

DENOMINATIONAL, COMMUNAL AND ASSOCIATIONAL  
MODES OF RELIGIOUS BELONGING: A STUDY OF  
CHURCH MEMBERS IN THE BURGH OF FALKIRK

by

PETER L. SISSONS

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

This thesis is a sociological investigation of church membership in the Scottish burgh of Falkirk. Its primary aim is to explore the meanings of church membership from within a theoretical context which seeks to adapt and utilise traditional conceptualisations of church and sect by employing them as dynamic forms of belonging rather than as types of institutions. Two principal hypotheses are formulated and tested; 1) that the ecclesiastical tradition to which church members belong (denomination) contributes to their distinctive styles of social, economic and political behaviour as well as to the social, economic and political values which they uphold; and that 2) communal and associational forms of church membership, corresponding in part to the qualities of church-type and sect-type religious organisations, transcend the formal denominational boundaries and dissect the internal structures of the denominations. In discussing communal and associational forms of church membership the theories of socialisation espoused by Thomas Luckmann and Peter Berger are used to illustrate how communal and associational forms of church membership are indicative of church members' differing perceptions of their social world.

The hypotheses are empirically explored through an examination of a sample of church members selected randomly from the ecclesiastical traditions represented in Falkirk and a random sample of non church members. The majority of the data discussed were obtained from a series of intensive

interviews held with two hundred and thirty-six informants.

The thesis consists of eleven chapters. The first two are devoted to describing the sociological and theological basis upon which the investigation was conducted, the details of the procedures adopted, the historical background of the burgh, and some of the general statistical data relating to the churches. Chapters three to six are devoted to an examination of the hypotheses in relation to the church members' participation in institutional religion. These chapters set out to describe the motivations and processes whereby people become members of the churches, the nature of their participation in the life of the churches, the nature of leadership within the churches, and the ways in which the church members conceptualise the Church and their membership of it. Chapters seven, eight and nine examine the hypotheses in relation to the church members' participation in social structures beyond the churches, the family, voluntary associations, politics and the world of work. Chapter ten is devoted to a separate consideration of the non church members who were interviewed. The final chapter presents the major conclusions arising from the thesis through a reconsideration of the two hypotheses. The major conclusions were that membership of a denominational group is apparently more influential than any other factor examined in determining the over-all life of the church member. There are clear distinctions between the denominational groups which transcend any class differences which exist within a denomination. There are however

significant differences of class between the denominations  
and significant differences between communal and  
associational members within the denominations.

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## PREFACE

The study of church membership in Falkirk was begun in the summer of 1968 when I was given the opportunity of directing a small research unit based in the department of Social Anthropology and the department of Christian Ethics and Practical Theology at the University of Edinburgh. Financed by the Hope Trust and the Church and Ministry Department of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the study was the subject of a separate report which was submitted to the two sponsoring bodies in 1971.

This thesis arises out of some of the theoretical concerns which were generated by the Falkirk study. During its preparation I have had good cause to be grateful to my supervisors, Professor James C. Blackie and Dr. Mary Noble who have given me continuous support and guidance. Colleagues in both departments gave advice on specific sections of the report, and Mr. John Nimmo and the staff of the Edinburgh University Research Centre for the Social Sciences gave patiently of their time and advice during the processing and analysis of the data which are discussed in the thesis.

Parts of the thesis were given as papers to the staff/postgraduate seminar of the department of Social Anthropology, the staff seminar of the department of Sociology at the University of Glasgow, and the symposium on religion and society sponsored jointly by the department of Christian Ethics and Practical Theology and the Social Science Faculty Seminar Committee at the University of Edinburgh in May 1971.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1.

## INTRODUCTION

Church membership in Scotland is a common form of institutional belonging, closely woven into the fabric of national life. Although recent statistical evidence provided by national church bodies suggests that church attendance is declining and that the number of people on the membership rolls is decreasing, membership of the churches continues to be a familiar feature of the nation, and attendance at public worship appears to be considerably higher in Scotland than it is in other parts of Britain. Whilst the records maintained by the Church of Scotland suggest that during the last decade there has been a decline in the number of people belonging to its congregations, there is also some evidence to suggest that the percentage of the Scottish population belonging to the churches of all traditions is in fact greater than it was a century ago, although attendance at worship is undoubtedly lower. The relative popularity of church membership in Scotland, which is untypical of Britain and western Europe as a whole, provokes questions concerning the meaning of church membership in Scotland which merit investigation. This present study is designed to examine some of these questions by an exploration of the meaning of church membership with particular reference to denominational differentials, the forms of belonging which have developed within the denominations, and the relationship

between such belonging and socio-economic class.

a) Sociology, Theology and Science.

This study is one which primarily uses the methodological and theoretical forms of sociology in the investigation of subject matter which it is often claimed properly belongs to the domain of theology. Whilst it is not a major intention of this thesis to explore the relationship between sociology and theology it is inevitable that questions will be asked concerning the justification for taking the subject matter of theology and treating it in a sociological way. Such questions are asked by theologians rather than by sociologists insomuch as the theologian's concern with commitment and with the autonomy of his discipline and its subject matter may be such as to persuade him that a sociology of religion, or indeed a psychology or phenomenology of religion, may threaten a subject which seems to him to be available only to a peculiarly theological mode of perception. Depending upon the theologian's particular perspective a "non-theological" approach to the subject matter of theology may be seen as a total violation of that subject matter or as a threat to the subject matter which must be contained by limiting the discussion of religion from within a non-theological framework to specific aspects of religion which are peripheral to the meaning of religion itself and to the commitment which is presupposed by the theological discussion of religion. This essentially theological concern begs the whole question of a sociology of religion which is compatible with Christian

theology and invites a comparison of the two disciplines with particular reference to the points of divergence and convergence between them. Whilst the space available here for such a discussion is limited, it is important that there should be a brief and explicit statement of the understanding of the relationship between sociology and theology which is implicit within the substantive body of the study.

Any discussion of the relationship between sociology and theology is properly located in an overall discussion of the relationship which may exist between the sciences. The ways in which the sciences are related to each other has been widely discussed from many perspectives, focusing variously upon what properly constitutes scientific method and how far the subject matter of a science may determine its nature and the appropriateness of its procedures. If the sciences are autonomous how are they to be ordered in relation to each other? If they are mutually independent at what point are distinctions to be made between, say, sociology and theology? Is it proper that the sciences should be ordered precedently in a hierarchy and if so what criteria determine precedence? This discussion is related to a consideration of the relationship of a whole to its constituent parts, and this in turn has several significant theological connotations. Within sociology, Durkheim,<sup>1</sup>

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1. Cf. E. Durkheim, Sociology and Philosophy, (first Eng. Tr. Free Press, Illinois, 1953), P.1f. Individual and Collective Representations.

Weber,<sup>2</sup> and Talcott Parsons<sup>3</sup> have, amongst others, reflected upon the relationship between the sciences and the application of social science methodology to the investigation of an area dependent upon what are sometimes called "non-empirical beliefs", (this is Parsons' phrase which would be rejected, for instance, by Durkheim, for whom values are facts and facts are to be treated as things). Theologians have been particularly concerned with this problem, and Karl Barth,<sup>4</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer,<sup>5</sup> Emil Brunner,<sup>6</sup> and Paul Tillich<sup>7</sup> are amongst the major theologians who have felt constrained to discuss the problem in various ways. For Karl Barth theology is the science of the Church, and although the other "special sciences" might conceivably concern themselves with aspects of the Church's life they cannot finally say anything which does justice to the reality of the Church. This position compares with that expressed by Max Weber for whom theology was not a science because it was dependent upon revelation and miracle for the mediation

- 
2. Cf. H.H. Gerth and C Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Oxford University Press, New York, 1958). P.129. Science as a Vocation.
  3. T. Parsons, The Social System, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), P.536. The Place of Sociological Theory Among the Analytical Sciences of Action.
  4. Cf. especially Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics Volume 1, Part 1, (T & T Clark, 1936), P.1-10. The Church, Theology and Science.
  5. D. Bonhoeffer, Sanctorum Communio, (Harper & Row, New York, 1963), P.15f.
  6. Emil Brunner, Christianity and Civilisation, First Part, (Nisbet, 1948), P.30f. The Problem of Truth.
  7. Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology Vol. I. (Nisbet, 1953), P.11f. The Nature of Systematic Theology; and Vol. III (University of Chicago Press, 1963), P.162f. The Divine Spirit and the Ambiguities of Life.



of meaning. Bonhoeffer tried to bring sociology into the service of Dogmatic Theology and discussed sociology in relation to social philosophy as ". . . the science of the structures of empirical communities", sociology of religion being "a phenomenological study of the structural characteristics of religious communities". In the work of Emil Brunner the discussion focused upon the nature of truth and the distinction which he made between God-truth and world-truths, the latter being available for scientific scrutiny, but constituting only a part of the former. The link between theology and the sciences was located by Paul Tillich in the common philosophical component of each, and the distinction between the theologian and scientist is the same as the distinction between the theologian and the philosopher, the former particular, the latter universal; the former existing within the theological circle, the latter existing outside it. Running through all these discussions in various ways are the debates concerning the relationship between pure and practical reason and the distinction between what is and what ought to be. Arising at different points in the discussion is the problem of definition. The problem is not that of the content of the definition so much as the place and function of definition in scientific method and consequently the type of definition most appropriate to particular scientific procedures. Durkheim argued that definition is a necessary part of research procedure.<sup>8</sup>

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8. E. Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, (Free Press, Illinois, 1938) P.34f.

Having discarded all presuppositions concerning the social fact to be investigated the sociologist must then proceed to define the social fact. In theory, although not always in practice,<sup>9</sup> Durkheim distinguished between definition, which takes place early in the research procedures, and explanation which occurs at the end of the research procedures and which is distinguishable from the definition in that it describes the investigated social fact in terms of its causes and functions. In contrast with the position articulated by Durkheim<sup>10</sup> Max Weber argues that definition is not possible in the early stages of a study and can only be attempted at the conclusion. Thus although we have Durkheim's definition of religion we do not have a comparable definition phrased by Weber<sup>11</sup> (precisely because religion is concerned with an area of meaning which is mediated by revelation and miracle, factors which lie beyond the methodology of the scientist<sup>12</sup>).

Contemporary sociologists of religion have dealt with these problems in various ways. Many make a

- 
9. Compare Durkheim's definition of religion and his explanation of the causes and functions of religion in The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, (Collier, New York, 1961).
  10. For an extension of the Durkheimian position see Melford E. Spiro, Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation; in M. Banton (ed.) Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion, (Tavistock, 1966) P.85. See also my article, Sociological Definitions of Religion, in The Expository Times, February, 1971.
  11. Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, (Methuen, 1965), P.1.
  12. Gerth and Mills, Op.cit.

distinction between the spiritual and the earthly aspects of religion and argue that the sociologist is equipped only to study the latter.<sup>13</sup> The most careful statement of this kind is probably that of Joseph Fichter who prefaced his penetrating study of Catholicism in New Orleans with the reflection that there was "a limited but de facto level at which the sociologist could study the church":<sup>14</sup> Such a distinction could not be made by Durkheim or a Durkheimian sociologist because of the inter-related nature of fact and value in Durkheim's sociology, and the Durkheimian thesis that the whole is greater than the sum total of its constituent parts, thereby having an independent existence. Luckmann whose study of religion follows the path blazed by Durkheim is able to speak, qua sociologist, in essentialist terms about the prevalence of a biologically transcending "invisible religion",<sup>15</sup> whilst for Lloyd Warner the behaviour and beliefs associated with the memorial services in "Yankee City" are religious in a total and unambiguous sense.<sup>16</sup> Peter Berger, a self-confessed Weberian, has assayed a number of alternative solutions to the problem of the relationship between theology and sociology. In his earliest published work sociology constituted for theology the decisive "skandalon" through the addressing

- 
13. Leslie Paul, The Deployment and Payment of the Clergy, (Church of England Information Office, 1963), and E.R. Wickham, Church and People in an Industrial City, (Lutterworth, 1957).
  14. Joseph H. Fichter, Social Relations in the Urban Parish, (University of Chicago, 1954), P.1f. Religion and Social Science.
  15. Thomas Luckmann, The Invisible Religion, (Macmillan, New York, 1967).
  16. W. Lloyd Warner, The Family of God, (Yale, 1959).

of penetrating questions to theologians generally and to ecclesiologists particularly. It was this position which constituted the substance of his criticism of Bonhoeffer's abortive essay in the sociology of religion.<sup>17</sup> In a later work, The Social Reality of Religion, Berger refuted his early position by saying that in the end the sociologist and theologian were engaged on quite different tasks and there could be no commerce between them.<sup>18</sup> His most recent work represents a departure from this position as he seeks to function firstly as a sociologist documenting secularisation and then as a theologian moving from the world of facts to the world of values in which the theologian might look for the supernatural mediation of meaning (it is interesting to note that Berger's conclusions as an "amateur theologian" are not dissimilar from Luckmann's conclusions as a sociologist).<sup>19</sup> Most recently Berger has returned to a self-confessed Barthian position (compatible with Weberian sociology - in an article in The Christian Century), suggesting that the Church should de-emphasize its concern with structures (sociology) and concentrate on its message (theology). The task before the Church is not that of asking what society has to say to the Church, it is that of asking what the message is that the Church must declare to society.

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17. Cf. Peter L. Berger, The Noise of Solemn Assemblies, (Doubleday, 1961), and Berger's essay on Bonhoeffer's use of sociology in Martin Marty (ed.) The Place of Bonhoeffer, (SCM, 1963).

18. Peter L. Berger, The Social Reality of Religion, (Faber, 1969).

19. Peter L. Berger, A Rumour of Angels, (Allen Lane, 1970).

The position adopted in the present thesis is not a definitive or closely argued one, but it is the early position maintained by Peter Berger. The relationship between sociology and theology is assumed to be one of dialogue. In his studies of religion the sociologist is confronted with questions addressed to him by the theologian which arise out of theological statements about what the Church is and what it ought to be, and statements about the application of specific methodologies to the study of the Church and religion. In relation to these questions the sociologist points to what the Church is sociologically, and raises new questions for the theologian concerning what is and what ought to be. At the same time the sociologist becomes engaged in the task of refining his own understanding of the nature of the sociological enterprise in relation to religion and the areas of competence within which the Church might be sociologically investigated. It is not the task of the sociologist qua sociologist to posit or discover an alternative theology to that of the theologian. One ancillary aim of this thesis is to raise questions for the theologian about the meaning of church membership, and through these questions to extend the discussion of the meaning of the Church. The understanding of religion which is implicit in the study is the broad Christian understanding of the faith of Christianity. Where the word religion is used, it is used conventionally. No attempt is made to define religion because a definition is not felt to be necessary for the pursuit of this study. Church

membership however will be defined, not in any substantive way, but nominally, in terms of the alternative definitions of membership adopted by the different types of institution being considered.

b) Theoretical Background to the Study.

The investigation which is described in the following pages arises out of a number of assumptions concerning the nature and development of the sociology of religion during the last sixty years. As a result of the development of certain dominant emphases within the sub-discipline a serious impasse has arisen in empirical investigation which has been expressed in the fact that a great deal of research during these years has amounted to a little more than a series of variations on a limited number of themes, whilst the over-all output by sociologists of religion has, with notable exceptions, been relatively uncreative and unproductive. A way out of this impasse may be achieved by a reconsideration and adaptation of basic concepts formulated by Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, in the light of the sociology of knowledge propounded by Berger and Luckmann.<sup>20</sup> This suggestion is explored empirically through a consideration of the functions and meanings of church membership in the Scottish burgh of Falkirk.

The seminal work of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch<sup>21</sup>

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20. Peter L. Berger & Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge (Allen Lane, 1967).

21. Cf. especially, Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism, (Scribner, 1958); and Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

has very largely dominated the research interests of sociologists of religion since the days when their work first became available. Within the total corpus of the discipline it is the church/sect dichotomy and the relationship between Protestantism and western capitalism which have been separated as providing the most fertile ground for exploration. A major reason for this has been the fact that it is predominantly in these areas that theology has been willing to acknowledge the validity of the sociology of religion as at least a complementary discipline, partly because of the affinity of these areas to the study of ecclesiastical history, and partly because both Troeltsch and Weber adopted differing, but recognisably valid understandings of theology within their sociological perspectives. The theological liberalism espoused by Troeltsch in his understanding of the relationship between ethics, the churches and Christian social doctrine; his interpretation of the relationship between religious forces and economic, social and political forces, and his conclusions concerning the nature and content of ecclesiastical change, were all indicative of a liberal but unambiguous concern for the existence of the Church and the fulfilment of its task. Weber's agnostic positivism was informed by a Calvinist understanding of theology, not only with regard to the nature and content of the theological enterprise, but also with regard to the place of theology within the collective body of formal human knowledge, which enabled both theologians and sociologists to discover

fertile ground in his thesis concerning the relationship between religion and the economic order. His work contributed to theological thinking on the nature of society (and helped to facilitate incidentally the development of both the Marxist/Christian dialogue and the "theology of revolution"<sup>22</sup>); and it also helped sociologists to develop important theoretical and methodological models for the study of religion. The impact of Weber and Troeltsch however, also served to obscure the contributions of other sociologists and those working in other social science disciplines, to the sociological understanding of religion (most notably Durkheim<sup>23</sup> and those who followed him, but also the phenomenologists such as Van der Leew and the historians of religions such as Eliade<sup>24</sup>). The appeal of the work of Troeltsch and Weber has largely been confined to subsequent studies of sectarianism and the relationship between religion and the economic order, leaving neglected other important aspects of their sociological discussions of religion. During the past two or three decades, far reaching changes in the religious life and organisation of the western nations, usually summarised under the rubrics of secularisation and pluralism, have resulted in the traditional statements of the church/sect dichotomy appearing

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22. Cf. Adolf Ham's essay, Non-Theological Factors Affecting Cuban Protestant Unity, in Alice L. Hageman and Philip E. Wheaton, Religion in Cuba Today, (Association Press, New York, 1971), P.140.

23. Durkheim, Op.cit.

24. See G. Van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation, (Allen & Unwin, 1938); and Mircea Eliade, Images and Symbols, (Marvill, 1952).



to be remote from the empirical reality of religious groups - even when this has been stated in the form of an ideal typology. In England the continuous erosion of religious organisations has resulted in most religious organisations assuming the structure of the sects although their social doctrines have been caught up in various ambiguities. In Scotland the typology is difficult to apply when the national church is a "denomination-type" organisation, whilst traditional "church-type" organisations such as the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches have the structure and in some ways the status of sects. The dichotomy of church and sect has become both theoretically and methodologically sterile, largely because of the insistence upon treating it exclusively in structural rather than functional terms, and because of the ensuing failure to achieve a link between the two poles of church and sect which do justice to religious change. The emphasis upon the structural characteristics of the dichotomy has moreover served to obscure the more dynamic alternative which emerges in the concluding chapters of Troeltsch's major work in which he discusses the interpenetration of his categories. It is interesting to observe at this point that Richard Niebuhr's attempt to establish a link between church and sect in order to describe religious change sought to solve the problem in structural terms by devising an alternative and mediating category, "denomination".<sup>25</sup> Despite its ingenuity Niebuhr's theory

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25. H.R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, (The Shoe String Press, 1929).

of institutional change has been empirically refuted by the many investigations of sectarianism which it stimulated,<sup>26</sup> and although it has motivated a great deal of important research Niebuhr's work has been allowed to draw a red herring across the trail to a more dynamic conception of religious change. Troeltsch's reflection that "More and more the central life of the Church-type is being permeated with the vital energies of the sect and of mysticism",<sup>27</sup> may provide a clue to a sociological interpretation of religious change which does justice to both the structural and cognitive factors which appear to demand analysis.

