

**THE IMPACT ON RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN THE PAID
LABOUR FORCE, 1975-2005**

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my mom (Gail), dad (Murray),
and sister (Kim).

And to my wonderful husband Robert deKlerk, without whom I
would have given up a long time ago.

Abstract

Canadians' religious involvement has declined significantly over the last thirty years (Bibby 2004^a), but explanations haven't successfully determined the reasons for the decline. Women's employment rate increased significantly during the same time period, which could account for the decline, particularly as Canadians have become increasingly pragmatic about time following the rise of the dual earner family. This thesis postulates that Canadians' pragmatism dominates religious involvement, particularly as Canadians have less time to engage in those activities and tasks they deem necessary and worthwhile. It examines the costs and benefits of religious involvement—utilizing a rational choice framework—and insists that religious groups need to respond more effectively to affiliates' needs and desires. The data demonstrates that Canadians' perception of worth of their religious involvement (as measured through enjoyment) better predicts involvement than association.

Preface

This thesis explores the relationship between Canadian women's increased paid labour force participation and religious involvement in the post-1960s. The literature indicates that, over the past four decades, there was an increase in the proportion of women who entered the paid labour force. During this same period, there was a decline in the proportion of Canadians who attended religious services on a regular basis. This suggests there is reason to believe that an important causal link exists between the two trends.

The existing literature documents what we all know well -- that the expenditure of time and energy is related to what people receive in return. Religious involvement is no exception. For most people, religious involvement is determined by a conscious and less conscious cost-benefit analysis, whereby individuals become involved and stay involved to the extent that they view their participation as having benefits for themselves and their significant others. Such benefits outweigh the costs of their involvement. Participation is largely pragmatic. In the Canadian instance, religious involvement would be expected to be based on whether or not individuals find

participation to be worthwhile for themselves and their families. To the extent that religious groups differ in being responsive to such expectations, participation patterns among the groups would be expected to vary. Simply put, variations in participation by religious group would be expected to be tied directly to the success they have in meeting the ministry expectations of their pragmatically-minded affiliates.

The literature suggests that, to the extent that growing numbers of women joined the labour force in recent decades, they were increasingly pushed for time, energy, and money. This meant that more and more women had to make important decisions about how they spent their resources. The key issue was significance -- what mattered. In the case of religious participation, involvement had to touch their lives and the lives of their families in significant ways, or they simply gave religious activity the time they felt it warranted: limited involvement or no involvement at all. The inverse relationship between the labour force and religious participation variables suggests that large numbers concluded involvement warranted limited amounts of their resources.

A number of other factors have also undoubtedly influenced the general labour force-religious participation

relationship. They include the presence of young children, the presence of a partner, the perception one has limited time, and, most importantly, the perception that religious participation has personal worth.

In this thesis I examine the work force participation and religious involvement relationship among Canadian women, drawing on the Project Canada national data set that spans 1975 to 2005, along with other pertinent data sources. I start by looking at the general relationship between the two variables since the 1960s. I then focus on the specifics of the argument using the 1985, 1995, and 2005 Project Canada data sets. Here I attempt to see to what extent gender, work force participation, relational status, parenthood, perceived lack of time, and the perceived importance of religious participation have on religious involvement -- both directly and indirectly in interaction with each other.

The results have the potential to be of considerable importance to religious groups. If it is true that participation is tied closely to the perceived importance of religious involvement and that such perception of salience in turn is strongly related to gender, employment outside the home, and the parenting of young children, the implications are clear: religious groups have to do a far

better job of ministering well to the needs of employed women, particularly young mothers -- but other employed women and employed men as well.

I conclude the thesis by discussing some of the tangible implications for Canada's religious groups, and how they can better respond to their respective religious affiliates.

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Introduction to the Problem

In this thesis, I seek to address two related research questions. My first research concern revolves around Canadian women's increased employment's influence on Canadian religious involvement over the last thirty years. I make connections between women's increased employment and decreasing levels of time to commit to associational membership and its resulting effect on religious participation. My second research question involves the costs and benefits surrounding Canadians' religious involvement and how these interact, resulting in varying attendance levels.

The steady decline of religious involvement within Canada has puzzled observers since the 1960's. Attempts at answering the question as to why this decline occurred have not fully explained the phenomenon. Despite declining religious involvement, Canadians continue to profess interest in what religious groups offer, further perplexing observers (Bibby 2000). Canadians' interest in religion represents significant potential for religious groups, yet proportionally, Canadians have decreased their attendance since 1975. Clearly the problem of Canadians' decreased religious involvement requires further attention and explanation.

Secularization is often credited as the culprit behind decreasing religious involvement (Berger 1967; Bruce 2002^a; Bruce 2002^b; Dobbelaere 2002; Dobbelaere 1999; Dobbelaere 1987; Dobbelaere 1985; Dobbelaere, 1981; Voye 1999), yet its influence seems unlikely in the Canadian case as profession of traditional religious beliefs remains high (Bibby 2000). Continued traditional religious beliefs demonstrate that Canadians are neither abandoning religion nor are they switching religious groups; rather, Canadians remain loyal to the groups with which they grew up. Belonging to a religious group no longer equals regular attendance in worship services; instead, religious affiliation centers on times of transition (e.g. weddings, baptisms, births) or crises (e.g. death or illness) (Bibby 2000). In other words, Canadians have become selective with their religious involvement, picking and choosing elements of religion that they identify with. If religion continues to contribute to the lives of Canadians, why has involvement become so selective?

It may be that declining religious involvement, in part, is related to women's increased employment (Bibby 2006; Bibby 2005; Putnam 2000) and a subsequent unwillingness to formally associate with any group (Armstrong 2004; Davie 2002). Perhaps women's increased

employment has led to Canadians “believing without belonging” (Davie 2000: 69); that is, they purport to believe in what religion has to offer without actively participating because of the time commitment involvement requires (Bibby 2005). If it is true that women’s rapid increase in paid employment has impacted other areas of social life (such as voluntarism and civil society (Putnam 2000)), then it seems obvious that it may also have influenced involvement in Canada’s religious groups (Bibby 2005). In particular, as families feel increasing time-stress¹, reluctance to become involved in any formal association increases (Bibby 2005).

One of the most influential changes over the last one hundred years, in both family and social life, has been women’s increased employment rate. The rise in prevalence of the dual-earner family has not only transformed family life, but also altered the ways in which families engage other components of social life. Families are busy. With both parents working, Canadians have a palpable compression of their time, particularly as both paid and unpaid work must be completed. Furthermore, as a population within Canada, single working mothers have been on the rise, further stressing the relatively new balance between paid and unpaid

¹ Pressed for time.

labour. Overall, balancing demands between paid and unpaid labour creates time-stress for Canadian women.

Generally speaking, in the past, women represented a pool of unpaid labourers available for a variety of volunteer work such as chaperoning school field trips, Sunday school teaching, and community baking (Putnam 2000). However, as more women engaged in paid labour, collectively they had fewer hours available to devote to unpaid labour. According to Bibby (2006), the percentage of women engaging in paid labour doubled between 1900 and 1930 and then again between 1960 and 2000. During the same period, single-parent families were on the rise, representing 24.7% of all families.

Significantly, the increase in women's employment rate and the decline in religious involvement have occurred concurrently (Bibby 2005), raising questions of a possible relationship between these two developments. The goal of this thesis is to examine this link through exploring factors contributing to male and female religious involvement. I will do so by using the Project Canada national data sets generated by sociologist Dr. Reginald Bibby of the University of Lethbridge. These comprehensive surveys include items that track Canadian religious involvement from 1975 through 2005, the period when North

Americans began to feel the greatest strains on their time (Sayer 2001).

The reasons for women's increased employment rate varied greatly, with reasons cited such as economic necessity and desiring greater freedoms from household work. In general, women's paid labour force participation is linked to many factors with economic need topping the list. No matter the reasons, women's paid employment has had many implications for social life.

Women have been characterized as purveyors of social capital, often bearing the responsibility of social gatherings, volunteer organizations, and community support groups (Putnam 2000). Loosely defined², social capital represents the social glue that connects individuals to others within their communities. Social capital operates through the exchange of resources in social settings. These resources are exchanged only because of the relationship between the individuals involved; monetary value may not specifically be attached to them. Social capital exchanges have a vague exchange rate (whatever each party deems sufficient is considered sufficient), often involving intangible resources that are deemed adequate for exchange (e.g. a friend may help another move in exchange for a

² Social capital is further defined later in this chapter.

listening ear). These exchanges also have a loose time frame, meaning that resources may be repaid at any time, assuming that one individual in the exchange does not insult the other with "late" repayment.

High levels of social capital connect to a myriad of pro-social behaviours and excellent social trust (Putnam 2000; Putnam 2002). Furthermore, greater levels of social capital mean greater levels of generalized trust (that is, trust towards all other people) within a given locale.

When both parents engage in paid labour, all family members experience greater time pressures (Roxburgh 2006). Women continue to complete a disproportionate amount of housework, yet currently men complete more unpaid labour than in previous years. With men completing more unpaid labour, both parents often struggle to balance their paid and unpaid labour.

With an increasing female employment rate, overall, women have fewer hours available to devote to unpaid labour (Sayer 2001) and volunteer activities (Putnam 2000), affecting many areas of North American life. Voluntary organizations met stark declines in participation. Similarly, Canada's religious involvement met sharp declines since the 1960's with moderate increases in recent years (Bibby 1987; Bibby 2000; Bibby 2002; Bibby 2006). Both

leaders and parishioners wondered where people had gone, particularly after what seemed like a promise of religious renewal through the baby boom. With a greater number of individuals available to enter the doors of religious groups, why was it that fewer were actually making the trek?

Rational choice and religious marketplace theories suggest that people make decisions based on conscious and less conscious processes that account for the costs and benefits of their decisions (Stark & Bainbridge 1985). In the case of religious involvement, individuals will participate insofar as their participation is worthwhile; that is, they will participate if the benefits of their participation outweigh the costs. Not all individuals who work full-time have minimal involvement in their religious groups; rather, some participate because they view their involvement as worthwhile to them or their families.

In an effort to address the problem presented, I methodically explore women's increased paid labour force participation in Canada, how religious involvement has been affected by the change in women's employment levels, and why some Canadians continue to participate despite mounting time pressures. I begin this thesis with a review of the literature providing a theoretical framework that presents some predictors of religious involvement. I will then

discuss the methods utilized to answer the questions this thesis proposes and explain the data analysis undertaken. The thesis concludes with a discussion about the implications of this research for both Canadians and Canadian religious groups.

Definitions

Before proceeding to the review of literature, I would like to clarify what I mean by social capital, secularization, and rational choice theory. While I briefly defined social capital in the introduction, the definition does not adequately account for the extensive work many have completed in defining and understanding the concept. Additionally, overviews of secularization and religious marketplace theories are provided as I use both of these terms within this thesis³.

Social Capital Defined

Social capital is defined as resources in social ties that can be acquired only through social networks; however, this particular definition carries with it several problems. It neglects the importance of the relationships and connections individuals have to each other, and places the focus on the resources. This is not a particularly effective

³ I draw on religious marketplace theories to develop my theoretical framework and understanding of the phenomenon in question.

definition as it does not describe what social capital does or how it operates. This section explores several theoretical orientations of social capital, – namely those of Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam – and then solidly defines the concept for use within this thesis.

Pierre Bourdieu and Loic Wacquant (1992) viewed social capital as a private good and a public ill, often separating statuses and classes by reinforcing elusive access to power and influence through the networks available to higher statuses. Bourdieu's conception explicitly has its roots in Max Weber's (1947) work, *The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism*, that both emphasizes and examines the role of social honour within society. Bourdieu and Wacquant state (1992),

social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (119),

emphasizing social capital has a separating quality that involves mutual acquaintances and recognition within social networks. In other words, networks that contain high status individuals are occupied (generally speaking) with other high status individuals, perpetuating a cycle of exclusion, maintaining power among the elite within society. Bourdieu understands social capital to be of the bonding sort that

Putnam (2000) describes; individuals only have access to those like themselves. The powerless have connections to the powerless while the powerful have connections to the powerful.

Paradoxically, religion is one of the few venues which social capital can act as a bridge (Putnam 2000) to other classes and statuses. Religion does not necessarily divide individuals of different classes. Both rich and poor individuals can become active within religious groups and can, therefore, interact with one another.

Unlike Bourdieu, both Coleman and Putnam view social capital as a public good. Coleman (1990) emphasized its role in the socialization of children within families, defining it as

a set of resources which inhere in family relations and in community social organization and are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person (300),

thereby focusing on the instrumentality of social capital ties (Wall, Ferazzi, & Schryer 1998). Coleman focused on the importance of human capital in improving chances of success later in life. Through his work, Coleman learned that high levels of familial social capital (i.e. both parents are present, one sibling exists, and encouragement to succeed) were related to school completion.

Putnam, much like Coleman, views social capital as a public good - something shared by regions of people that enhances social life and is necessary for successful civic community. For Putnam (1995), social capital includes

features of social organization such as networks norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (67).

He views association as a particularly important component of society and social life as it enhances social networks, can increase social trust, and propagates social norms. Therefore, decreasing associational membership presents as particularly troubling to Putnam.

Throughout his work *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) delineates decreasing associational membership in the United States in virtually all areas of social life. He states Americans are simply not participating and, consequently, Putnam calls for increases in social capital within the United States (Putnam 2000) and, in another work, much of the world (Putnam 2002). Putnam ties in particularly well with this thesis as he credits women's increased employment rate (among many other sources) as one source of decreasing social capital. I examine this further in the next chapter.

For the purposes of my thesis, I want to emphasize the difference between social capital and human capital. Social

capital occurs because of its context, that is, human relationship; human capital is "an individual attribute" (Conrad 2007: 1). Social capital exists *only* in human relationships, particularly as it is propagated through norms and networks of individuals. It does provide access to resources; however, this access only occurs because of its function, therefore the resources themselves cannot be described as social capital.

Social capital is the contact individuals have with others, but more than that, it is a connection that transpires between two or more people (Conrad 2007). This connection can be a public good through generalized reciprocity (Coleman 1990; Putnam 2000) or a private good (Bourdieu 1992). However, it's the *connection* between people that can be referred to as social capital. Therefore, associational membership and participation are of prime importance in Western society. With declining numbers of affiliates attending religious services regularly (and moderate increases in recent years), the development and sustainability of social capital as it relates to religion is important because it bridges different groups of people and when religious involvement declines, so too does the access to social capital, particularly for poorer, less well-connected people.

Secularization Defined

Secularization has been used in numerous contexts to represent many differing concepts. Marx and Freud assumed it to mean the modernization, specialization, and rationalization of society and subsequent future disappearance of religion. Marx (1844) asserted that

religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people (39),

believing that once inevitable revolution transpired, religion would no longer have a purpose. However, current theories of secularization view it as a process that occurs within different levels of society at different times.

In medieval Europe, Western society was undeniably religious (Kuth 2007). Institutions such as politics, economics, and family were all based on religious ideas and concepts (Stark & Iannaccone 1995). Religion was highly institutionalized. Faith itself was virtually impossible as everything medieval Europeans did was religious: these people thought, ate, and breathed religion – virtually having no choice in the matter. Legally, citizens had to pay tithes, baptize their children, and marry in the church (Stark & Iannaccone 1995). Life was essentially religious.

