	(28.5)
Self-oriented	3.50	(14.6)	11.33	(26.4)	14.83	(22.2)
Family-oriented	4.83	(20.1)	11.83	(27.5)	16.66	(24.9)
Philosophical	0.83	(3.5)	1.50	(3.5)	2.33	(3.5)
Does not know	0.50	(2.1)	3.00	(6.9)	3.50	(5.2)
No response and other	<u>3.50</u>	<u>(14.6)</u>	<u>3.50</u>	<u>(8.1)</u>	<u>7.00</u>	<u>(10.5)</u>
Total	23.99	(100.0)	42.99	(100.0)	66.98	(100.0)

The most frequent kind of response fell into what has been termed the "help humanity" category. Here the two groups were not markedly different, with the Active group having six per cent more such people in the category than the Inactive. A few responses which typify this classification were as follows:

I like to help people. (A)

To do good by my fellow man. (A)

A man's purpose is to work for the general benefit of society and for his fellow man. (I)

I think my purpose is to bring as much happiness, satisfaction, and development in others as possible. (I)

My purpose is to serve suffering mankind. (I)

Ranking next to the above category in importance came those responses which indicated the goal or purpose in life in terms of raising families. For example:

To provide a home and an education for the children--bring them up as good as I can. (A)

Purpose is not wealth: my purpose is to educate the boys. (I)

To be a good parent and bring the family up the best I can and have a decent purpose in life. (I)

As perhaps predictable from our knowledge of the differences between the Active and Inactive respondents,

the Inactive members tended to be more family-oriented than their Active counterparts. In their responses to the question about their purpose in life, 20.1 per cent of the Active group gave "family-oriented" responses while 27.5 per cent of the Inactive group's responses were placed in this category.

The next most important category, in terms of percentage representation, was the one which has been termed "self-oriented", and it refers to responses, such as the following, which clearly indicated that the person's purpose, as he saw it, was related to self-interests:

Be a success. (A)

I'm an idealist but I allow myself to be choked by material considerations. (A)

Purpose, when you get on [i.e. get older] is to live in happy circumstances; enjoy family. I don't want to be a "down and outer". (I)

I haven't any: just a steady, good income. (I)

The Inactive respondents displayed a greater degree of self-orientation than the Active ones (26.4 per cent as compared to 14.6 per cent for the Active group).

Once again, some responses bridged more than one of the categories. The following Inactive respondent's reply, for example, was scored one-half in the "family-oriented" and one-half in the "self-oriented" categories:

To succeed in business and be district manager
. . . success so as to provide for my family
and myself. (I)

Together the above three categories of responses ("help-humanity", "self-oriented", and "family-oriented") accounted for over three-quarters of the total responses. The "philosophical" and "religious-oriented" categories, together, accounted for only 8.7 per cent of the responses: the remaining 15.7 per cent fell into categories of those who said they had no purpose in life, or if they had, did not know it, and those who made no response or gave an unclassifiable response.

In summary, the Active were more likely than the Inactive to fall into the "religious-oriented" category. The Inactive group was almost equally split between the "help-humanity", "self-oriented", and "family-oriented" responses on the question; in comparison, about one-third of the Active group fell into the "help-humanity" category, and between fourteen and fifteen per cent expressed their purpose in terms of self-gratification, or, made what has been termed a "self-oriented" response, while about twenty per cent fell into the "family-oriented" category. Only three of the twenty-four Active respondents expressed their purpose in life in terms of specifically religious goals.

Beliefs About the Bible and Life After Death

Respondents were asked to check which of four statements² about the Bible came closest to their own view. As may be seen from Table 71, the question did not differentiate between the Active and the Inactive groups. Just under twelve per cent of the respondents agreed that the statement, "The Bible is God's word and all it says is true", most closely approximated their view of the Bible. Over eighty-two per cent agreed with the following statement: "The Bible was written by men inspired by God, and its basic moral teachings are true, but because its writers were men, it contains some human errors". The two remaining alternatives proved to be of little moment since only four of the sixty-seven respondents agreed with either of them.

Except for the fact that few people apparently take the Bible as literal truth, the above results are difficult to assess. Unfortunately all the statements imply the existence of a God, which, therefore, left no category for those who do not believe in the existence of a God. Although none of the respondents, so far as can be recalled, complained about this deficiency, agreement with any of the

²See the footnotes to Table 71 for the four statements. The first two statements were taken from G.E. Lenski, The Religious Factor, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 349.

Table 71. Interviewed Sample: View of the Bible

Closest to Respondents' View	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Statement One ¹	3	(12.5)	5	(11.6)	8	(11.9)
Statement Two ²	20	(83.3)	35	(81.4)	55	(82.1)
Statement Three ³	-		1	(2.3)	1	(1.5)
Statement Four ⁴	1	(4.2)	2	(4.7)	3	(4.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

¹"The Bible is God's word and all it says is true".

²"The Bible was written by men inspired by God, and its basic moral teachings are true, but because its writers were men, it contains some human errors".

³"The Bible was written by men and its basic moral teachings are of value, but God had nothing to do with it".

⁴"The Bible, although not inspired by God, is of great historical value; however, it is of little practical value because it can be interpreted in so many different ways".

statements would imply that the individual accepts that there is a God. Perhaps on this point it would be best to assume that all those who agreed with statements one and two (94.0 per cent) would also agree that there is a God, although perhaps those who agreed with statements three and four (6.0 per cent) would not necessarily agree that there is one. On the whole, the respondents did not seem to take a particularly "literal" interpretation of the Bible, if one judges from the relatively small proportion who agreed that "the Bible is God's word and all it says is true".

Of the respondents as a whole, 43.3 per cent expressed an unconditional belief in some sort of life after death. If they said that they believed in a life after death the respondents were then asked if they had any doubts about it.³ Considered together, 62.7 per cent of the respondents expressed a belief in a life after death, but of the total 19.4 per cent expressed some doubts although they claimed to believe in an after-life. Over thirty-seven per cent were (a) skeptical, (b) did not believe there is a life after death, (c) did not know, or (d) expressed an unclassifiable sentiment. (See Table 72.)

³The question read: "Do you believe, personally, that there is a life after death?" (If yes) "Do you have any doubts?"

Table 72. Interviewed Sample: Beliefs Concerning Life After Death

Belief in Life After Death	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unconditional belief	15	(62.5)	14	(32.6)	29	(43.3)
Believes but doubts	5	(20.8)	8	(18.6)	13	(19.4)
Skeptical: hopes there is	2	(8.3)	7	(16.3)	9	(13.4)
Does not believe	1	(4.2)	8	(18.6)	9	(13.4)
Does not know	1	(4.2)	5	(11.6)	6	(9.0)
Other	-		1	(2.3)	1	(1.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Over eighty-three per cent of the Active respondents expressed a belief in an after-life while 51.2 per cent of the Inactive respondents expressed a similar belief. An inverse relationship was consequently found in the remaining categories. From the above it is clear that the frequent church attender was more disposed to a belief in a life after death than was his more sporadic attending counterpart.

Generally, those who expressed an unconditional belief merely responded affirmatively to the question and then, when asked if they had any doubts, merely replied that they had none. One Active respondent said, when asked if he had any doubts, "No doubt at all. I look forward to meeting those I've loved and lost". Or, alternatively, one Inactive respondent said that although he believed in a life after death, he did not know what form it would take. He said: "I don't know what kind of life though". (I). Perhaps, typical of those who said they had doubts, was the following Active respondent's reply: "We all doubt something we can't see or hear". The "skeptical" respondents generally replied so as to suggest they hoped there was a life after death but they were not at all convinced that that there was. The following Inactive respondent's statement typifies this position: " I don't know. I like to think there is--but then, I think this [present life] is all we get".