There is then an impasse arising out of the conventional interpretations of the work of Weber and Troeltsch which was very largely heralded by the study conducted by Niebuhr and the resultant over preoccupation with the structures and functions of sectarianism in the sociology of religion. It is an impasse which is experienced at both the theoretical and methodological levels. In reaction to this impasse there has been a growing interest in religiosity and religious individualism which is expressed in attempts to construct multi-dimensional models of religiosity in which the institution and its structures constitute just one, or possibly two, dimensions of a complex model;<sup>28</sup> or by attempts

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26. Cf. Bryan Wilson, Sects and Society, (Heinemann, 1960); Werner Stark, The Sociology of Religion, Vol. II; Sectarian Religion, (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967).

27. Troeltsch, Op.cit., Vol. II, P.1011.

28. Charles Y. Glock & Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, (Rand McNally, Chicago, 1965).

to define religion in terms of "biological transcendence" thereby widening its cultural and social base at the expense of religious organisation and any specifically "religious" qualities it may have.<sup>29</sup> Within these attempts to re-direct the sociology of religion the focus is upon ways of being religious, upon religious man, with particular reference to cognition, experience and behaviour. The structure of the religious organisation has become either a peripheral part of the sociology of religion or it is dismissed altogether as irrelevant to any understanding of the sociology of contemporary religion, religion being seen as properly belonging to the subject matter of the sociology of knowledge.

An alternative way of investigating the sociology of religion is suggested by the work of Gerhard Lenski.<sup>30</sup> Innovating in a number of ways Lenski suggests that the traditional structural concern was directed upon the associational characteristics of belonging to a religious organisation to the neglect of the communal characteristics of belonging to what he described as being a "socio-religious group". Amongst these attempts to seek new research perspectives upon religion the one posited by Lenski seems to be the most fruitful because it is based on the theories generated by Troeltsch and Weber in a way which suggests strands of continuity between these early theories and the interpretation of contemporary religion, and because

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29. Luckmann, Op.cit.

30. Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor, (Doubleday, 1961).

it would seem to be more properly sociological in that it looks for a relationship if not a balance between structural and functional factors. Although Lenski's application of the categories of communal and associational may be criticised on the basis of his limitation of associational belonging to the formal institution and communal belonging to a less formal social group which transcends the institution and which is comparable in structure to socio-economic class, it is nonetheless the work of Lenski which seems to indicate the most creative way forward from a consideration of the traditional theories to the study of contemporary religious identity. It is Lenski's empirical work which provides a sounding board for the study of church membership in the burgh of Falkirk which is the concern of this present thesis.

c) Hypotheses

It is the purpose in this thesis to look once again at church membership, in an attempt to explore the meaning and characteristics of church membership as a form of "being religious" within a structural context. In order to do this the general Weberian hypothesis that religion has a this-worldly meaning is reconsidered in terms of the relationship between membership of a "denominational" group and the social, economic and political orientations of the church members. The general hypothesis is formulated, that the ecclesiastical tradition to which church members belong contributes to their distinctive styles of social, economic and political behaviour and to the social, economic and

political values which they uphold. It is not assumed however that this formal ecclesiastical allegiance is purely and exclusively associational in character. It is hypothesised that communal and associational forms of church membership, corresponding in part to the qualities of church-type and sect-type religions organisations, transcend the formal denominational boundaries and dissect the internal structures of the denominations. The typology of Troeltsch is consequently reconsidered, not as the positing of purely structural alternatives so much as the positing of alternative ways of being religious within a structural context. The term denomination is used for convenience in a conventional sense to refer to the several alternative Christian traditions which are considered, and not in its sociological sense as a mediating form between church and sect.

It is argued that there are churchly ways of being religious and sectarian ways of being religious which exist more or less independently of the formal structure of the organisation within which these forms of belonging take root. Consequently it is possible for a church member to interpret his membership of a traditionally church-type organisation in a sectarian way, and conversely his membership of a traditionally sect-type organisation in a churchly way. Church-type and sect-type members may co-exist within the same religious institution. Within the exploration of this hypothesis it is assumed for purposes of analysis that the Church broadly corresponds to the category of community as this was

established by Toennies whilst the sect broadly corresponds to the category of association.<sup>31</sup> This permits the argument to develop in terms of socialisation in that the ways in which people become members of an institution have a significant influence upon the nature of their belonging to the institution which they subsequently develop. The categories of communal and associational are established on the basis of how a church member becomes a member, and how his identity as a member is nurtured and established as he grows into his particular social world. The criteria of church and sect are of course extremely complex and interdependent, with the result that it is difficult to establish those variables which are necessary to, those which are sufficient for, and those which are contingent upon the alternative forms of belonging. Because of this complexity the thesis adopts as a basis of differentiation the mode of becoming a member of a denominational group as a necessary component of belonging, which then becomes available for examination in relation to some of the structural, attitudinal and theological variables which may be indicative of other components of these two types of belonging to a religious institution.

One of the most illuminating studies of socialisation to be written in recent years is that by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann who examine socialisation as the process whereby reality is socially constructed and comprehended.<sup>32</sup>

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31. Ferdinand Toennies, Community and Association, (Routledge, Kegan Paul, first English tr. 1955).

32. Berger & Luckmann, Op.cit.

Their theory of primary and secondary socialisation, and their related theory of alternation are used to consider the processes of religious socialisation. Despite ecclesiastical tradition there are broadly two types of church members, those who are born and those who join. Those who, in the sample, have been born into the religious institution and have remained within it, are identified as being communal members. The institution constitutes for them a relatively integrated social world within which both primary and secondary socialisation have taken place; fragmenting factors are recognised, but the aphorism of Toennies is taken to be descriptive of the nature of communal and associational belonging, namely "In the *Gemeinschaft* (community) people remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in the *Gesellschaft* (association) they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors."<sup>33</sup> Those in the sample who have joined the religious institution, whether or not they have received primary socialisation within another institution, are categorised as being associational members. For a number of these, associational membership is indicative of alternation, they have "switched worlds" to use Berger and Luckmann's phrase, they have alternated from one social world to another. It is hypothesised that the communal and associational members have differing cognitive perceptions of the religious institution. The former "churchly" and the latter "sectarian" in type. The world view and social

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33. Toennies, Op.cit., P.74.

behaviour of the communal members will be typical of those who belong to the "church" whilst the world view and social behaviour of the associational members will be typical of those who belong to a "sect" in Troeltsch's analysis. On the basis of this distinction between communal and associational members an attempt is made to demonstrate that whilst there is a process of interaction between membership of a denominational group and social, economic and political behaviour, the denominational differentials are transcended and the denominational groups are themselves dissected by communal and associational forms of belonging which correlate significantly with social, economic and political behaviour.

d) The Investigatory Procedures

The fieldwork of the study was conducted in Falkirk from September 1968 to August 1970. A number of different techniques were employed as the investigation developed and these followed a pattern of developing intensity from very broadly based participant observation to various kinds of structured interviews. The early months were spent in sampling the life of the town and its churches, attending the meetings of voluntary associations, visiting the churches, attending public meetings and becoming acquainted with the people of the town. The procedures adopted during the subsequent months were as follows.

1) The collection of background data. Background data relating to the churches and to the community were sought at the outset of the study. These data included those relating



to the population and general organisational structure of all the churches in the burgh. These were provided by the ministers or senior elders of the individual churches who were asked to complete a questionnaire. Additional information was supplied by the Presbytery of Linlithgow and Falkirk. The census office of the Registrar General in Scotland provided access to detailed information concerning the social and economic structure of the burgh, social class, birthplace, marital status, age group, geographic mobility, family and household size, and major industrial occupations of the total population of the burgh broken down for five political wards. The public library gave access to such documentary materials as were available.

2) Participant Observation. Participant observation was carried out at every level of community life in Falkirk, but inevitably this was more intensive and more structured in some areas than in others. The scope of observation fell primarily into three areas; 1) the churches, 2) the voluntary and political associations, and 3) the ongoing life of the community. Eleven churches were selected for participant observation, although almost all the religious institutions in the burgh were visited from time to time. Five of the churches were Church of Scotland congregations and the remaining six were a cross-section of the non Church of Scotland churches. The object was to observe the churches in action, to assess the values and priorities which were observed in the making of decisions, to ascertain the theological emphases which prevailed in the churches, to obtain

indications of religious and denominational differentials and to see the life of the church members in the context of these "religious" variables. This objective involved attendance at the churches during periods of worship, attendance at church organisations and decision-making committees, attendance at house groups, visiting of church members and ministers in their homes, and the conducting of unstructured interviews with church members and office-bearers. Inevitably these processes were carried over into denominational and ecumenical church activities, and to this end meetings of the presbytery and other denominational committees and meetings were attended.

There are approximately fifty voluntary and political associations in Falkirk. The exact number is unknown. The Falkirk Arts and Civic Council which provides a co-ordinating function in relation to the voluntary associational life of the town provided access to individual associations and their secretaries. Meetings of several of the associations were attended from time to time. In the majority of associations informed individuals were visited and interviewed concerning the work, structure and social networks of the association. The intention of these interviews was to seek in a general and unstructured way insights into the churches' involvement in charitable, civic and political affairs as institutions, and through the activities of their members; and to obtain general impressions of the influence of religious belonging and religious belief upon social and political activists.

The third area of participant observation, characterised as the ongoing life of the community, includes those inter-related areas of public and private life which do not fit neatly into the categories established within the foci described as the churches and the voluntary associations. Political parties were included with voluntary associations within the observational procedures described above, but in addition conversations were held with local councillors of every political persuasion, and continuing relationships were developed with a number of them. Unstructured interviews were conducted with the Provost, and various local government officials, including the town clerk, the medical officer of health, and the assistant director of social work. Union offices were visited and branch and local organisers of trade unions were interviewed. Visits were made to local educational institutions, in some cases to interview members of staff, in some cases to observe activities of religious societies, and on other occasions to speak to some of the senior classes. Iron foundries and other industrial plants were visited and conversations were held with directors, management, and shop floor workers.

The major values of the participant observation were

- 1) The facilitating of concept formulation and the development of hypotheses.
- 2) The separation of some of the major formative strands which were at work in the community and in the churches.
- 3) The winning of the confidence of ministers and church members.
- 4) The acquisition of impressionistic data.
- 5) The acquisition of "hard" data relevant to the interaction of church members, their life styles, family relationships and religious history.

Participant observation is however not without difficulties and serious limitations, and although the major thrust of the study was achieved by the application of sample survey techniques it is perhaps justifiable to make a brief digression by discussing the limitations of participant observation as these arose in Falkirk.

Participant observation is a method devised primarily for the study of relatively homogeneous, simply structured communities of a limited size. In western societies its greatest value is likely to be realised through the application of the method in rural communities or in carefully defined small groups or clusters of such groups which are being studied for their own sake or whose representative nature is already known. Falkirk is an urban community with a population of 38,000 whose churches have a total membership of approximately 19,000. The population is characterised by social heterogeneity and religious diversity. Within such a context participant observation could not do justice to the variety of religious groups and the multiplicity of orientations sustained within them. In an analysis undertaken in 1963 Klausner concluded that only 9% of the sociological studies of religion included the use or partial use of observational techniques.<sup>34</sup> The decision to use such techniques for a small part of the Falkirk research coincided with a renewed interest in their employment in the study of religion postulated by Vrijhof<sup>35</sup> and

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34. S.Z. Klausner, Methods of Data Collection in Studies of Religion, (Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Vol. III/2, 1963/64).

35. P.H. Vrijhof, Methodologische Probleme der Religionssoziologie, (International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion, Vol. 3, 1967).

Swanborn.<sup>36</sup> In postulating a more observational approach to the sociological study of religion they tend also to postulate a behaviourist, operational interpretation of socio-religious phenomena. Whilst techniques of observation, particularly those of participant observation, are not exclusive to those with a behaviourist attitude towards religion, observation, particularly when undertaken on a large scale, tends to focus upon the behavioural dimensions of religion within what is largely an action frame of reference. Implicit within this approach are theological and sociological biases which need not be documented here. The emphasis in this investigation however is only partly behavioural, it is also concerned with attitude and with the acquisition of knowledge, and particularly with the development of patterns of behaviour within the process of socialisation.

In participant observation it is customary for the observer to seek a role for himself which, whilst acknowledging his research interests nevertheless minimises these in order that he may participate in the groups under observation. Two difficulties arise here. The first is related to the complexity of the institutions and populations under observation. Of necessity the observer must develop different kinds of role relationships within different groups and these can create role confusion, particularly in those situations in which the different groups interact. The second difficulty

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36. P.G. Swanborn, Religions Research - Objects and Methods, International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion, Vol. IV, 1968.

is associated with participation in groups which subscribe to particular but differing religious beliefs. The participant observer, particularly a western observer in a western society, is unable to subscribe or appear to subscribe to the alternative belief-systems which are characteristic of a pluralistic society. Adopting the role of "minister of religion" may be a natural and acceptable way of being a participant observer for the research worker who is a minister, but in some situations, particularly within the anti-clerical sects such as the Christian Brethren who were included in the Falkirk investigation, there are obvious difficulties. The religious presuppositions or the known inability of the observer to subscribe to a given belief-system, are unknown but determining variables in the conducting of participant observation in religious groups. Religious and theological bias are always determining factors in the pursuit of the sociological study of religion, but in participant observation such bias introduces hitherto unexamined variables which may influence the description and analysis of socio-religious phenomena.

The research was designed to move from less structured procedures pursued on a relatively broad base to more structured procedures with a narrowing focus. To facilitate this progression two pilot studies were conceived as a means of bringing the question of church membership into sharper relief. The first of these was the study of the religious affiliation of a sample of school children and the second was an exploration of the social background and attitudes

of lay leaders, particularly with reference to their attitudes towards the meanings of church membership.

3) Pilot Study of School-children. In March 1969 a questionnaire was administered to pupils in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth forms in one of the high schools in Falkirk. This followed conversations with the headmaster, the youth employment officer and pupils, and attendance at a meeting of the school's branch of the Scripture Union. The aim of the questionnaire was to obtain primary data relating to religious affiliation and religious practice correlated with variables indicative of social structure and behaviour. Whilst the emphasis was primarily upon structure and behaviour some basic attitudinal data were obtained with a view to their possible use in the correlation of behaviour and attitudes for the wider Falkirk study. The results of this investigation are used from time to time to illuminate the substantive data in the report. The advantages of this pilot study were manifold, but at its conception particular value was given to four factors. Firstly, a survey in a school would provide data for a cross-section of the children in the population of Falkirk, representing most of the possible religious affiliations in the burgh, including a sample of those with no formal religious affiliations. Such a sample would be difficult to obtain by other means because of the problems of weighting for socio-economic class, participation in voluntary associations and family size, all variables which are of particular interest for the total study. In addition a sub-sample of non-church attenders who are

uninvolved in voluntary associations would be difficult to obtain for the general purposes of a pilot study. Secondly it was envisaged that the pilot study would provide valuable guidance for the formulation of hypotheses and the devising of categories, whilst at the same time suggesting areas which would be suitable for more intensive investigation. Thirdly, whilst the study would focus primarily upon a sample of school children, guide-lines could be sought concerning the relationship between the family and religion, and data could be obtained concerning the religious affiliations and behaviour of the adults in the households to which the children belonged. Finally it was expected that the study would assist valuably in the costing and timing of those aspects of the research which would require the administration of questionnaires or interview schedules with their subsequent coding and machine processing. In addition to being used as a source of supplementary data for the present study the results of this pilot study are presented as a separate paper in the appendix to the thesis.

4) Pilot Study of Lay Leaders. In July 1969 questionnaires were sent to the lay leaders of the eleven churches which had agreed to co-operate in the study. The leaders selected were those who had been elected to the highest level of leadership responsibility within their particular tradition, the Church of Scotland elders, the Episcopal Vestry members, the Roman Catholic Parish Council, and the elders of the Congregational Church, Brethren Assemblies and an undenominational evangelistic mission. The questionnaires were



designed to facilitate an assessment of the understanding of church membership which prevailed amongst the informed laity of the different traditions whilst suggesting some of the theological factors which are given priority by lay leaders in their understanding of the organising and planning of the churches. The questionnaire also provided data indicative of family religious background, membership of and participation in voluntary, political and professional associations, all data which would help to bring into focus some of the possibly significant characteristics of church membership.<sup>37</sup>

5) Questionnaires administered to church members. On two Sundays in September 1969 questionnaires were administered to congregations in the eleven churches. The object of this was twofold. Firstly to provide a body of basic demographic data for a large and representative sample of church members. Secondly to establish a sampling frame from which an intensive interview sample could be selected on the basis of its religious distribution and demographic characteristics. The questionnaire was completed by those aged seventeen years and over. A 90% response rate was achieved and 1,115 questionnaires were returned. The responses were divided between the Church of Scotland, 72.9%;

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37. The questionnaires administered to the school-children and the lay leaders, along with a report of the results of the pilot study of the children are contained in the appendices of the thesis. The data obtained from the sample of lay leaders are used as the basis for the chapter on lay leadership in the thesis.

Roman Catholics, 11.74%; and the non Church of Scotland Protestants, 15.3%. The nature of this distribution is further described in an appendix.

6) Random sample interview of population. In order to obtain a sampling population from which an intensive interview sample of non church members might be drawn a small, 1.7%, random sample of the burgh's population, stratified by political wards, was interviewed in February and March 1970. A relatively high proportion of this sample belonged to one or another of the churches, primarily in Falkirk, but in the case of a small number churches outside Falkirk. The percentage of church members was 69%. The 31% not associated with the churches was separated for intensive interviewing.

7) Intensive interviews conducted with church members. A random sample of church members was selected from the sampling frame previously established by the distribution of questionnaires to the eleven churches. The limitation upon resources of time and facilities meant that the determination of a suitable sample size had to be undertaken in a somewhat arbitrary manner. The major determinant was the number of respondents who could be interviewed bearing in mind that each interview might be expected to last for a minimum of two hours, and bearing in mind also the fact that non-church members would also have to be interviewed.

The number decided upon was three hundred, to be randomly selected from the 1,115, weighted appropriately for

denomination, i.e. 72.9% of the sample to be taken from the Church of Scotland informants, 15.33% from the non Church of Scotland Protestant informants, and 11.74% from the Roman Catholics.

A thirty-four page interview schedule was constructed which focused upon

- (a) social, familial and economic background;
- (b) personal ecclesiastical history;
- (c) social behaviour and particularly membership of voluntary associations;
- (d) political attitudes and beliefs, political and voting behaviour;
- (e) religious beliefs and subscription to various movements prevalent within the respective denominations;
- (f) religious behaviour and participation in religious ritual;
- (g) moral and social attitudes.