However, following the Enlightenment many institutions underwent vast transformations - including the separation of church and state. Effectively this acted as the first secularizing agent: religion no longer encompassed all areas of social life.

According to Dobbelaere (1985, 2002) secularization has three distinct levels - the societal, the organizational, and the individual (the macro, meso and micro levels (Dobbelaere 1999)) - that all contribute to the overall process of secularization. In other words, secularization is a top-down process whereby institutional changes (as seen between medieval Europe and Enlightened Europe) birth the first elements of secularization (although it does not necessarily progress through a series of evolution - Dobbelaere (1999) ensures that readers understand that what he perceives as decreasing levels of religious belief cannot be solely attributed to secularization, but other individualizing processes). The processes of autonomization⁴, rationalization⁵, societalization⁶,

⁴ Automization is the process whereby subsystems become emancipated from religion (Dobbelaere 1999).

⁵ Rationalization takes place when political and economic authorities became more rational as economies lost religious ethos (Weber 1958).

⁶ Societalization occurred as life has become based on contractual patterns of behaviour (Dobbelaere 1999)

disenchantment of the world⁷, privatization⁸, and generalization⁹ are all located on the societal level. These characteristics of secularization represent the top-down changes already mentioned.

Pluralization¹⁰, relativization¹¹, and this-worldliness¹² are parts of the meso-level; that is they characterize the changes in religious groups themselves and how they are structured. Individualization¹³, bricolage¹⁴, unbelief¹⁵, and decline of church religiosity¹⁶ are on the individual micro-level, indicating that these happen to individuals themselves.

While the top processes of secularization are virtually undeniable – that is, political and economic structures have

⁷ Disenchantment of the world is characterized as the world becomes increasingly man-made based on careful planning (Dobbelaere 1999).

⁸ Privatization occurs through the removing religion from the public sphere, and effectively making it an individual's personal choice (Dobbelaere 1999).

⁹ Occurred when Christian religion was set free from institutions (Dobbelaere 1999).

¹⁰ Becomes possible when generalization has transpired – adds to religious diversity in a given culture (Dobbelaere 1999). More religious groups create a marketplace where groups compete for affiliates (Stark & Bainbridge 1987).

¹¹ Occurs after pluralism as religious groups lose credibility; more groups mean more choices and less credibility (Dobbelaere 1999).

¹² Because of lost credibility and pluralism, many religions will, consequently, lose their transcendental qualities.

¹³ Individualization occurs through the privatization of religion. Religion centers around the individual and churches operate as "service stations" (Dobbelaere 1999, 238).

¹⁴ Loss of church authority, religious pluralism, and an open market have led to a religious bricolage where individuals can choose their own religious menu via religion a la carte.

¹⁵ Dobbelaere (1999) states that unbelief is increasing and that the Christian idea of "God as a person" is currently declining (240).

¹⁶ Fewer Western individuals are attending religious services on a regular basis (Dobbelaere 1999).

become more removed from religion over the course of Western civilization - I think Dobbelaere (1999) and proponents are ambitious in assuming that individual-level characteristics demonstrate decreasing levels of religiosity in the West. While pluralization may seem anti-religious, it does not (as I shall demonstrate in the next section) mean that religion is losing importance in Western society, and won't continue to make significant contributions to Western life. Rather, pluralization and the introduction of the religious marketplace could indicate an important future for religion and religious groups.

Regardless of the particulars, secularization theorists agree on one basic premise, secularization "creates problems for religion" (Bruce 1999: 266). They postulate that religion cannot thrive in an increasingly rationalistic-individualistic society and that deregulation of religious marketplaces¹⁷ has negative consequences for religious groups.

Rational Choice and Religious Marketplace Theories

Rooted in economics and business, rational choice theory has contributed significantly to understandings of marketplaces. Increasingly, this theory has been applied to social interactions and spheres of social inquiry. Coleman

¹⁷ That is, removal of state-churches (Beyer 1997)

(1990) applied rational choice to human and social capital interactions stating that rational actors create obligations for one another¹⁸. Rational choice theory postulates that individuals can choose whether or not to engage in some behaviour. Based on costs and benefits, rational-minded actors decide whether or not to be involved in different aspects of social life. Overall, "self-interested actors . . . try to maximize their gains" (Pickard 2005: 42) and reduce their costs (Emerson 1962). People are rational actors¹⁹ (Coleman 1990), engaging the world through a framework of constant utilitarian choice.

Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge (1987) and Laurence Iannaccone (1995) postulate that religious pluralization has birthed a deregulated religious market where affiliates are essentially consumers that can pick and choose which components of religious life to observe. Stark and Bainbridge (1987) draw on rational choice theory²⁰, stating that individuals become involved in religious groups to the

¹⁸ Coleman's (1990) tone is similar to that of Marcel Mauss (1954) in *The Gift*. Individuals create obligations where each must repay others for exchanges carried out. Through the use of ethnography, Mauss (1954) saw gift giving as a means of exercising power and dominating others. That is, if a recipient could not repay a gift, they came under the control of the giver.

¹⁹ Rational actors are people who can weigh the costs and benefits involved in a behaviour (Coleman 1990).

²⁰ And exchange theory (Bruce 1999).

extent that the groups meet individuals' needs²¹ and desires. They (1987) believe that mankind will always need religion, suggesting that rewards (or at the very least compensators²²) encourage individuals continued involvement in religious groups²³.

And what happens if needs are not met by established groups? Stark and Bainbridge (1987) insist that new religious movements that meet these needs will gain momentum, and become the religious groups of choice. That is, the demand (affiliates) for religious groups will remain high, and the supply (religious groups) side will respond through newly created religious movements. Proponents of religious marketplace theory insist that decreasing religious involvement is because of supply problems - that demand remains high²⁴.

Canadians, however, have not turned to new religious movements; rather, they tend to stick with the religious

²¹ This point was echoed by Stark and Finke (2000^b) - people participate in different aspects of life insofar as the benefits outweigh the costs involved. In terms of Catholic vocations, the costs have come to outweigh the benefit for many; thus fewer individuals are becoming involved in Catholic vocations.

²² That is, other-worldly rewards that occur after-life (i.e. eternal rewards) (Stark & Bainbridge 1987).

²³ Karl Marx (1844) also believed in the importance of compensators in religious involvement. Marx, however, anticipated that inevitable revolution would diminish the need for compensators, and, therefore, religion would disappear. I think that Marx had prematurely believed that people would reach equality. Inequality and suffering continue to perpetuate within the human experience.

²⁴ Secularization theories postulate that decreased religious involvement revolves around decreased demand for religion and religious groups (Bruce 1999).

groups with which they were raised (Bibby 2002), emphasizing the importance of religious groups to revitalize²⁵.

Established religious traditions can change to meet the needs of their affiliates. Religious groups need to recognize what their pragmatically-minded affiliates want from them and respond effectively; thereby creating a religious revitalization.

Rational choice / religious marketplace theory provides the basic tenants on which I construct this thesis, therefore, I am going to cite some of its strengths and weaknesses. Rational choice theory has strength in its simplicity (Iannaccone 1995; Spickard 1998). Easily understood and easily applied, cost/benefit analyses can provide clear hypotheses for given behaviours - actions that maximize utilitarian benefit have to outweigh costs involved. This is particularly useful on the macro scale - examining entire societies and groups of people; however, it has obvious limitations when applied to individuals (Hechter & Kanazawa 1997). While rational choice theory "seeks to account for social outcomes on the basis of both social context and individual action," (Hechter & Kanazawa 1997: 208), individuals have different value systems and means of engaging society and to accurately portray such value

²⁵ That is, to renew themselves—change to appeal to their affiliates.

systems, individual value hierarchies would need to be accounted for.

On the individual level, rational-choice theory does not provide effective descriptions of behaviour. In this thesis I examine Canadians' religious involvement overall and how women's increased employment has influenced religious involvement. While I complete regression analyses that predict an individual's level of involvement, this is completed on a macro-level, meaning that a plethora of data has been accounted for and should reflect a general pattern of costs and benefits of involvement.

Stark (1999) asserts that secularization has been proven wrong²⁶. He suggests that the theory should be disposed of entirely as religion has persisted over the last 100 years and will (according to Stark) continue to persist. Steve Bruce (2002^b) states that Britain has seen substantial decline in religious involvement over the last one hundred fifty years, stating that Stark's basic premises²⁷ have proven incorrect.

While secularization has not (and I postulate) will not result in a complete disappearance of religion, I disagree

²⁶ He claims that secularization has altogether failed at explaining what has transpired in religion over the last one hundred years (Stark 1999). He further suggests that the theory should be obliterated altogether.

²⁷ Including the idea that religiosity in Britain 150 years ago was actually much lower than sociologists suggest.

with Stark's complete dismissal of secularization theory. Secularization of societal and organizational levels has and continues to occur. Undeniably laws are no longer entangled with religion, and religious groups have become increasingly bureaucratic in nature. However, individuals continue to pursue that which religion offers. On the individual level secularization, as a theory, does not offer an effective explanation, at least not in the Canadian case.

Connecting with Women's Employment

A major transformation of Western culture, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter, has been women's entrance in the paid labour force. Clearly, this could present as a cost in the rational-choice / market model paradigm²⁸; however, it cannot operate by itself. Putnam (2000) suggests that women's increased employment could be partially responsible for declines in associational membership in the United States, and Davie (1994) suggests that decreasing religious participation is merely a symptom of Westerners' reluctance to belong to any group - not just religious groups, or perhaps when mixed with a decreased propensity to attend church²⁹ (Gill 2002), the costs have become greater

²⁸ I provide a detailed outline for this cost-benefit analysis in my theoretical assumptions (chapter 3).

²⁹ With the newfound belief that attending church is not an important component of religiosity (Gill 2002).

than the benefits. Clearly, religion and women's employment could be related, a relationship I explore in depth in the next chapter.

What We Know To Date

In this chapter, I draw on existing literature thereby exploring what sociologists know about the links between religious involvement and women's increased employment rate. Through examination of available literature, this chapter provides a background for the next chapter where I consider the theoretical implications of these links. Some background is required in order to grasp the current trends in family, religion, and social capital in Canada. This chapter begins by focusing on women's changing roles in Canada and the impact this has on all Canadians, proceeds to explore economic influences on family life and the resulting effect on Canadians, and considers connections between families and religion. It draws particular attention to the link between women's increased paid employment and declining religious involvement in Canada, and familial social capital.

A History of Family And Work Life in Canada

Families in Canada have undergone numerous changes over the last fifty years with the rise of cohabitation, divorce, and single-parent homes (Larson, Goltz, & Munro 2000).

Women's roles within Canadian families has significantly changed, which has, in turn, created a social transition that transformed the Canadian family and family life. As a social institution, the family represents an important area

of inquiry and potential venue of social change; it exists as one of the key agents by which children are socialized and culture is reproduced (Larson, Goltz & Munro 2000). Consequently, changes in the family essentially translate into sweeping changes for all of society.

Despite the familial transformations mentioned in the previous paragraph, the most expansive familial change over the last fifty years has been women's increased paid employment outside the home and subsequent rise of the dual-earner family (Larson, Goltz & Munro 2000). While women's increased employment may seem like a minute development, it transformed families across Canada. In 1901 a mere 14% of women - both married and single - worked outside (Luxton & Corman 2005) the home, a rate that dramatically increased to 46% in 2001 (Bibby 2006), an increase of 32% over one hundred years. Lone parent families are also on the rise, accounting for 24.7% of Canadian families, 80% of which are single mother families (White, Larson, Goltz, & Munro 2005).

The dual-earner family format has become increasingly prevalent within Canada, so much that 70% of Canadian couples with children depend on two incomes to meet their families' basic needs (Larson, Goltz, & Munro 2000). In the past, having two incomes translated into personal and familial indulgence, but the dual-earner format does not

necessarily enable luxury; rather, two incomes are often required to meet basic needs of food and shelter. For many, the single-earner format can no longer meet economic need.

Inflation and the Creation of Economic Need

This economic need occurred through a series of circumstances which have drawn many women into the paid labour force. During the 19th century the majority of women did not work outside the home (Larson, Goltz, & Munro 2000). Married and single women had similar employment rates indicating that single women were as likely to be employed as women with families. Domestic life was the reality for all women because paid employment and family support were the responsibility of men rather than women. This is not to say, however, that women did not make significant work contributions to family life. Women's work encompassed unpaid labour within the house - the tasks of rearing children, cooking, and cleaning.

Canadian women's roles centered around keeping and maintaining (McManus 2000) a clean home and making it a "civil" living space. In essence, this unpaid labour served as a woman's work; it was her *modus operandi*. The lady of the house concerned herself with domesticity and the challenges of managing a household rather than engaging in paid employment outside of her "civil" space. The concept of

women's space was so prevalent that many women tried to avoid outdoor work altogether, although the chores of farms and farm life demanded that women leave the confines of their space and complete many farm chores (McManus 2000). Arguably, women's outdoor labour was the first step towards women's paid labour outside the home.

Following World War I the modern woman emerged (Mandell & Momirov 2005) through her right to vote, her ability to pursue an education, and her acceptance in the public sphere. An ideological shift had occurred. Women no longer needed to stay at home keeping house, they had choices. This ideological shift was the first in a long series of changes centering around women's employment outside the home.

Women's paid employment significantly increased during the Great Depression where economic necessity dictated women find employment outside the home (Larson, Goltz, & Munro 2000); however, while women attempted to care for their families through paid employment, they were frequently blamed for stealing jobs from men.

The female employment rate increased once again during World War II when women had to work in factories to meet labour demands with the majority of men away at war (Mandell & Momirov 2005; Tilly & Scott 1978). These women were

pioneers as they replaced men in what was considered man's domain.

Following WWII Canada entered a prosperous post-war season meaning that, economically, some women no longer needed to continue working in factories, especially as men returned from war wanting to assume their former employment duties (Mandell & Momirov 2005). Yet not all women wished to leave the paid labour force. Some chose to continue their employment tenure and others had economic need to continue working outside the home, effectively birthing the dual-earner family.

Socially, World War II transformed the acceptability of many pre-war activities, including child labour (Mandell & Momirov 2005). Prior to WWII many families depended on children to fulfill economic duties through paid employment outside the home (Tilly & Scott 1978), therefore enabling mothers to assume domestic and reproductive duties within the home (Tilly & Scott 1978). With the end of the war, child labour virtually disappeared from Canada (Tilly & Scott 1978). Consequently, many families had less gross household income, causing them to find creative ways to make up for this loss. This creativity often translated into women's increased appearance into Canada's paid labour

force, thereby further increasing the number of women working outside the home and contributing to the rise of the dual-earner family.

The dual-earner trend's ascension has been recorded since its acceptance in the 1950's (Larson, Goltz, & Munro 2000). In 1891 11% of women over the age of ten were employed outside the home, constituting a mere 12.6% of employed Canadians. Between 1961 and 1996 the rate of Canadian women's employment doubled from 29% to 58% (Larson, Goltz & Munro 2000; Luxton & Corman 2005). Surprisingly, the greatest statistical change in women's employment over the last ten years is the increase in employed mothers with preschool-aged children.

Currently, paid employment is not only for women with children enrolled in school but also for women with preschool aged children. The increase in working mothers with young children, demonstrates the value placed on paid labour. In the past, mothers with young children were encouraged to stay home with them, but today employers—and perhaps women—put emphasis on returning to employment as quickly as possible following the birth of a child.