As the reader undoubtedly recognizes, there was some problem as to what constituted life after death for the respondents. For some it would appear to be a physical rebirth (for example: "I look forward to meeting those I've loved and lost."); for others the position was subtler:

Our life on earth carries some influence after we die--this may or may not be called life after death. (I)

Few respondents, however, replied with such a subtlety.

The sociological interpretation (which happily does not depend on an understanding of the theological problems of a conception of a life after death) would indicate that the Active group was more likely to take a definite position--they were more willing to commit themselves. The question of how the members studied compared with other groups must await further research.

Respondents were asked if they felt there was a conflict between the theory of evolution and the account of man's origin in the Bible.⁴ The responses fell into seven categories: three for those which expressed conflict; three for those which expressed no conflict; and one category for those making no response. About one-half of the sixty-seven respondents said there was no conflict; the remaining one-half said there was some conflict. (See Table 73.)

Of those who perceived a conflict, three basic positions were possible: (a) the respondent held that there was conflict but favored the theory of evolution; (b) there was conflict and the individual favored the literal interpretation of Genesis; or (c) there was conflict but it was

⁴The question read: "Do you feel that there are points of conflict between, for example, what the Christian churches teach on the origin of man and the theory that man evolved from lower forms of animals"?

Table 73. Interviewed Sample: Conflict Between the Theory of Evolution and the Literal Account of Man's Origin in the Bible

View	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Conflict:						
Belief in evolution	1	(4.2)	3	(6.9)	4	(6.0)
Belief in literal Bible	6	(25.0)	8	(18.6)	14	(20.9)
Not resolved	4	(16.6)	7	(16.3)	11	(16.4)
No Conflict:						
Belief in evolution	1	(4.2)	1	(2.3)	2	(3.0)
Belief in literal Bible	-		2	(4.7)	2	(3.0)
Allegorical interpretation of Bible	12	(50.0)	21	(48.9)	33	(49.2)
Other	-		1	(2.3)	1	(1.5)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

not resolved in the respondent's mind. The Active and Inactive groups yielded a more or less similar distribution with the tendency of the Active to be slightly more inclined to favor a literal interpretation of the Bible (25.0 per cent) than the Inactive (18.6 per cent).

Just over fifty-five per cent of the respondents said there was no conflict, in their opinion, between the theory of evolution and the view presented in Genesis. Thirty-three (49.2 per cent) of the sixty-seven respondents maintained there was no conflict since they interpreted the Bible allegorically. Two respondents said there was no conflict because they believed in evolution, and two said there was no conflict because they felt the literal biblical account of man's origin was correct.

On the whole, frequency of church attendance (as measured by the Active-Inactive typology) did not appear to be significantly related to one's views concerning the authenticity of the Bible as compared to the theory of evolution.

The preceding section indicates, for one thing, the enormous variability in points of view within the church's middle-aged male membership. Indeed, Gerhard Lenski's observation⁵ that vastly different religious orientations exist

⁵See "The Sociology of Religion in the United States: A Review of Theoretically Oriented Research", Social Compass, 9:323, 1962.

side by side within churches appear to be borne out by the observations made at St. George's.

Frequency of Personal Prayer, the Saying of Grace, and Bible Reading

More than a half (53.7 per cent) of the respondents said they had not read any of the Bible (excluding church services) in the past year.⁶ (See Table 74.) While about two-thirds of the Inactive group said they had not read any of it in the past year, about one-third of the Active made a similar report. Of the Active respondents, 12.5 per cent said that they read the Bible daily, while 4.7 per cent of the Inactive made the same claim. Considered together, 7.3 per cent of the two groups said they read the Bible daily.

On the whole, the respondents could not be called avid Bible readers. It is possible, however, that a percentage of 7.3 daily Bible readers is high if it were compared with other churches' middle-aged males.

What differences exist between the two groups in the saying of grace? Interestingly enough, about the same proportion of Active as Inactive respondents reported that they

⁶The question read: "Not counting church services, have you read any of the Bible in the past year?" (If yes.) "About how often?"

Table 74. Interviewed Sample: Frequency of Bible Reading

Frequency	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily	3	(12.5)	2	(4.7)	5	(7.5)
Once per week	3	(12.5)	1	(2.3)	4	(6.0)
Once per month	6	(25.0)	6	(13.9)	12	(17.9)
Once in three months	4	(16.7)	1	(2.3)	5	(7.5)
Once or twice per year	-		5	(11.6)	5	(7.5)
Not in past year	8	(33.3)	28	(65.2)	36	(53.6)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

never said grace (Active: 20.8 per cent; Inactive 18.6 per cent).⁷ However, the Active respondents were more likely to report that they said grace with every meal (29.2 per cent) than were the Inactive (16.3 per cent). If one combines those who claimed to say grace at every meal with those who claimed to say it at the evening meal, then one sees that two-thirds of the Active group says grace at

⁷ The question read: "Is grace said in your home, or not?" (If yes) "About how often?"

least once a day, while only 39.7 per cent of the Inactive fall into this category. (See Table 75.) Nearly forty-two per cent of the Inactive claimed they said grace only on special occasions while 12.5 per cent of the Active males made a similar claim.

Table 75. Interviewed Sample: Frequency of Mealtine Prayers

Frequency	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Never	5	(20.8)	8	(18.6)	13	(19.4)
Special Occasions	3	(12.5)	18	(41.7)	21	(31.4)
Evening meal	9	(37.5)	10	(23.4)	19	(28.3)
Every meal	7	(29.2)	7	(16.3)	14	(20.9)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

It would seem that regular grace is said in slightly fewer than one-half of the respondents' homes. The remainder never say grace (19.4 per cent), or say it only on special occasions (31.4 per cent). The Active group tended to be more regular in saying grace than the Inactive group, though for both, about one-fifth reported that they never

said grace. For comparison it might be noted that a

nationwide Methodist opinion survey found . . . only one in ten reported that grace is never said in their homes.⁸

The question⁹ inquiring into the frequency of personal prayers revealed that about one-third say prayers regularly; one-third infrequently; and one-third said they never said personal prayers. (See Table 76.) If the respondent said he did not say personal prayers (31.4 per cent said they did not) they were then asked if they thought they would in times of personal stress. Nine per cent of the total interviewed thought they would. The remaining 22.4 per cent said they thought they might pray during situations of stress. For comparison, it might be noted that a study in the United States revealed that the

members of an evangelical denomination in Ohio found that 20 per cent never prayed, 25 per cent never read the Bible.⁸

The widest gap between the Active and the Inactive members came in the frequency of daily personal prayer. Over fifty-four per cent of the Active group claimed that they

⁸David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1962), p. 391.

⁹The question read: "Do you ever say personal prayers aside from mealtime or church prayers?" (If yes) "About how often?" (If no) "Do you think you would in times of personal stress?"

prayed daily, while twenty-eight per cent of the Inactive made a similar claim .

Table 76. Interviewed Sample: Frequency of Personal Prayers

Frequency	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Daily	13	(54.1)	12	(28.0)	25	(37.3)
Once per week	3	(12.5)	5	(11.6)	8	(11.9)
Once per month	2	(8.3)	9	(20.9)	11	(16.4)
Once in six months	-		2	(4.7)	2	(3.0)
Do not but would in times of personal stress	5	(20.9)	10	(23.2)	15	(22.4)
Do not and would not in times of personal stress	1	(4.2)	5	(11.6)	6	(9.0)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

Once again, it was seen that the Active group was more likely than the Inactive to establish behavior patterns which undoubtedly would be praised by their church. As they were more faithful in their attendance at church so, too, they were more faithful in carrying out religious behavior patterns.

Religious Intolerance

An attempt was made to measure religious intolerance.