The interview schedule went through four drafts and was pre-tested on both Protestants and Catholics in Falkirk and Edinburgh. Pre-testing suggested modifications in the questions and indicated that the interviews would take approximately two hours to administer. In fact the length of the interviews varied considerably from two hours to seven hours. Most of the questions were of the fixed alternative or multiple choice variety, but eighty open-ended questions allowing for probing by the interviewer and elaboration by the informant were included in the schedule.<sup>38</sup>

The data obtained by all the structured research instruments were transferred to IBM Cards and were processed in the Research Centre for the Social Sciences in the Social Science

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38. See appendix.

Faculty of the University of Edinburgh.

8) Intensive interviews of non church members. Eighty-five of the informants interviewed in the random sample of the population were not church members. There was considerable reluctance amongst the non church members to submit to a long interview after their initial interview as part of the random sample of the population. Finally thirty-five agreed to be interviewed. The interview schedule employed for interviewing church members was adjusted and extended for interviewing these thirty-five non church members.

As far as possible the source of the data upon which the descriptions in the thesis are based will be made clear at the appropriate points of the thesis. All the material presented has derived from one or other of the procedures described above. The core of the thesis will be a description of the results of the intensive interviews, but where appropriate data deriving from a wider source are available, for example from the total population of church members completing questionnaires, such data will be used.

The statistics relating to the sampling procedures are to be found in an appendix. Some of the judgements made in the thesis may be clarified by a brief note on the reasoning which led to the choice of the procedures described above, particularly in the case of the selection of the samples.

The initial choice at the outset of the research was between working with a random sample of the population of

the burgh, about 2,000 in number, which would represent most of the religious persuasions to be found in the town including a proportion of non church members; and a sample of those attending a selection of the churches in which the denominational spread could be controlled and a reasonably high response rate assured. The second procedure was chosen for two main reasons. The first was the importance of controlling for denominational spread and for the social and theological "type" of Church of Scotland congregation, given the interest in denominational differentials which provides a major focus for the thesis. The second reason for this choice was practical and economic. The approach to a random sample of the population was not economically viable as it would have to be done by interview whilst an initial approach to church members could be done by questionnaire on the occasion of Sunday worship. This overcame the need to train, direct and finance a team of interviewers which would have been required to work in Falkirk for several months in order to obtain the equivalent of the data obtained from the 1,115 church members on two days.

The nature of this choice created an additional problem, that of obtaining a sample of non church members and a sample of church members who did not attend worship. The first problem was solved by interviewing the limited random sample out of which only the non church members would be selected for intensive interviewing and analysis. The random sample was carefully selected from the Electoral Roll and stratified

by the five ward divisions. The results of the random sample interviews suggested that the proportion of the population of non church members interviewed is not representative because it is so low, although the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the non church members do complement the church members in a predictable manner insomuch as they dovetail with the demographic characteristics of church members. Previously collected data from the churches and the presbytery suggested that those not associated in any way with the churches would be about 50% of the population. The problem here is that the random sample was concerned only with the adult, voting population. This has a bearing upon the calculations as does the interpretation placed upon "church membership" by those who claimed that they were church members. It is possible that an unknown percentage of the random sample described themselves as church members although their names would not appear on the rolls of Falkirk churches, either because they had not "lifted their lines" from congregations in other towns (and Falkirk has a relatively mobile population), or their names had been erased from the church rolls as a result of the various criteria of roll keeping employed by the different churches. Added to this is the possibility that people, when asked, may be more likely to say that they belong to a church than that they do not. It must also be added however that the nominal church membership in Falkirk is in fact lower than that found by the Opinion Research Centre in its study of religion in Britain and

Ulster<sup>39</sup> adding some credence to the Falkirk figures and suggesting that the percentage of people actually belonging to the churches in Britain is larger than popular wisdom would allow.

It was originally intended to interview a sample of those church members who do not attend worship. The names of these people being supplied by the churches under investigation. The main difficulty here was that of time, and this part of the investigation had reluctantly to be discarded. The names of those who do not attend worship were collected from most of the Church of Scotland congregations, the Congregational Church and the Episcopal Church. The Roman Catholic Church was reluctant to give the researchers access to the names and addresses of those who did not attend Mass, whilst the elders of the Brethren Assemblies and the non-denominational mission claimed that they did not have members who were non attenders at worship for reasons other than ill health or extreme age. This last point was borne out by observation in these congregations which were the only congregations investigated which regularly had attendances at worship consistently higher than the number of people on their membership rolls.

e) Definitions of Church Membership

The problem of defining church membership is a frustrating one, particularly for a study which is endeavouring to make a comparative analysis of church membership

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39. Opinion Research Centre Staff, Religion in Britain and Northern Ireland, A Survey of Popular Attitudes, (Independent Television Authority, 1970).

across denominational boundaries. Church membership is a blanket term which can refer to many types of religious belonging each of which may be indicative of different understandings of religion, of "being religious" and of the church itself. In considering the membership statistics of the churches in Falkirk the fact which is immediately apparent is that they mean different things for different churches and that a simple cross-denominational comparison of membership statistics has limited usefulness because like is not compared to like. Different churches employ different criteria of membership which vary considerably in terms of exclusiveness/inclusiveness with regard to the relationship between Church and society, and with regard to age, sex initiation and religious education, and of course implicit within these criteria are understandings of the church, faith and belief. As far as possible the usage employed in this thesis is the conventional usage employed by the different traditions providing the population sample for the study. Where comparisons are made the relevance of the differing criteria to the validity of the comparisons will be referred to.

In order that the research could be undertaken at all the arbitrary decision was made that the questionnaires to be completed by church members would only be completed by those over the age of seventeen, this being the highest age adopted by any of the churches as their minimum age requirement for membership. As will be apparent this did not mean that this difficult, if fascinating problem, would not



reassert itself, particularly at those points in the study devoted to the methods adopted for joining the church.

The word church is used to describe all local congregations whatever the terminology employed by the particular tradition, although occasionally the usage familiarly employed in the separate traditions is used, for example Church of Scotland "congregations" and Brethren "meetings".

CHAPTER 2.

## THE BURGH OF FALKIRK AND ITS CHURCHES

History will play only a very small part in this thesis. The relationship between history and sociology is conceptualised differently by different sociologists, and it is not intended that the difficulties associated with such conceptualisations should be discussed here. History is important for the sociologist of religion and there is an understanding of the relationship between sociology and history implicit in the report. It is, briefly, that current socio-religious phenomena are the effects of multi-causality which in part are mediated from the past, and which in part are the outcome of man's response to God in history. It is not the aim to engage in the sociological analysis of historical data, nor to seek exclusively historical explanations for existing social phenomena in this report. The purpose of this chapter is to present a historical and socio-economic overview of Falkirk, its people, institutions and churches. A general discussion of some of the historical factors and a description of existing social and political institutions will serve to illustrate the context within which the research has been conducted. The causal significance of certain factors is not difficult to establish in a simplistic fashion. The geographic location of the burgh might be explained simply in terms of the obstacle to communications and travel presented by the river Forth, whilst the emergence of the iron industry helps to explain

the current economic structure of Falkirk. Local expressions of the successive waves of political and religious ferment which have swept Scotland help to explain some of the structural problems confronting the burgh's churches at the present time, but simple causal chains between the past and the present cannot be established. Such explanations are precluded by the complex intertwining of causal strands and the mutual interdependence of social, political, economic and religious institutions. The discussion in this chapter is designed to suggest some of the significant factors which may have contributed to the broad orientations of the community and which may have helped to shape the behaviour and attitudes of individuals and the structure and functions of their institutions. This preliminary part of the report has been hampered by the fact that there is no study of local history available and much of the information has been obtained from a general investigation of historical documents and records held by the Falkirk public library, as well as from oral tradition within the community.

a) The Burgh

Falkirk is situated midway between Edinburgh and Glasgow, separated from the narrowing but still navigable river Forth by its adjacent neighbour Grangemouth. It is located on a part of the plain which constitutes the base of the Forth valley, but latterly it has expanded along the north facing slopes of the valley. The modern burgh, which is dissected by the main road from Edinburgh to Stirling, is divided into

five municipal wards and is constituted of eight fairly distinct districts. In the east of the burgh are the Callendar and Ladysmill districts. Callendar consists predominantly of council housing, particularly new high rise flats on the former estate property surrounding the historical Callendar house. There is little industry in this area. Ladysmill is characterised by council and rented housing, much of it of a relatively poor quality. There is no major industry in Ladysmill although there are scattered industrial and commercial concerns. The west ward consists of the town centre which is a growing and thriving shopping area, and the south west of the burgh which contains middle-class and professional class housing. There are many large old houses in excellent repair, new private housing schemes on the north facing slope overlooking the town and the Forth in the middle-distance. The burgh's three hospitals are located in this district as are seven of the churches. The so-called middle ward is an indeterminate area, very largely working class but with a residual population of elderly middle-class people living in private houses amongst property owned by the council and iron foundries. The major railway station is located in this district and a number of ironworks and engineering works are in the area. Three Church of Scotland churches are based in the middle-ward along with the Congregational and Methodist churches, the Grahamston Evangelistic Mission and the Apostolic church. The area is dissected by Grahams Road which runs northwards at a ninety degree angle from the A.9. North of the middle-ward is Langlees an area

developed by the council since the war. It consists predominantly of flats, but the density of the population is relatively low because the area contains a generous park and a primary school in relatively large grounds. The local British Aluminium plant, the largest employer in the burgh is located in Langlees. Further north from Langlees is Bainsford, a working class area with very mixed land use, including a number of ironworks. Bainsford marks the northern boundary of Falkirk where the burgh merges with the village of Carron. West of the burgh, dissected by the road to Glasgow is Camelon which is divided into north and south. Camelon was formerly an independent township located on a complex of locks linking inland waterways with the Forth. It is almost entirely working class in constitution and the housing is predominantly council owned. There is a medium sized shopping centre, a number of new flats and a mixture of industry. There are three Church of Scotland parish churches in Camelon, in addition to St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, the Church of the Nazarene, the Bethany Hall Brethren, the Faith Mission and a Mormon church.

The burgh rubs shoulders with a number of smaller neighbours which tend to look to Falkirk for administrative, social and economic purposes, and which together with Falkirk constitute a substantial urban area. In addition to Grangemouth which is a rapidly expanding port and an important centre for the petro-chemical and ancillary industries, these neighbours include Carron, Stenhousemuir, Larbert, Skinflats, Bothkennar, and Laurieston. To the

south of the town, "up the braes" are a number of former mining villages which to some extent draw their economic sustenance from Falkirk, these include Slammanan, Shieldhill and California. Whilst other outlying communities also regard Falkirk as a shopping, economic and entertainments centre, amongst these are Denny, Polmont and Brightons. Whilst the present study is concerned only with the area included within the urban boundaries of Falkirk it is important to emphasise that Falkirk does not stand in splendid isolation in this part of central Scotland, but that it is in fact the focal point for a number of communities which are historically, geographically, economically and socially linked with the burgh.

The low plains which lie between the Forth and the Clyde have always been important in the history of Scotland. They have facilitated communication between different parts of the country, particularly those parts separated by the two rivers, and they have frequently provided a battle arena when the peoples of the north and south have been in conflict. Historically the area has been both a convenient and a vulnerable site for habitation. The historically low density of Stirlingshire's population may in part testify to the disadvantages of vulnerability outweighing the advantages of geographic and economic convenience. The Antonine wall, built by the Romans to divide north from south, parallels the Forth and dissects the area within which the investigation was conducted. At Camelon there is the site of a fort built by Agricola's army to facilitate the surveillance of and

protection from the peoples of the north. Two major battles have been fought at Falkirk. One at the end of the thirteenth century between the Scots and the English, and one in 1746 when Charles Edward Stewart's army routed the English who had based themselves in the burgh.<sup>1</sup> Local place names record these battles and parts of the burial ground of the 1746 battle are still preserved in the midst of the suburban development to the south of the burgh. Oliver Cromwell's army camped in the vicinity of the town and the Protector lodged in Callendar house, the family home of the Earls of Linlithgow and Callendar who were originally responsible for procuring Falkirk's status as a burgh. The association with Cromwell is recalled in the street names of a small council housing estate opposite Callendar House - Cromwell Road and Oliver Road.

Falkirk was made a "burgh of barony" in 1600 when it was a part of the estates of the Earl of Linlithgow and Callendar,<sup>2</sup> and for many generations the Livingstones of Callendar house were the prominent local family of the town, exercising considerable political influence through the head of the family who was originally the local baron and latterly the chief local landlord. For many years successive heads of the Livingstone family exercised control over the locally elected council through traditional feudal representatives. In the eighteenth century Callendar house was

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1. W. Nimmo, A General History of Stirlingshire, (Edinburgh, 1777).

2. Falkirk and District Almanack, 1913, (M'Culloch & Mackie, Falkirk, 1913).

purchased by William Forbes, a London merchant of Scots descent, and the Forbes family took over the role of the major landlord. In the twentieth century political power had effectively passed from the hands of the owners of Callendar until finally Callendar house was acquired by the town.

Falkirk's importance as a communications centre was largely determined by the river Forth which prevented ease of access between Edinburgh and "the Kingdom of Fife". In order to ford the Forth it was necessary to travel more than thirty miles to the west to Stirling, along a road which inevitably led through Falkirk. Until the erection of the Forth Road Bridge the main access to the north and north east of the country was provided by the A.9 trunk road which dissects Falkirk into north and south. This road is still one of the main routes between the capital and the Central and Western Highlands. The significance of Falkirk as a communications centre was recognised in the late seventeenth century when the great cattle markets, "the Falkirk trysts" were established. The trysts were held three times a year in the summer months until they were discontinued at the end of the nineteenth century. The principal purpose of these markets was to provide a means whereby the Scottish highlanders could trade with the English, particularly in black cattle. At one such tryst in the eighteenth century 50,000 head of black cattle and 100,000 head of sheep were marketed.<sup>3</sup> Vast herds were driven to pastureland to the

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3. Nimmo, Op.cit.



east of the town, and the occasions were always associated with feasting and celebration as well as with trade. It is said that several generations of cattle trysts served to contribute a substantial amount of highland blood to Falkirk veins.

Economically however Falkirk's dominant historical associations are with the iron industry. In 1760 the industrial revolution was born in Scotland when a royal charter was granted to the Carron ironworks which were opened that year by the navigable river Carron, a tributary of the Forth. Within less than twenty years the iron company was providing employment for more than 2,000 men. The site was selected as an ideal one partly because of the navigability of the Carron and the accessibility of water for driving machinery, but also because of nearby deposits of coal and iron ore. During the hundred years which followed a further fifteen foundries had opened, many of them small, and most of them established by former Carron employees who had learned their skills and knowledge at the "English" ironworks and who were turning them to good use on their own account.<sup>4</sup> By 1879 the foundry industry was employing 6,000 workers, and some of the foundries owned company houses which were tied houses for their employees. In 1858 five villages in the vicinity of Falkirk were owned by the Carron company which was responsible for adding many houses to them. At this time the social structure and the economy of the

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<sup>4</sup> R. Gillespie, Round About Falkirk, (Glasgow, 1879).

community were increasingly determined by the iron industry, and particularly by Carron. The company made provision for the education of its workers' children, guaranteed wages even in the event of a trade recession, and provided a co-operative store for its workers as well as three benefit societies. An evangelical mission grew up opposite the works to serve the spiritual needs of the ironworkers, and the Dawson Mission, which now has a large modern assembly hall opposite the main gates of the Carron company, continues to enjoy a special relationship with the firm, the pastor of the Mission being persona grata in the works. According to Bremner employment in Carron in the eighteen-fifties was already a family tradition passed on from generation to generation. It is unclear however how far these ties were those of sentiment and how far they were economically determined by the dominating presence of the Carron company.<sup>5</sup>

The history of the Scottish churches is a confusing one characterised by a series of secessions from a parent church and the gradual welding together of secessionist churches into a single body, the United Free Church of Scotland, as a major presbyterian alternative to the national Church of Scotland, until the two national churches united in 1929. A number of continuing dissenting Presbyterian churches, non uniting secessionist churches, the

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5. David Bremner, The Industries of Scotland: Their rise, progress and present condition, (originally published by A. & C. Black, 1869, available in David & Charles Reprints, 1968).

Episcopal Church of Scotland, the Evangelical Union, the Congregational churches, independent missions arising from the secession churches, and not least the Roman Catholic Church have historically reacted against and interacted with this dominating series of mutations, secession and unity, in various tidal movements and permutations. These movements cannot be understood outside a much wider consideration of Scottish political, economic and social history, but such changes have left an indelible mark upon the local religious life of Scotland.

In Falkirk the parish church was established in 1166 although the present building is a relatively recent one, dating from 1810. Various bodies seceded from the parish church and formed their own meeting places and denominational links. These were the Falkirk Associate Congregation which seceded from the parish church in 1739,<sup>6</sup> the Falkirk Relief Association which seceded from the parish church in 1767 and became a unit of the Edinburgh Relief Presbytery<sup>7</sup> and the Falkirk Free Church which seceded from the parish church in 1843 erecting its own building in nearby Laurieston and later returning to the centre of Falkirk where a large building was built back to back with the parish church.<sup>8</sup>

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6. Alex Baird, The Erskine Church Falkirk, 1737-1937, (Falkirk, 1937).

7. T.C. Wade, The Story of the West United Free Church, (Falkirk, 1926).

8. Jane Roberts, A Short Sketch of The Falkirk Parish Church before, and the Falkirk Free Church after, the Disruption, (Lorrimer & Chalmers, Edinburgh, 1901).

The evolution of the existing situation in Falkirk might be briefly traced, for the uninitiated, through a consideration of the emergence and subsequent evolution of the first secessionist body, the Falkirk Associate Congregation. From its initial secession in 1739 until 1820 this congregation worshipped as an independent body. In 1820 the associate congregations sought unity amongst themselves and the church became the First United Falkirk Associate Congregation. In 1847 the Associate Congregation united with the Relief Congregations and in Falkirk the United Associate Congregation became the East United Presbyterian Church distinguishing itself from the former Relief Congregation in the burgh which became the West United Presbyterian Church. In 1866 the name of a distinguished minister was incorporated into the name of the church and it became the Erskine United Presbyterian Church. Another change of name occurred in 1900 when the United Presbyterian Church united with the Free Church of Scotland, a body which had seceded from the Church of Scotland in 1843 to form the present St. Andrew's Church in Falkirk, and Erskine Church became the Erskine United Free Church, belonging to the same denomination as, but distinguished from, the West United Free Church and St. Andrew's United Free Church. In 1929 the present name was adopted, the Erskine Church of Scotland. Sociologist and historian alike are interested in the motivations, the social, economic, political and religious factors which contributed to these and related movements. Such motivations are important for a consideration of these churches

in Falkirk at the present time, but the conflicts of patronage between the Burghers and Anti-Burghers, the disagreements between the moderates and the evangelicals will be familiar to Scottish readers, and their discussion would lead beyond the scope of the thesis.