Perhaps the most controversial and complex component of women's paid labour force participation arises in the constant strain between demands of paid and unpaid labour

(Luxton & Corman 2005). When only one of two parents in a family works outside the home, each parent theoretically possesses a specialized role: one does the required paid labour while the other does necessary unpaid labour. However, when both parents have employment outside the home, each parent contributes to all labour tasks. For, even when both parents work, unpaid labour continues to need completion. Consequently, North Americans are experiencing a time-compression where the demands of both paid and unpaid labour must be met. They have the same time to complete more tasks.

Are North Americans Working More or Less?

Some sociologists have suggested that while dual-earner families are on the rise, technological advancements have created an excess of leisure time through technological efficiencies that reduce the amount of time to complete unpaid labour – a thought that must be considered when attempting to understand Canadian time-usage (Jacobs & Gerson 2004). Overall, tasks like cooking and cleaning consume less time than they did fifty years ago because of changing technology. The vacuum cleaner, microwave oven, and stove top have increased efficiency with which unpaid work can be completed. By all appearances if unpaid work takes

less time than in the past, then Canadians should be experiencing a greater amount of leisure time than their predecessors; however, technology does not always remove pressure from Canadians.

Bibby (2006) argues that technological advancements have actually resulted in a reduction of leisure time by inescapable paid labour. With employees' on-call at all times -- both day and night -- through cell phones and the internet (email), employers' expectations have risen exponentially. Technology has enabled individuals to complete work in half the time it would have taken them thirty years ago. This ability is quite deceptive. It appears that Canadians should be completing less paid labour than in the past. Unfortunately, the reduction is false. Technological advancement has resulted in increased demands on employees, including demands on amount and timing of work completed. Increasingly, employers require employees to finish more work in less time -- which results in a greater amount of work completed and can translate into longer workdays with a "mobile" office.

Working Time

According to Sayer (2001) American women had a total working time (including both paid and unpaid work) of 504 minutes per day in 1965, a number that declined to 463 in

1975, and then dramatically rose to 547 minutes in 1998. Their male counterparts (also in dual-earner families) worked 500 minutes in 1965, 494 minutes in 1975, and 540 minutes in 1998. The numbers indicate that something occurred within the ten year period of 1965 to 1975 resulting in a decrease in total working time among both women and men. This decrease may be accounted through technological advances that increased the efficiency of unpaid labour (Jacobs & Gerson 2004), and was short-lived with total working time increasing. According to Larson, Goltz, and Munro (2000) 32% of employed mothers with children report being "highly time stressed," and with increases in men's total working time, a similar pattern would likely be seen amongst Canadian men.

Additionally, Canadians report working more hours with 20% working more than fifty hours weekly and another 80% increasingly their paid workload between 1984 and 1994 (Larson, Goltz, & Munro 2000). Increasingly, Canadians report working more paid labour hours – perhaps due to technological advancement and the availability of employees to companies throughout the course of an entire day. The statistics suggest that advances in technology have not created an excess of leisure time; rather, North American families work more hours than in 1965, likely because of

changing expectations for parents as well as paid labourers (Jacobs & Gerson 2004).

Paid Labour and Family Life

Jacobs and Gerson (2004) suggest that since 1965 changing social expectations of parents have created an increase in time spent with children. Time-use studies found that American parents spend more time with their children than in the past. In 1965 mothers spent an average of 87 minutes per day with their children – a number that rose to 104 minutes in 1998. In the same year, fathers spent an average of 27 minutes per day in 1965 which rose dramatically to 57 minutes daily in 1998. Even with increasing work demands, parents today make concerted efforts to spend time with their families – especially their children. Theoretically, this increase in unpaid labour and time with families could be responsible for decreases in religious involvement. Parents want to spend more time with their children, therefore, they want to join activities where all family members are engaged.

Unfortunately, time with children is frequently spent completing a variety of duties – attesting that parents divide their attention during many child-rearing activities (Sayer 2001). In 1998 mothers reported that nearly 70% of the time they spent with their children they also completed

other tasks. Fathers reported that 63% of the time spent with children also included engrossment in other activities. This number indicates a dramatic increase since 1975 where only 30 to 40 percent of parents found themselves dividing attention from their children. Jacobs and Gerson (2004) found that if more than one family member participates in the paid labour force, each member is likely to feel a time crunch between paid and unpaid labour; therefore resulting in a greater amount of double-duties.

Work-spillover is a problem for Canadians with 40% of Canadian workers in Larson, Goltz, and Munro's (2000) survey reporting they had negative work-spillover into family life, suggesting that even with parents' concerted efforts to spend more time with their children, paid work continues to effect family life and time. Furthermore, Duxbury and Higgins (1998) found that high work/family conflict correlates with lower organizational commitment, lower job satisfaction, higher job stress, more absenteeism, and higher job turnover. These correlates indicate that it is in companies' best interests to invest in their employees' families find creative ways to avoid work-spillover into family life. Companies that devote themselves to avoiding work-family life conflict have greater employee retention. Furthermore, employees who have little conflict between

these two aspects of family life have greater devotion to the goals of their employers.

Paid labour demands have become more intensive with increases in the American work week (Jacobs & Gerson 2004). While the amount of time working per week has not undergone a vast amount of change, longer commute times and working-lunch hours create longer work days that can - and often do - translate into fifty hour work weeks (Jacobs & Gerson 2004).

Dual-earner couples in the United States experienced marked growth in paid working time between 1970 and 2000 (Gerson and Jacobs 2004). Husbands and wives in dual-earner families averaged 81.6 hours of paid employment weekly which can be compared to an average of 78.0 hours in 1970 - an increase of 3.6 hours over thirty years (Gerson & Jacobs 2004). The greatest area of change over the thirty year period occurred in women's paid work time which rose by 2.7 hours weekly (Jacobs & Gerson 2004). This addition demonstrates women's general increase in paid labour force participation and its impact on work hours.

The presence of children also impacts American paid work hours (Gerson & Jacobs 2004). Mothers in dual-earner couples with children tended to work fewer hours than women without children. Yet, fathers in dual-earner couples worked

more hours than men without children. Overall, mothers tended to work less than their other female counterparts, suggesting that women tend to complete the majority of unpaid labour through the care of children. Fathers tended to work more hours likely to meet the economic demands that occur through the reduction in mothers' hours.

Gerson and Jacobs (2004), Marshall (2006), and Roy (2006) found that higher levels of education are correlated with longer work weeks. In general those who work fifty hours or more per week had a greater amount of education than the greater populace. A fact that carries importance as North Americans pursue higher levels of education, which may account for increasing paid work hours among individuals.

Religion and Family

Following the 1960's, congregations had not yet noticed that family life within and outside of their religious groups had changed (Ammerman & Roof 1995) substantially - the developments of modernization, industrialization, rationalization, and women's increased employment all represented significant social changes within Canadian culture and social life. Women's increased employment rate had vast consequences for social life - women lived openly in public life. While the dual-earner family had become

increasingly prevalent within Western culture and religious groups, many religious groups were unaware of the transformation their parishioners' families had undergone, and had not responded accordingly. Family life and religious culture were relatively synonymous prior to the 1960's, but when more women became employed outside the home, religious groups did not respond effectively to the change – they expected congregations' continued involvement without interruption; consequently, religious groups did not effectively respond to the changing family. Rather than constructing creative responses to parishioners' new-found needs (time-strain related needs) religious groups operated the same as always.

Religion has frequently been tied to women as religious groups have been primarily feminized (Beaman 2007; Davie 2000). This feminization has appeared in a variety of ways, namely in the affiliates who have traditionally attended church and encouraged their families to attend on Sunday mornings. Additionally, women have become more prominent in leadership roles within religious organizations including the study of religion³⁰. Religious groups have become increasingly feminine over the last twenty years with more

³⁰ More women are partaking in the scientific study of religion and religious organizations (Wallace 2000).

and more women becoming part of the clergy (Stackhouse Jr. 1990) and fewer men entering the doors of churches (Beaman 2007; Davie 2000). This finding suggests that changes in religious participation are likely linked to changes in the lives of women more than those found in their male counterparts.

Bibby (2000) suggests that after years of decline Canadian religious involvement has recently plateaued, and Canadians express continued interest in that which religion offers (meaning³¹, mystery³², and memory³³). Declining numbers are indicative of a disconnect of beliefs and practices, particularly as traditional religious belief remains high, making explanations of secularization³⁴ (on the individual level (Dobbelaere 2002)) unlikely at best. The decline, therefore, must be connected to other factors. He also posits (2005) that women's paid labour force participation and the subsequent time compression Canadians experience could be a factor in declining religious involvement. Further, as Canadians became busier, they became more selective with their time. He suggests (2005)

³¹ Canadians continue to look for meaning in life (Bibby 2000), particularly during times of life transition or crises (baptisms, weddings, and funerals).

³² Canadians continue to ask questions surrounding the mystery of death and life (Bibby 2000).

³³ Many Canadians have powerful childhood memories tied to religious groups (Bibby 2000).

³⁴ I defined secularization in the previous chapter: Introduction to the Problem.

that increases in involvement could be related to religious groups' ministerial responses to familial time pressures.

Marketplace theories of religiosity (Stark & Bainbridge 1987) centre around economic theories of supply and demand. In an open religious marketplace, religious groups compete for affiliates, particularly as religions overlap in belief systems. Theoretically, an open religious marketplace enables supply and demand to operate. That is, Canadians make demands of their religious groups while religious groups supply religion to Canadians in an effort to meet those demands. Canadians could be considered free-agents in the marketplace - willing and able to switch religious groups - if not for the powerful effects of memory (Bibby 2000).

Canadians' religious memories indicate that they are unlikely to switch religious groups despite their needs not being met in their current group (Bibby 2000). Memories tie and bind Canadians to their religious groups, making them unwilling to switch. In other words, even if their religious groups aren't meeting Canadians demands, Canadians are unlikely to leave their religious groups (Bibby 2000).

Religious marketplace theories also place great importance on the costs and benefits of involvement. Canadians have become increasingly pragmatic with less time

to devote to religious groups (Bibby 2006; Bibby 2005); therefore they will be involved in those activities which have reduced costs or increased benefits. That is, individuals become involved in religious groups insofar as the benefits outweigh the costs.

So how are Canadians to act when their demands for religion aren't being met? Religious groups need to respond to changes within their congregations - they have the ability to revitalize. Women's increased employment may be at least partially responsible for the decline, especially as time is a significant cost of religious involvement (Bibby 2005; Iannaccone & Everton 2004). Swatos (1994) hypothesized

that virtually the entire 'decline' of 'the churches' in American society can be 'explained' by the entrance of women into the workforce, certainly more so than by anything like a 'crisis of belief,' (xi)

illustrating a reluctance to accept secularization theory as the primary reason behind declining religious participation. Furthermore, declining marriage rates and increasing women's full-time employment have been connected to declines in women's religious involvement (Woodhead 2001).

Religious groups may not be responding effectively to changes within Canadian families, and thus have seen a decrease in Canadian religious involvement, particularly as

families and religion are bound together (Edgell Becker 2000). Religion and families have a mutually-reinforcing relationship where each reinforces the values and importance of the other. Changes in family life can, therefore, result in changes in religious involvement.

Iannacone and Everton (2004) found (utilizing congregational attendance data) that specific times of year were prone to drops in religious attendance. A large drop-off occurs in the summer when affiliates have more recreational activities available to them, indicating that the cost of religious involvement outweighs benefit during this season. This particular study demonstrates the importance of costs and benefits for affiliates. When affiliates perceive they have other, more worthwhile, activities they skip religious services (Bibby 2005; Iannacone & Everton 2004).

Women's Employment and Social Capital

While women's increased employment rate has been a great accomplishment for women and movements towards gender equality, it has, unfortunately, had some negative consequences for other areas of social life. In his book *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam (2000) explores some of these consequences. In the past women represented a great share in

the country's social capital; they acted as volunteers, social community connectors, and purveyors of community. In the US Putnam (2000) observes:

Comparing two women of the same age, education, financial security and marital and parental status, full-time employment appears to cut home entertaining by roughly 10 percent and church attendance by roughly 15 percent, informal visiting with friends by 25 percent, and volunteering by more than 50 percent (195).

Putnam's quotation emphasizes the role women played as social connectors. He describes the consequences of their paid labour and how their paid employment affects other components of social life. When fewer women participated in paid employment, many of them had a very important social function: building community. But with a greater number of women employed full-time many no longer possess the time or energy to commit to their communities, thereby creating a reduction in the number of community connections women could create.

As more American women entered the paid labour force, civic engagement decreased (Putnam 2000). For while women working ". . . increases opportunity for making new connections and getting involved. . .it decreases time available for exploring those opportunities." (Putnam 2000: 194). Women simply didn't have the time and energy to devote to civic activities. This apparent decline in civic

participation could have influenced religious involvement - people may no longer have the discipline required to consistently attend religious services and participate in liturgy (Davie 2002). While civic participation has declined, individuals may no longer have the discipline to become regularly involved in any group.

Clearly the idea behind women's paid labour force participation and its impact on levels of social capital is alarming, especially to feminist scholars who view the concept itself as unjustly gendered (Bezanson 2006). Both vertical and horizontal segmentation exist between men and women in associational membership (Norris & Inglehart 2003), demonstrating gender inequality between the sexes. Vertical segmentation occurs through the density of male and female associational membership meaning that men have easier access to powerful individuals. Horizontal segmentation examines the differences in the types of associations that men and women become involved in.

Men generally belong to associations that can expand their economic abilities while women tend to belong to associations that develop communities and enhance domestic life. Why does segmentation continue to exist even though more women engage in full-time employment than in years passed? Norris and Inglehart (2003) and McPherson and Smith-

Lovin (1986) suggest that women have may not be engaging in the same kinds of social capital as their male counterparts; rather, women are "bowling in women's leagues," (Norris and Inglehart 2003) that is, they exercise social capital that gives them little credit. Women often spend much of their excess time with family in tight-knit social networks that accommodate their needs. Men and women who spend extensive time with friends are more likely to belong to associational groups.

Many policy analysts see social capital as a necessity in social life and a resource to be sought nationally, yet they often refer to very specific types of social capital – bridging³⁵ and Unking³⁶ social capital (Bezanson 2006). Female social capital generally is bonding social capital – a devalued form that occurs in tight-knit relationships like those found within families or friend groups.

Most conceptions of social capital elicit a male-framework and appear to blame women for decreasing levels of social capital, but women's paid labour force participation can only be credited for a small amount of change in social capital (Putnam 2000). Women employed full-time are only slightly less likely as women part-time employed and those

³⁵ That which takes place between people of different networks and groups (Bezanson 2006).

³⁶ That which transpires between relatively weak and relatively powerful individuals together (Bezanson 2006).

who engage in unpaid labour to have social capital connections. Feminist critiques of Putnam also revolve around the idea that discouraging women from paid labour force participation would cause set-backs in gender equality. Overall, understanding how women's paid labour force participation has affected social capital remains academically dual-sided.

Social Capital and Time Pressure

Putnam (2002) has labeled time pressure as a great predictor in the decrease of social capital found throughout the Western world. Roxburgh (2006) suggests that women and men generally experience the same amount of time pressure—particularly among married couples as the majority of both men and women report being unsatisfied with the amount of time they can spend with their families.