The question asked was worded as follows:

Supposing you had a daughter who was dating three men: one a Roman Catholic, one a Jew, and one a member of the United Church. Would you discourage her from marrying any of the above men? (Yes or no.) Why would you say that?

The responses to this question were categorized into three groups: (a) strong intolerance, (b) slight intolerance, and (c) no intolerance. (See Table 77.)

Almost fifteen per cent of the respondents exhibited what has been classified as "strong intolerance". These responses were characterized by some bitterness and were related to an objection based solely on the fact that they would not want any of their daughters to marry someone of one or more of the religious denominations named in the question. Inevitably, too, the objection was related to "I", rather than to a consideration of the welfare of the hypothetical daughter. The following two statements are examples of what was classified as "strong intolerance":

No Roman Catholic because I don't believe in their method of birth control--they dictate policy to parishioners. I would object to Jewish on social grounds. (A)

I would take definite exception to Jewish;
wouldn't take much to the Roman Catholic either.
There's some hope for the United Church! (I)

The Active respondents showed a greater tendency to fall into the strongly intolerant category than the Inactive ones. (20.8 per cent compared to 11.6 per cent for the Inactive.)

Table 77. Interviewed Sample: Religious Intolerance

Degree of Intolerance	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Strong intolerance	5	(20.8)	5	(11.6)	10	(14.9)
Slight intolerance	8	(33.3)	14	(32.6)	22	(32.8)
No intolerance	11	(45.9)	24	(55.8)	35	(52.3)
Total	24	(100.0)	43	(100.0)	67	(100.0)

If intolerance expressed frequency of the three possible cited were:	Active		Inactive		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Roman Catholic	8	(40.0)	14	(53.8)	22	(47.8)
Jews	11	(55.0)	12	(46.2)	23	(50.0)
Members of the United Church	1	(5.0)	-		1	(2.2)
Total	20	(100.0)	26	(100.0)	46	(100.0)

"Slight intolerance" was equally present among the Active and the Inactive groups. About one-third fell into this category. Once again, the objection to their daughter marrying one of the men was based solely on the religion of the proposed spouse of the respondent's hypothetical daughter. The objections were, however, more restrained than for those which were placed in the strongly intolerant category. For example:

I wouldn't like it . . . it's her responsibility.
(I)

I would discourage a Jew--she wouldn't be happy.
The other two [Roman Catholic and member of the
United Church] would depend on the man. (I)

I would prefer she remain Protestant. I would
only express my feelings--can't forbid it. (A)

Yes . . . because I'm a Britisher and an
Anglican! (I)

Over a half expressed no intolerance, according to the criteria used. If the respondent said he would discourage a mixed marriage but would do so only to point out the difficulties, the response, on that basis alone, was not considered to fall into one of the "intolerant" categories. It is quite possible that some of the members interviewed recognized that the question was an attempt to measure religious intolerance and perhaps therefore gave what they considered to be a "right" reply. Without

doubt, the most typical kind of response placed into the "no intolerance" category went as follows:

She should marry into a religious denomination closest to her own. Her life would be subjected to differences if she didn't. I'd tell her to consider the problems. (I)

Other "tolerant" responses included the following themes:

Love, happiness are stronger than religious thought. No split should exist though. (A)

It is the responsibility of parents to advise children. Church life is important and a different denomination would cause problems. The child decides though. (A)

I would discourage her; I'd point out the difficulties but it's up to her. (A)

I would never discourage on denomination . . . (I)

On the whole, the Active respondents were less likely than the Inactive ones to fall into the "no intolerance" category.

If the respondent expressed some intolerance, he was asked to name which of the religious denominations into which he would not have his hypothetical daughter marry. The Roman Catholics and the Jews were named with about the same frequency, while the United Church passed almost unscathed. (See Table 77.) The Active group singled out Jews more frequently than they did Roman Catholics; interestingly, the opposite was true of the Inactive respondents.

Perhaps it might be suggested that if the difference between the Active and the Inactive groups are, in fact, significant, possibly the more religious Active members were more likely, if they were intolerant, to be less prejudiced against Roman Catholics than Jews because they felt some religious ties with the Roman Catholics, whereas they regarded the Jews as an alien religious group. Conversely, the less religious Inactive members were likely to express more intolerance towards Roman Catholics than Jews because in the business and professional world they feel more in common with Jews than with Roman Catholics.

Conclusion

More than eight out of every ten respondents (86.6 per cent) felt that religion had had an effect on their lives. When asked to elucidate further on the ways in which they felt it had influenced them, the majority indicated that religion had helped to shape their attitudes, helped them to be more tolerant, helped them, in general, to become what they consider to be better citizens. The Inactive group was particularly well represented in this category (74.5 per cent compared to 56.2 per cent for the Active group). Almost one-third of the Active respondents felt that religion had given them a feeling of security and strength; only 4.7 per cent of the Inactive respondents

made similar observations. It would appear that the Active members perceive religion as having personal influences, while the Inactive perceive its influences as primarily social.

The research indicated that the Active respondents were more religious-oriented than were the Inactive ones. In the question pertaining to their purpose in life, the Active were more likely to state their purpose in terms of helping humanity than were the Inactive members, who appeared to be more oriented towards their family and themselves. For the two groups combined, few respondents were disposed to express their purpose in terms of "other-worldly", or religious goals.

In terms of beliefs about life after death, in terms of regular mealtime prayers, and in terms of regular personal prayers the Active respondents demonstrated a greater tendency than the Inactive to maintain a strict unconditional view or behavior pattern. They showed a tendency to be committed, one way or another, on the various issues. Just as the Active were more likely to be regular church attenders, to take a greater part in church activities, to be more active in outside activities, to be affiliated with a political party, so, too, they exhibited, relatively speaking, a greater degree of commitment in their religious

beliefs. It would seem that either they are less likely to challenge the worth of certain behavior patterns and beliefs, or else they have challenged them and have arrived at a position as a result of this challenge.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

From the point of view of knowledge gained, a study such as the one undertaken on St. George's Anglican Church risks being relatively unproductive. People familiar with the subject of the research can often predict the outcome of the various questions; hence, unless there are immediate theoretical interests, research can become a mere confirming of the obvious. Perhaps this is the most serious limitation of an exploratory and descriptive study.

In some cases, the results of the present study simply reaffirmed observations of those familiar with St. George's. In other cases, however, the findings provided not only a clearer perception of the obvious but also provided information which would be difficult to ascertain intuitively--without recourse to scientific procedure.

The study encountered the typical limitations associated with sociological research, as well as some peculiar to the study. How accurate were the respondents' replies? To what extent did their answers merely reflect their intellectual level? To what extent were their replies

a reflection of what they thought were the "right" answers to the questions posed? Undoubtedly, these factors biased the study: in what direction and to what degree is not known.

Problems pertaining to the interviewed sample which might be noted were: (1) the middle-aged male universe from which the sample was taken contained deficiencies due to a lack of knowledge about the age of the men beforehand, and due to inaccuracies in the church's list of members; (2) the interviewer was invariably assumed to be a theological student--despite the letter sent out (see Appendix D) and the efforts of the interviewer to dispel this illusion; and (3) the interviewed sample was uncomfortably small.

These problems are noted so as to make clear that the conclusions arrived at can only be of a tentative nature. Moreover, the study does not claim to be the definitive examination of St. George's Anglican Church. Many of its aspects have been entirely ignored. The responses to the questions on the church attendance survey indicated striking variations between the sexes and between the different age groups. How extensive are these differences? How would the different age groups and the females have responded to the questions asked in the interviews? Furthermore, no consideration was given to the dynamics of the various

organizations operating within the framework of the church. One might ask who becomes a vestryman? Who becomes a sidesman? Undoubtedly further reflection would suggest many more aspects of St. George's worthy of examination, but which had to be ignored.