Two of the existing Church of Scotland parish churches, St. Modan's Church and St. James' Church emerged from the Evangelical Union and Congregational traditions,<sup>9</sup> whilst the other Church of Scotland churches were either originally conceived as "quoad sacra" parishes of the presbytery or they were extension churches or mission churches of the Free Church. In 1929 when all these churches became parish churches of the Church of Scotland they retained much of their former identity and in the present day they betray their parentage through various administrative and constitutional differences and to some extent through the social and theological orientations of their ministers and people. Older members of the Erskine congregation, for instance, are inclined to feel an affinity for the members of the West congregation rather than for the members of the St. Andrew's congregation, for the West Church and the Erskine Church were the two United Presbyterian Churches in the burgh and unity with St. Andrew's only came later. Similarly many members of the St. Andrew's congregation will describe themselves as being members of "the Free Church" forgetting or disregarding the acts of unity in 1900 and 1929. Although

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9. H. Escott, The History of Scottish Congregationalism, (Aberdeen, 1960).

the Church of Scotland is generally the trustee of all church property, former United Presbyterian congregations like to insist on holding the deeds of their own property, clinging to the traces of their former autonomy and making their legal association with the Church of Scotland more voluntary in character than that of original parish churches. The Old Parish Churches tend to resist the adoption of the new model constitution, and often only reluctantly accept the 1929 carve up of parishes, secretly insisting on their original claim to a wider territorial domain. The Old Parish Church in Falkirk only recently accepted a territorial parish within the burgh, as previous ministers and congregations had persisted in their claim that the whole of Falkirk was their parochial territory whilst the parishes allocated to the other churches were, properly speaking, only "quoad sacra" parishes. These churches also differ in the decision making responsibilities and offices which are available to the members of their congregations. The norm within the Church of Scotland is a Kirk Session, the board of Elders, and a Congregational Board. The former meeting three or four times a year and the latter meeting perhaps twice. Former Free Churches add the office of deacon to the other offices and the Deacons' Meeting also forms a part of the decision making process. Old Parish Churches may operate only with a Kirk Session, and that meeting infrequently. It is only at the presbytery level that administrative uniformity becomes apparent as each church in the presbytery, regardless of its internal decision making structure, is

represented by its minister and an elder who is specially appointed to be "presbytery elder".

Throughout the nineteenth century there was a considerable amount of church building in the burgh. This was undoubtedly stimulated by the growth of the iron and light castings industry and the high density, crowded housing development which accompanied it. There was also a certain amount of church extension rivalry between the three major presbyterian bodies, particularly so between the Free Church and the Church of Scotland. The early social and evangelical zeal of the Free Church was directed towards Camelon where the Free Church minister, the Reverend L.H. Irving initiated a mission hall and social work amongst the poor. Irving was later responsible for initiating an industrial school and he was one of the founders of the Falkirk Savings Bank, which it is claimed was an extension of a savings scheme he instituted for the poorer members of his own congregation. It was to commemorate the labours of Irving in Camelon that the Free Church built the Irving Memorial Church there. The building in Camelon was not the only new building for which the Free Church was responsible, buildings were erected and congregations established in Bainsford and in the village of Shieldhill. The Established Church was also active in extension about this time, sponsoring and supporting the quoad sacra parishes in Camelon and Grahamston, in the heart of the industrial areas of the burgh.

In one missionary project the Church of Scotland, the



Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church combined to pool their resources. In 1852 they established the Falkirk Town Missionary Society ". . . to bring within its influence the last unit of existence, and confront in its entirety the moral prostration that everywhere, and at all times, is indicative of fallen human nature".<sup>10</sup> The impetus for this development came less from the denominations themselves than from a number of evangelical Christians belonging to the three primary Presbyterian bodies and the Baptist Church. In 1898 when almost the whole town was involved in a large bazaar to obtain funds for the Town Mission, the Parish Church, the Free Church and the West United Presbyterian Church each provided stalls.

The history of the other churches in the burgh is less well documented. The Episcopal Church and the Roman Catholic Church are both pre-reformation in origin. In 1688 when James VI fled and William of Orange entered England the parish church in Falkirk was Episcopal in structure and the episcopacy was strongly supported by the influential classes in the burgh. The presbyterians demanded that the church should be handed over to them but the Episcopal minister with the support of the Earl of Callendar remained in control of the church until 1690 when the General Assembly called upon the Earl to relinquish the keys of the church

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10. J.G. Lumsden, Falkirk, Past and Present: Official Guide to the Town Mission Bazaar, (Falkirk, 1898).



to the presbytery.<sup>11</sup> The Episcopal church became a body apart from the dominant church and the parish church became presbyterian in structure. The Wesleyan church was built in 1893 in what is now the middle-ward and which was a middle-class area fringed by houses owned by the foundries. The Grahamston Evangelistic Mission seems to have its origins in a subscription Sunday school which was run by Miss Dawson, the daughter of a director of Carron Works and the benefactress of the Dawson Mission, in the eighteen-fifties. Later in the nineteenth century it was taken over by an enthusiastic eighteen year old, a Mr. Miller, who continued to be responsible for the growth of the mission until his death. The present meeting is still known locally as the Miller Hall.

It is from this diverse background that the current religious institutions of the burgh have emerged.

b) Industry and Social Composition of the Burgh.

The iron industry was the dominant industry in Falkirk for one hundred and sixty years. Between the two world wars the industry began to decline although it received a new lease of life during the second world war. Since the end of the war there has been a rapid decline in the number of foundries in the burgh and many of those which remain have been restructured under the Allied Iron Foundries monopoly. New industries have emerged in the burgh. The most important of these is the British Aluminium Company which is the largest single employer in Falkirk, but also important is

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11. G.I. Murray, Records of Falkirk Parish, Vol. I, (Duncan & Murray, Falkirk)

the development of the petro-chemical industry in Grange-mouth which although not a large employer of local labour has been responsible for the importation of skilled technologists and scientists, mostly from England, who have played a substantial part in the economic expansion of the burgh during the post war years. A recent development has been the emergence of a small electronics industry which is increasingly employing unskilled and partly skilled female labour. Other major employers in the area include Alexander's Coach Body Builders and the Scottish Tar Distillers. This diversification of industry has contributed substantially to the social change which has occurred in the burgh during the twentieth century.

The social evolution of Falkirk during the last one hundred years provides an almost classical illustration of the Weberian thesis of the relationship between Calvinism and capitalism. The indigenous foundry owners, the "iron-masters", were almost exclusively presbyterian, usually elders and bible-class leaders in the quoad sacra parishes and the extension churches of the Free Church. The families of the original owners developed the foundries as mini-empires, providing housing for both managerial and labouring employees, their political creed was nineteenth century liberalism, and several of them served on the burgh council and succeeded each other as provost. It is interesting that although many Roman Catholics, mostly of Irish descent, worked in the iron industry, none of them rose through the offices to establish a new foundry. It is also significant that none of the iron families were traditionally associated with the

Episcopal church, although a curious biographical twist resulted in a present member of one of the original owning families becoming an Episcopalian. The Episcopal church is traditionally the church of the county families, and particularly it was the church of the Earls of Callendar and the subsequent occupants of Callendar house. In the minds of many of the older residents of the burgh the social stratification system appears still to be seen in terms of a hierarchy with the county families at the top, followed by the ironmasters, the foundry managers and the foundry workers. Older workers in the industry sometimes bitterly recall the times when the foundries completely controlled the destiny of their employees. With the diversification of industry the economy and social structure of the burgh are changing. The factors indicative of this change are

- 1) the decline of the old county families which formerly occupied the big houses in and around Falkirk, a decline which began at the end of the First World War. The Callendar estates and Callendar house are now publicly owned, although members of the Forbes family occasionally hold nominal presidencies in local societies. The Bantaskine estate, the nineteenth century home of the Wilson family is being transformed from a derelict open-cast mine into a recreation area and horticultural nursery by the burgh parks department. Only one of the traditional county families remains in the district, two elderly spinsters, the Misses Gray-Buchanan, who are the last of the influential families in the Episcopal Church.

2) the diversification of industry has replaced the iron industry's monopoly of employment and with the employment of female labour and the extension of shiftwork has helped to reshape local life styles amongst the working population;

3) the restructuring of the iron industry and the emergence of a nationally, often London based ownership, has weakened the social and economic influence of the traditional iron-masters' families. The professional graduate manager has slowly replaced the residual members of the former owning families. Associated with these changes is the development of Falkirk Technical College from former trade schools. Established in 1962 the Technical College services the iron industry and the petro-chemical industries, and it has been instrumental in bringing into the area a number of graduate teachers. Developing at the same time as the Technical College, the Callendar Park College of Education has also been responsible for increasing the graduate population of the burgh. In addition to their traditional functions these two institutions have contributed to increasing numbers of qualified women teachers in the town as many married women have returned to the Technical College to obtain their Higher Certificate and have then gone on to the College of Education to undertake teacher training.

The social structure of the burgh is typically industrial, 67% of the male population is employed in the manufacturing and construction industries, and a further 22% is engaged in the service industries. More than 60% of the houses in Falkirk are council houses. The population of 38,000 has remained relatively unchanged for a number of years, the

annual immigration and emigration usually being about 1,200, although the implementation of the Scottish Development Department's plan for the area may institute a planned increase of the population.

The peculiarity of Falkirk's location as a meeting place between different parts of Scotland has helped to create a local population within which distinctive ethnic strands can be identified. Generations of highlanders and English have visited the town for purposes of conflict, trade and employment. Inevitably many of them have made their homes and reared their families in the burgh. The recent industrial developments have brought a number of English into Falkirk and one of the burgh's bailies recently commented that "one hears more and more English voices on the High Street". The English have been influential in Falkirk for many generations however. The impetus for the development of Carron originated south of the border, whilst the subsequent owners of the Falkirk Iron Foundry, the first to be spawned from Carron, were the Kennards, a family with strong English and Welsh military, diplomatic and political associations.<sup>12</sup> From its earliest days the Carron ironworks were the English ironworks, and the name "the English church" accorded to the Episcopal Church refers to more than its high Anglican rites.

The iron industry undoubtedly offered employment to many Irish families fleeing from potato famine and making

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12. Souvenir Programme of a Social Gathering to commemorate the successful Conclusion of our work during the Great War, 1918, (Falkirk Iron Company).

their way to the coalfields of Fifeshire, although it is interesting to note that Bremner, writing in 1858, commented that the Carron works employed no Irish, and by implication this helped to explain the exemplary quality of the Carron work force.<sup>13</sup> Anti-Irish and anti-Catholic feeling was particularly strong in the area at the turn of the century and during the period which led up to the second world war. In 1929 the Scottish Protestant League provided a candidate to contest the Stirling and Falkirk constituency in the parliamentary election. The existing member of parliament was a Roman Catholic. The League was established in 1921 "to counteract the acute menace of the growing influence of Romanism in Scotland". The League's platform was based on the claim that the immigration of Irish from the Free State was "detrimental to the spiritual and moral life of Scotland". The League additionally complained that the 1918 Education Act furthered the spread of "Romanism" by subsidising Roman Catholic schools from the rates; and strong criticisms were made of the increasing prevalence of mixed Catholic and Protestant marriages.<sup>14</sup> It was argued that the Irish were often semi-literate, were often on the dole, and that the Roman Catholic proportion of the population had risen to 14%. Many of the Irish Catholics interviewed during the research belonged to families which had become domiciled in Scotland about this time, and although the percentage of the Falkirk population actually born in Ireland is only

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13. Bremner, Op.cit.

14. Report in the Falkirk Mail, January, 1929.

slightly above 1% at the present time there are many second and third generation Irish families living in the burgh. A recently calculated figure shows that the estimated Catholic population of the burgh is currently 12%.<sup>15</sup>

The two other groups of immigrants to Falkirk were also predominantly if not exclusively Roman Catholic. In common with many Scottish towns Falkirk has several families of Italian origin. For the most part these are the proprietors of restaurants and fish and chip shops. Amongst the Scottish and Irish names which constitute the largest part of the electoral roll there are also such names as Notarangelo, Moscardini, Lemetti, Evangelisti, Serefini and Janetta. Although no family histories are known it is hypothesised that many of these families arrived in Falkirk at the turn of the century. In the local press there is reference to the existence of an Italian society, the Italian Facisti, and there is an account of a dance held by the society in 1929 which was attended by seventy Italian couples from the area.<sup>16</sup> Sometime before that, during the middle part of the nineteenth century, it is recorded that an Italian priest, a Father Cavazzi, visited Falkirk and gave a lecture in Italian which was interpreted by the minister of the Free Church. Unfortunately the purpose of his visit, the content of his lecture and the constitution of his audience are all unknown as the fact is recorded by a writer

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15. A.B.C.W. Spencer, Report on The Parish Register, Religious Practice & Population Statistics of The Catholic Church in Scotland, (Pastoral Research Centre, Harrow, 1969).

16. Falkirk Mail, 27th April, 1929.

who was more impressed with the minister's linguistic versatility than with the significance of the Italian's visit.<sup>17</sup> At the present time the families of Italian origin do not appear to constitute a community and it is difficult to establish the nature of any social networks which may operate between them, although many of these families are known to contain devout Catholics who attend Mass at St. Francis Xavier's Church.

Also prominent on the electoral roll are many Polish names, and these do testify to a distinctive and recognisable, if declining Polish community with its own distinctive sub-culture. In common with many Polish communities in Britain the Falkirk community originated with Polish ex-servicemen who had been based in the locality and who subsequently married Scottish women. There are two Polish Clubs in Falkirk, a Polish Roman Catholic Church and a Saturday school organised by the Polish born priest who is chaplain to the Polish community in this part of central Scotland. About twenty children attend the school where they study the Polish language and culture. A hundred and twenty-four Polish ex-servicemen belong to the Ex-Servicemen's Club, along with about fifty Scottish ex-servicemen. It is estimated that there are approximately seven hundred Poles living in the Falkirk area, although an unknown number of Poles who were the partners in mixed marriages do not associate themselves with the Polish community. Mass at the Polish Catholic

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17. Jane Roberts, Op.cit.



Church is usually attended by about fifty people but other Poles have integrated themselves into the wider Catholic community and worship in other Catholic churches. Most of the Polish community are married in nationally and religiously mixed marriages, although in the course of observation marriages and families which were totally Polish and totally Catholic were encountered. The community exercises a considerable amount of social work amongst its members, particularly amongst the elderly, and it celebrates Polish festivals, particularly the Polish National Day. On a number of occasions when a Protestant was being interviewed the interviewers were introduced to a respondent's Polish father who was an inactive member of the Catholic church. The Protestant churches of all denominations have Polish names on their church rolls, but they are the names of Scottish women and their children emphasising at one and the same time the matrilineal nature of religious affiliation and the reluctance of some Polish men to become religiously acculturised. Approximately 1% of the population of the burgh was born in countries other than Britain, Ireland and the Commonwealth nations, most of this 1% was born in Poland.

To the outsider the population of Falkirk appears to be relatively homogeneous consisting mainly of skilled workers and their families who are economically dependent upon heavy industry. Within this homogeneity there is in fact a considerable amount of social, cultural and economic diversity and this diversity is expressed in the associations

and institutions of the burgh. Whilst the landed gentry have now left the burgh the traditional Scottish middle-classes, which in Falkirk arose out of the iron industry, remain, living for the most part in the older property in the west ward. The newer middle-class, to a large extent English in background is scattered throughout the town, although there is a tendency for them to move into the suburban development in the west ward. The large amount of council housing in the burgh is occupied for the most part by the traditional working classes, but even the council housing estates are more heterogeneous than one would expect to find in an English town of comparable size. House ownership is a relatively late development in Scotland, traditionally associated with the upper middle-classes. It is a source of complaint amongst the new middle, newly mortgaged classes that council houses should be occupied by teachers, accountants, personnel managers, bank managers, production managers and college lecturers. At one level social stratification is established by the basic distinction between the new middle-classes who have embarked upon home ownership and those who live in council houses.

The diversity of the town's population is expressed in various ways. Falkirk is an important and enterprising shopping centre which caters for the needs not only of its own population but for the population of the surrounding towns and villages, many of them extremely rural in character. To an outsider it may seem paradoxical that the food department of Woolworths in the town centre should have a very

large counter devoted entirely to Polish foodstuffs, cooked meats, cheeses, canned vegetables all imported from Poland, whilst in the suburban development to the south of the burgh milk and eggs are still delivered by a farmer.

c) Politics

The vestiges of feudalism remained in Falkirk until the end of the nineteenth century. As a part of the estates of Callendar the administration of the burgh was for a long time the responsibility of the Earls of Callendar and subsequently of the owners of the Callendar estate. The burgh was administered through two principal agencies, the feuars and the stentmasters. The feuars were the administrators of the traditional feudal rights of the High Street whilst the stentmasters were burgesses elected from specific trades by their fellow burgesses to whom the owner of Callendar leased his property in the town. The stentmasters were then responsible for sub-leases on the property and they had the power to levy necessary assessments. During the nineteenth century the town council, the feuars and the stentmasters shared political and administrative responsibilities and inevitably there were far reaching conflicts between them.<sup>19</sup> The town council came to represent the progressive element in local politics aligned over against the conservative feuars and stentmasters.

The ironmasters were liberal in politics and as such they rivalled the landed gentry who belonged to the Unionist

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19. Lumsden, Op.cit.

party. The Unionist garden fete was not infrequently held in the grounds of Callendar house where the head of the Forbes family acted as host. During the early part of the twentieth century the Liberals dominated the local council, and in effect this meant domination by the management of the iron industry. The early years of the century saw the increasing strength of the Trade Unions in the iron industry, particularly the Iron Founding Workers' Association. This was established in the face of much opposition from the owners in 1889<sup>20</sup> in order to negotiate for bargaining powers with regard to pay and working hours for iron moulders. Some older and retired workers from the industry recall the bitterness which existed between union and management during the early years of the century when union members were threatened with the loss of their jobs and the forfeiting of their tenancy of company houses.

At the time of the research Falkirk burgh council was controlled by the Labour group and had been so for more than thirty years. There was one Conservative councillor, who described himself as a socialist with a small s, and a number of independents, several of whom were associated with the Conservative Party at constituency level. There were two Scottish Nationalist Party councillors, one of them being a minister of the Church of Scotland. The Liberal Party is almost extinct in the neighbourhood. The Conservative Party is supported very largely by the upper middle-classes,

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20. Jubilee Booklet of the Iron-Founding Workers' Association, 1889-1939, (Falkirk, 1939).

many of the older supporters having formally been Liberals. A number of the latter claimed that they would support the Liberal cause locally if they had the opportunity of doing so. It is probably this strong Liberalism of a number of the Conservative faction in Falkirk which persuades Conservatives who stand for the local council to do so as Independents. The relationship between religion and politics will be discussed later in the report but some general observations are appropriate. The Roman Catholics tend to be Labour Party supporters and a number of them are activists in the unions and the local Labour movement. The organiser of the Amalgamated Engineering and Foundry Workers' Union, himself an active member of the Church of Scotland, commented that the only religious groups really identifiable in the local unions were the Catholics and the sectarians. The former because of their activism and the latter because of their refusal to participate in the unions and their refusal to pay their union subscriptions. A number of sectarian informants, particularly amongst the Brethren, said that they belonged to unions because they "had to", although they played no active part. At least one Church of Scotland minister was an activist in the local Labour Party, and other Protestant ministers had clear Labour Party sympathies. The Congregational minister had at one time been a union official.