The last twenty years have brought forth longer work hours which create even greater time-compression for North Americans (Edgell Becker 2001; Roxburgh 2006). Yet, while both genders report time pressures, women continue to do a disproportionate amount of housework and tend to experience even more time pressure when they have good coworker relationships. Unlike women, men in Roxburgh's (2006) study reported less time pressures if they had good coworker relationships. Both genders experience significant time

pressures, yet women in the study had more household duties, and greater pressure between paid-work life and unpaid work life.

Bibby (2006) found that in 2005 47% of Canadians surveyed reported "Never [having] enough time" as their greatest personal concern. Lack of time was more of a concern than personal health or lack of money, indicating a greater amount of busy-ness found within the Canadians surveyed. Furthermore, Bibby (2006) states that this problem is particularly pronounced among younger people – and even more so among mothers with children. Interestingly, one in two baby boomers and one in four pre-boomers have reported an insufficient amount of time to complete their workload (including both paid and unpaid labour) (Bibby 2006). A glaring 67% of parents employed full-time with school-aged children have reported that they feel particularly strapped for time—a number that is exasperated among mothers. Clearly the time concern has affected numerous Canadians, despite their demographics.

Women, Work, and Social Capital

When women engage in the paid labour force, they often experience what Beaujot and Liu (2005) call the double burden. The double burden (or second shift) occurs when both men and women are responsible for paid labour, but (in North

America) women continue to do a disproportionate amount of unpaid labour (Estor 1987; Adkin 2005; Beaujot & Liu 2005; Roxburgh 2006) including child caring, family cooking, and house cleaning duties. Clearly full-time employed mothers experience greater time pressures as they continue to perform a greater proportion of the unpaid labour within the household.

Beaujot and Liu (2005) do, however, give some credit to men. Between 1992 and 1998 more men began to take on what traditionally were labeled women's roles—a swap in gender roles has begun to occur where men have been taking on more unpaid labour. This change may illustrate emerging gender equality. Sullivan (2000) observes that over time, there has been an increase in the domestic tasks carried out by men. He asserts that a greater amount of egalitarianism has begun to emerge between married couples as far as unpaid domestic work is concerned. He also notes that women continue to do a disproportionate amount of domestic work, yet men's contribution to domestic life has significantly increased. The assertion is that equality between the genders is indeed emerging. Men's increase in unpaid labour around the house suggests that they too are experiencing a decrease in their leisure time.

Cohen (2004) found that the data indicate that fewer women than men (in the United States) are choosing to work in the paid labour force and fewer are entering less female dominated occupations. He asserts that women's increased labour force participation has resulted in less gender segregation and been a significant contributor in the changing nature of gender inequality in North America. While less women than men are entering the paid labour force, the percentage of women engaging in paid labour has indeed met rapid increases since the 1960's (Larson, Goltz, & Munro 2000). As previously stated, with the birth of children, many women work less hours (or perhaps leave the paid labour force altogether) while their male counterparts tend to work more (Jacobs & Gerson 2006).

Frequently women act as volunteers in their communities, often in a form of undeclared work. Women's undeclared work (that is, undeclared unpaid labour, normally centering around types of voluntarism) centers around helping others (Williams & Windebank 2006). This work often looks more like mutual aid rather than actual employment or organized voluntarism. Women volunteer in their own neighbourhoods helping neighbours. Often this sort of help is not reflected in official volunteering, particularly as this help is not represented formally. Informal volunteering

frequently gets neglected in research for this very reason (particularly as the women engaging in these activities do not label it as volunteering, but view it as part of life).

Family and Social Capital

Family is a social institution that is vastly important in the socialization of children, thereby influencing social changes throughout a country's social system. Familial social capital is of particular importance as it is an indicator of familial relationship and how much time parents spend with children which is of prime importance to this thesis. It is also a strong predictor of child success both in school and later life, but familial social capital varies greatly, particularly for parents who move away from childhood cities (Boisjoly, Duncan, & Hofferth 1995). Coleman (Parcel & Menaghan 1994) assumes that parental employment will have detrimental effects on children mostly because of bonding social capital.

When parents work outside of the home, children receive less time with parents, which assumedly equals detrimental affects for children. Parcel and Menaghan (1994) tested this hypothesis and found that mothers who do not work during children's early years (the first three) may assist children in verbal fluency. The data supports the fact that maternal social capital affects verbal facility while paternal social

capital effects child behaviour later in life. The study illustrates that familial social capital assists children in development, particularly as verbal fluency is important for success in school and later life.

Religious Involvement: Is it Important?

Many individuals continue to deem the religious climate of Canada unimportant; therefore, an important question must be addressed before proceeding with this topic: if religious participation is indeed decreasing, should Canadians care? This section argues that religion is important in Canadians' lives by exploring religious links to civic engagement and other pro-social behaviours.

Uslaner (2002) argues that religion may increase civic engagement, yet it may also detract from it as believers frequently avoid contact with non-believers thereby creating their own subculture away from the greater culture. By examining civic-engagement through exploring voluntarism in both Canada and the United States, Uslaner (2002) found that Conservative Christians in both nations are more likely to give their time to faith-based volunteer pursuits than secular activities; however conservative denominations are more likely than liberal denominations to volunteer time at all. That is, Conservative Christians are more likely to volunteer in both secular and Christian organizations than

Christians belonging to liberal denominations. While Conservative Christians have more particularized trust (that is, they are more likely to trust people like themselves), they are more likely to participate in activities expected of individuals with generalized trust than their liberal Christian counterparts. Overall religion is related to higher levels of civic engagement - both in and out of religious groups (Levitt 2008; Uslaner 2002)

Religion is linked to social capital - which, according to Putnam (2000) is important in communities' health - as it enables its participants to connect with others. Churchgoers have more contacts in different networks (and often classes) enabling them to access different resources, although religious communities present different factors that must be accounted for in the study of social capital (Tollini 2006).

Religious participation predicts a myriad of other pro-social behaviours including voting, and volunteering. Park and Smith (2000) found that Protestants devote much of their time to volunteering in both the community and the church. Such a relationship illustrates a sort of religious capital - a special type of social capital whereby individuals access resources through their religious association. In Park and Smith's study (2000) religiosity was the strongest

predictor of voluntarism both in and outside of respondents' churches.

In Summary

Overall, a greater understanding of how women's level of time and their perceived benefit from religious involvement is required to fully comprehend how these variables have effected church participation within Canada. Clearly some gaps have appeared in the literature. A relationship exists between religion's participation, and women's paid labour force participation, but further research is required to make causal argumentation based on decreased levels of time as well as a benefit to individual women within Canada's churches.

Theoretical Considerations

The literature suggests that women's increased paid employment and Canadian religious involvement may be related. However, the review of literature neither considers the effects of salient variables on the relationship between women's paid employment and participation in religious activities, nor the importance of studying and understanding the relationship between these two components of Canadian life. In this chapter, I offer reasons for studying the labour-religion phenomenon, and indicate why certain variables are included in the analysis while others have been left out. I conclude by reviewing the questions this thesis addresses and how examination of these particular variables is of use.

When life moves at an increasingly fast pace, time and energy are in short supply. Dual-earner families are becoming prevalent, as are single-parent families, both of which experience increased time-pressure in the delicate balance between paid and unpaid work. Employers have increased demands on employees, often through the use of technology that cannot be escaped. Socially, parents are pressured to spend a greater amount of time with their kids, thereby creating more unpaid labour for parents. These two

phenomena indicate full-time employees effectively work two shifts, the first in their paid work and the second in their unpaid work. Completing all of these tasks has become more complicated in a country where, in many families, both parents engage in full-time employment. While much unpaid labour has become more efficient through technological advancement, Canadians report working more than their predecessors, representing a longer work day when both first and second shifts are considered.

In recognizing the time constraints that encompass Canadian life, it becomes apparent that some Canadians may simply not have the time to become involved in religious groups. Yet, not all time-starved Canadians have had marked decreases in their religious involvement. Some Canadians continue to attend religious services despite enduring the same palpable time pressures as many who are not regularly involved. Many time-constrained dual-earner and single-parent families have, and continue to have, high levels of religious involvement. While time may explain why many Canadians have decreased their involvement, time alone cannot account for the change in Canadians' attendance patterns otherwise no full-time employed Canadians would participate.

Costs and Benefits Considered

What leads some individuals to become involved in religious groups while others choose to stay away? Stark and Bainbridge (1985) suggest religious participation is subject to both conscious and less-conscious cost-benefit analyses whereby the benefits must outweigh the costs of involvement. These cost-benefit analyses illustrate a pragmatism³⁷ that determines involvement. Pragmatism refers to an attitude that governs an individual's decision making process when one feels constrained for time and lacks energy to devote to all of the activities he or she would like to complete. It represents a balance between what an individual would like to do and what can practically be done. Pragmatism is an attitude of self preservation that determines whether or not participation is worth it - whether the benefits significantly outweigh the costs involved.

Canadians are pragmatic, often completing practical tasks instead of following their personal ideals. With self-reported decreases in leisure time, Canadians have become increasingly pragmatic about how and where time is spent. It has become evident that, in an increasingly busy culture, all activities outside of work must benefit those that

³⁷ James (1907) states that pragmatism represents concrete reasons for action. For more information on pragmatism and its development in philosophy, see James (1907).

engage in them. Religion is no exception. Involvement in religious groups must be beneficial to affiliates otherwise such involvement will be limited or non-existent. For example, if I were a parent and had to argue with my child to go to Church every Sunday, I would not only sacrifice time that I could be using for unpaid labour or leisure activities, but also peace within my home; I would be less likely to enter the doors of my religious group. In this situation, the costs appear to outweigh the benefits for my child as she does not want to attend Church; consequently, I am less likely to go because the costs have increased for me as well. In this particular case, the costs have become greater than the benefits through my child's temper tantrum. First, I would sacrifice the peace within my household, and second, I would sacrifice the benefits I would receive from the service.

If something existed to benefit my child, I would likely attend if my child wanted to go. If I could avoid the pre-church battle with my child, then I would be more likely to attend. Furthermore, if my child enjoyed attending, she would be far less disruptive to me during the service, thereby increasing the benefit for me and further increasing the likelihood I would attend. The benefits must outweigh

the costs for all members of my household in order to encourage my involvement.

Religious groups can not rest on their laurels as religious institutions, expecting individuals to attend because of devotion to involvement and the religious group.

Rather, religious groups need to ensure that people within their communities perceive their involvement to be worthwhile, thereby ensuring the costs outweigh the benefits. Religious groups need to find means and methods of attracting and keeping individuals involved.

Costs Associated with Religious Groups

According to Bibby (2006), Canadians are feeling surmounting time pressures³⁸, translating into less available time devoted to activities outside of work³⁹, which could include religious groups. I predict costs of participation are primarily related to time, particularly as Canadians continue to desire what religion offers and profess high levels of traditional religious beliefs (Bibby 2000). Individuals who have less time to devote to religious groups are likely to be less involved than those individuals that have more time.

³⁸ I discussed this in detail in my review of the literature.

³⁹ Both paid and unpaid.

Gender

Several sources (Beaman 2003; Davie 2000; Woodhead 2001) have stressed women are traditionally more involved in religious groups than men, indicating that declining religious involvement is likely linked with women.

Furthermore, women's increased employment coincides with their defection from religious groups, and women have exited religious groups at a faster rate than men (Woodhead 2001).

However, Bibby (2002) states little difference exists between male and female attendance patterns. Therefore, I predict women and men will have similar levels of religious involvement when only gender is considered; however, I believe gender will have a combined effect with many other variables, particularly as women shoulder a disproportionate amount of unpaid labour within their households.

Employment

Full-time employment consumes a great deal of Canadians' time. Theoretically, Canadians employed full time would have less time to devote to tasks outside of work when compared to those that are employed part-time or aren't employed at all. Furthermore, full-time employed Canadians need to complete all labour tasks despite employment consuming predominant amounts of their time. I predict the analyses will reveal that full-time employees are involved

in religious groups less than part-timers or those without employment.

Parenthood

Children are a confounding variable in terms of religious involvement. Many parents return to religious groups once they have children so their children can attend Sunday School and be raised in a religious environment (Hoge & Jackson 1978; Bibby 1993; Davie 2000)⁴⁰; however, children do minimize the amount of time parents can devote to other activities. Consequently, the effect of children could be directly linked to higher levels of religious involvement, but indirectly linked to lower levels (through lack of time). Furthermore, children could increase involvement through supporting traditional forms of the family (Marler 1995). Traditional families (that is, families with two parents and several children) tend to be involved in religious groups more than those that are less traditional⁴¹.

Marriage

The presence of a partner should increase the amount of time individuals can devote to religious groups.

Theoretically, when two people reside in the same household,

⁴⁰ This implies a higher level of religious involvement through greater perception of worth.

⁴¹ Single parent or blended families are considered less traditional.

they split paid and unpaid labour tasks. However, presence of a partner does not necessarily translate into higher levels of religious involvement, particularly with rising rates of cohabitation (Armstrong 2004). Many religious groups do not condone cohabitation, and many partners who cohabit are of different faiths. Therefore, presence of a partner cannot be expected to increase religious participation; however, marriage may increase involvement (particularly when compared to those who are divorced/separated, widowed, and never married). Additionally, Edgell Becker and Hofmeister (2001) found that married men were more likely to be involved in religious groups than unmarried ones.

In Summary

Meaningful ministry draws individuals and families to religious communities, providing great benefits to those who access religious services. The phrase 'meaningful ministry' implies that ministry must be done "well" - it must be done in such a way that is tangible, accessible, and significant to Canadians. To make ministry meaningful, Churches must assess their congregations' needs and respond accordingly rather than follow the latest ministry trends. Meaningful ministry involves members of entire families, ensuring that ministries exist to engage members at every age and life

stage. If ministries draw from all ages and familial groups, then parents, children, and teens can all become involved within the religious community. In turn, religious involvement would be more beneficial to Canadians.

The questions that this thesis aims to address can be summarized as follows:

1. How have the independent variables (gender, employment status, parenthood, time stress, and enjoyment) operated on the dependent variable, religious involvement, between 1975 to 2005?
2. In 1985, 1995, and 2005, do the time variables proposed have a connection to religious involvement?

In the next chapter, I discuss the methods I use in addressing these questions.