Having pointed out the limited claims of the study, let us now proceed to a consideration of some of the salient findings of the research. First, how do the morning and the evening congregations compare with one another?

The compositions of the two congregations were found to be strikingly different. The morning service not only was the most popular one (over eighty-five per cent of the church goers surveyed attended this service) but it also tended to draw the middle-aged and, in particular, women. In contrast, the evening service was attended by the more youthful elements of the church's membership and especially by males. From the analysis of the occupations and incomes of the respondents, it was clear that the two services drew church members from different social strata. At the morning service those men who worked for a living had a mean income of almost \$12,000 per year; the corresponding group at the evening service had a mean income of just over half that figure.

What may be said in conclusion concerning the Active and the Inactive member of St. George's parish church?

Before reviewing the findings in detail, perhaps note should be taken of the fruits which the use of the Active-Inactive typology bore. Although the simple criterion of frequency of church attendance was used to differentiate the two types, marked distinguishing features between them emerged as the study progressed. The limited research undertaken would indicate that the employment of such a typology in more extensive projects would prove fruitful.

What are the salient socio-religious characteristics of those who have been termed Active and Inactive? Let us construct a brief profile of these types, drawing on the data collected by way of the church attendance survey and the interviews.

The Active member, by definition, is one who claims to attend **church** services, on average, four or more times per month. The Active person is more likely to be a woman than a man and there is a greater tendency for the Active man to be married than for the Active woman, some of whom are widowed. Most significant is the fact that the Active member invariably has some Anglo-Saxon background. The Active person is well educated having been in schools for an average of twelve years, and a good many having attended university. About one-third come from a non-

Anglican religious background. The Active member by profession seems to find himself among those who are managers or who hold supervisory positions of one kind or another with salaries generally ranging from \$7,000 to \$14,000.

The interviews, although restricted to men, provided additional information about the Active member. It was found, for example, that the Active males have risen considerably beyond the occupational level of their fathers. Moreover, the Active are not only active in the church but they also belong to numerous non-church organizations to which they devote a good deal of their time. Politically they are generally found to be committed to one of the political parties, more likely the Conservative Party. Furthermore, they generally affirm a belief in a life after death, read the Bible occasionally, say grace at least once a day, and say personal prayers, if not daily, then fairly frequently. In attitudes towards selected social and religious issues they tend to hold a rigid "yes" or a "no" position.

Let us now turn our attention to the Inactive member, the one who attends church services three or fewer times per month. In marital status, age, and ethnic composition (i.e., a strong Anglo-Saxon background) the Active and the Inactive members were found to exhibit similar characteristics. However, on average, the Inactive spend more years in school than the Active members and a higher proportion

of them have some university training. Furthermore, the Inactive members are less apt to have always been Anglicans than their Active counterparts. The interviews revealed that the Inactive dominated the extremes of the socioeconomic continuum represented by St. George's males. They tend to be professionals or business men holding high executive positions, or else they are likely to hold jobs of relatively low prestige. Due to the fact that the people having low prestige occupations do not attend church with any regularity, they were not represented in the church attendance survey. Nor did the independently wealthy appear in that survey. From the interviews, however, it became clear that the Inactive are apt to dominate both extremes of St. George's socioeconomic continuum. Furthermore, the data collected indicated that while the Active members have risen considerably beyond the occupational level of their fathers, the Inactive have remained at about the same level. They also belonged to fewer organizations and clubs than the Active members. On the whole, the Inactive appear to be more oriented towards their families and their social friends than towards their associates in organizational activities. The Inactive were found to be less committed to one of the political parties--they tend to switch between the Liberal and the Conservative parties. They are not likely to affirm an unconditional belief in a life after death, to read the Bible frequently, to say

regular personal prayers, or to say grace regularly. In short, they are less committed than the Active to the church, to clubs and organizations, to religious practices, to a political party, or to definite points of view on social and religious questions.

Having noted the salient features of the Active and the Inactive parishioners, let us now review some of the general characteristics of those people of St. George's who offered information, making inferences based on the data provided by the church attendance survey and by the interviews.

With the exception of two or three men, the following assessment by Peter L. Berger would appear to apply to those interviewed, if not to St. George's as a whole:

Today, the supernatural has receded into a remote hinterland of consciousness, mainly to break forth in moments of personal crisis, while the this worldly ethic has remained with a vengeance. Indeed, if religion were to be identified with some sort of preoccupation with the supernatural, then what is said and done in most of our churches can hardly be given that name at all. The concern is not man's relationship with the divinity, but his relations with others and perhaps with himself.¹

Berger also suggests that in a contemporary Protestant church gathering great embarrassment would be created by

¹Peter L. Berger, The Noise of the Solemn Assemblies, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 42.

anyone "claiming to have had a genuine encounter with the supernatural".² Such a claim made at St. George's would undoubtedly cause its members great discomfort.

The concerns of the men interviewed were decidedly this-worldly. For most of them church attendance was simply "a right thing to do"; that is, their social milieu dictates that they ought to go to church. The satisfactions in church attendance were rarely religious. Other gratifications were far more prominent, especially social and personal ones. Those interviewed were middle-class first; they were religious (in the sense of a concern with the supernatural) last, if at all.³

The middle-aged males of St. George's who attended church with any regularity formed a group with rather well-defined boundaries. They all came from the higher echelons of the business and professional world, they were Anglo-Saxon in origin,⁴ and they almost exclusively supported the Liberal or Conservative parties in federal elections.⁵

²Ibid., p. 45.

³It is to be remembered that only 5.2 per cent of the respondents stated their purpose in life in terms specifically religious goals (see Table 70, p. 165); less than eleven per cent said they went to church "because God expects it" (see Table 57, p. 130).

⁴In the church attendance survey, well over ninety per cent of the respondents reported that their parents' national background was Anglo-Saxon. None of the male respondents was entirely without some Anglo-Saxon background; only eight of the 176 females had no Anglo-Saxon background.

⁵See Table 51, p. 108.

While it is true that men who did not fit into the above pattern were on the parish list of the church, it was rare to find such an individual attending St. George's with any regularity.

Although its membership rules are unwritten, and would probably never be admitted--if not vigorously denied-- St. George's nonetheless appears to operate, in fact, as a rather select Anglo-Saxon club whose membership is restricted to the successful business and professional man, and his family. People who do not meet these stringent requirements do not attend St. George's.

One might well ask how its socioeconomic and ethnic homogeneity is preserved. Two general considerations are worthy of consideration. First, those who do not perceive themselves⁶ to be from the same social class as the members of St. George's perhaps avoid going to church because they feel awkward there. It is also possible that the men who do not meet the membership requirements have never been asked to act as sidesmen, or as everymember canvassers; it may be that the wives of such men have not been asked to join any of the women's organizations. In short, perhaps

⁶It is to be recalled that the vast majority of the men interviewed perceived their similarities or dissimilarities with the other members of St. George's in terms of socioeconomic considerations. See Table 63, p. 145.

such people are not encouraged to participate. On this point it might be mentioned that during the course of a few interviews complaints were made by some of the men that they had never been asked to serve their church in any other way than by contributing money. In a coffee session after an interview, the wife of one of the respondents said she had been discouraged from joining one of the women's organizations. She reported that it was suggested to her that her house would not be appropriate to do the kind of entertaining required of a member of that organization.

The in-group maintains its position partly through its delegating of church positions to a select group, excluding those who come from lower social strata, the in-group also maintains its position because those who are sociologically excluded choose not to assert themselves in situations in which they feel uncomfortable. Consequently, they remain a marginal group within St. George's.

Because of its ethnic and class homogeneity, one of the consequences of the operation of St. George's would be to maintain boundaries between the various ethnic and socio-economic groups within the area. Almost inevitably a group-oriented church such as St. George's would help to maintain a consciousness of kind, which helps to determine the patterns in which people interact.