There is clearly an association between the Conservative and Unionist organisation and middle-class members from all the churches. A number of Conservative activists were also

prominent in the life of their churches. The full time secretary of the Conservative and Unionist Association is an active church member and a Sunday School teacher, and the committee members tend to be active in several voluntary associations in the town. The secretary said that most of the members of the association were church members, and this was borne out by an examination of the names on the ward committees. Several activists in the Conservative party were leaders in their churches, chairmen of Congregational Boards, members of church committees, and substantial subscribers to church funds. The traditional ties between the Conservatives and the Episcopalian Church are still evident. Five of the twenty Conservative office bearers are Episcopalian. Despite this middle-class Episcopal/Church of Scotland image the secretary was anxious to point out that one active member of the association, a former chairman of the Young Conservatives, was a Roman Catholic.

d) Voluntary Associations

The brochure published by the Falkirk Arts and Civic Council lists thirty-three affiliated voluntary associations. There are probably twice as many associations in the burgh excluding those of a religious nature with church affiliations. Notable omissions are masonic and orange lodges, sporting organisations, working men's clubs, and small local social clubs. The voluntary associations listed in the brochure tend to be those concerned with artistic and dramatic activities or the promotion of hobbies, although some civic and pressure group activities of various kinds are also

affiliated to the Council. They are the middle-class associations and they are interesting as indicators of how the middle-class population of the burgh spends its leisure time and how the socially active members of the population interact with each other. As examination of participation in the voluntary associations in comparison with participation in the churches may also be an indicator of how far activism in the churches may be just one manifestation of a general middle-class social activism.

Fourteen voluntary associations were formally contacted and asked to provide information concerning their members and access to their activities. One of these, the Falkirk and District Art Club refused co-operation.

The most strongly supported and most active of the voluntary associations are the six principal women's associations, the W.R.V.S., The Electrical Association for Women, The Business and Professional Women's Club, The Women Citizens Association, the Soroptimist Club and the Townswomen's Guild. The W.R.V.S. is the most active, oriented as it is to social work, and draws upon women from all the other associations in the town, including the churches. Fifteen of the most active women in the W.R.V.S. were interviewed, these were the organisers and deputy organisers of the ten main areas of work, and the organiser and deputy organiser of the total organisation. Thirteen of the women were church members, twelve of them of Church of Scotland congregations, four of them active in their churches in church organisations. Twelve of the W.R.V.S. members interviewed were also members of other women's

organisations in the town. The meetings of the other five associations take place either weekly or monthly and the women who attend seem to be much the same type - for the most part they are church members, often active in their churches. Their husbands are professional men, and they are usually aged between forty and fifty. Only one of the women interviewed said that she would describe herself as an unbeliever. The church members were mainly Church of Scotland, there were one or two Congregationalists, but no Roman Catholics. They were predominantly members of the Old Parish Church, Erskine and St. Andrew's. The same pattern applies to the other associations. The An Comuan Gaidhealach, the Falkirk branch of the Highland Association is largely a lower middle-class association, not all its members are highlanders and few of them speak Gaelic, they are mostly people with a general interest in traditional folk music, and again most of them are church members. The Rotary has at least 95% of its members who are active in the church, indeed one of the criteria of Rotary membership is activity in other organisations amongst which the church is included. By contrast the Falkirk Folk Song Club whose members are aged between twenty-two and thirty-five has relatively few church members amongst its numbers. The thirteen strong, all male committee, which consists of school teachers, civil servants, architects, bankers and students has only one member who belongs to a church, whilst two of the remaining twelve attend church from time to time. The difference between this association and the others is



not one of socio-economic class so much as age and interest. The investigation in the Graeme High School suggested that the children most likely to attend church were those from middle-class families who were also members of a variety of non church organisations which they attended very regularly.

There are very marked correlations between membership of voluntary associations and membership of the Church of Scotland. These correlations can be measured in terms of socio-economic class. The congregations to which the members of voluntary associations are most likely to belong are the three largest middle-class congregations, Old Parish, Erskine, and St. Andrews, and this is comparable with involvement in the Conservative and Unionist Association. The interviews conducted were unstructured and confined to activists, but none of those interviewed were Roman Catholic, and none were Episcopalian. One or two Congregationalists were active in voluntary associations but members of the other churches were very largely absent.

e) Church Members in the Social Structure of Falkirk

With the exception of the studies conducted by John Hight a decade ago<sup>21</sup> Scotland does not come out of the ecclesiastical numbers game very well. When church population statistics are being considered the nation is either considered together with the rest of Britain in a way which absorbs the distinctive characteristics of a unique Presbyterian national church, or it is just taken

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21. John Hight, The Scottish Churches, (Skeffington, 1960).

for granted by sociologists and churchmen alike that the processes plainly discernible in Europe and particularly in England are applicable to Scotland. Such procedures and judgements should be treated with the greatest caution.

The Falkirk data are drawn predominantly, although not entirely, from the eleven churches described in the previous chapter. The Christian deviationist bodies are consistently omitted from the analyses of the religious populations owing to the lack of data concerning their members.

Any attempt to examine the distribution of religious affiliation through any population can be expected to expose the weaknesses and inconsistencies of the statistical definitions of church membership which are employed by the religious institutions and the understandings of church membership maintained by the church members themselves. Criteria of age are particularly troublesome as they vary from church to church in a way which is not compatible with the age groupings of the Registrar General. Inevitably too there is an element of arbitrariness about the estimates made on the basis of data obtained from different sources without the benefit of the extensive resources and facilities required for large demographic surveys. The following table requires various qualifications.

Table No. 1.

The calculated distribution of church members aged fifteen years and over, through the population of the burgh of Falkirk.

Religious Group	Estimated Total for Falkirk	Percentage of "Religious Pop."	Percentage of Falkirk Pop.
Church of Scotland	10,051 <sup>1</sup>	66.81	35.23
Roman Catholic	3,550 <sup>2</sup>	23.59	12.46
Protestant Minorities	1,443 <sup>3</sup>	9.59	4.61
Non Church Members	13,426 <sup>4</sup>	N.A.	46.44

- Notes:
1. Official Presbytery Returns for 1967. Most of the Church of Scotland members become communicants after the age of seventeen.
  2. Pastoral Research Centre estimate for Catholics aged fifteen years and over.<sup>22</sup>
  3. Returns from twelve out of a possible eighteen Protestant minority churches.
  4. Allowances are not made for a) catechumens who would constitute a large percentage of fifteen to seventeen year olds; b) members of six Protestant minority churches who failed to provide information on their membership; c) church members attending churches outside the burgh boundaries; d) members of Christian deviationist and non Christian religious bodies.

If allowances are made for the above factors the percentage of non church members in the burgh is likely to be somewhere between 30% and 40% of the population, whilst the Church of Scotland and Protestant minority populations would be correspondingly higher. The validity of the above estimate is supported by John Hight's earlier studies which estimated that some 60% of Scotland's population belonged to the churches, 40% being members of the Church of Scotland, 15% Catholics, and 5% members of the Protestant minority churches.<sup>23</sup>

22. A.E.C.W. Spencer, Report on the Parish Register, Religious Practice and Population Statistics of the Catholic Church in Scotland, 1967, (Pastoral Research Centre, 1969).

23. Hight, Op.cit.

This estimate of the Catholic percentage of the population can be considered against the Pastoral Research Centre's figures for the whole of Scotland as at 31st December 1967 which show the proportion of the population classified as Catholic as 17.1%.<sup>24</sup> When a 2% random sample of the population aged eighteen and over was interviewed it was found that 30% of the population was not affiliated to a Church, but as this was based on replies from informants rather than returns from churches the percentage may have been inflated. These percentages compare with a recent random sample survey conducted by the Opinion Research Centre, which revealed that 22% of all Britons had no religious allegiance, a measurement which again was based upon informants' own responses.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, in common with many similar studies, this sample was not stratified in a way which permitted a comparison between England and Scotland in terms of denominational distribution.

The absence of reliable statistics for some of the churches makes it difficult to be precise about the growth or decline of the religious populations in Falkirk. Numerical decline is apparent in the Church of Scotland as a whole and is recorded in the officially published statistics of the Church, but the presbytery of Linlithgow and Falkirk has a record of moderate growth. Whilst the total Church of Scotland population declined by approximately 7% between 1963 and 1969, the population of the presbytery

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24. Spencer, Op.cit.

25. I.T.A. Op.cit.

increased by rather more than 4% during the same period. Most of this growth occurs in congregations located outside Falkirk, but the Falkirk congregations have enjoyed marginal increases in their membership until 1966 when the 1% decrease was still less than the national average. There are several good reasons why such indicators of decline should be treated with caution, not least of which is uncertainty about what precisely is being measured by officially recorded statistics. When the church membership statistics are considered over a long period the percentage of the population belonging to the churches at the present time is probably larger than it was a hundred years ago. During the disestablishment controversy in Scotland during the later part of the nineteenth century a number of statistical studies were conducted in order to illustrate how the established Church of Scotland was not the majority presbyterian church. The report of one such study by Robert Howie suggests that the percentage of church members in Falkirk in 1967 was greater than the percentage of church members in 1891. Again such comparisons must be treated with reservation because of changing burgh boundaries and ignorance of Howie's procedures, but it is perhaps of sufficient interest to present the comparison in tabular form. If allowances are made for the differences in the burgh boundaries and the problems of age the percentage differences are probably even greater than those recorded in the table.<sup>26</sup>

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26. Robert Howie, The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland; Facts and Figures, (Glasgow, David Bryce; Edinburgh, MacNiven and Wallace, 1893).

Table 2.

A comparison of the distribution of church members in Falkirk in the years 1891 and 1967.

	1891	1967
Population of Falkirk	26,728	37,500
<u>Percentage of Church Members:</u>		
All Presbyterians 1891, the Church of Scotland members 1967	21.2	26.1
Protestant Minorities	1.2	3.8
Roman Catholics	8.2	12.8
Non Church Members	68.9	57.3

The calculation of the current church statistics for Falkirk leaves out of consideration the church involvement of those who are not church members and this is particularly important in the case of the younger and older age groups. The churches in Falkirk touch the life of the population in many ways, not least through church based organisations for women and young people. The thirty-nine churches in the burgh sustain more than fifty women's organisations and about the same number of youth organisations excluding Sunday Schools and Bible Classes. Some two thousand women attend the women's organisations and about two and a half thousand children and adolescents are involved in the Sunday Schools and youth organisations. It is difficult to be precise about the memberships of these organisations as they are not always mutually exclusive, some women attending organisations in more than one church, and adolescents belonging to both youth fellowships and Bible Classes. The women's organisations of the Protestant minority churches have particularly large attendances of women who are not

church members, and it is estimated that approximately a third to a half of the women belonging to the women's organisations are not on church membership rolls. Almost all the young people who attend church organisations are not yet communicant members of the churches. There are no organisations attended by adult male non communicants comparable with the organisations for women and adolescents. Through social work and community activities, through pre-school play groups, luncheon clubs for the elderly and house groups of various kinds, the churches touch the lives of many in the population who are not otherwise involved in the churches. Some non church members are of course married to church members, and 22% of the sample of non church members had spouses who were members of either the Church of Scotland or the Roman Catholic Church.

If the nominal membership of the churches and the extensive associations between the churches and non church members are adopted as the major criteria, the churches in Falkirk can hardly be said to be socially peripheral. In a town which has a high rate of voluntary associational activity the churches account for more than seventy percent of the community's organised mid-week activity.<sup>27</sup> Superficially at least, a large majority of the population is involved in the churches, and the life of the churches is characterised by intense activity and considerable interaction with the community. Further structural analysis

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27. Calculated on the basis of the number of meetings per week.

however serves to qualify this superficial observation in various ways.

Statistical analyses of religious allegiance and practice have consistently revealed that women have a higher degree of religiosity than men, whatever criteria and indices may be used as measures. If church membership is used as such an index the Falkirk data suggest that the sex distribution through the religious populations of the burgh is comparable with that in Western society as a whole. There are interesting differences between the Protestants and the Catholics, and these may be indicative of the communal nature of Catholic religious belonging. There is however a remarkable consistency between these figures and those relating to other examinations of religious populations conducted in various parts of Western Europe, the United States and Britain.

Table 3.

The sex distribution of the denominational groups, by percent.

	N=	Male	Female
Church of Scotland	809	33	67
Roman Catholic	131	40	60
Protestant Minorities	175	34	66
Total Population of Falkirk <sup>1</sup>	37,500	48	52

df = 2;  $X^2 = 40.91$ ; 1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.  
P = .005; C = .189.

A poll of church attendance in France in 1952, for example, revealed that whilst women constituted 52% of the total adult population they constituted 66% of regular Mass



attenders.<sup>28</sup> Although no statistics relevant to this discussion are provided, the researchers who conducted the Opinion Research Centre's study for the Independent Television Authority commented that "A consistent pattern runs through the research of women being stronger than men in their religious beliefs".<sup>29</sup> Bernard Lazerwitz distinguished three patterns of church attendance in the United States. A Catholic pattern, a Protestant and a Jewish pattern. In the Catholic pattern of attendance, male and female frequency of church attendance is only marginally differentiated, in the Protestant pattern women attend church  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times as often as men, whilst in the Jewish pattern men attend synagogue  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as often as women.<sup>30</sup> The Falkirk sample suggests that amongst those who attend worship there is no distinction in practice between male and female, the real distinction occurs in the percentage differences between those who attend worship and those who never attend worship. The structural distinction described in Table 3, when set against the patterns of church attendance, is an indicator of sex differentiation in religious practice. Other British studies have revealed percentages which compare remarkably with those for Falkirk. In a recent pilot survey of new communicants in Edinburgh, 67% of new

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28. See Michael P. Fogarty, Christian Democracy in Western Europe, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957), p. 354f. The poll was conducted by L'Institut Francais De L'Opinion Publique in 1952.

29. I.T.A. Op.cit.

30. Bernard Lazerwitz, Religion and Social Structure in the United States, published in L. Schneider (Ed), Religion Culture and Society, (Wiley, 1964), p. 426f.

communicants were found to be female;<sup>31</sup> and in a study of 3,862 Congregationalists which I conducted in Greater Manchester, 64% were female.<sup>32</sup>

The age distribution of the samples suggests that the age structure of the Protestant populations is fairly representative of the age structure of the burgh as a whole, although the Catholic Church appears to have a higher proportion of the over sixty-fives. It is noteworthy that in its sex composition the Catholic sub-sample is closer to the total population of the burgh than the two Protestant sub-samples, whilst in its age structure it is the most dissimilar of the three sub-samples.

Table 4.

The age composition of the three denominational groups, by percent.<sup>1</sup>

	N =	Under 20	20- 24	25- 29	30- 44	45- 59	60- 64	65+
Church of Scotland	809	6	8	7	29	26	7	17
Roman Catholic	131	2	20	15	29	12	12	10
Protestant Minorities	171	7	10	5	28	24	6	19
Falkirk Population <sup>2</sup>	28,470	11	8	8	27	25	8	15

Notes: 1. Aged seventeen years and over.

2. Aged fifteen years and over.

df = 12;  $\chi^2 = 34.98$ ;

P = .005; G = .185

31. The Social Background and Motivations of New Communicants, a pilot study undertaken by a special committee of the Presbytery of Edinburgh.

32. P.L. Sissons, Ethical, Social and Theological Diversity in Manchester Congregationalism, (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1967).

The relationship between age and church membership is subject to conflicting interpretations. In most instances the correlations are made between age and belief, and age and religious observance. There are relatively few data which relate to the comparative age structures of religious populations. Sociologists have been divided in their judgements concerning the significance of age for religion. The Opinion Research Centre, for example, reports quite distinct attitudinal differences on religious matters between the young and the old, "There is a wide gulf between the young and the old in religious attitudes and conviction, whether measured by Traditional Christian Belief, Belief in God, Religiosity or viewing habits (of religious television). There is an unbroken increase in Certainty of Belief in God as age increases."<sup>33</sup> If controls were applied for church membership and religious observance it might be that such a judgement would require qualification. Bernard Lazerwitz found that there was no correlation between age and church attendance in the United States, apart from a lower rate of church attendance amongst Protestants aged 21 to 24.<sup>34</sup> The age structure of a religious population can of course disguise attitudinal and behavioural differences, but it should be stressed that the age structure which is described in the table is the structure of worshipping church populations and not the structure of church rolls in which members who practised no religious observance would be included.

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33. I.T.A., Op.cit.

34. Lazerwitz, Op.cit.

The ecclesiastical disaffection of the European working classes is well documented in contemporary and historical studies by both sociologists and social historians. In his much quoted study of religion in Sheffield E.R. Wickham suggests that working class disaffection is an eighteenth and nineteenth century phenomenon rather than a twentieth century one, whilst "the increasing collapse of the churches from the beginning of the present century has been through the loss of the middling classes of society . . ." <sup>35</sup>

Sociologists and churchmen alike however have continued to be more preoccupied with the ecclesiastical abstention of the working classes, taking the middle-class composition of the churches for granted. In a work published in 1961 <sup>36</sup> Isambert suggested that the absence of the working classes from the churches in western European nations was so marked that it constituted a "sociological law". Whether the nations had a dominant Catholic majority or were ecclesiastically diverse as are Germany, the Netherlands and parts of Scandinavia, this law seemed to apply. Whilst acknowledging the existence of grounds for reservation concerning the application of the law to Anglo-Saxon countries and particularly in the United States, either on the basis of lack of documentation as in Britain, or on the basis of difficulties of the measurement of social stratification as in the United States, he nonetheless expresses the suspicion that his law applies in these nations also. This suspicion is confirmed by Lenski's

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35. E.R. Wickham, Op.cit., p. 14.

36. F.A. Isambert, Christianisme et Classe Ouvriere, (Casterman, 1961), Pp. 45-53.

study of Detroit,<sup>37</sup> whilst the middle-class domination of the churches in the United States constitutes the basis of Gibson Winter's analysis of religion in American metropolitan areas.<sup>38</sup> Such studies contrast sharply with Lazerwitz's conclusions that the United States differs from Europe in that "there is relatively little alienation from religious institutions induced in people as a result of the factors determining their social status".<sup>39</sup> There are difficulties in comparing social stratification in England and Scotland, and difficulties in assessing the relative merits of occupation, education, income and life-style as indices of social class in Britain as a whole, but despite such difficulties studies of the alienation of the English working classes from the churches are not infrequently used to illustrate the Scottish situation, and criteria of class appropriate to England are applied uncritically to Scottish populations. It is largely within this context that Donald Robertson, in 1965, conducting a study of the relationship to the church of middle-class and working-class men in a district of Edinburgh, found a "relative working class abstention from the church".<sup>40</sup> What is the class composition of the Falkirk samples and how far do they confirm some of the widespread judgements concerning working class disaffection? In measuring class in Falkirk we used the Registrar General's inadequate and partially superseded five-fold classification system. Although this is primarily an

37. Gerhard Lenski, Op.cit., P.48f.

38. Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches, (SCM, 1961).

39. Lazerwitz, Op.cit.

40. Donald R. Robertson, The Relationship of Church and Class in Scotland, in David Martin (Ed), A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, (SCM, 1968).

occupational measure and has to be applied with reservation, particularly when vertical mobility is being discussed, it was felt that the relative lack of ambiguity and the relative exclusiveness of the categories would facilitate comparisons between the populations, however these might have to be qualified later in further considerations of the data. There are clear distinctions between the religious population and the inclusive population of the burgh, and within the religious population there are clear distinctions between the three sub-samples, most notably between the Catholics and the Protestants, but also between the two Protestant sub-samples.

Table 5.