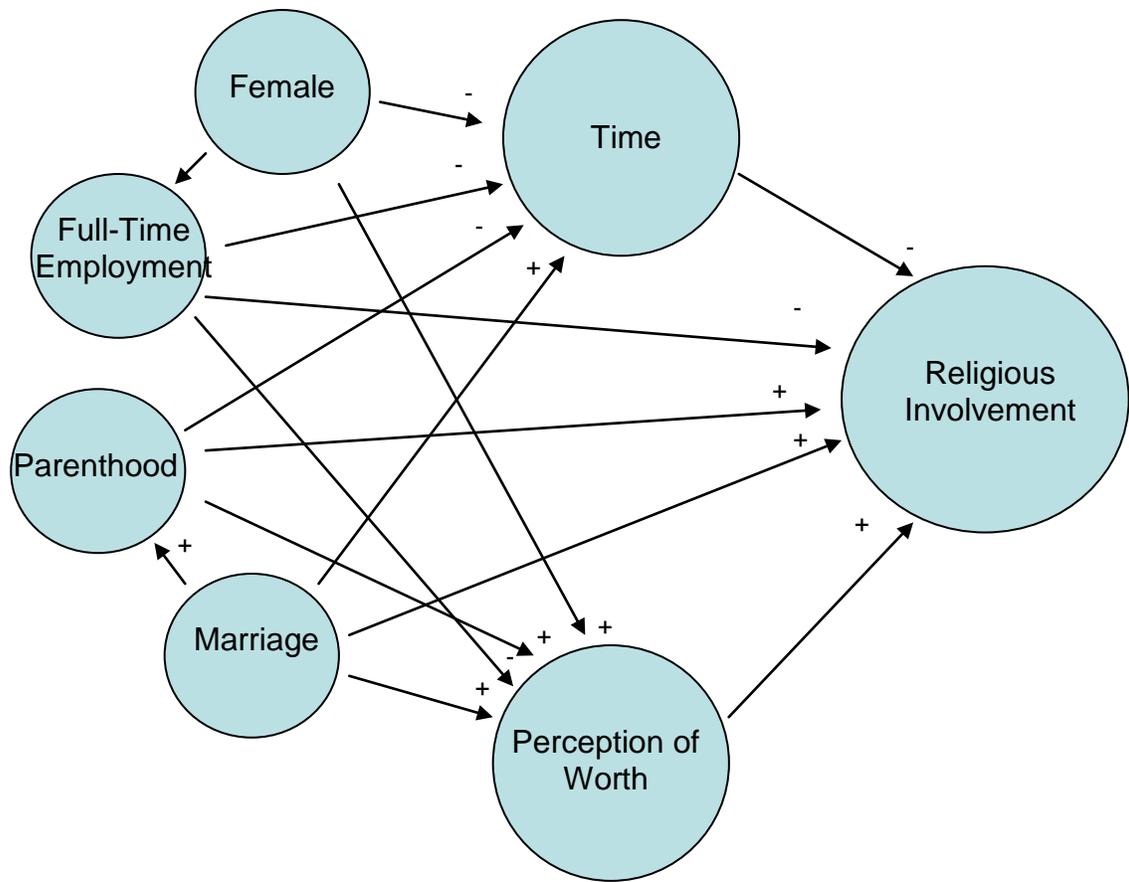


Figure 1: The Explanatory Model

Methodology

To understand how women's increased employment rate has affected religious involvement and the importance of costs and benefits of involvement, this thesis makes use of secondary data analysis. The data sets used are part of what is known as The Project Canada Survey Series carried out by Dr. Reginald Bibby of the University of Lethbridge. The series is comprised of four youth surveys carried out in 1984, 1992, 2000, and 2008, along with seven adult surveys conducted by mail every five years from 1975 to 2005 (Bibby 2006). Each of the seven adult surveys involved samples of approximately 1,500 adults, with each new survey sample including people who had participated in previous surveys, resulting in the generation of panel, time-series and cross-sectional data. The questionnaires varied in length, consisting of about 300 variables each.

In this chapter, I outline the procedures used in the thesis. I discuss the Project Canada data, collection, and methods; outline the variables of interest and their wording in each of the six questionnaires; explain the statistical methods involved in answering the research questions while explaining why these particular methods were chosen; and

suggest potential areas of error within this research paradigm.

Project Canada Data

The first Project Canada survey was carried out in 1975. This comprehensive survey focused on social issues, intergroup relations, and religion, and included an item on service attendance. These seven surveys have made it possible to examine social trends in Canada over the last thirty years. By asking the same questions of many of the same respondents, cultural changes and continuities have become clarified.

Overall, the extensive and varied Project Canada data make it possible to track a large number of specific topics and broader social trends in Canada - as demonstrated in Reginald Bibby's 2006 book, *The Boomer Factor*.

Variables

This thesis explores connections between Canadians' gender and employment status and the subsequent impact on religious involvement between 1975 and 2005. It also explores the costs and benefits of involvement. I address both of these questions through the use of some key potential independent variables. They include employment status, parenthood, gender, and perception of worth.

Religious Involvement

Religious involvement is measured using service attendance. This is a self-report measure asking respondents how often they attend religious services.

It should be noted that service attendance measures only one dimension of religiosity, namely, religious group involvement. As a predictor of a myriad of other behaviours, it is an important indicator of religious participation (Putnam 2000). Actual or perceived reductions of time obviously may have little impact on an individual's personal beliefs, but it may contribute to a decrease in religious involvement.

To carry out logistic regression analyses, the dependent variable of service attendance was recoded into a dummy variable. Originally the item's response options were as follows: several times a week, every week, nearly every week, 2-3 times a month, about once a month, several times a year, about once a year, less than once a year, and never.

Service attendance has been divided into two categories monthly or more and less than monthly, similar to those employed by Bibby (2006; 2002; 2000; 1987). Monthly or more appears to be a reasonable and valid general measure of

religious involvement, over against the rather narrow criterion of weekly attendance. In addition, monthly involvement would seem to help to account for inflated reporting⁴².

Employment Status

Employment status is centrally important to this thesis. I am making use of a self-report measure utilizing the following categories: working full-time; working part-time; with a job, but not at work because of temporary illness; with a job, but not at work because of temporary lay-off; with a job, but not at work because of a strike; unemployed; retired; keeping house; or in school. The categories were altered slightly over the course of the surveys, with specific categories changing; however, these changes only increased the precision of the measure.

Gender

The literature implies that gender is important in understanding individual levels of religious involvement, particularly as women have traditionally urged families to be involved. Gender was divided into two categories throughout: MALE and FEMALE.

⁴² Many Canadians report higher levels of involvement because they feel they should be involved more than they are. Monthly or more creates a more graceful cut-off.

Parenthood

The child-rearing hypothesis implies that the life-cycle effect of parenthood can draw individuals to religious groups. Therefore, I include parenthood as a variable in the analysis. In the surveys, individuals were asked the number of children they had. I will differentiate between respondents with children and those without through the use of a dummy variable, coding all individuals with children in one group and all those without in another.

Concern Over Lack of Time

The 1985-2005 surveys included a question regarding respondents' concerns over lack of time. This variable is utilized to assess whether concern over time influences levels of religious involvement. In the previous chapter I explained that, theoretically, individuals who have more concern over their lack of time could have lower levels of religious involvement⁴³. Concern over time most accurately measures individuals time stress. The surveys asked respondents to indicate their level of concern over their lack of time: A GREAT DEAL, QUITE A BIT, LITTLE, or NONE. These categories are representative of concern and reflect respondents' time-stress.

⁴³ Simply because these Canadians don't have time to devote to religious groups.

Perception of Worth

Perception of worth is hard to measure, and because no survey questions directly asked whether respondents felt their religious involvement worthwhile, perception of worth has been operationalized utilizing an indirect measure: level of enjoyment received from respondents' religious groups. Respondents were asked whether they received "A GREAT DEAL", "QUITE A BIT", "LITTLE", or "NO" enjoyment from their religious groups. I recoded these into three groups - a great deal, quite a bit, and little to no enjoyment.

This indirect measure is the best available as level of enjoyment displays a presumably important component of worth. When an individual enjoys their religious group, they must-on some level-find it worthwhile.

Procedures

Before completing any other statistical analysis, I will divide the sample by gender through the use of a split file procedure. Rates of participation (of both men and women) will be tracked over the thirty year period (using the 1975, 1990, and 2005 data sets).

The first set of crosstabulations will examine levels of religious involvement. The second set will look at relationships between each independent variable and

respondents' concern over their lack of time. The third set will display relationships between the independent variables and respondents' level of enjoyment received from their religious groups. These three sets will be used to determine the effect of each of the independent variables on the dependent variable, and general relationships indicated within the data.

Logistic regression procedure will be utilized on the 1985, 1995, and 2005 data to understand the total impact of all independent variables on the dependent variable thereby providing a foundation for the current research project and making an argument for reduced levels of time and current contributions to familial religious participation (as defined by church attendance). Logistic regression illustrates the direct and indirect effects the independent variables have on the dependent variable. These particular years will be employed because they contain all variables of interest.

Each categorical variable will be inputted utilizing indicator procedure in SPSS 13.0. This procedure divides each categorical variable into a number of categories - in essence creating a series of dummy variables. It uses the last category on the variable as the referent variable - the one that the analysis compares all other dummy variables to.

Referent variables were meaningfully and purposely selected⁴⁴.

Why will logistic regression be utilized rather than other regression possibilities? Linear regression proved inadequate as the data does not follow a normal distribution (binary responses never yield normal distributions) (Tabachnick & Fidell 2001). Linear regression works well when the dependent variable is continuous, but categorical variables cannot meet the assumptions associated with the linear regression model - particularly those surrounding a linear relationship and normal distribution.

Logistic regression (also known as logit analysis) and discriminant function analysis (DFA) can be used for dichotomous variables and can predict the probability of whether or not an event will occur; however DFA requires many assumptions to be met while logistic regression has only a few. Unlike DFA, logistic regression does not require specific types of distribution of independent variables (Tabachnick & Fidell 2001), and performs well even when the assumptions of DFA are met. Therefore, logistic regression procedure was employed.

⁴⁴ The referent variable for employment status is full-time employment, the referent variable for concern over time is a great deal, and the referent variable for enjoyment received is a great deal/quite a bit.

In this thesis I want to determine whether the independent variables can predict which attendance group an individual belongs to, that is, whether or not an individual attends monthly a more or less than monthly. Additionally, logistic regression uses a maximum-likelihood method, meaning coefficients that make the results most likely are selected.

Connections between religious involvement and the other variables are explored in greater depth in the 1985, 1995, and 2005 surveys because they include all variables of interest, and therefore can explain whether a relationship currently exists between religion and paid employment.

Potential Areas of Error

Unfortunately, running multiple tests can have negative consequences and provide significant results only through the number of tests completed. However, in order to answer the research questions, it is necessary to complete the number of tests outlined in this chapter. Additionally, because this research utilizes secondary analysis of previously collected data, my thesis is limited by the phrasing and type of questions asked in the Project Canada surveys. Direct questions regarding reasons why affiliates do not participate more would have been ideal, but could not

be added to the analysis. Furthermore, questions that better assess whether an individual does not feel whether she has the time to become more involved would have been ideal. However, the questions included in the analysis do an adequate job of measuring both worth and time, even though more precise questions could have been asked to measure these two variables. Furthermore, enjoyment received from religious groups is not particularly accurate in assessing individuals' perception of worth; however, it is the best measure available.

Despite these weaknesses, efforts were taken to provide an accurate account of the changes in the variables between 1975 and 2005. The next chapter of this thesis outlines the results.

Findings

So far I have maintained that Canadian women's increased employment participation has had an impact on religious involvement. The primary reason for this is tied to a decrease in the perceived importance of religious involvement in the face of increasing demands on time.

In this chapter, I put these ideas to an empirical test, utilizing data from the Project Canada national surveys conducted every five years from 1975 through 2005. First, I examine the general relationships between the key variables utilizing crosstabulations. Second, I make use of logistic regression and focus on select survey years to better understand the impact that the key variables have on one another⁴⁵. I conclude the chapter with some preliminary reflections about what has been taking place in Canada in the post-1960s.

Gender and Attendance in the Post-1960s

The Project Canada surveys show that, between 1975 and 2005, the percentage of Canadians attending religious group services monthly or more decreased from 41% to 34%. However, this decrease occurred between 1975 and 1990, plateauing in

⁴⁵ I create models for the 1985, 1995, and 2005 surveys. These surveys contained all of the relevant variables (including concern about time and enjoyment received from individuals' religious groups).

2005 (Table 1).

In 1975, marginally more men (42%) than women (40%) attended religious services monthly or more. By 1990, a slight shift occurred with women's participation levels (36%) exceeding that of men (32%). In short, women and men were involved in religious groups at similar levels throughout this thirty year period. However, while the levels of involvement were similar, it is important to note that the levels of involvement for both women and men declined, begging the question, "Why?"

Table 1.
Service Attendance by Gender, 1975-
2005
% Attending Services Monthly or More

	1975	1990	2005
National	41 (1184)	34 (1251)	34 (1600)
Men	42 (623)	32 (617)	33 (794)
Women	40 (561)	36 (634)	34 (806)

*Source: The Project Canada
Surveys

Gender and Employment in the Post-1960s

During this same time period, some important developments were taking place on the employment front. Statistics Canada and Project Canada data provide snapshots of the relationship between religious involvement and female employment between 1976 and 2006.

As summarized in Figure 1, the percentage of Canadian men (aged fifteen and over) participating in the paid labour force between 1976 and 2006 declined slightly and remained steady over the thirty year period. Overall, Canadian men have had a relatively steady employment rate since 1976, with minor drops in times of economic recession. However, women's employment tended to rise significantly from 1976 onward,⁴⁶ approaching a rate equal to men.

A similar pattern is corroborated by the Project Canada Data sets. Figure 2 illustrates changes in Canadians' full-time employment between 1975 and 2005. Both figures depict an increasing proportion of women involved in paid employment outside the home.

⁴⁶ There were slight drops through the years, however, these were relatively small.

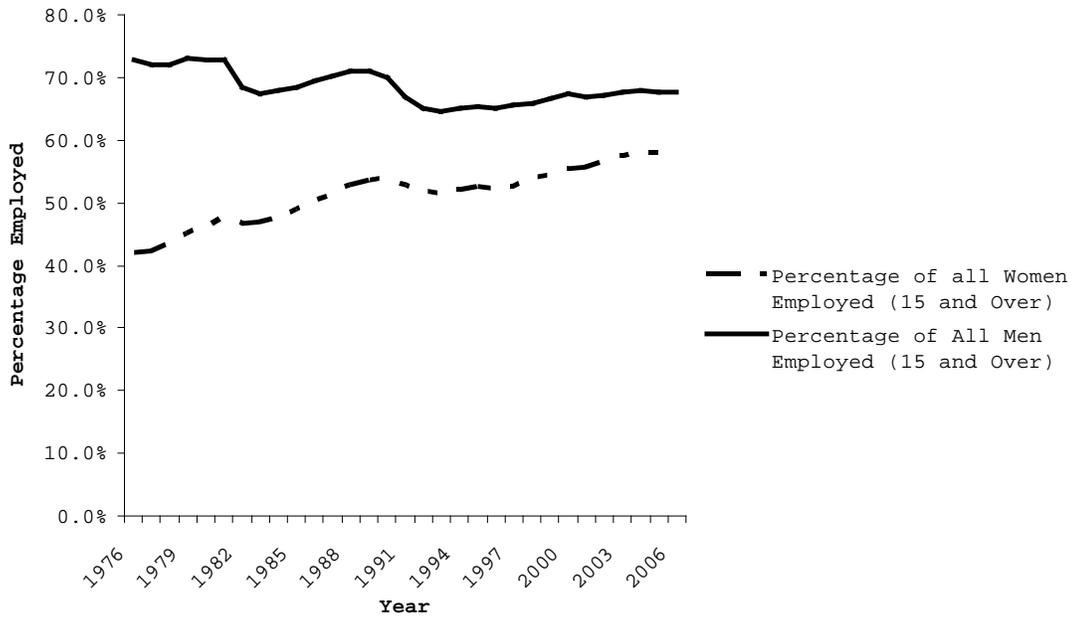
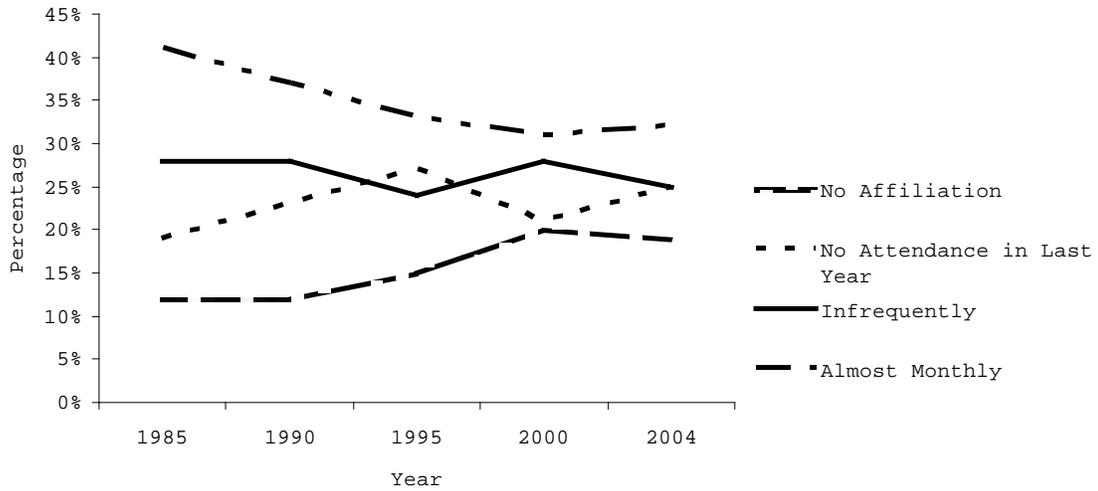


Figure 2: Women and Men's Employment 1976-2006

*Source Women in Canada Work Chapter Updates



**Figure 3: Religious Affiliation and Attendance
Canadians Aged 15 and Older**

Attendance and Employment Status

We see that, in the post-1960s, the involvement of Canadians in religious groups declined while the participation of women in the paid labour force increased. However, the relationship of a Canadian's employment status and subsequent religious involvement has yet to be examined. If employment status influences religious involvement⁴⁷, then I expect females employed full-time to be involved less than those in other employment statuses, namely those that work part-time, are unemployed, perform only unpaid labour, or are retired.