While it appeared to be true that for most of the members interviewed, church attendance was regarded simply as "a right thing to do", there were exceptions. To suggest, therefore, that St. George's is merely an exclusive social club would not only be manifestly unfair, but untrue. St. George's membership appears to include a full range of religious outlooks: from those people with decided fundamentalist tendencies to those with an urbane, secular, this-worldly orientation. St. George's is many things. It is an Anglo-Saxon club; it is a church of the wealthy; it is a secular church; and, occasionally, it is a church of the religious.

CHAPTER VII

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH: A FEW QUESTIONS

In the preceding chapter mention was made of a few aspects of St. George's which had been entirely ignored. Although St. George's itself has by no means been fully examined, a few suggestions for further parish research might be noted.

The success of the church attendance survey, in terms of the ease of its application and in terms of its low refusal rate, would imply that this technique might well be employed more extensively, not least in churches of other denominations.

The study of St. George's provided some rather interesting findings. Do any of them bear seeds of generality? Is St. George's membership representative of a certain kind of church's membership? Only further research can answer these questions.

To what extent is it true that the most faithful church attenders come from the middle of the socioeconomic range presented by individual churches' memberships? Are the findings at St. George's peculiar to that church? To other Anglican churches? To all churches irrespective of denomination?

Is it generally true that the most faithful church attenders are more committed persons to church activities as well as to non-church ones? Do such people generally hold more rigid attitudes than infrequent church attenders? If a tendency towards inflexibility is found to be associated with actively involved church members, to what is this rigidity primarily due? To psychological, sociological, or religious factors? Or all?

Is it true that most middle-class churches' members are likely to state their purpose in life in non-religious terms? Are the satisfactions derived from church attendance predominantly this-worldly?

Further, are there significant variations between churches and between different denominations in the observances of religious practices? How are such differences related to socioeconomic circumstances? To age? To sex?

Do males gravitate towards evening services in most churches? If so, why? Is it true that in most churches and denominations men are less likely to attend church services if they are unmarried, while for women church attendance appears to persist despite their marital status? To what extent are such differences merely due to a lack of unmarried men in the population?

A further question which might well be studied is the seeming "attendance cycle" which is often reflected in

the churches' age structures. Is it true that most churches have an under-representation of church attenders in the twenty to thirty-four year age groups? If there is a lack of such people in the churches, why is there? Once again, what are the roots of such a phenomenon?

Only research can provide the answers to the above questions. Answers would increase our knowledge about man, his relations with other men, and his relations with society. The task is a difficult one; not, however, an unworthy nor an uninteresting one.

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A P P E N D I X E S

APPENDIX A. Questionnaire Used for the Church Attendance Survey, April 28, 1963

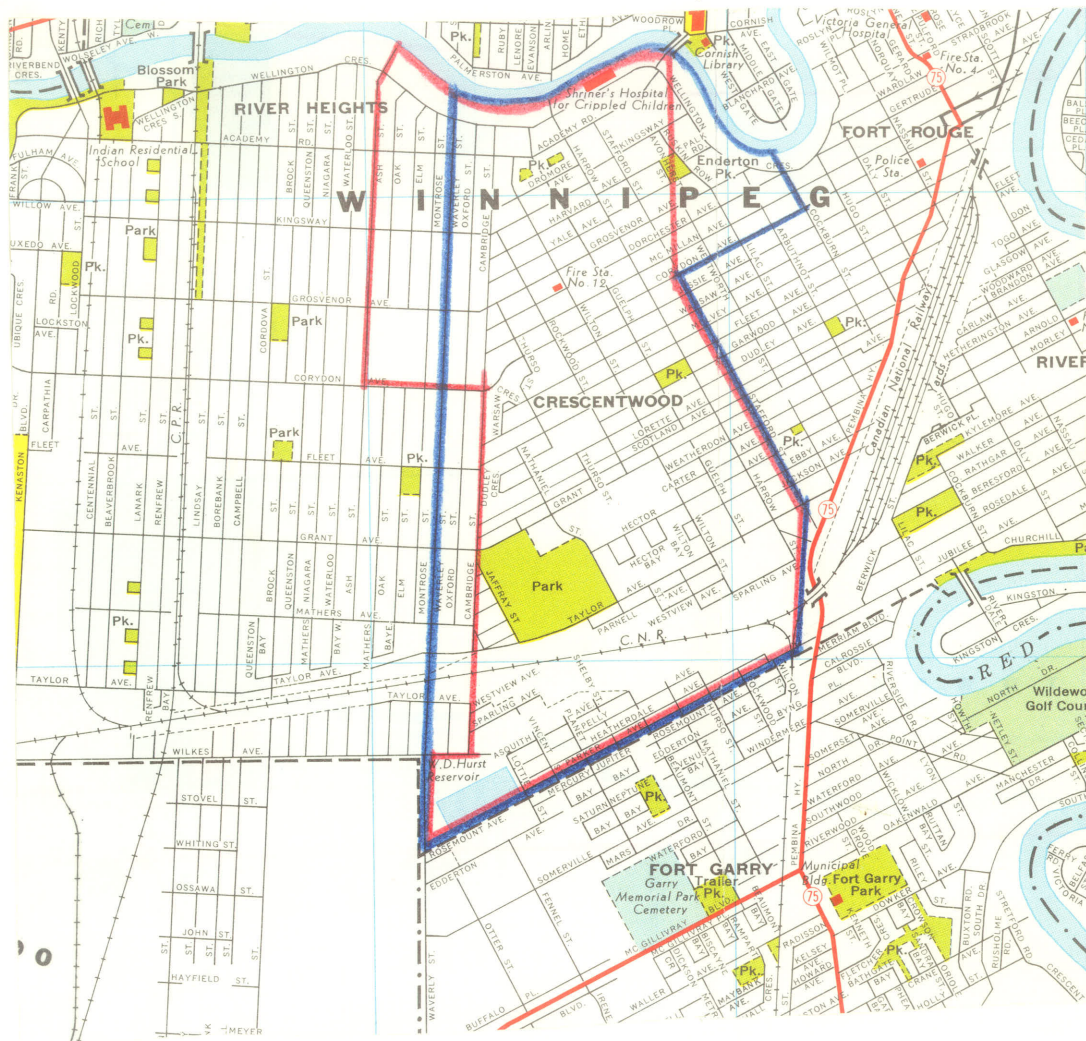
CHURCH SURVEY

(To be completed by those 14 years of age and over)

1. Sex:	Male <input type="checkbox"/>	Female <input type="checkbox"/>
2. Year of birth.....		
3. Single <input type="checkbox"/>	Married <input type="checkbox"/>	Widowed <input type="checkbox"/>
	Divorced <input type="checkbox"/>	Separated <input type="checkbox"/>
4. (a) Your country of birth.....		
(b) Ethnic origin of parents:		
1. Mother		(e.g. English, French, Polish, etc.)
2. Father		
5. Do you work for a living? <input type="checkbox"/>		
Or Are you a non-earning housewife?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Or Are you unemployed?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Or Are you a student?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Or Are you retired?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
6. If you work what is your profession or occupation?		
7. Have you had:		
(a) No formal education?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(b) Between 1 and 8 years of education?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(c) Between 8 and 10 years of education?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Or did you:		
(a) Graduate from high school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(b) Attend university for a period of time?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(c) Graduate from a university with a degree?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
8. Income: Approximate total personal (not spouse's) income from all sources in 1962?.....		
9. In a month how often do you attend services in this church on Sundays?		
(a) once or less?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(b) about twice?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(c) about three times?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
(d) four or more times?	<input type="checkbox"/>	
10. Have you always been a member of the denomination of the church you are now attending? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		
11. Do you live within the parish boundaries of this church Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		
12. Have you been in this church before today? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>		