The distribution of socio-economic class through the three denominational groups, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Profes- sional	Inter- mediate	Skil- led	Partly Skilled	Un Skilled
Church of Scotland	809	11	29	52	7	1
Roman Catholic	131	0	20	60	16	4
Protestant Minorities	171	7	23	66	3	2
Falkirk Population	37,500	3	10	51	19	13

These figures are calculated to the nearest percent.

$$df. = 8; \quad X^2 = 37.61;$$

$$P = .005; \quad G = .21.$$

The absence of the traditional working classes is clearly revealed in the low percentage of unskilled working class members and their families who are members of all the churches, and the low percentage of partly-skilled workers

who are Protestants. The Protestant churches draw strongly upon the intermediate and professional workers for their members, whilst both the Catholic and Protestant minority sub-samples have a disproportionate percentage of their members in the skilled occupations. Inasmuch as there is a traditional lower class presence in the churches it is to be found amongst the Catholics. Writing of Falkirk in 1966, Wilson S. Leslie commented

"Church life is vigorous and healthy, although un-spectacular . . . there is no 'working class' or 'middle-class' church in the town; congregations are a cross-section of the community, so that one does not come across the mistaken belief that the church is a bourgeois institution . . . anti-church feeling hardly exists at all."<sup>41</sup>

It is possible to read into this quotation a number of assumptions about the churches and class in Falkirk, but it expresses a position which appears to be generally accepted by several ministers and lay leaders in the burgh's churches. How far is the statement an accurate representation of the social structure of the churches in specific and parochial terms? An examination of the social class composition of the five Church of Scotland congregations may help to clarify whether or not the churches of Falkirk are bourgeois institutions.

Lower class church membership is very largely confined to those Church of Scotland congregations which are located in working class areas, namely St. John's Church in Camelon

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<sup>41</sup>. Wilson S. Leslie, Burgh and Parish of Falkirk, in R.C. Rennie and T. Crouter Gordon (Eds), The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The Counties of Stirling and Clackmannan, (Collins, 1966).

Table 6.

The distribution of socio-economic class through the five Church of Scotland congregations, by percent.

	N =	Profes- sional	Inter- mediate	Skilled	Partly- Skilled	Un- Skilled
St. John's Church	61	3	30	54	8	5
Erskine	115	25	39	31	4	1
Old Parish Church	151	9	25	65	1	0
Grahamston	259	8	28	52	10	2
St. Andrew's	223	11	28	53	7	1
Falkirk Population 37,500		3	10	51	19	13

df = 20;  $\chi^2 = 54.97$ ;

P = .001; G = .30.

and the Grahamston Parish Church. These congregations do not however reflect the class distribution of the population of these areas in which the lower class groups constitute a higher proportion of the population than is the case in the rest of Falkirk. If the churches have a very low representation of the lower class population, and this is indisputable, it cannot be claimed that in numerical terms they are dominated by the traditional middle-classes. Only Erskine Church has more than fifty percent of its members in the professional and intermediate classes, and only Erskine has a disproportionately low percentage of skilled workers and their families. Many of the skilled workers in the churches are workers in Falkirk's iron foundries. The foundries occupy a particular place in the mythology as well as the reality of social stratification in the



burgh. The presence of skilled foundry workers in the churches may be interpreted as a "working class presence" and form the basis for some of the ecclesiastical claims for the socio-economic heterogeneity of the congregations. Such claims on the whole disregard the 32% of the population classified as partly-skilled and unskilled workers, a very small percentage of whom can be found in the churches.

The Roman Catholic and Protestant minority sub-samples both have unrepresentative distributions of skilled workers, suggesting the hypothesis that the significant class component dividing church members from non church members is that of education, and in the case of skilled workers the aspirations and life-styles which characterise the mobile lower occupational classes. The Church of Scotland members had received most formal education, and they had received it at the highest academic level as tables seven and eight clearly show.

The Church of Scotland sub-sample had the largest percentage of graduates. The graduates who were members of the Protestant minority churches were distributed throughout these churches, including a number of the Brethren and one member of the non denominational evangelical mission. Some of the Brethren were science graduates, many of them working at various levels in the teaching profession. The hypothesis that church members as a whole are distinguished from non church members by their education is supported by evidence obtained from two-hundred and fifty-eight school

Table 7.

The percentage of informants who had received further education.

	N =	% of N
Church of Scotland	144	66
Roman Catholic	29	41
Protestant Minorities	28	54
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	26

df = 2;  $X^2 = 6.66$ ; 1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.  
P = .05; G = .17.

Table 8.

The level of further education received by church members.

	None	University	College of Education	Technical and Commercial Colleges.
Church of Scotland,	34	19	6	40
Roman Catholic	59	0	7	34
Protestant Minorities	46	11	4	40
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	74	0	3	25

df = 6;  $X^2 = 10.02$ . 1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

leavers in one of Falkirk's comprehensive schools. Although there was no significant association between social class and church attendance, those children who were church attenders had much greater career aspirations than those who were not attenders, and almost 40% of them intended to continue full time education or enter occupations requiring further education, compared with some 20% of those children who did not attend church. This suggests that church members in Falkirk may have experienced a higher rate of

social mobility than non church members, a class mobility which in part may be related to the theological ethos of the religious group to which they belong. It is possible to examine the class mobility of the respondents by comparing the social class of the church members in the interview sample with that of their parents, although this is an unsophisticated measure, omitting controls of age and sex.

Table 9.

The social mobility of church members by percent.

	Profes- sional	Inter- mediate	Skilled Non- Manual	Partly- Manual	Partly- Skilled	Un- Skilled
<b>Church of Scotland</b>						
Informants (144)	12	37	17	27	6	1
Parents	6	24	13	34	11	11
<b>Roman Catholic</b>						
Informants (29)	0	18	10	45	27	0
Parents	0	7	3	52	17	20
<b>Protestant Minorities</b>						
Informants (28)	7	26	31	27	4	4
Parents	4	14	0	46	32	4
<b>Non Church Members</b>						
Informants (35)	3	12	12	35	20	17
Parents	0	12	3	46	26	12

These figures taken from the interview samples reveal a general trend of upward mobility in all the sub-samples, but the mobility is the greatest for the members of the Protestant minority churches. This mobility does not describe the mobility within the churches, it is rather a broad indicator of which religious groups are likely to have the most mobile members. The parents of the informants

were not necessarily members of the same religious group as the informants. Indeed the most mobile group is the one in which there is the greatest difference between the religious allegiance of the informants and that of their parents, and the highest level of associational involvement in the religious institution. This suggests that there may be a positive correlation between social mobility and first generation church membership, and between social mobility and associational church membership, association with the church coinciding with increase in social status. These figures however undoubtedly reflect a general process of embourgeoisement in society as a whole, rather than a movement peculiar to church populations, although the fact that the movement is more emphatic amongst members of the Protestant minority churches suggests that these churches may be experiencing social mobility at a higher rate than other churches in Scotland. Observation indicated that this was certainly the case amongst some of the Brethren, who expressed concern at the "spiritual crises" and scepticism which were characteristic of some of the young science graduates who were children of Brethren families. The parents of the Catholic respondents were predominantly in the lower classifications. The absence of a high rate of Catholic mobility comparable with that of the Protestant minorities may be related to a number of factors, such as the lack of the vertical pluralism (verzuiling) which Moberg described as prevailing in the Netherlands,<sup>42</sup> prejudice

42. David O. Moberg, Social Differentiation in the Netherlands, (Social Forces, 1961), P.333-337. It may be that the Catholic school system in Scotland provides one sphere of Catholic mobility, and this may be a latent force in the pro-Church school lobby.

against Catholic workers which has certainly prevailed in some areas of Scotland including Stirlingshire, the limited career opportunities which are available to the children of some large families, the negative relationship which Lenski found, and Greeley refuted, between Catholicism and the dedication to capitalism,<sup>43</sup> and more mundanely the fact that many of our Catholic respondents were only in mid-career. With regard to this last observation it should be added that few of the Catholic respondents were in a career structure which would ultimately result in their being socially mobile within the framework of the Registrar General's classifications.

Clearly the discussion of social class is not exhausted by the structural considerations raised in this chapter and which will be returned to at various sections of this examination of church members in Falkirk. The relationships between religion and social mobility is one area which will receive further consideration, with particular reference to career expectation. Another area which so far has not been examined at all is the relationship between church membership, class and belief. David Martin has referred to the many studies which illustrate the relationship between the churches and the middle-classes in England, suggesting ". . . modern churches are clearly middle- and lower middle class associations providing one tangential relationship among others . . .",<sup>44</sup> whilst from many sources there is

43. See Lenski, Op.cit., P.118f, and Andrew M. Greeley, Religion and Career, (New York, 1963).

44. David Martin, A Sociology of English Religion, (Heinemann, 1967), P.106.

evidence that the differences which exist between the social classes in religious practice are not reflected in religious belief.<sup>45</sup> These and other aspects of the relationship between church membership and social class will be discussed in the chapters which follow.

f) Marriages, Families and Households

The influence of the family upon the formation of religious and social values, and upon church allegiance, is given a prominent place in the discussions of church membership and the meanings of religious belonging in this study. It is therefore appropriate that in this structural and demographic description of the population under consideration the familial characteristics of the church members should be described.

Table 10.

The marital status of church members and non church members, in percent.

	N =	Married	Widowed	Single
Church of Scotland	809	69	10	21
Roman Catholic	131	68	4	28
Protestant Minorities	175	61	10	29
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	90	73	10	17

df = 4;  $X^2 = 11.36$ ; 1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = .025; C = .10.

There are no comparable figures for the inclusive population of Falkirk because of the complicating factor of age in the Registrar General's presentation of marital status, which

45. See Robertson, Op.cit., and I.T.A., Op.cit.

tends to be recorded as a percentage of the total population rather than as a percentage of the population which has reached the "age of consent". The above table suggests however that a disproportionate percentage of church members consists of single people, and that despite their high percentages in the older age groups fewer of the members of the Protestant Minority churches are married than is the case with the members of the other sub-samples. Inevitably it is the members of the Protestant minority churches who have the least number of children and who belong to the smallest households whilst the Roman Catholics have the largest families, 22% of the Catholics having four or more children compared with 4% of the Church of Scotland members and 7% of the other Protestants.

Table 11.

Family size of church members and non church members, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	None	Number of Children			
			1	2	3	4+
Church of Scotland	809	27	24	34	11	4
Roman Catholic	131	27	10	24	17	22
Protestant Minorities	175	41	20	21	10	7
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	90	46	30	15	5	3

df = 8;  $\chi^2 = 95.30$ ; 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

P = .001; G = .31.

It is known of course that social class has a determining effect upon the size of families, and to some extent the number of children of church members reflects the class associations which each of the sub-samples possesses. When family size was correlated with social class no significant

associations were found, but although it was not statistically significant at or beyond the .05 level the relationship between class and family size was found to be most significant in the Roman Catholic sub-sample. The higher the social class of the Falkirk Catholic the fewer number of children he or she appears to have. The size of households reflect the number of children in the families and the marital status of the informants. The Protestant sub-samples have the largest percentage of members living in one and two person households. About 11% of the Church of Scotland members live alone, as do 14% of the Protestant minority members, compared with 5% of the Catholics. To some extent these percentages mirror the percentages of widowed people belonging to the several churches. The Catholics live in the largest households but for the most part the households consist of the nuclear family rather than the nuclear family plus members of the extended family.

The significance of the family for church membership will be discussed in various contexts and additional data relating to the families of church members will be introduced into the later chapters.

g) Geographic Mobility and Residence in Falkirk

Despite the expansion of industry and the development of new housing schemes in the area, the size of Falkirk's population has remained relatively stable for a number of years. The annual turnover of population is in the region of 2%. During the year 1967 3.33% of the population moved into the burgh, and 11% moved into Falkirk during the five



years 1962 to 1967. It is no surprise therefore that most of the people belonging to Falkirk's churches have been living in the burgh for a great number of years. There are however significant differences between the three sub-samples.

Table 12

The number of years lived in Falkirk by church members, by percent.

	N =	Less than one year	1- 5	6- 10	11- 15	16- 20	21- 25	26- 30	31- 35	36- 40	40+
Church of Scotland	809	1	7	7	5	11	8	8	6	5	41
Roman Catholic	131	3	7	4	4	9	14	10	10	11	29
Protestant Minorities	175	4	7	4	5	10	10	7	4	1	48

df = 18;  $\chi^2 = 39.37$ ;

P = .005; C = .19.

Almost 90% of the people moving into Falkirk were in the age groups represented by the three sub-samples, so that on the evidence emerging from the five congregations of the Church of Scotland considered here, the Church of Scotland appears to be receiving a disproportionately low percentage of the new comers into its congregations. The majority of the interviewed church members had been born in Falkirk or in the Falkirk district. The smallest percentages of informants who had been born outside Scotland were not church members, or were members of the Church of Scotland. The members of the Church of Scotland who had been born outside the country were, with few exceptions, English women who had

married Scots and who had become members of the Church of Scotland upon the occasion of their marriages.

Table 13.

Birthplace of the informants, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Falkirk and District	Elsewhere in Scotland	Beyond Scotland
Church of Scotland	144	54	38	8
Roman Catholic	29	79	7	14
Protestant Minorities	28	61	21	18
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	72	25	3

df = 4;  $X^2 = 8.54$ ; 1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.  
 P = .05; C = .201.

Not all of those born in Falkirk had lived there all their lives. Many had returned to the burgh relatively recently after periods of working in England and overseas. This was particularly the case with the Catholics and members of the Protestant minority churches. To a large extent these had lived elsewhere because of economic reasons. Typical was a forty year old Catholic who had worked in Slough for a number of years and paradoxically he was compelled to return to Scotland because of the increasing cost of living in the South of England, although he expressed a nostalgia for the style of life adopted by his family when they were in England.

The main reasons for returning to Falkirk appeared to be associated with the family. Relatively few people moved into Falkirk specifically for employment. Rather more than 50% of the Church of Scotland incomers had moved to Falkirk

Table 14.

Informants born in Falkirk who had lived outside Scotland, in percent.

Church of Scotland	19%
Roman Catholic	22%
Protestant Minorities	30%
Non Church Members	0

because of work, but the opportunity of employment in the burgh tended to combined with family reasons. A number of men in the petro-chemical industries for example, found that the developing petro-chemical plants in Grangemouth gave them an opportunity to return to their home town and remain within the industry.

#### h) The Practice of Religion

The data discussed so far have been concerned with the social structure of the churches and of the samples of church members who were worshipping on a particular Sunday. No references have been made to the extent of the involvement in the religious institutions, beyond the very general observation that all those considered in the three sub-samples of church members were worshippers. It is frequently suggested, perhaps exaggeratedly, that church membership statistics describe little about a religious population. It is self-evident however that the demographic analysis of religious populations reveals little about the nature and quality of religious allegiance. The most frequently used index of religious allegiance is that of attendance at worship. The meanings of church attendance and the relationship between attendance and belief will be discussed in a later

chapter, but it is intended here to discuss church attendance in the light of the demographic data which are available. Michael Fogarty has made two observations which are pertinent to the study of attendance at worship in Falkirk. "When using church attendance data as an index of religious belief and practice, it is probably fair to equate regular attendance by Catholics with regular or periodic attendance by Protestants . . . the proportion of active members in this sense of the Protestant churches tends to equal or exceed that of the Catholic Church where Protestantism is a minority, but to fall short where it is dominant."<sup>46</sup> The attendance regularity claimed by the members of the three sub-samples reflects interestingly upon these hypotheses.

Table 15.

Regularity of attendance at worship, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Every Sunday	2/3 Times a Month	Monthly	Infrequently
Church of Scotland	809	54	35	35	11
Roman Catholic	131	99	0	1	0
Protestant Minorities	175	80	15	3	2

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 111.26$ ;

P = .001; G = .301.

If Protestant attendance every Sunday and two or three times a month is aggregated and equated with the every Sunday

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46. Fogarty, Op.cit.

attendance of the Catholics, Church of Scotland regular attendance in Falkirk falls short of the Catholic regular attendance by 10%, whilst the attendance of the Protestant minority sub-sample falls short of Catholic attendance by 4%. This confirms the hypothesis of Fogarty and suggests a positive correlation between religious minorities and a high rate of attendance at worship, a correlation which might have been predicted on the basis of the sociology of minority groups. The high rate of attendance by members of the Protestant minority churches reflects the attendance by the members of the more sectarian bodies, particularly the Brethren who regularly have more worshippers at their evening meetings than they have members on their rolls. The attendance at some of the other Protestant churches, notably the Congregational church, and inasmuch as it is a Protestant church, the Episcopal church, falls well below the level attained by the sectarians.

These figures for church attendance relate only to those in the religious populations who actually attend worship. In relation to the total population of church members the percentages are grossly inflated. Allowing for the response rate, those attending Church of Scotland congregations constituted approximately 20% of the members actually on the rolls of the five congregations. Clearly the majority of Church of Scotland members attend worship less frequently than every Sunday, and an unknown percentage might be classified as being "dormant". Information concerning the dormant members of the churches was

extraordinarily difficult to obtain. The Brethren simply said that they had no dormant members, whilst a number of ministers and priests were reluctant to provide access to information on the church roll or the sacramental index which would permit an accurate assessment of the degree of non attendance at worship, and the collection of such data from a simple random sample of the people named on the church rolls was just not practicable within the resources of time and money available, and given the various priorities of the research. On the basis of data obtained from the Church of Scotland population and the returns which all the Church of Scotland congregations are required to submit to the presbytery it was possible to make an approximate estimate of church attendance patterns for the five Church of Scotland congregations included in the research. In this way it was estimated that 8% of the church members attended worship every Sunday, 15% attended two or three times a month, 3% attended monthly, 34% attended infrequently, whilst 39% never attended worship. These estimates are based on attendance at morning worship only. Observation and conversations with the ministers suggest that the very small evening congregations are constituted of a small percentage of those who attend only the evening service and do so every Sunday, and a percentage of those who attend two services. Evening worshippers would make only a marginal difference to the estimated percentage of those members of the congregations who attend worship. Included amongst those who never attend worship would be those who are too ill or too

old to attend, and those who had left the district but whose names are still on the congregational rolls. This latter group would be larger than the equivalent group in other denominations because of the traditions associated with "lifting lines" in the Church of Scotland. The membership certificate of the Church of Scotland is traditionally treated with the same respect as a marriage or birth certificate. Often church membership "lines" are left with the congregation of origin long after the church member has left the parish or district in which the congregation is located. In other instances church members may, upon leaving a district, "lift their lines", and retain them until they have found a congregation which they feel able to join, when the lines will be submitted to the minister of that congregation. As long as they are holding their lines people feel that they are still church members, even though they may be unattached to a church. During the period of the research a Falkirk minister was approached by a couple who had been worshipping in his church for very many years and who told him that after careful consideration they had decided to become members of his congregation, and they presented him with their lines which had been provided by their previous congregation. The lines had been provided by a parish church in Falkirk less than half a mile away from the church at which membership was being sought, and they had been "lifted" by the couple more than thirty years previously, in 1936.

The calculation of the total church attendance of the members of the five congregations is highly speculative, but

despite its problematic nature knowledge of the congregations suggests that it is broadly accurate as a representation of church attendance patterns within them. John Hight has suggested that 26% of the Scottish population attends worship every Sunday.<sup>47</sup> A population of church attenders which would include a high percentage of Catholic attenders. In England and Wales it has been estimated that 60% of Catholics attend Mass on most Sundays,<sup>48</sup> and the percentage in Scotland may well be higher.