Employment, Gender, and Religion

As emphasized earlier, employment status determines time and therefore would be expected to influence religious involvement. Other factors considered, individuals employed full-time would be expected to have lower levels of religious involvement than those employed part-time, or are not employed.

The data (tables 2 and 3) indicate that women and men employed full-time participated in religious groups less often than those in other employment statuses⁴⁸, supporting my first hypothesis. When Canadians are employed full-time they have less time to devote to other activities, therefore

⁴⁷ And has brought about the Canadian decrease in religious involvement.

⁴⁸ Even when controlling for marital status and parenthood.

they participate less in religious groups. This finding was statistically significant for women with children, but not for men. Consequently, I accept my hypothesis that full-time employed women were less involved in religious groups than those in other employment statuses, while I tentatively accept my hypothesis for men.

Retired women in both 1985 and 1995 were more involved in religious groups than those in other employment statuses. This finding was statistically significant.

Table 2.

		Female Family Factors By Religious Involvement					
Parenthood	Employment Status	1975		1990		2005	
		High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
No Children	Full-Time	39% 12	61% 19	39% 12	61% 19	33% 9	67% 18
	Part-Time	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	100% 5	67% 4	33% 2
	Part-Time Student	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	100% 2	75%* 3	25%* 1
	Laid Off	0% 0	100% 4	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Unemployed	0% 0	0% 0	0%* 0	100%* 1	0% 0	100% 3
	Retired	0% 0	0% 0	25% 1	75% 3	0% 0	0% 3
	At Home	0% 0	100% 6	0% 0	100% 3	0% 0	0% 0
	Student	75%* 3	25%* 1	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Full-Time	42% 14%	58% 19	33% 22	67% 45	29%* 32	71%* 77
	Part-Time	46%* 12	54%* 14	40% 17	60% 26	43% 20	57% 27
Has Children	Part-Time Student	0% 0	0% 0	14% 1	86% 6	100% 20	0% 0
	Temporarily Off	0% 0	0% 0	38% 3	63% 5	24% 4	71% 77
	Laid Off	0% 0	100% 3	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Strike	0% 0	100% 3	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Unemployed	0% 0	100% 8	50% 2	50% 2	42% 5	58% 77
	Retired	91%* 11	8%** 1	71%* 20	29%* 8	58% 36	42% 26
	At Home	50%	50%	43%	56%	48%	52%

	52	52	20	26	24	26
			100%			
Student	0%	100%	*	0%*	86%	14%
	0	3	2	0	6	1

*Significant at the .05 Level

**Significant at the .01 Level

Parenthood and Marriage

I mentioned in previous chapters⁴⁹ that parenthood has a confounding effect on Canadians' religious involvement. Throughout this thesis, I have argued that the costs of time may outweigh the benefits of involvement for many Canadians. Children frequently consume parents' time; however, unlike full-time employment, they can inadvertently encourage parents to return to religious groups. Bibby⁵⁰ (1993, 2002, 2006) suggests parents frequently want their children raised with the religious morals with which parents grew up.

⁴⁹ Chapters 1, 2, and 3.

⁵⁰ And the child-rearing hypothesis more generally. See Hoge & Jackson (1978) and Davie (2000).

Table 3.
Male Family Factors by Religious Involvement

Parenthood	Employment Status	Religious Involvement					
		1975		1990		2005	
		High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
No Children	Full-time	28% 15	72% 29	18% 6	82% 28	31%* 9	69%* 20
	Part-time	0% 0	0% 0	60% 3	40% 2	0% 0	0% 0
	Part-time Student	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	75% 3	25% 1
	Temporarily off Work	0% 0	100% 1	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Templay	33% 15	67% 2	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Strike	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Unemployed	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	100% 3	0% 0	100% 1
	Retired	25% 1	75% 3	43% 3	57% 4	0% 0	100% 3
	Student	100% 1	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	At Home	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
Has Children	Full-time	44% 160	56% 204	33% 88	67% 179	34%* 92	66%* 182
	Part-Time	44% 4	56% 5	67% 6	33% 3	56% 9	44% 79
	Part-Time Student	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	100% 3	100% 7	0% 0
	Temporarily off Work	50% 2	50% 2	0% 0	0% 0	14% 1	86% 6
	TEMPLAY	10% 1	90% 90	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Strike	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0

	100					
Unemployed	%	0%	33%	67%	20%	80%
	3	0	2	4	1	4
Retired	70%	30%	43%	57%	39%	61%
	33	14	28	50	51	79
			100%			
Student	67%	33%	*	0%*	0%	0%
	2	1	2	0	0	0
At Home	0%	0%	100%	0%	50%	50%
	0	0	1	0	1	1

*Significant at the .05 Level

**Significant at the .01 Level

Overall, in both 1975 and 2005, parenthood translated into higher levels of religious involvement, even when controlling for employment status. Parents were more involved in religious groups than Canadians without children⁵¹. However, a small difference existed between men and women. In my theoretical assumptions, I alluded that married full-time employed mothers would be more involved than married full-time employed fathers as I expected the child rearing hypothesis to be more pronounced among female respondents⁵².

The data suggest that, while full-time employed women without children participated in religious groups more frequently than full-time employed men without children, the reverse was true when children were present. Mothers

⁵¹ When controlling for both marital status and employment status.

⁵² I expected this because women tend to assume more child-rearing duties than men.

employed full-time were less involved in religious groups than fathers employed full-time. This relationship, however, was not statistically significant; that is, the effect was either too small or the sample size was not large enough to refute my hypothesis. In this particular case, I attribute the lack of statistical significance to the effect size as the sample sizes are not particularly small. Tentatively, I suggest that children do not make a significant difference between men and women's involvement, although they appear to increase involvement overall.

Family Factors on Lack of Time

I predicted that women would experience more concern over their lack of time than men. The data indicates that women were generally more concerned over their lack of time than men. This was a statistically significant finding. Overall I accept my hypothesis that women have more concern over their lack of time than men.

Additionally, I believed that children would increase time-stress for parents. Mothers tended to have more time-stress than women without children. Men followed the same pattern in both 1985 and 1995. However, in 2005, full-time employed married fathers had lower levels of concern over their lack of time than full-time employed married men without children. This was, however, a small difference and

was not statistically significant. Therefore, I tentatively accept my hypothesis that, overall, children increase time-stress.

There was a large gender difference in the influence of time concerns on religious involvement. Women who expressed a great deal of concern over their lack of time were less involved in religious groups than men who had a great deal of concern. Women who were not very concerned⁵³ had substantially higher levels of involvement than women who had a great deal of concern, demonstrating that time was a significant cost of involvement for these women. However, men didn't reflect my hypothesis. Men demonstrated the opposite: greater proportions (9% more) of men who have a great deal of concern were more involved in religious groups than men who have relatively little concern. Men who were involved in religious groups could have more concern over their time because of their involvement in their religious groups.

⁵³ Somewhat / Little to No Concern

Full-time employed females report greater amounts of time-stress than full-time employed males. As mentioned before, in the second shift, women frequently carry the bulk of responsibility for unpaid labour within their households (Adkin 2005; Beaujot & Liu 2005; Roxburgh 2006). In terms of religion in Canada, women who felt less time-stress participated in religious groups more, which could account for employment-status/female attendance patterns. Full-time employed women were involved in religious groups less than those employed part-time or who were not employed.

Table 4.
Family Factors on Married Female Time Stress

		1985			1995			2005		
		Great Deal	Quite Bit	Some/Little	Great Deal	Quite Bit	Some/Little	Great Deal	Quite Bit	Some/Little
No Children	Full-Time	26%	11%	63%	19%**	19%**	62%**	24%	24%	52%
		N = 7	N = 3	N = 17	N = 4	N = 4	N = 13	N = 6	N = 6	N = 13
	Part-Time	40%	0%	60%	0%	0%	100%*	100%	0%	0%
		N = 2	N = 0	N = 3	N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0
	Part-Time Student	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	50%	33%	17%
		N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 3	N = 2	N = 1
	Unemployed	67%	0%	33%	0%	0%	0%	33%	0%	67%
	N = 4	N = 0	N = 2	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 0	N = 2	
Retired	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%	25%	0%	75%	
	N = 0	N = 1	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 0	N = 3	
At Home	20%	0%	80%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	
	N = 1	N = 0	N = 4	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	
Children	Full-Time	23%*	31%*	46%*	27%	38%	35%	28%	28%	44%
		N = 15	N = 20	N = 30	N = 23	N = 32	N = 29	N = 31	N = 30	N = 48
	Self-Employed	0%	0%	0%	50%	17%	33%	0%	0%	0%
		N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 3	N = 1	N = 2	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0
	Temporarily Off	29%	29%	43%	25%	25%	50%	21%	29%	50%
		N = 2	N = 2	N = 3	N = 1	N = 1	N = 2	N = 3	N = 4	N = 7
	Part-Time	15%	40%	44%	6%	38%	56%	21%	28%	51%
		N = 8	N = 21	N = 23	N = 2	N = 12	N = 18	N = 10	N = 13	N = 24
	Part-Time Student	100%	0%	0%	60%*	20%*	20%*	0%	100%	0%
		N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 3	N = 1	N = 1	N = 0	N = 2	N = 0
Unemployed	0%	10%	90%	40%	0%	60%	18%	36%	45%	
	N = 0	N = 1	N = 9	N = 2	N = 0	N = 3	N = 2	N = 4	N = 5	
Retired	21%	7%	71%	11%	30%	29%	7%	17%	76%	
	N = 3	N = 1	N = 10	N = 5	N = 13	N = 26	N = 4	N = 10	N = 45	
At Home	20%	31%	49%	14%*	31%*	56%*	21%	27%	52%	
	N = 11	N = 17	N = 27	N = 5	N = 11	N = 20	N = 3	N = 13	N = 25	
Student	100%	0%	0%	0%*	100%*	0%*	29%	0%	71%	
	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 4	N = 0	N = 2	N = 0	N = 5	

*Significant at the .05 Level

**Significant at the .01 Level

Table 5.
Family Factors on Married Male Concern Over Time

		1985			1995			2005		
		Great Deal	Quite a Bit	Some/Little	Great Deal	Quite a Bit	Some/Little	Great Deal	Quite a Bit	Some/Little
No Children	Full-Time	14%	31%	56%	15%	24%	61%	21%	24%	55%
		N = 5	N = 11	N = 20	N = 5	N = 8	N = 20	N = 6	N = 7	N = 16
	Self-Employed	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
		N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 4	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0
	Part-time	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
		N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0
	Part-time Student	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	0%	25%	75%
		N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 0	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 3
Unemployed	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	
	N = 0	N = 0	N = 2	N = 0	N = 0	N = 2	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	
Retired	20%	40%	40%	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%	
	N = 1	N = 2	N = 2	N = 0	N = 2	N = 2	N = 0	N = 0	N = 3	
At Home	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	
Children	Full-Time	16%	31%	53%	20%	29%	50%	14%	39%	47%
		N = 45	N = 89	N = 151	N = 43	N = 62	N = 106	N = 38	N = 107	N = 127
	Self-Employed	0%	0%	0%	13%	38%	50%	0%	0%	0%
		N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 3	N = 4	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0
	Tempoff	50%	20%	30%	0%	50%	50%	17%	17%	67%
		N = 5	N = 2	N = 3	N = 0	N = 2	N = 2	N = 1	N = 1	N = 4
	Part-time	17%	50%	33%	0%	17%	83%	6%	38%	56%
		N = 1	N = 3	N = 2	N = 0	N = 2	N = 10	N = 1	N = 6	N = 9
	Part-time Student	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	71%	0%	29%
	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 5	N = 0	N = 2	
Unemployed	1%	30%	60%	13%	38%	50%	17%	50%	33%	
	N = 1	N = 3	N = 6	N = 1	N = 3	N = 4	N = 1	N = 3	N = 2	
Retired	11%	18%	71%	8%	22%	70%	6%	18%	76%	
	N = 9	N = 10	N = 40	N = 7	N = 18	N = 58	N = 7	N = 23	N = 96	
At Home	0%	67%	33%	0%	0%	100%	50%	0%	50%	
	N = 0	N = 2	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 1	N = 1	N = 0	N = 1	
Student	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
	N = 1	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	N = 0	

*Significant at the .05 Level

**Significant at the .01 Level

Benefits of Religious Involvement

In my analysis, I examined the costs of religious involvement, but have yet to examine benefits to Canadians. Not all Canadians who experience time-stress avoid religious groups.

Generally, the data⁵⁴ suggests Canadians who receive a great deal of enjoyment from their religious groups were more involved, a pattern reflected in both men and women. I anticipated this pattern; however, in my hypothesis, I didn't recognize how pivotal enjoyment actually is. When Canadians enjoyed their religious groups, they were involved far more frequently than when they received less enjoyment. There is little doubt that enjoyment translates into involvement. Accordingly, who enjoys religious groups, and how has this enjoyment changed over time?