THANK YOU

APPENDIX B. St. George's Anglican Church's Parish Boundaries and the Corresponding Census Tracts (1961 Census) Used for Comparative Purposes



KEY

St. George's Parish Boundaries ———

Census Tract Boundaries ———

APPENDIX C. Warner Scale Used for Rating Occupations¹

TABLE 7
REVISED SCALE FOR RATING OCCUPATION

Rating Assigned to Occupation	Professionals	Proprietors and Managers	Business Men	Clerks and Kindred Workers, Etc.	Manual Workers	Protective and Service Workers	Farmers
1	Lawyers, doctors, dentists, engineers, judges, high-school superintendents, veterinarians, ministers (graduated from divinity school), chemists, etc. with post-graduate training, architects	Businesses valued at \$75,000 and over	Regional and divisional managers of large financial and industrial enterprises	Certified Public Accountants			Gentleman farmers
2	High-school teachers, trained nurses, chiropodists, chiropactors, undertakers, ministers (some training), newspaper editors, librarians (graduate)	Businesses valued at \$20,000 to \$75,000	Assistant managers and office and department managers of large businesses, assistants to executives, etc.	Accountants, salesmen of real estate, of insurance, postmasters			Large farm owners, farm owners
3	Social workers, grade-school teachers, optometrists, librarians (not graduate), undertaker's assistants, ministers (no training)	Businesses valued at \$5,000 to \$20,000	All minor officials of businesses	Auto salesmen, bank clerks and cashiers, postal clerks, secretaries to executives, supervisors of railroad, telephone, etc., justices of the peace	Contractors		
4		Businesses valued at \$2,000 to \$5,000		Stenographers, bookkeepers, rural mail clerks, railroad ticket agents, sales people in dry goods store, etc.	Factory foremen, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, watchmakers	Dry cleaners, butchers, sheriffs, railroad engineers and conductors	
5		Businesses valued at \$500 to \$2,000		Dime store clerks, hardware salesmen, beauty operators, telephone operators	Carpenters, plumbers, electricians (apprentice), timekeepers, linemen, telephone or telegraph, radio repairmen, medium-skill workers	Barbers, firemen, butcher's apprentices, practical nurses, policemen, seamstresses, cooks in restaurant, bartenders	Tenant farmers
6		Businesses valued at less than \$500			Moulders, semi-skilled workers, assistants to carpenter, etc.	Baggage men, night policemen and watchmen, taxi and truck drivers, gas station attendants, waitresses in restaurant	Small tenant farmers
7					Heavy labor, migrant work, odd-job men, miners	Janitors, scrub-women, newsboys	Migrant farm laborers

¹ Taken from W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), p. 140-41.

APPENDIX D. The Letter Sent Out to the Selected
Sample of Middle-Aged Male Members
of St. George's Church

St. John's College,
Winnipeg 19, Manitoba,
Summer and Fall, 1963.

Dear Member of St. George's:

As you perhaps are aware, a study of St. George's is being carried out this summer. (If you were at church on April 28, you probably recall the questionnaire which was passed out during the service.)

The study, which is being done with the cooperation of the Anglican Council of Christian Social Service, and the departments of Anthropology and Sociology of the University of Manitoba and St. John's College, has now reached the second phase where interviews with a cross-section of the congregation are planned.

Your name has been selected for participation in the study. An interview with you, which will be treated as strictly confidential, will be arranged by telephone in the near future.

The study can only be a success with your help and the help of other people who have been selected for interviews. We trust that you will be able to participate in the project.

Yours sincerely

Winston Jackson
Project Director

APPENDIX E. The Interview Guide

I N T E R V I E W G U I D E

1.	Are you married?	Single	1	1
		Married.	2	
		Widowed.	3	
		Sep. or Div. . . .	4	
2.	(If married or were married) Do you have any children? How many? _____			2
3.	(If there are children) How many live with you at home? _____			3
4.	What was your father's occupation or profession? _____			4
5.	What is your occupation or profession? _____			5
6.	What year were you born in? _____			6
7.	How far did you go in school?	No formal education . . .	1	7
		1 to 8 years.	2	
		9 to 10 years	3	
		High school graduate. . .	4	
		Some university	5	
		Degree(s)	6	
8.	Do you have quite a few relatives and members of your family living in Winnipeg?	Yes lots.	1	8
		A few	2	
		Hardly any.	3	
		None.	4	

9. Could you give us the initials or the three people you most frequently visit socially? 9

INITIALS	ANGLICAN?	ST. GEORGE'S?	PROFESSION?	RELATIVE?
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

10. Would you say that you have more close friends in the church or outside it? 10
- | | |
|--------------|----|
| More | .1 |
| About same | .2 |
| Fewer. . . . | .3 |

11. With which of the following groups do you feel the closest bonds? Would you rank the list from those you have the strongest bonds with, to those you feel the least tie? 11

- _____ your immediate family
- _____ friends in organizations
- _____ your relatives
- _____ the group you worship with
- _____ social friends
- _____ people you work with
- _____ other (specify)

12. Would you name the non-church organizations and clubs to which you belong and in which you are presently active? 12

13. About how many hours a week would you spend, on the average, with the above activities? 13
- _____

14. Could you tell us which party you generally tend to favour in Federal elections? 14
- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| N.D.P. | 1 |
| Liberal | 2 |
| Conservative | 3 |
| Social Credit | 4 |
| Liberal or Conservative | 5 |
| Change: no pattern . . . | 6 |

15. Were you brought up as an Anglican? 15

	Yes	1	
	No	2	

16. Were you at church in the last month, or not? About how often, on the average, do you attend church services in a month? 16

	Once or fewer. . .	1	
	About twice. . .	2	
	About three. . .	3	
	Four or more . . .	4	

17. Do you participate in any church activities aside from attending Sunday services? 17

	Yes.	1	
	No	2	

18. (If yes) Which ones? 18

19. (If respondent is active in some church activities.) About how many hours a week would you spend, on the average, with the above church activities? 19

20. Here is a list of various reasons why different people say they attend church. Which of the reasons do you think is the most important one for your attendance at church? 20

- Because I've always gone 1
- To see my friends 2
- Family and friends expect it 3
- To set a good example for the children 4
- God expects it 5
- To hear the sermon 6
- To learn how to be a better person 7
- Makes me feel better 8
- I like the ritual and atmosphere 9
- Other (specify)

21. Could you suggest some of the personal satisfactions, if any, that you think you get by going to church? 21

22. Do you prefer church worship over private worship? (Yes or No.) Why is that do you think? _____ 22
- _____
- _____
- _____
23. Is there anything about St. George's that makes you prefer it, or not prefer it, to other Anglican churches? _____ 23
- _____
- _____ . Do you feel you have a lot in common with the people who go there? (Yes or No.) Why do you say that? _____
- _____
- _____
24. Do you think that religion has had an influence on your life? _____ (If Yes.) In what ways? _____ 24
- _____
- _____
- _____
25. Could you attempt to tell us what you feel your purpose in life is? _____ 25
- _____
- _____
- _____
26. Do you believe, personally, that there is a life after death? (If Yes.) Do you have any doubts? _____ 26
- _____
- _____
- _____

27. Here are four statements which have been made about the Bible and I'd like you to tell me which one is the closest to your own view. 27

The Bible is God's word and all it says is true 1

The Bible was written by men inspired by God, and its basic moral teaching are true, but because its writers were men, it contains some human errors 2

The Bible was written by men and its basic moral teachings are true, but God had nothing to do with it 3

The Bible, although not inspired by God, is of great historical value; However, it is of little practical value because it can be interpreted in so many different ways 4