An examination of the relationship between church attendance and social class very largely reflected the class composition of the religious populations, and class appeared not to effect the regularity of Catholic attendance at Mass although it might be related to the choice of which particular Mass to attend. The members of the lowest classifications in each of the Protestant sub-samples revealed the highest rates of attendance at worship, this despite the strong middle-class composition of the samples. The worst attenders were those in the intermediate classifications. When the religious population as a whole was considered it was found that those who attended worship most consistently were the partly-skilled and unskilled workers and their families. This reflects the fact that many of these belonged to the minority religious institutions, but it was also true for those who were members of

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47. Hight, Op.cit.

48. A.E.C.W. Spencer, The Demography and Sociography of the Catholic Community of England and Wales, in Bright & Clements (Eds) The Committed Church, (Darton, Longman & Todd, 1965).



the Church of Scotland. This correlation between social class and church attendance was not significant at the .05 level, but it may be indicative of some qualifications which might be made concerning the assumption about the churches as religious clubs for the middle-classes.

Table 16.

The social class and church attendance of church members of all traditions, by percent.

Regularity of Attendance	Profess- ional	Inter- mediate	Skilled Non- Manual	Skilled Manual	Partly- Skilled	Un- Skilled
Every Sunday	61	55	59	59	76	83
2/3 Times a Month	33	36	28	29	17	8
Monthly	5	5	4	4	4	0
Infrequently	1	4	8	8	3	8

df. = 15;  $\chi^2 = 17.09$ .

P = NS.

### 1) Conclusion

In social structure the church populations of Falkirk appear to conform to the pattern found prevailing in church populations in Europe and the United States. The structural differentiations between the three denominational groups in Falkirk illustrate some of the hypotheses which have been formulated concerning the relationship between Protestant majorities and Protestant minorities, and between Calvinism and Capitalism on the one hand and Catholicism and negative careerism on the other. Much of the literature on the disaffection of the working classes refers to Catholic Europe in which the Catholic Church occupies a social position which

might be compared with that of the Church of Scotland. The relationship between working class disaffection and the Catholic Church in nations which are ecclesiastically mixed is less clear. With notable exceptions such as the Netherlands, the Catholic Church is the Church of the lower classes and is an agent of ethnic and lower class solidarity.

The major structural difference between the religious populations of England and Scotland is that of size. The overall percentage of church members in Scotland is higher than in England, and whilst participation in the churches is relatively low in Scotland the processes of institutional decline and erosion are not as evident as they are elsewhere. The local congregations in Falkirk whose social structures have been described are not socially peripheral in terms of their social structure except in class terms, and even then the Registrar General's two lowest classifications do not constitute a majority of the total population.

In the broadest of terms there are statistically significant differences between the collective membership of the different religious groups, and there are differences of apparent significance between the sample of church members and the sample of non church members. These differences are not consistent, and the sub-samples are aligned differently on the different indices. In general however the demographic characteristics of the populations support the hypotheses formulated in other contexts concerning the social structure of religious groups.

PART II

INSTITUTIONAL RELIGION

CHAPTER 3

## RELIGIOUS SOCIALISATION AND BECOMING A CHURCH MEMBER

The value of church membership and church attendance as measures of religiosity has been subjected to considerable criticism. In some attempts to devise suitable categories for understanding the social significance of being religious church membership and church attendance have been adopted as one dimension in a multi-dimensional model of religious commitment. The best known of these is that established by Glock and Stark in their carefully structured, five mutually exclusive dimensions of religiosity.<sup>1</sup> Such a model is not useful for the purposes of this present study, precisely because the present concern is with church members, and within a multi-dimensional model of religiosity the importance of the different interpretations of belonging to the church are minimised and church membership is treated as being just one, and not necessarily the essential, criterion of religiosity. A similar model in which the relationship to the church appears to have been taken with greater seriousness but possibly to the neglect of other variables has been constructed by Adolph Holl and Gerhard Fischer.<sup>2</sup> Penetrating criticisms of the use of church membership as an indicator of religiosity have been made on the grounds of the peripheral social location of church centred religion and the over

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1. C.Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Op.cit.

2. Adolph Holl and Gerhard Fischer, Kirche Auf Distanz, (Wien-Stuttgart: Braumueller, 1968).

emphasis upon the institution in contemporary sociology of religion. Peter Berger<sup>3</sup> and Thomas Luckmann,<sup>4</sup> who differ significantly in their intrinsic approaches to the sociology of religion, are in broad agreement in their contention that the sociology of religion is properly a function of the sociology of knowledge, and it is the cognitive, legitimising and socialising dimensions of religion rather than the institutional dimension which should constitute the major focus of the sociology of religion. Their stance is based partly on value judgements which all sociologists make when they adopt a particular perspective from within which to pursue their profession,<sup>5</sup> and partly on too great a willingness to generalise about the statistical studies of church membership which have been conducted in western Europe during the last twenty years, some of which were referred to in the last chapter. A universality of meaning has been accorded to diverse statistical data, which have been accepted either as evidence of an irreversible process of secularisation and disenchantment, or alternatively, as evidence that society is changing its religious skin, discarding and shaking off otiose religious institutions and replacing them with more functional forms which are as yet invisible, lurking in the depths of the collective consciousness. These alternative conclusions of Berger and Luckmann are rooted in their essentially nineteenth century perspective upon socio-religious

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3. Peter L. Berger, Op.cit.

4. Thomas Luckmann, Op.cit.

5. Although Peter Berger's recent attempt to uncover seismic recordings of angels seems indicative of a somewhat idiosyncratic approach to the relationship between theology and sociology in the Weberian sociology he espouses. See Peter L. Berger, A Rumour of Angels (Allen Lane, 1970).

phenomena; their overarching schema point to the paucity of theoretically based empirical investigations of contemporary religion and to the lack of "theories of middle-range". The analytical framework adopted for the discussion of church membership in this and subsequent chapters of the thesis is a model which occupies the middle-ground between overarching theories of religion in industrial society and the hell or heaven bent empiricism of sociologie religieuse. It is a model which will draw most heavily upon the work of Ferdinand Tonnies<sup>6</sup> and the sociology of knowledge propounded by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann.<sup>7</sup>

Religiosity is nominally defined as ways of being religious. It is appreciated that such a nominal definition does not overcome the theological aversion to the word which is experienced by some scholars, nor does it satisfy the craving for exclusive categories experienced by others, but at least it avoids the usual dictionary definition of "morbidly religious". More importantly it indicates the perspective from within which this whole study has been conducted, a perspective in which terms are used two degrees below the level of controversy, in the hope of avoiding being caught up in the grand debates at the outset. Within this definition of religiosity it is the intention to explore the meanings of some of the conventional ways of being religious. The conventional is used deliberately here because religiosity can only be consistently explored within the context of the

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6. Ferdinand Tonnies, Op.cit.

7. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, Op.cit.

sociological definition of religion and within the relationship between individual and aggregated religiosity, explorations which thankfully lie beyond the scope of this report. Within the framework of the thesis the question to be asked becomes, not is church membership an indicator of religiosity? but, what kind of religiosity is church membership an indicator of?

Church membership is a conventional indicator of being religious, and as such it has different meanings for the various religious institutions and the church members themselves. The argument implicit in the thesis is that church membership is a function of the meanings ascribed to it in the consciousness of the church member, and that such meanings can be described in terms of two broad types of membership, the communal and the associational. The empirical focus of this particular chapter is upon the ways in which church members achieve such meaning.

a) Communal and Associational Church Membership

In this study the communal type of church membership is that which is typical of a communal type of religious organisation (church), whilst the associational type of church membership is that which is typical of an associational type of religious organisation (sect), but, for reasons which have already been elaborated upon, the church/sect typology cannot be appropriately applied to the religious institutions in Scotland. Central to the argument is the hypothesis that a significant number of individuals may have a predominantly communal relationship

with a traditionally associational type of organisation and that conversely a significant number of individuals may have a predominantly communal relationship with a traditionally associational type of organisation.

The characteristics of communal and associational belonging will emerge as the theme of this and subsequent chapters is developed, but briefly communal belonging is understood as the relationship to the institution which identifies it with a community. The institution may be familial in structure, it may be parochial or local, it may be national, but in the consciousness of the individual it is inseparable from the social milieu however broad or narrow within which he lives the whole of his life. It is universal in that for him it is a total social universe, either as "the particular social world become the world tout court",<sup>8</sup> or as the particular social world existing to embody the world tout court. The individual is born into the community and he is nurtured within it through processes characterised by Berger and Luckmann as primary and secondary socialisation, "the child does not internalise the world of his significant others as one of many possible worlds. He internalises it as the world . . .".<sup>9</sup> The processes are those of nurture rather than initiation.<sup>10</sup> The perception of life embodied within the perspective of communal belonging is one of relative wholeness rather than relative fragmentation.

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8. Berger and Luckmann, Op.cit., P.83.

9. Berger and Luckmann, Op.cit., P.154.

10. See, John Gray, What About the Children? (SCM, 1970).



The associational form of belonging is based on the individual's self-conscious identification with institutionally structured interests or goals. Such belonging is voluntaryist and it is rational; the individual's associational relationship depends upon his decision to become associated with the institution, even if such a decision has irrational motivations it is nonetheless a decision, it involves choice. This process is closely related to what Berger and Luckmann describe as "alternation", the attempted disaffiliation from a previous social world and identification with another, as they describe it the individual "switches worlds".<sup>11</sup> Associational belonging is a failure to switch worlds completely, a failure which may be related in part to the reluctance to achieve this complete transformation and in part to an inability to do so. Those who relate associationally to an institution will regard it either as an alternative to other institutions or as one amongst many institutions through which their lives are divided. Associational membership is an exclusive phenomenon compared with the inclusiveness of communal membership, its perception of life is one of relative fragmentation rather than relative wholeness. The individual is initiated into an associational relationship rather than nurtured within it, and there may be an element of discontinuity between primary and secondary socialisation in which the first is experienced as nurture whilst the second

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11. Berger and Luckmann, Op.cit., P.176f.

is experienced as transformation.

Within a specific institution groups of individuals may emerge who have associational relationships with the institution whilst others have communal relationships with the institution. There are those who see the institution as the world tout court, and those for whom the same institution is an alternative world; for the one the institution is the only world whilst for the other the institution is the best world.

b) Religious Socialisation

The informants' changing patterns of church attendance from childhood to the present, illustrated by tables seventeen, eighteen and nineteen, are broadly indicative of the different meanings of church membership which are mediated by the process of religious socialisation. This process takes place in the family and in the religious institution and it reflects the relationship which may exist between them.<sup>12</sup> If Berger and Luckmann's labels were applied to these tables it could be said that table seventeen, describing the informants' attendance at church up to and including the age of twelve, roughly covers the period of primary socialisation, whilst table eighteen in which the informants' adolescent church participation is presented

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12. This relationship is strangely neglected by British sociologists. For non British references see Herve Carrier, The Sociology of Religious Belonging, (Darton, Longman & Todd, 1965); Anton Terstenjak, Psycho-soziologie der Zugehörigkeit zur Kirche, (International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion, 1968); and Merton P. Strommen, Alienation and Gratification in Religious Education, (Social Compass XVII/3, 1970).

Table 17.

Informants' attendance at worship or Sunday School, up to and including the age of twelve years, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Every Sunday	2/3 times a month	Infrequently	Never
Church of Scotland	144	82	13	3	1
Roman Catholic	29	90	3	0	7
Protestant Minority	28	89	7	4	0
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	83	9	3	6

df = 6;  $X^2 = 6.28$ .

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

Table 18.

Informants' attendance at worship or Sunday School, as adolescents, from the age of thirteen years to the age of seventeen years, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Every Sunday	2/3 times a month	Infrequently	Never
Church of Scotland	144	70	12	12	7
Roman Catholic	29	90	3	0	7
Protestant Minority	28	86	3	11	0
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	51	3	3	43

df = 6;  $X^2 = 10.54$ .

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

Table 19.

Informants' current attendance at worship, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Every Sunday	2/3 times a month	Infrequently	Never
Church of Scotland	144	54	36	10	0
Roman Catholic	29	100	0	0	0
Protestant Minority	28	81	19	0	0
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	0	6	17	77

df = 6;  $X^2 = 26.44$ ;

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = .001; G = .341.

covers the transition period between primary and secondary socialisation and between secondary socialisation and alternation.

The religious institutions place differing understandings upon the meaning of church membership, and this is particularly evident in the process of becoming a church member and in the distinctions which are made between baptised membership and communicant membership. The Catholic is conventionally born a Catholic, baptised during early infancy and confirmed at the age of seven or eight, usually in a Catholic school. The child born into a family associated with one of the orthodox Protestant churches is usually, although not always baptised during infancy, and is received into communicant membership upon the profession of faith made customarily in adolescence, although in a national church such as the Church of Scotland the profession of faith may be deferred until the early twenties when the making of such a profession becomes culturally motivated, arising out of the occasions of marriage or the desire to have a child baptised. The profession of faith is usually preceded by a process of religious nurture, of growing up within the community, a process which is formally expressed in the Sunday School and the Bible Class, and less formally in the family. The more sectarian Protestants practise believer's baptism which follows profession of faith, a profession which is traditionally made as a result of a conversion experience. Such clear distinctions between the institutions become less clear in

practice. The "churches" have to make provision for receiving those who seek membership as a result of conviction whilst the Brethren and the sectarian bodies have to devise methods of socialising those who are born into believers' families. The Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church have to make provision for the initiation and sometimes the baptism of adults, and the Brethren and sectarian bodies such as the non-denominational mission included in the present study, have to devise methods of nurturing and providing primary socialisation for the children born to their members. In the latter case this may result in the children of Brethren families making professions of faith at the age of six or seven, although baptism is postponed until the age of sixteen or seventeen. This is an interesting reversal of the more orthodox Protestant procedures and it also invites comparisons between the Catholic practice of confirmation at the age of seven or eight and the Brethren practice of profession of faith at that age. From an early age alternative forms of religious belonging, even within the same institution, become apparent; alternatives in which through differing processes of socialisation the institution becomes known and conceptualised in different ways and occupies differing positions and is subjected to differing interpretations in the consciousness of the church member. In these processes of religious socialisation the relationship between the family of origin and the religious institution is clearly of considerable importance.

Between eighty and ninety percent of all the informants attended a religious institution regularly every Sunday during their childhood. There were no statistically significant differences between the three sub-samples of church members. Not all the church members attended, as children, churches of the persuasion to which they currently belong. Amongst those who are currently members of Protestant minority churches, 21% attended churches of another denomination, in most instances these were congregations of the Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland seemingly receives a considerably smaller percentage of its members from other traditions than is the case with the other Protestant churches; 5% of the Church of Scotland members attended churches of other denominations during their childhood, and these were chiefly although not exclusively parish churches of the Church of England. More than 90% of the non church members attended church at least two or three times a month when they were children, and 64% of all the non church members attended congregations of the Church of Scotland. Almost half of those classified as non church members actually went on to become members of the churches, although their membership subsequently lapsed.

The majority of the church members interviewed in Falkirk had been brought up in families where church going was an established custom and in which usually both parents attended the same church. Very few of the church members were the children of religiously mixed marriages.

Table 20.

Churches attended by church members' parents, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Both parents attended the same church as informant	Both parents attended the same denom. but different church from informants.	Mixed R.C. and Protestant attendance	Other <sup>1</sup>
Church of Scotland	144	57	15	1	26
Roman Catholic	28	71	3	4	22
Protestant Minority	28	46	28	4	22

df = 8;  $\chi^2 = 14.$ 

P = NS

1. With the exception of one response this column includes those with only one parent attending church and those with no parents attending church.

The Catholic informants were the ones most likely to attend worship every Sunday with members of their family of origin, whilst the non church members and the members of the Protestant minority churches were the informants who were most likely never to attend church with members of their family.

Table 21.

Informants' church attendance with the family of origin during childhood, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Every Sunday	2/3 times a month	Infrequently	Never
Church of Scotland	144	53	13	10	24
Roman Catholic	29	66	0	17	17
Protestant Minority	28	56	0	7	37
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	29	6	15	50

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 11.98.$ 

P = NS.

1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

The church members who attended church during their childhood were extremely conscious of the religious orientation of the family, and the majority of them went to church with their families, or at least with brothers and sisters accompanied by one parent. They recalled the family being organised in order to accommodate the demands of worship and Sunday School. The few Catholics who attended mass alone when they were children helped to illustrate the ways in which the Catholic family's Sunday is structured differently from that of the Protestant family. They described how in the childhood home events were so ordered that individual members of the family could attend mass between household chores, or before visiting relatives in Glasgow, or before going to work. The father rising early in order to attend a 7 a.m. mass, the children being despatched to children's mass, possibly in the charge of the eldest brother or sister, and the mother going to a later mass at 11 a.m. or noon. If the father was one of the town's Polish community he might choose to attend mass at the Polish chapel, whilst the mother might prefer the relative quiet of a celebration in the chapel of the Carmelite convent. The Church of Scotland members had mostly been brought up in the tradition of the Calvinist sabbath, and for the older informants this meant a morning walk to church by the whole family, a late lunch followed by Sunday School, another walk or an informing book and attendance at evening worship. Some older informants brought up in the North of Scotland recalled the austerity of the



Highland Sunday, whilst others recollected the strong parental discipline which they associated with attendance at church, the emphasis upon dress and deportment, and occasionally the Free Church tradition of Sunday meals being cooked and prepared on Saturday in order to avoid working on the sabbath. Even the younger informants were sensitive to this set apart quality of Sunday during their childhood, and only those not yet in their mid-twenties recalled a more liberal childhood Sunday. Involvement in the church was for all of these a part of the life of the family. When asked why they attended church as children the most common response was "it was just something that we did", "we took attendance at church for granted", "we were expected to attend and it never occurred to us to question it", "it was just a part of life in the family, we quite enjoyed going to church as children". This did not mean that as they grew older some of the informants were not sensitive to parental compulsion. The Church of Scotland informants particularly were aware that their parents insisted on their attending church, but this may reflect a bias built into the question which was put to them, in that the most rebellious would be the ones most likely to recognise parental pressure, whilst those who went "automatically" might be less sensitive to the existence of parental sanctions.

The factor most influencing the church attendance of those who did not attend with their parents was identification with other children and parental insistence. The non church members were second only to the Church of Scotland

Table 22.

Informants' replies to the question, "Did your parents insist that you should attend church during your childhood?"