⁵⁴ In Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6.
Family Factors on Married Female Enjoyment
1985 1995 2005

Children	Employment	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	Not Apply
No Children	Full-Time	30% 7	70% 16	31%** 5	69%** 11	30%* 8	41%* 11	30%* 8
	Part-Time	71% 5	29% 2	0%* 0	100%* 1	50% 3	50% 3	0% 0
	Part-Time Student	0% 0	100% 2	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	100%* 4	0%* 0
	Unemployed	0% 0	100% 6	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	33% 1	67% 2
	Retired	50% 1	50% 1	67% 2	33% 1	0% 0	0% 0	100% 3
	Not Employed	100% 3	0% 0	0% 1	0% 2	100% 1	0% 0	0% 0
	Children	Full-Time	29%** 18	71%** 44	27% 21	73% 57	20% 21	51%** 54
	Self-Employed	0% 0	0% 0	20% 1	80% 4	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0
	Temporary Off	60% 3	40% 2	50% 1	50% 1	13% 2	60% 9	27% 4
	Part-Time	47% 21	53% 24	52% 16	48% 15	33% 15	44% 20	22% 10
	Part-Time Student	100%* 1	0% 0	20%* 1	75%* 3	50% 1	50% 1	0% 0
	Unemployed	18% 2	82% 9	33% 1	67% 2	18% 2	55% 6	27% 3
	Retired	80% 12	20% 2	46% 19	54% 22	48% 29	30% 18	23% 14
	Not Employed	60% 32	40% 21	37% 13	63%* 22	31%* 15	52% 25	17% 8
	Student	0% 0	100% 1	25%* 1	75%* 3	100% 1	0% 0	0% 0

*Significant at the .05 Level

**Significant at the .01 Level

Table 7.
Married Male Enjoyment

Children Present	Employment Status	1985		1995		2005		Not Apply
		High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	
No Children	Full-Time	16%	84%	26%	74%	21%	45%	34%
		5	27	7	20	6	13	10
				100				
	Self-Employed	0%	0%	%	0%	0%	0%	0%
		0	0	4	0	1	2	3
		100						
	Part-Time	%	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%
		4	0	1	1	0	1	2
	Part-Time Students	0%	%	%	0%	75%*	25%*	0%*
	0	1	1	0	3	1	0	
Not Employed	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
				100				
Unemployed	50%	50%	0%	%	0%	0%	100%	
	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	
Retired	25%	75%	33%	67%	0%	67%	33%	
	1	3	1	2	0	2	1	
Has Children	Full-Time	32%	65%	23%	77%	25%	50%	25%
		86	185	44	149	69	138	68
	Self-Employed	0%	0%	17%	83%	0%	0%	0%
		0	0	1	5	0	0	0
	Temporarily Off	50%	50%	60%	40%	0%	50%	50%
		5	5	3	2	0	3	3
	Part-Time	50%	50%	75%	25%	41%	47%	12%
		3	3	9	3	7	8	2
	Part-Time Students	0%	0%	57%	43%	83%	17%	0%
		0	0	4	3	5	1	0
		100		100		100		
Not Employed	0%	%	0%	%	0%	%	0%	
	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	
Unemployed	45%	55%	56%	44%	0%	80%	20%	
	5	6	5	4	0	4	1	
Retired	57%	43%	40%	60%	28%	52%	19%	
	33	25	32	49	35	65	24	
	100			100				
Student	%	0%	0%	%	0%	0%	0%	
	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	

*Significant at the .05 Level
**Significant at the .01 Level

Full-time employed Canadians, both female and male, were less inclined to report high levels of enjoyment from their religious groups than those employed part-time and not employed. In this case, the costs of involvement may be outweighing the benefits⁵⁵; hence, employed Canadians experienced a lower level of enjoyment. I predicted this pattern, particularly since full-time employed Canadians had less time to devote to religious groups than part-time employed or not employed⁵⁶ Canadians.

Fathers enjoyed religious groups more than men without children; however, mothers received less enjoyment than women without⁵⁷ children.

In 2005, in almost all categories⁵⁸, men without children received more enjoyment than in 1985 while men with children experienced less enjoyment in 2005 than in 1985. Perhaps with increasing equality in the division of unpaid labour, men with children could be engaging more in the second shift, and thus receiving less enjoyment from their religious groups.

⁵⁵ That is, reducing the enjoyment that these Canadians experience.

⁵⁶ See table 6.

⁵⁷ With the exception of 2005.

⁵⁸ Employment statuses (full-time, part-time students, and retired without children).

Enjoyment, Time, and Involvement

Generally speaking, when both genders experienced a high level of enjoyment from their groups, they were highly involved - despite time-stress. However, that said, those with greater time-stress were less involved than those with less such stress. All of these findings were statistically significant. Therefore, I accept my hypothesis that, generally-speaking, benefit received from an individual's religious group overrides one's time-stress.

Table 8.

Male and Female Religious Involvement by Level Concern Over Time and Level of Enjoyment Received From Religious Group 1985-2005

Gender	Time-Stress	Enjoyment	1985		1995		2005		
			High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	
Female	Great Deal	Not Apply	0% 0	100%* 3	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	100%* 34	
		Some/Little to None	15%* 10	85%* 56	14%* 9	86%* 57	15%* 12	85%* 70	
		Great Deal/Quite A Bit	71%* 25	29%* 10	91%* 20	9%* 2	79%* 22	21%* 6	
	Quite a Bit	Not Apply	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	1% 1	99% 72	
		Some/Little to None	20%* 16	80%* 65	16%* 19	94%* 98	25%* 29	75%* 83	
		Great Deal/Quite A Bit	86%* 43	14%* 7	80%* 40	20%* 10	91%* 42	9%* 4	
	Some/Little to None	Not Apply	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	2% 2	98% 117	
		Some/Little to None	17%* 24	83%* 120	21%* 32	79%* 121	25%* 33	75%* 101	
		Great Deal/Quite A Bit	85%* 99	15%* 17	90%* 57	10%* 6	96%* 113	4%* 5	
	Male	Great Deal	Not Apply	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	6% 2	95% 33
			Some/Little to None	17%* 10	83%* 48	22%* 17	78%* 62	20%* 7	80%* 28
			Great Deal/Quite A Bit	44%* 12	56%* 15	65%* 11	35%* 6	90%* 38	10%* 4
Quite a Bit		Not Apply	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	2%* 1	98%* 60	
		Some/Little to None	21%* 19	79%* 70	20%* 20	80%* 81	17%* 20	83%* 98	
		Great Deal/Quite A Bit	90%* 74	10%* 5	89%* 41	11%* 5	93%* 41	7%* 3	
Some/Little to None		Not Apply	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	0% 0	2% 2	98%* 118	
		Some/Little to	14%*	86%*	18%*	82%*	24%*	76%*	

None	26	158	37	168	45	146
Great Deal/Quite A Bit	85%*	14%*	90%*	10%*	91%*	9%*
	66	11	56	6	93	98

* Significant at the .01
Level

Which Independent Variables Are the Most Influential?

Logistic regression analysis displays the actual effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable while controlling for other independent variables. Many of the independent variables involved in the preceding analyses appear to have some influence on the dependent variables. However, these crosstabular analyses do not show the influence of the independent variables while controlling for the effects of other independent variables.

Logistic regression analyses were conducted to determine the impact of each independent variable on the dependent variable. Table 9 contains three sets of $Exp(B)$ s (i.e. logistic regression coefficients) for the 1985, 1995, and 2005 data examining women and men. The probability of participating in religious groups monthly or more was determined for each of these groups. These years were chosen because they include all variables of interest and illustrate changes in the variables over time. I discuss the 1985 data first, proceed to 1995, and finish with the 2005 data.

Employment Status

In both 1985 and 1995 women employed full-time were more involved in religious groups than those that were not employed, and those employed part-time, a finding that did not match my hypothesis. However, in 2005 women employed full-time

were less involved than women who were not employed, while those employed part-time were more involved than those that didn't have employment. In the first two years, women's full-time employment translated into more religious involvement while in 2005, it lowered involvement.

I speculate that, generally, busy people tend to keep more organized schedules, and it could be that in both 1985 and 1995 women employed full-time were more organized than their not employed counterparts, and thus could manage their time better, but this does not explain the change in 2005. Even when I control for time-stress, full-time employment lowered involvement in 2005, implying that the effect is connected to full-time employment itself rather than the time-stress connected with working full-time.

Feminist ideals⁵⁹ are inconsistent with many religious ideals, which may explain why some full-time employed women were less involved in religious groups; however, this does not account for the effects in 1985 and 1995. Additionally, non-involvement in religious groups has become more socially acceptable which could further influence female involvement.

The sample size is quite large; however, the $Exp(B)$ is still not statistically significant, so the effect is relatively small. Tentatively I accept the hypothesis that

⁵⁹ See Woodhead (2001).

full-time employment lowered women's involvement in 2005, but reject it for both 1985 and 1995.

Men employed part-time were the most involved (in all three years) when compared to men who were either unemployed or full-time employed. This could be because part-time employed men had more time than those employed full-time, but had better organization than those without employment.

Table 9.
 Logistic Regression Coefficients (Exp(B)) of Predictors of Religious Involvement Among Total
 Population, Women, and Men

Variable	1985		1995		2005	
	Women Exp(B)	Men Exp(B)	Women Exp(B)	Men Exp(B)	Women Exp(B)	Men Exp(B)
FAMILY FACTORS						
Employment Status						
Full Time Employed	1.69	1.08	1.35	1.82	0.65	0.71
Employed Part-Time	1.36	2.81	0.70	3.37*	1.29	1.52
Not Employed (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Parenthood						
Having Children	1.12	1.56	1.79	1.36	1.07	1.30
No Children (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Marital Status						
Never Married	0.48	0.37	.32*	0.95	.31**	0.76
Widowed	0.89	0.84	0.53	0.78	1.32	0.73
Divorced/Separated	.45*	1.71	.27*	0.36	.28**	0.73
Married (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
ATTENDANCE FACTORS						
Concern Over Lack of Time						
A Great Deal of Concern	0.57	0.44*	0.54	1.20	0.37**	1.05
Quite a Bit of Concern Over Time	1.20	1.68	0.54	1.10	0.98	0.82
Some/Little to No Concern (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Level of Enjoyment Received from Religious Group						
A Great Deal of Enjoyment	57.48**	2.70**	31.32**	114.29**	1239.61**	383.21**
Quite a Bit of Enjoyment	17.73**	2.27**	34.18**	17.32**	26.96**	9.68**
Undecided Level of Enjoyment	0.00	4.63				
Some/Little to No Enjoyment (Reference Category)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

* Significant at the .05 Level

**Significant at the .01 Level

Note: Empty cells are empty due to changes in the surveys.

In both 1985 and 1995, men employed full-time were more involved in religious groups than men who were not employed. However, in 2005, that pattern did not hold.

Parenthood

While the $Exp(B)$ s were not statistically significant, having children increased men and women's religious involvement in all three years. Tentatively I accept my hypothesis (and the child rearing hypothesis⁶⁰ more generally) that having children increases Canadians' involvement. Even when other family factors were controlled, parenthood contributed to religious involvement, supporting the child-rearing hypothesis.

Marital Status

In both 1985 and 1995 married women were more involved than women that had never married, divorced or separated women, and widowed women, a finding that was statistically significant in 1995. In 2005 married women were still more involved than both divorced/separated and never married women, but less involved than those that were widowed. Generally-speaking, marital status matched my hypothesis for women: married women were more involved than other women, particularly those who had never married. Widowed

⁶⁰ The idea that children increase parental religious involvement as parents believe their children should be raised in a religious environment like they were (Hoge & Jackson 1978; Bibby 1993; Davie 2000).

women in 2005 were the exception and were more involved in religious groups than those who were married.

Married men were more involved than never married, widowed, and divorced/separated men in 1995 and 2005. Both years followed my hypothesis that marriage increases religious involvement. In 1985, the data didn't illustrate at all what I'd expected. Men that were most involved in religious groups were divorced/separated, followed by married men. While intuitively this finding appears puzzling, it could reflect men's tendency to lose many of their social networks upon divorce, and their struggles following relationship dissolution (Larson, Goltz & Munro 2006). Religious groups present men with a relatively safe environment to meet new people and rebuild social networks. Furthermore, if a man desired to find another partner, religious groups could assist in his endeavor. Additionally, if many of the divorced men managed to find a new partner then they would be in the married category in the years following.

Overall, I accept the hypothesis that marriage increases religious involvement.

Concern Over Time

Generally, more time-stress meant less involvement. Those with some/little to no concern over time were more

involved in religious groups than those with quite a bit or a great deal of concern (with the exception of men in both 1995 and 2005). However, in 1985 quite a bit of concern meant greater religious involvement when compared to those with some/little to no concern. This finding could mean that those individuals that made time for religious groups could be more concerned over their time because of their involvement. However, this idea appears to be implausible as the pattern didn't repeat itself in 1995 or 2005.

Time stress appears to especially influence women's religious involvement as women with more self-reported time stress were less involved than those with less time stress—a finding that was statistically significant in 2005. For women, I accept the hypothesis that time stress lowers religious involvement. Furthermore, the previous finding⁶¹ that women's full-time employment reduces religious involvement while retirement increases it could relate to time-stress rather than employment status. Presumably women employed full-time have the greatest amount of time-stress while retired women have the least amount of time-stress. When controlling for time-stress, employment status has no significant effect on religious involvement.

⁶¹ See page 8.

A great deal of concern over time lowered men's religious involvement in 1985 (a statistically significant finding) while increasing it in both 1995 and 2005. Generally, men's involvement doesn't seem particularly connected to their time stress as none of this data was statistically significant. For men, I tentatively reject the hypothesis that time stress lowers religious involvement. This finding could indicate that some men experience time stress because of their level of involvement in religious groups. In other words, perhaps men that were highly involved in religious groups experience greater time stress because of their level of involvement.

Level of Enjoyment

Level of enjoyment had the greatest influence on religious involvement, as it was statistically significant for both genders throughout the years. Generally, individuals that had a great deal of enjoyment were more involved than those with some/little to no enjoyment and those with quite a bit of enjoyment while those with quite a bit of enjoyment were more involved than those with some/little to no enjoyment. This pattern existed for both genders.

I accept the hypothesis that perception of worth (as measured through level of enjoyment) increases religious involvement, particularly as the $Exp(B)$ s were statistically significant for both genders. Generally this makes sense. Enjoyment is reciprocal in nature: individuals that are more involved in religious groups will enjoy them more (i.e. they are more connected within their groups, understand the routine of the service, and generally feel more 'at home' in their religious communities) which, in turn, encourages them to become more involved.

Enjoyment appeared particularly important for men as it was the only consistent statistically significant factor of male religious involvement.

Summary of Findings

It appears, through the logistic regression analyses, that perception of worth⁶² guides religious involvement. The importance of enjoyment received from religious groups is pivotal, indicating that today, benefit is more important in determining involvement than cost. Additionally, time was a factor for women, significantly contributing their levels of religious involvement, yet it was not a significant factor for men. The reasons for this are reflected in the literature and likely connected to the

⁶² As measured through enjoyment received from an individual's religious group.

second shift⁶³. When controlling for time-stress no significant difference in religious involvement was found between employment statuses. Overall, enjoyment received appears to dictate the frequency of religious involvement. Clearly this has some important implications for religious groups, particularly when considering the role it played for the respondents. In the next chapter, I discuss the implications of the data in terms of several theoretical frameworks and then for religious groups.

⁶³ Women often complete a second shift where they must finish a myriad of unpaid labour tasks following their standard paid work day.