28. Not counting church services, have you read any of the Bible in the past year? _____. (If Yes.) About how often? _____ 28

29. Is grace said in your home, or not? _____. (If Yes.) About how often? _____ 29

30. Do you ever say personal prayers aside from mealtime or church prayers? _____. (If Yes.) About how often? _____ 30
_____. (If No.) Do you think you would in times of personal stress? _____

31. Do you feel that in today's world one can live solely by the teachings of the Christian churches? _____ 31

32. Do you feel that there are points of conflict between, for example, what the Christian churches teach on the origin of man and the theory that man evolved from lower forms of animals? _____ 32
- _____
- _____
33. Do you think the church has the right to take a stand on whether or not Canada should accept nuclear arms? _____ 33
- _____
- _____
- What about birth control: should the church take a stand on this issue? _____
- _____
34. Do you think that all people, regardless of financial condition, have the right to adequate medical care? _____ 34
- _____
- _____
35. Would you be in favour of the Manitoba government establishing a medical programme, such as that in England, which would pay for dentists' and doctors' fees? _____ 35
- _____
- _____
36. Do you think the provincial government should give financial assistance to private denominational schools? _____ . (If Yes or No.) 36
- Why would you say that? _____
- _____
- _____

37. Supposing you had a daughter who was dating three men: one a Roman Catholic, one a Jew, and one a member of the United Church. Would you discourage her from marrying any of the above men? _____. (Yes or No.)
 Why would you say that? _____

x x x x x x

- A. Respondent's cooperation in the study? _____ A
- B. Does respondent live within the parish boundaries? Yes _____ No _____ B
- C. Approximate value of respondents' house? _____ C
- D. General comments: _____ D

11 a.m. Morning Prayer
 Hymn # 475
 Confession p. 4
 Venite p. 6
 Psalm 84 p. 437
 Lesson:
 1 Corinthians 12:4-end
 Te Deum p. 7
 Creed p. 10
 Anthem: "My Eyes For
 Beauty Pine."-H. Howells
 State Prayers
 Hymn # 483
 THE SERMON:

THE REV. G. A. STEGEN

Hymn (Offertory) # 104
 The Blessing
 Hymn # 358

 * WEEKDAY SERVICES *

TUESDAY: 10 a.m. HOLY COMMUNION and intercessions for the sick, held in the Chapel of the Prince of Peace.

ASH WEDNESDAY: HOLY COMMUNION in the Chapel at 7.30 a.m. and 10 a.m. There will be a Service of Compline with sermon at 8 p.m. in the Church.

THURSDAY: 7.30 a.m. HOLY COMMUNION in the Chapel. Breakfast will be provided following this Service.

In the Anglican Cycle of Prayer, we pray this week for the Church in Bloemfontein, South Africa, and the Bishop, Bill Bendyshe Burnett.

In our Diocesan Calendar we pray for the people of the Parish of Christ Church, Selkirk, and the Parish Priest, Roland Wood.

SIDESMEN: 8.30 a.m. Mr. J. H. Wilmoth
 11 a.m. Convenor - Dr. H. M. Ross, Messrs. A. Lorne Campbell, G. M. Cathcart, P. S. Bower, R. A. S. Cooper, R. G. Douglas, Ian Dubiński, H. Neil Scott & P. S. Morse.
 7 p.m. Mr. R. Miller.

7 p.m. Evensong
 Hymn # 472
 Confession p. 19
 Psalm 103, 1 - 14 p. 460
 First Lesson:
 Gen. 41: 1 - 40
 Magnificat p. 21
 Second Lesson:
 1 John 4: 7 - end
 Nunc Dimittis p. 22
 Creed p. 22
 Anthem: "Love of the
 Father." - H. Bancroft
 State Prayers
 Hymn # 539

THE SERMON:

THE REV. J. B. DANGERFIELD
 Hymn (Offertory) # 289
 The Blessing
 Hymn # 20

11 a.m. R. Dickson (Crucifer), Dr. Ross, J. Finlay
 7 p.m. T. Wilson (Crucifer) J. Finlay

* NOTICES *

TUESDAY: 8 p.m. St. Anne's Guild, in the Guild Room.

WEDNESDAY: The meeting of the Vestry has been postponed one week to Feb. 19th, at 9 p.m. following the Service.

THURSDAY: 4.15 p.m. The J.A. will hold a World Day of Prayer Service.

7 p.m. The girls of this parish will join with those of St. Aidan's & St. Luke's in a World Day of Prayer Service here in St. George's, followed by a social.

FRIDAY: There will be no meeting of the Afternoon Branch so that all may attend the Service at St. Aidan's, the next meeting will be a business meeting on Feb. 28th. THE WOMEN'S WORLD DAY OF PRAYER SERVICE will be held in St. Aidan's Church, Feb. 14th, at 2.30 p.m. There will be a Nursery available. Please try to attend.

A Survey of the audibility in the Church was made on several Sundays during the Spring, Summer and Fall by a Vestry committee with the assistance of others in the congregation. The consensus was good to excellent audibility under normal conditions, with some locations better than others. Perhaps a change in location would help those who may experience any difficulty in hearing. The Sidesmen will be pleased to assist in any way.

WHAT TO GIVE UP IN LENT

Give up grumbling...instead in everything give thanks.

Give up 10 to 15 minutes in bed...instead use that time in prayer.

Give up looking at people's worst points...instead concentrate on their best ones.

Give up speaking unkindly...instead let your speech be generous and understanding.

Give up your worries...instead trust God with them.

Give up hatred or dislike of anyone...instead learn to love.

Give up concentrating on Sunday newspapers...instead study your Bible.

Give up TV one evening a week...instead visit some lonely or sick person.

Give up buying anything but essentials for yourself...instead give the money to God's work.

Give up the fear which prevents Christian witness...instead seek courage to speak to others.

Give up judging by appearances & the standards of the world...instead, learn to Give up yourself to God.

Parish Activities

FOR GIRLS AND BOYS:

Junior Auxiliary—Monday 4:15 p.m.: Mrs. J. Gowler.....	GL 2-8767
Cubs—Waingunga Pack—Tuesday, 6:55 p.m.: Mrs. C. De Gagne.....	GL 3-2991
Mowgli Pack—Wednesday, 7:00 p.m.: Mr. M. Brock.....	GR 5-0438
Brownies—Wednesday, 4:30 p.m.: Leader Mrs. Knight.....	GL 2-7760
Girl Guides—Thursday, 7:00 p.m.: Leader Miss C. Little.....	GL 3-3648
Boy Scouts—Monday, 7:15 p.m.: Mr. W. Hazelwood.....	GL 3-0798
Boys' Choir Practices—Thursday, 6:30 p.m. and Friday, 7:00 p.m.: Mr. S. M. Thomson.....	GL 3-5035
Girls' Auxiliary—Wednesday, 7:00 p.m.: Miss G. M. Heath.....	GR 4-2735
Land Rangers—Every Second Thursday: Mrs. W. J. Boyd.....	GL 2-8546

FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

A.V.G.—Sunday Evening at 7:00 p.m.: Grade 9 - 11 — Mr. Ted Davies.....	GL 2-8282
— Mr. Charles Bouskill.....	GL 3-3808

FOR ADULTS:

Co-ordinating Council—Third Wednesday, 10:00 a.m.: President—Mrs. M. D. Tucker.....	GR 5-6865
Afternoon Branch W.A.—2nd and 4th Fridays, 2:00 p.m.: Mrs. L. A. Tempest.....	GR 5-1943
St. Anne's Guild—2nd and 4th Tuesdays, 8:00 p.m.: Mrs. R. McKenzie.....	GL 2-6810
St. Helen's W.A.—3rd Wednesdays, 8:15 p.m.: Mrs. C. D. Sym.....	GR 5-0761
St. Martha's Guild—3rd Tuesdays, 8:15 p.m.: Mrs. J. T. Harris.....	HU 9-4686
Parish Guild—1st Wednesdays, 2:30 p.m.: Mrs. G. F. Copeland.....	GL 3-4378
..... Mrs. C. I. McDonald.....	GL 3-0509
Mothers' Union—2nd Thursday, 8:15 p.m.: Mrs. L. L. Whytehead.....	GL 2-3853
Guild of Health—Monday, 3:15 p.m., at 1014 Jessie Ave.: Mrs. R. Miller.....	GL 3-3712
Altar Guild—Mrs. A. R. Tanner.....	GL 2-3938
Choir Practice—Friday, 7:30 p.m.: Mr. S. M. Thomson.....	GL 3-5035
Vestry—2nd Wednesday, 8:00 p.m.....	
Parish Board of Christian Education—4th Wednesday, 8:00 p.m.: Miss G. M. Heath.....	GR 4-2735

CHURCH SCHOOL:

9:45 a.m.—Senior Sunday School, Grades 7 - 9, Service and Instruction.
 11:00 a.m.—Infants' Nursery, 3 year old Nursery, Kindergarten and Grades 1 - 6.

ENVELOPE SECRETARY: Mr. C. E. Allen.....GL 5-1708

LITTLE HELPERS' SECRETARY: Mrs. H. D. Smith.....GL 2-7023

FLOWER SECRETARY: Mrs. G. F. Copeland.....GL 3-4379

(Please notify Secretary if you wish to give flowers as a memorial)

IMPORTANT: St. George's Church depends entirely upon the voluntary contributions of its members. This parish is now committed to the Christian principle of giving as much outside of the parish as we spend on ourselves. This Christian act can only be achieved by each one of our members committing himself to the fullest extent. Today the old Christian title has given place to the principle of the "Sharing Church." There is a great urgency for the survival of the Christian faith and its values throughout the world. Only a thoroughly committed Church will counteract the rampage of secular materialism. Be thoughtful about your contribution.

"Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him."
 1 Cor. 16:2.

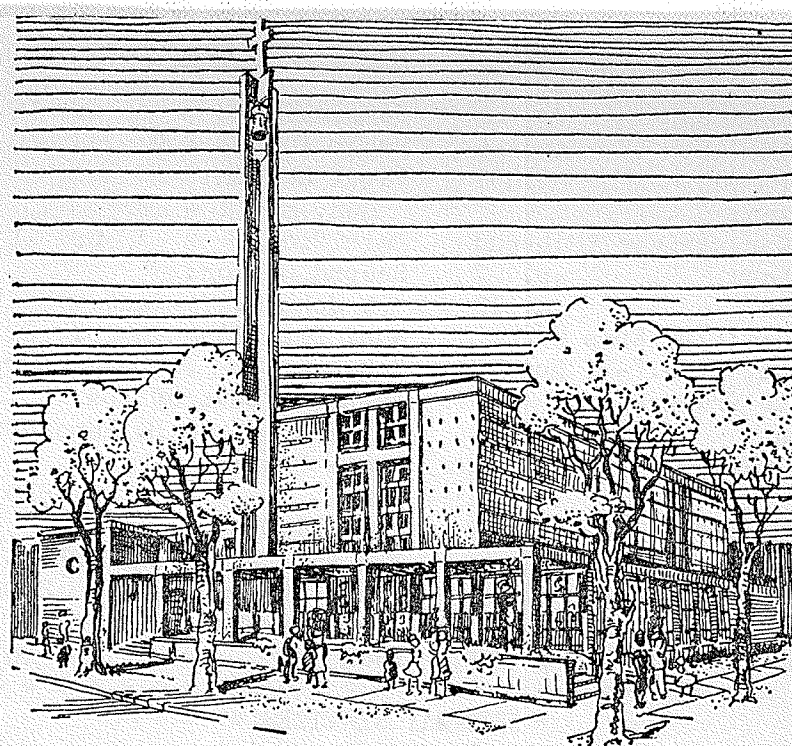
Kindly intimate your personal wish with X in space below:

Pastoral Call Desired	Newcomer	Sickness	Envelopes Wanted	Change of Address

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

The Rector is always glad to meet visitors and new members after any Service, or in the office during the week. Kindly tear this section off and place on Offertory Plate or mail to Rector.



ST. GEORGE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH

WILTON AT GROSVENOR
 WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

PARISH CLERGY

RECTOR: THE REVEREND GEORGE A. STEGEN, B.A., S.T.B.....TEL. GL 2-5890

ASST. RECTOR: THE REVEREND J. B. DANGERFIELD.....TEL. GR 5-6183

THE REVEREND CANON T. D. CONLIN, L.T.H.TEL. GR 4-1778

PARISH STAFF

DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION.....Miss M. HEATH, B.A.....TEL. GR 4-2735

ORGANIST AND CHOIRMASTER.....MR. STEWART THOMSON.....TEL. GL 3-5035

VERGER.....MR. V. J. HARWOOD.....TEL. GR 5-8177

CHURCH OFFICE.....MRS. RUTH REED.....TEL. GL 3-6642

WARDENS

MR. E. REX P. NESBITT.....TEL. GR 5-6162

MR. DESMOND R. SMITH.....TEL. HU 9-8340

SUNDAY SERVICES

8:30 A.M.	HOLY COMMUNION
11:00 A.M.	HOLY COMMUNION 1ST SUNDAY OF THE MONTH
	MORNING PRAYER AND SERMON
7:00 P.M.	EVENSONG AND SERMON
	HOLY COMMUNION 3RD SUNDAY (AFTER EVENSONG)

CHURCH SCHOOL

9:45 A.M.	GRADE 7
11:00 A.M.	NURSERY AGES UP TO 3
	CHURCH SCHOOL AGES 3 - 11
	GRADE 8

HOLY BAPTISM

2ND AND 4TH SUNDAYS 4 P.M. OR BY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT.

"WHEN ANY PERSON IS SICK, NOTICE THEREOF SHALL BE GIVEN THE MINISTER OF THE PARISH"
 THE RUBRIC, P.B. PAGE 576.

APPENDIX G. Glossary of Terms

Active church member. An Active church member is defined as one who claims to attend church services, on average, four or more times per month.

Age-pyramid. An age-pyramid is a demographic term used to refer to a table which shows the age distribution (either in raw numbers or percentages) by sex. In a "normal" population the frequencies diminish with age, hence the term pyramid. See pages 31-33 for examples of age-pyramid figures.

Anglo-Saxon. For the purposes of this thesis, an Anglo-Saxon is a person whose ethnic origin is English, Scottish, Welsh, or Irish, or any combination of these four.

Inactive church member. An Inactive church member is defined as one who claims to attend church services, on average, three or fewer times per month.

Middle-aged. Anyone between the ages of forty and seventy has been defined as middle-aged.

Parish. The Anglican Church is organized on a parish basis. The rector or vicar of a parish is responsible for the spiritual oversight of all Anglicans living

within the parish.

Parish area of St. George's. The parish area of St. George's is composed of those Canada Census, 1961, tract areas which most closely approximate those of the parish boundaries of St. George's Anglican Church. Census tract areas 43 and 44 were used for this purpose. See page 209 for a map showing the parish area and the parish boundaries of St. George's.

Parish list. A parish list is a list of members known to the clergy of a parish. At St. George's a card system is employed. These cards give the name, address, and the dates of birth for the children of the family listed. The parish list is the only practical way of determining the membership of a local church.

Social friends. As used in this thesis "social friends" refers to those people with whom respondents visited for evenings together. Since all those interviewed were married, the term generally would refer to social visits with people made by the respondents accompanied by their wives.