Discussion

In my examination of Canadian's religious involvement and women's increased labour force participation, my thesis has supported the idea that benefits received from religious groups best determine Canadians' involvement. The crosstabular and logistic regression analyses both indicate the same pattern: enjoyment received from religious groups predicts religious involvement better than employment status, marital status, parenthood, and time-stress. While each of the independent variables listed appear to influence religious involvement, none is as significant as enjoyment received. When Canadians enjoy their religious groups they are regularly involved.

Rational Choice Theory and the Marketplace Model

The data supported rational choice theory and the marketplace model. The costs involved (namely time-stress and employment status) tended to lower religious involvement while the benefits (enjoyment received from the religious group) increased it.

Pragmatically-minded Canadians are involved to the extent that they deem their involvement worthwhile—that is to the extent that their involvement procures some form of

personal gratification. In this thesis, Canadians that enjoyed their religious groups were more involved in them.

I predicted that enjoyment would be strongly connected to religious involvement. I anticipated this effect because enjoying an activity motivates individuals to participate in it. Reciprocally, those who are involved are more likely to receive enjoyment.

Overall, people try to find time for activities they enjoy. With the increasing level of pragmatism Canadians exercise⁶⁴, it would be expected that people would be drawn to those activities they enjoy. It therefore is not surprising that enjoyment received is a significant predictor of religious involvement over time and for both women and men⁶⁵.

However, despite the predictability of enjoyment's effect, the fact that it is such a significant variable is intriguing. This finding suggests that benefit received is a better predictor of involvement better than the costs involved; therefore supporting the importance of meaningful ministry—that is ministry that meets the needs of affiliates (Bibby 2002). Affiliates are involved inasmuch as they view their involvement as worthwhile—indicating

⁶⁴ I emphasized pragmatism in the first and second chapters of this thesis.

⁶⁵ With the exception of women in 1995.

high demand for what religion has to offer (Stark 1995). Affiliates engaged with their religious groups are involved at higher levels; thus religious groups must find ways to draw individuals to greater involvement.

Furthermore, enjoyment of religious groups is, in effect, reciprocal in nature. Individuals who enjoy religious groups are more involved, and those who are involved frequently are more likely to find enjoyment in their religious groups. Older generations tied their religiosity to their involvement. Younger generations appear to have adopted a belief that faith isn't necessarily tied to a group, service, or building, indicating that their level of enjoyment more readily determines their level of involvement (Gill 2002). In essence, when Canadians enjoy what religion supplies, they are highly involved in religious groups.

When considering costs of involvement, both employment status and time-stress negatively influence women's religious involvement, although only time-stress is statistically significant.

Many (Bibby 2005; Edgell 2006; Woodhead 2001; Woodhead 2008) have suggested that women's increased employment rate has influenced Canadian's religious involvement—often citing declining religious involvement as a symptom of

declining social capital (Putnam 2000). Logically, I believed that women employed full-time would be less involved than those employed part-time.

The data indicate that while women's employment increases their time-stress, alone it has no significant effect on religious involvement. That is, a woman's religious involvement is not determined by her employment status, but by her level of time-stress. Presumably, full-time employment increases a woman's time-stress through the second shift⁶⁶ (Adkin 2005; Beaujot & Liu 2005; Putnam 2000; Roxburgh 2006), but her employment status does not inherently decrease her religious involvement in and of itself. Even unemployed women⁶⁷ can have high levels of time-stress. The point? Employment alone does not significantly effect female involvement, but when this employment status creates time-stress, it inadvertently influences involvement.

Interestingly, time-stress is the one factor in which men and women differ. Men reporting high levels of time-stress are more involved in religious groups than those with lower levels of time-stress. Perhaps men with higher levels are more time-stressed because of their involvement.

⁶⁶ A shift of unpaid labour following a day of paid labour (Adkin 2005; Beaujot & Liu 2005; Putnam 200; Roxburgh 2006).

⁶⁷ Those that choose to stay at home and carry out unpaid labour.

Social Capital

Canadians' social capital—represented through familial ties—draws Canadians to religious involvement. Both marital status and parenthood increase religious involvement for Canadians. Overall, marital status and parenthood follow patterns portrayed in the literature (Bibby 2006; Bibby 2005; Bibby 2002; Edgell 2006).

Widowed Canadians are the most involved in religious groups, followed by married, and then divorced/separated Canadians. There is one exception: men who are divorced/separated had higher levels of religious involvement in 1985 than married men, reflecting a pattern similar to that identified by Edgell (2006). For the

experiences of family disruption and recombination lead. . . to a renewed sense of the importance of religion . . . mothers are likely to seek out churches that can provide the family with a sense of togetherness, belonging and moral community (Edgell 2006: 57).

The phenomenon described above could be occurring among Canadian males. Additionally, in cases of divorce and separation, women fare better following relationship dissolution (Larson, Goltz & Munro 2000). Religious groups provide easy access to social networks and personal support.

Parents are more involved in religious groups than respondents without children. The child-rearing hypothesis easily applies to Canadians. Parenthood places a newfound responsibility on parents that draws them to greater religious involvement for the benefit of their children (Bibby 2002).

In terms of enjoyment, I expected the male pattern -- parenthood associated with higher levels of enjoyment -- to apply to both genders. Children often draw parents to Canada's religious groups (Bibby 2002); therefore, I believed parents with school-aged children would find more enjoyment in their religious groups. However, mothers receive less enjoyment than women without children. In this case, a supply problem may be occurring (Bibby 2002). Women's lower levels of enjoyment may be linked to children's programming within their religious groups. Some women with school-aged children may not be enjoying their religious groups because they spend the bulk of services watching their children or volunteering in children's programming.

For others, their spiritual needs may not be met as individuals find more enjoyment in activities that meet their needs. Further, women with school-age children are presumably at an age where they experience the most time

pressures (Fast, Frederick, Zukewich, & Franke 2001). Likely, many of these women are highly time-stressed and find themselves preoccupied with the concerns of life outside their religious groups, which may reduce their level of enjoyment.

While marriage and children draw Canadians to religious involvement, it must be noted that Canadians are delaying marriage and parenthood (Foot & Stoffman 1998; Wuthnow 2008). Religious groups have great potential to meet these Canadians needs in the future, yet in the present new strategies must be devised to draw unmarried non-parents to religious groups⁶⁸.

The emergence of invisible religion⁶⁹ and assumed privatization⁷⁰ may be taking place because individuals don't find enjoyment in their religious groups. According to Besecke (2005), invisible religion does not necessarily mean privatization; rather, it can refer to an emerging religious culture outside organized religious groups.

⁶⁸ I provide some strategies in the section *Suggestions for Religious Groups*.

⁶⁹ Invisible religion is a complex theory proposed by Luckman (Besecke 2005). He asserts that sociologists have too often associated religion with organized forms. He argues that religion is a complex meaning system and stretches beyond the realm of religious groups, asserting the religious groups are not primarily social institutions, but meaning systems that cannot be tied to specific groups.

⁷⁰ Invisible religion doesn't invariably translate into privatization (Besecke 2005). Privatization implies that religion has social consequences for the individual and not society itself; however, when understanding meaning systems it's naïve to assume that individuals' meaning systems don't affect their social environments.

Bescke (2005) insists that while fewer individuals are attending religious services, they continue to discuss spiritual matters in groups. While any group activity creates social capital, it's somewhat disconcerting that smaller groups can replace larger ones, particularly as religious groups are one of the few sources of bridging social capital. Smaller groups provide bonding social capital with all members presumably from similar backgrounds and social classes while larger groups can create bridging social capital, blending individuals of different backgrounds and social classes.

Limitations

As with all studies, my thesis has some limitations. First and foremost, I was limited by the language and phrasing used within the Project Canada questionnaires. Perception of worth was measured utilizing level of enjoyment received from respondents' religious groups. While a more accurate measure directly asking whether respondents perceived their involvement worthwhile or not would have been helpful, enjoyment is actually a fairly accurate measure. Presumably, when individuals enjoy an activity it is worthwhile to them.

Second, as with all quantitative data, my theories may not be accurate, even though they are supported by the data. I rely heavily on others' work to give the numbers any kind of meaning.

Suggestions for Religious Groups

The majority of Canadians believe that religious groups "have a role to play in Canadian life—with that role involving the addressing of spiritual, personal, and relational needs" (Bibby 2002: 225). More specifically, religious groups need to address all of Canadians' lives, focusing specifically on these three domains.

Canadians continue to have great interest in spirituality, including questions surrounding life and death (Bibby 2002). Religious groups need to better address these questions for Canadians. Further, they have to provide a clear message about the meaning of life, and actively respond to Canadians' needs (Bibby 2006).

Relationships are paramount to Canadians (Bibby 2006; Bibby 2005; Bibby 2002; Bibby 2004). Ministries need to involve all members of Canadian families from the cradle to the grave (Bibby 2006). Canadians "put supreme value on their families" (Bibby 2006: 203), and by involving all members of the family, religious groups support families

and family life. Further, since relationships are so important to Canadians, it's imperative that religious groups emphasize this within their communities.

Generally speaking, getting children and youth involved in religious groups has translated into increasing involvement for parents, an effect that can be cited through the frequency of parental participation⁷¹. Religious groups should find ways to encapsulate and involve affiliates from the cradle to the grave with ministries that involve affiliates at every stage of life. Furthermore, religious groups need to respond to affiliates' lives and cultural changes that transpire within their congregations. Additionally, finding ways to get affiliates involved in religious groups will increase enjoyment, build more relationships, and should result in a greater number of individuals participating at higher levels.

Religious groups need to support their parishioners through times of crises and times of joy (Bibby 2006; Bibby 2002; Bibby 2004). Canadians often turn to religious groups during times of transition (Bibby 2002) including baptisms, weddings, and funerals. Religious groups need to continue

⁷¹ Monthly or more.

this role, but expand it and support families more during other types of crises and celebrations.

Religious groups need to find, attract, and keep individuals involved. Pragmatism determines Canadians' religious involvement. Costs must be outweighed by benefits in order for Canadians to become involved in religious groups and maintain their involvement. Overall, time has become a valuable resource for Canadians, meaning that religious groups must make involvement worthwhile for their affiliates (Bibby 2006). Canadians constantly ask the question: "What's in it for me?" Obligation no longer dictates involvement in any activity⁷²; rather, gratification plays a dominant role.

Worth can exist in a number of forms, and should be addressed in different ways. It can exist in religious-group-based friendships, youth involvement, child involvement, and many other avenues. Perception of worth remains central for Canadians, indicating that what religious groups supply is important in determining Canadians' involvement.

Woodhead (2008) suggests some women are involved in religious groups so they can achieve time away from the

⁷² This includes completing surveys and involvement in religious groups (Bibby 2006).

chaos and demands of labour. Woodhead found, when interviewing an Anglican woman that:

[she is] not looking for community . . . [she] like[s] to go to church for [her], it's [her] personal time . . . what religion is for [her] is [her] space, [her] time . . . [she] find[s] the building allows [her] to focus better. . . . it's a place that [she doesn't] have to think about the washing up or the cooking or the gardening or anything else . . . And the service can wash over. . . it does allow that. [She] just find[s] some of the incidentals very irritating (191).

Religious groups should find ways to minister better to women like the one depicted here. While she isn't searching for community, she desires time away from the demands of life and her religious group provides her with the environment she desires to meet this need. Innovative ministries could ensure time away for her. First, children's ministries provide her with time away from her children. Second, women's ministries that provide support and an atmosphere of stillness (as described in the above quotation) could enhance her religious experience. Third, religious groups need to recognize that not all women wish to be involved in children's programming. Women work in a variety of fields and areas, and have different gifts and talents to offer to religious groups. Many bowl in "women's leagues," (Norris & Inglehart 2003) but others wish to be involved in different capacities. While some women are

extremely gifted working with children pigeon-holing them in this particular role isn't wise.

Future Research

Future research should include variables that explore level of enjoyment received, amount of time stress, employment status, marital status, and presence of children. However, many other variables could be added to the model. Ethnicity, citizenship status, influence of the megachurch⁷³ phenomenon, spousal employment status, religious television programming, the number of religious-group-based friendships, children's religious participation and available children's programming, spousal religious involvement, and involvement in other voluntary associations could all be added to the data analysis.

Ethnicity could influence religious involvement as some ethnic groups are more likely to belong to religious groups through familial connections (Wilkinson 2006). Citizenship could influence religious involvement as religious groups likely perform a different function for immigrants than for citizens of a given country. Often, religious groups provide community and support for landed immigrants, thereby enabling immigrants to have an

⁷³ Churches that encompass the entirety of parishioners' lives. These are often extremely large churches that perform a variety of ministries.

understanding culture-based community despite their relocation.

The megachurch could invariably enable greater availability of time and energy for religious involvement as it often encompasses the entirety of affiliates' lives. However, megachurches are also large and sometimes viewed as impersonal. This raises questions of the importance of relationships within the cost/benefit paradigm and whether connections to others within affiliates' religious groups are an important variable. Additionally, the role of community in religious involvement comes into question and should be examined in future research. Does a sense of community within one's religious group influence religious involvement?

The effect of religious television on religious involvement could also be examined. If individuals have religious needs met from religious television, they may participate less in religious groups. Could it be that religion is in the information age and may be undergoing changes that make it more individualized? This research project suggests that it is indeed becoming more individualized, yet the role of technology in this process has yet to be determined.

Having friendships with individuals who actively participate in a religious group could influence one's decision to join a religious group or increase participation within a religious group. This connects to the idea of community. Future research should explore the relationship between religious involvement and the number of friends that an affiliate has within their religious group. Additionally, if an affiliate's family is regularly involved in a religious group, it would logically translate into higher affiliate involvement.

Age should be considered in future research. The employment status variable indicated that respondents who were not employed were more likely to participate at higher levels than respondents working full-time. This group included retirees and students and could be a generational effect, a phenomenon that should be explored in future research.

Future research should also explore the influence of friendships, ministry programs (i.e. what ministries offer), religion, and denominational affiliation. These variables would all enrich the data. Furthermore, qualitative research could examine what Canadians enjoy in their religious groups and what elements would increase their enjoyment. This is particularly important as

Canadians who received a great deal or quite a bit of enjoyment from their religious groups were more involved than Canadians who had little to no enjoyment. Understanding what Canadians enjoy could help religious groups create outreach programs to draw Canadians to involvement. Further understanding of enjoyment could help explain why the decline of religious involvement occurred.

Additionally, qualitative research should investigate what ministries would increase the involvement of marginally involved Canadians. Bibby (2002) found that many Canadians marginally involved in religious groups were open to more religious involvement if they thought it to be worthwhile. Qualitative research could directly ask women whether their time-stress influences their religious involvement, and could question women's schedules.

Furthermore, qualitative data could enhance understandings of whether Canadians would actually consider further involvement in religious groups, examining whether declining religious involvement is related to either supply-side or demand-side problems.

Conclusion

Stark and Bainbridge's (1985) idea that religious involvement is dictated by rational choice where the benefits of involvement must outweigh the costs was

supported by this thesis, although further inquiry is required, particularly as perception of worth must be assessed qualitatively by respondents.

Overall, the Project Canada Data indicated that when benefits exist, respondents were more involved in religious groups. Additionally, women's increased employment cannot be used as a explanation for the reason religious attendance is lower today than thirty years ago. The data indicate women's employment status does not influence religious involvement as no significant differences in religious involvement between employment statuses exist over the thirty-year period, except for 2005, which could reflect the greater number of hours that Canadians are devoting to labour (both paid and unpaid) with each passing year.

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