Denominational Group	N =	Yes	Sometimes	No
Church of Scotland	144	58	2	40
Roman Catholic	29	41	0	59
Protestant Minority	28	36	7	57
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	44	6	50

df = 4;  $X^2 = 9.45$

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = NS

informants in their awareness of parental authority over their participation in ecclesiastical activities. A group of children belonging to neighbouring families, or a group of children belonging to a social network based on a street or a neighbourhood would attend Sunday School or morning worship together. This was particularly the case with non church members and members of the Protestant minority churches, the children of religiously and nationally mixed marriages, children from broken or disturbed homes, children whose parents had recollections of their own childhood church attendance and were thus inspired to insist upon the church attendance of their children. Incongruities and inconsistencies emerge in this group of informants. There was the man in his late thirties, the son of a religiously mixed marriage who used secretly to attend the Brethren Sunday School until his Catholic mother found out; there was an elderly brother and sister, again the children of a religiously mixed marriage, neither of them formally associated

with a church, but she claiming to be a salvationist and he a Catholic, the Salvation Army Rules of War and a framed photograph of Pope John hanging side by side on a wall in their council house. Childhood church involvement was associational for these informants, there was no close identification of family with church; the church or Sunday School offered just one amongst a whole range of options. Social networks, neighbourhood groups, and within the institution the dominant influence of an individual, the leaders of the junior bible class, the youth leader or a Sunday School teacher were amongst the major factors of this associational belonging. The charismatic influence is one of the several significant factors which contribute to the determination of associational identification with a religious institution, and over and over again the informants in Falkirk belonging to several generations mentioned the names of evangelical leaders, particularly amongst the Brethren, who had succeeded in capturing their childhood respect if only for a short time. The institutions themselves depended upon sustaining interest, creating a sympathetic atmosphere, or adjusting their traditional procedures in order to ensure the continued association of such children. Family constraints, community customs and communal identification with the church could not be taken for granted, and this may have significant connotations for the separation of mission from church which was so typical of the Presbyterian churches in Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The establishing of the Falkirk Town

Mission, the emergence of the Faith Mission, subscription Sunday Schools financed by Church of Scotland members, the mission churches of the Free Church and the quoad sacra parish churches of the established Church of Scotland all testify to the recognition, albeit instinctively, not only of areas of mission, but of different types of religious involvement which are difficult to sustain within the one religious institution. Associational involvement was characteristic of some of the Church of Scotland informants, and during childhood the distinctions between those Church of Scotland members who had an associational relationship with the church and the non church members who attended Church of Scotland congregations would be small. None of the Catholic informants had this kind of associational relationship with their church, although a form of associational belonging developed within the church which had various age, sex and class correlations.

In adolescence the church attendance of the non church members and the Church of Scotland members in Falkirk changed considerably. As the majority of non church members attended Church of Scotland congregations during their childhood it is clear that of the three religious groups it is the Church of Scotland which is most affected by the defection of adolescents. The reasons given for this defection varied, but they mostly indicated disenchantment with the church in some way, loss of interest, boredom, "couldn't see the point" were amongst the reasons given by the informants themselves. Only 5% of those ceasing to

attend church cited loss of belief as the cause of their non attendance. In fact it is likely that parental constraints were withdrawn in many families at some stage during the informants' adolescence, particularly in those families where church going was not a parental habit. Primary socialisation was clearly of more importance than secondary socialisation in many families, and as secondary socialisation is concerned with the involvement of the individual in the structures of the world within which primarily socialisation has located him, there is a process of withdrawal. This would certainly confirm the opinion expressed by John Sutherland as a result of his study of attendance at Church of Scotland Sunday Schools and Bible Classes, "that parents' attendance at church is a very significant factor in determining the length of time that the child will remain a member of a church organisation".<sup>13</sup> A similar conclusion was reached in the study of Falkirk schoolchildren and it was reported in that study "whereas most of the children who attend church seem to belong to families which relate to the church and which persuade them, for whatever reasons, to continue attending church, those who had ceased to attend had apparently done so from within the context of largely disinterested families, suggesting the hypothesis that factors which contribute to a child's dissociation from the church are the breakdown of a communal

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13. John Sutherland, Godly Upbringing: A survey of Sunday Schools and Bible Classes in the Church of Scotland, (Church of Scotland Youth Committee, 1960), P.82.

relationship with the church through the family, or the inclination of parents to adopt towards their children's church-going the same attitude that they adopt towards their attendance at football matches and interest group activities . . . Those children who have ceased to attend church, it may be hypothesised, have done so because of their failure to sustain an associational relationship with the church in which the church is identified with some of their major interests and with the group of friends who share those interests." Certainly to return to the samples under present consideration, the defection from church was greatest amongst those who had related to the church in an associational manner.

The family routine of church attendance was accompanied for many of the informants by complementary moral teaching in the home. This was particularly so for the Church of Scotland sub-sample. The importance of conventional norms, the values and goals of society were stressed and upheld within the family. Right and wrong, truth and untruth, virtue and vice were expounded in one form or another by parents of 33% of the Church of Scotland informants.

Specific religious teaching played little part in the Church of Scotland homes compared with the homes of other informants. When the gap between church and society is a narrow one, and the church is popularly accepted as a symbol of the sanctification and affirmation of broadly approved social values, the distinctions which might otherwise occur between religious and social values, and between

Table 23.

Religious and moral instruction received by informants in their families of origin.

Denominational Group	N =	Religious Teaching	Moral and Behavioral	Sex Instruction	None
Church of Scotland	137	4	34	16	47
Roman Catholic	28	11	18	18	54
Protestant Minority	26	8	19	19	54
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	34	9	18	3	71

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 14.03$ ; 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

P = .025; G = .253.

#### Definitions:

- Religious teaching.** Scriptural teaching; moral and behavioural teaching with a specific religious content; sexual morality within a religious perspective.
- Moral and Behavioural teaching.** General teaching about behavioural and moral norms; right from wrong; the moral aspects of sexual behaviour.
- Sex instruction.** Those who could recall only receiving sexual advice from their parents or guardians, and no moral or religious teaching of any other kind. The interviewers probed on this question to ensure that the responses were unambiguous.
- None.** Those who received no instruction from parents or guardians and those who said that it was their parents' principle to teach by example, non verbally.
- N.B.1.** The above groups were established on the basis of major component content analysis.
- N.B.2.** The discrepancies in N are explained by the fact that those responding that they could not remember whether they received verbal teaching from their parents and guardians or not, were left out of the analysis.

membership of the church and membership of the society, are small. Conventional moral values which receive common, if not universal acceptance in the society, are regarded as being "religious" values. In a later chapter it will be seen how some of the Church of Scotland lay leaders conceptualise church membership in terms of the affirmation and exemplary pursuit of culturally approved behavioural norms. The teaching of broad moral values is interpreted as being religious teaching. When asked if they had received religious education in the home and if so what was taught, many of the informants responded with "well I was taught right from wrong, and to always respect other people whoever they might be". For many such informants the religious institution and the individual's social world were closely related. The Catholics in Falkirk appeared to receive more specifically religious teaching in the family than any of the other informants, and this may have been related to Catholic traditionalism, and to the high percentage of families of origin in which family prayers were a regular feature of daily life, 31% of the Catholic informants had grown up in families where prayers were regularly and formally offered, compared with 13% of the Church of Scotland informants and 18% of the non Church of Scotland informants. The non church members were distinguished from the church members in that 70% of them had received no verbal teaching in the home as far as they could recall. This however was probably a difference of social class rather than a difference of religious affiliation, as the



category in which the non church members differed most from the church members was that of sexual instruction, a difference which may have been indicative of the high percentage of non church members in the lower classifications.

If the religious orientation of the home and the family was a major determinant of religious belonging, a major determinant in many of the homes was the mother. Informants were asked if they had been conscious in their childhood of their parents' possession of positive religious principles. In each of the sub-samples the informants were more likely to be aware of their mothers' religious views than those of the father, but only in the Protestant minority sub-sample was there a majority of the informants who were sensitive to maternal religiosity, whilst the closest correlation between sensitivity to maternal and sensitivity to paternal religiosity was to be found in the Church of Scotland sub-sample. Many of the non Church of Scotland Protestants described the devoutness, piety and religious belief of their mothers. There was considerable emphasis upon maternal faith, "mother lived her religion". In the case of these informants the mother was undoubtedly the carrier and communicator of specifically religious beliefs and practices. The Church of Scotland informants were far more sensitive to the political views of their parents than they were to their religious views. In this sense, despite their sabbatarianism, the Church of Scotland homes were much more "this-worldly", specifically religious teaching

and the possession of specifically religious views were de-emphasised. Significant differences between the three sub-samples were recorded in the case of the mother's religious views and the father's political views. There is a clear distinction between the church members and non church members indicating that the religious orientation of the family is a major factor in the development of religious socialisation.

Table 24.

The religious and political views of the informants' parents in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Father with positive religious views	Mother with positive religious views	Father with positive political views	Mother with positive political views
Church of Scotland	144	25	31	61	41
Roman Catholic	29	36	45	43	28
Protestant Minority	28	43	61	39	32
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	9	21	52	35
df =		4	4	4	4
X <sup>2</sup> =		4.44	9.89	6.73	2.38
P =		N.S.	.01	.05	N.S.
C =		-	.21	.18	-

1. Excluded from X<sup>2</sup> analysis.

As children the informants related to the churches in ways characterised as communal and associational. In the one the difference between church and society was minimised, the church and the family, and we may hypothesise, the

school, constituted for the individual a communal milieu, integrated if not always harmonious. In the other the church was just one amongst a gradually increasing number of associations available to the individual, there was no special relationship between the church and the family as a whole, anymore than there might be a special relationship between the family and the Air Training Corps or the family and the train spotters club. Within the communal relationship the process of socialisation appears to have been accompanied by a strong emphasis upon the moral and behavioural norms of society or by specifically religious teaching. There was minimum sensitivity to the differentiation between the religious views held by the mother and those held by the father. Communal belonging appears to be predominantly although not exclusively a mode of religious belonging typical of the Church of Scotland and Catholic churches.

c) Becoming a Church Member

A major determinant in becoming a church member is the family. The path towards becoming a member of the religious institution is charted through the interaction which does or does not occur between the family and the institution, and through which alternative forms of belonging to the institution become possible.

The positive influence of the family upon the informants' progress into church membership was articulated in various ways by 42% of the total sample, and 53% of the Catholic sub-sample whilst not expressing any conscious awareness of the family's function in religious socialisation

was nonetheless influenced by the family through the unquestioning acceptance of confirmation as a part of the normal life cycle.

Church membership was for many of the informants an automatic thing, a part of the process of growing up in the community. Typical amongst these was a married woman teacher in her forties whose family had belonged to the same parish church in Camelton for several generations, "you joined as a matter of progression. There was no should or shouldn't, you just did". Another Church of Scotland woman in her early thirties said "at sixteen my sister became a church member and my dad said to me, "It's time you became a church member", so I attended confirmation classes and just grew into the church". A man in his forties said, "My family influenced me. Within myself I felt it was right to keep in step". A young housewife said, "It is just one of the things that one did. Parents thought it would be nice. A number of us younger ones joined together". A middle-class woman who was not uncritical of the Church of Scotland congregation to which she belonged commented "It would have hurt my mother if I had not joined". Some of the Church of Scotland informants were sons and daughters of the manse and became members of the church quite explicitly out of a sense of family loyalty. The process of becoming a member of the church was for many so automatic that it was completely taken for granted and almost unnoticed. Some of the informants could not recall the events which led to their becoming church members. A fifty year old elder

of the Grahamston Parish Church, after commenting upon some of the church people who had influenced him during his youth went on to say that "joining the church was a totally unmarked milestone". Such responses compared interesting with those made by Catholic informants. Several Catholics were surprised that they should be asked about their becoming Catholics or receiving confirmation. "Surely everybody, or at least, every Catholic is confirmed . . .?" Some of the Catholics however, despite the early age at which they received confirmation, attached great significance to the event. A woman in her forties said, "I was confirmed at eight or nine. The idea of confirmation was something you grew up with, at home, in school and the church. We always believed that confirmation would be wonderful". Similarly a man, "I was confirmed at seven after all the preparation at school. You were made to realise that this was a truly important occasion". These Catholic responses compare interestingly with that of a thirty-five year old Brethren woman, a college tutor. "I was not allowed to drift religiously in the family. I made a profession of faith at five or six and I was conscious that everyone should be saved". The family was clearly important in the religious development of a number of the Brethren, another Brethren woman aged about fifty said "I became a Christian when I was thirteen as a result of the influence of my Godly grandparents. They saw to it that I was converted". Four young men speaking at a testimony meeting in one of the Brethren assemblies in Falkirk all stressed the fact that

their salvation was "unspectacular", for they had been brought up in Christian homes, and they all expressed their early fears that they "would not accompany the rest of the family to heaven, but would be left behind, if Jesus came to-day". Without salvation they would be separated from their families. Although associational membership as a result of alternation may be a fundamental principle of the sectarian bodies and may be the technical means whereby these informants have become members, the communal constraints exercised by the family are clearly of paramount importance for some of the Brethren.<sup>14</sup>

A number of informants, particularly amongst the Church of Scotland members became members of the church on the occasion of particularly significant cultural events. This was not so much a form of associational belonging to the church as a delayed confirmation of the fact that they were already a part of the socio-religious community. Marriage, the marriage of a sibling, the birth or adoption of a child, going away to college and joining the army were all reasons given by members of the Church of Scotland for joining the church, and almost without exception they joined the church in which they had been brought up. Quite often it was the church as community rather than religion per se that was stressed by these informants. Typical amongst these was a young mother who was a member of St. Andrew's parish church and who told the interviewer that "we joined at the time of the birth of my baby, it would be wrong if I needed the

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14. Cf. Bryan Wilson, Op.cit., P.3.

services of a minister and didn't belong to a church", and a young widow described how she became a church member with her fiance four months before the wedding day, "We didn't want to be too religious really, although I went to church and so on". Sometimes events in the life cycle were used by parents as a means of persuasion, a forty-three year old woman described this when she said "my parents said that as I was going away to college they wouldn't be happy unless I joined a church", as did another housewife who recounted how "my sister was getting married and had to attend communicants' classes and it seemed a good idea in the family that I should go with her". A man in his late forties described how "my parents thought I ought to join the church before going to the war. I was only sixteen at the time and I didn't really have a mind of my own".

Some who became church members from within the family did so from within a climate of mutually shared beliefs but by far the majority accepted that they would become church members as a matter of course. Relatively unusual amongst those categorised as communal members was the man in his twenties who said "I was eighteen years old and I wanted to be a part of the community as such, and the church was the way to do it. I joined the Church, the Young People's Fellowship and the choir at the same time; most of the members of the Fellowship were already church members".

These are the modes of becoming a church member which are characterised as communal. Table 25 which is based on an analysis of descriptions of events which led up to

Table 25.

Denominational Group	N =	Communal		Cultural Events	Evangelism & Conversion	Associational		Other
		Family Influence	Auto-matic Confirmation			Change of Church Minister	Influence of Friends	
<b>Church of Scotland</b>								
Male	64	39	2	33	6	3	5	6
Female	74	45	0	18	5	7	12	9
Total	144	42	1	25	6	5	9	8
<b>Roman Catholic</b>								
Male	16	44	50	6	0	0	0	0
Female	12	42	58	0	0	0	0	0
Total	28	43	54	4	0	0	0	0
<b>Protestant Minority</b>								
Male	11	9	0	0	55	27	9	0
Female	17	65	0	10	6	18	0	0
Total	28	43	0	7	25	21	4	0

df. = 14;  $X^2 = 126.10$ ;  
 P = .001; C = .63

1. Only the totals were included in the  $X^2$  analysis as the separate figures for male and female were too small for analysis.



church membership shows how all of the Catholic informants belonged to this type. Only one of the Catholics interviewed became a Catholic during his adult years and this was on the occasion of his marriage to a Catholic girl, although he described his change from a non-practising member of the Church of Scotland to that of a practising Catholic as being conversion. Communal belonging is also prevalent amongst the Church of Scotland members, 67% of whom were categorised as communal. Half of the members of the Protestant minority churches were communal members, in the sense that they had been born into practising families and had been nurtured within an atmosphere which accepted the ways and norms of a particular religious institution whilst at the same time modifying and adapting them in a way which made them more nearly coincidental with a total world view. Because of the smallness of the cells in the Roman Catholic and Protestant minority rows on table 25 it is difficult to make comparisons between male and female religious belonging. The percentages for male and female members of the Protestant minority churches suggest various hypotheses which appear also to be suggested by the attitudes of Falkirk school children, and a consideration of these will be turned to in a discussion of associational belonging.

There are of course doctrinal differences between the institutions represented by the three sub-samples, but the primarily meaning of religious belonging which is evident and which transcends institutional differences suggesting a

basis for possible comparisons between the church members, is that of universality. A universality which membership of the institution has for the individual; the institution or the experience of belonging to it embraces the world tout court. This universality has different meanings for the institutions, but whatever the geographic, doctrinal, cultural or sociological limits of the institution, it is hypothesised that the institution itself provides a social universe for the consciousness of its communal members.

A quarter of the Church of Scotland sub-sample had joined the church independently of any direct familial or communal influence. These informants had become members by conviction as a result of a decision of one kind or another. No particular group of influential factors stands out as being dominant in forming this decision, with the possible exception of the influence of ministers, particularly upon 12% of the Church of Scotland female members. In this context it is difficult to establish the precise influence of ministers upon the process of religious socialisation as often it is mediated through the family, and several of the communal members described how "the minister was almost a part of the family in those days", and recalled the minister discussing politics or public affairs with their parents in the home. The people who became associational members as a result of ministerial influence are predominantly those who had no other contact with the church, but who had been influenced by a minister through his exercising of pastoral care during bereavement or through hospital visitation. The

small percentage in the sample who became members of the Church of Scotland from another church were mostly English women who married Scots. Their background was invariably Church of England, and several of them explained how they were unable to feel at home in the Anglo-Catholic atmosphere of Scottish episcopalianism. One fifty year old English woman said "The Episcopal Church of Scotland was altogether too high for me. I found that I enjoyed Church of Scotland services and then I attended communicants' classes because I believed it was important to understand the Church of Scotland". Another English woman explained, "I am of course confirmed in the Church of England, but I find the Episcopal Church up here too high. I have been attending the Church of Scotland for some time now. The Revd. A. once asked if I was on the Church Roll. I said no, but I was quite happy being an adherent. The next thing I knew was that my name had appeared in the parish magazine as being that of a new church member". Only one of the Church of Scotland informants had moved to the national church from an evangelical tradition. Formerly a member of the Brethren she found the assemblies and missions to be too narrow and restrictive, so she became a member of an evangelical congregation of the Church of Scotland. This move coincided with a rise in social status she and her husband experienced. Included amongst those informants who had become members of the Church of Scotland as a result of conversion were young people influenced by the Scripture Union and the evangelical crusade conducted by the Billy Graham organisation

in Falkirk during the spring of 1969. Indicative of differences which exist between the different regions in Scotland was a fifty year old widow who had been brought up in the United Free Church tradition in the north of Scotland. She described how it was customary in the small town where she lived for people to postpone becoming church members until they had reached the relative maturity of the thirty to forty age group, and in this climate she had never been encouraged to feel "good enough to be a church member". She described a quite radical change in her beliefs which coincided with her move to the central urban belt and a subsequent feeling of liberation, "it is not my goodness so much as the goodness of God which is important". Some of those who became members as a result of a decision made during their adult years described their reticence at having to receive adult baptism. This was more than the embarrassment of having to receive the rite, which is invariably administered privately, it was also sensitivity to the need to admit to a third party that hitherto they had been unbaptised. Those who had been baptised as children and who had become communicant members as a natural progression were sometimes seen as being something of an elite, people with whom one would want to be associated and from whom one was separated by the knowledge of being unbaptised. It was amongst those who related to the Church of Scotland in an associational way that there was to be found the greatest feeling of ecclesiastical anomie; it was these who spoke of the existence of cliques in the church, the unfriendliness of the

congregation or of church organisations, the fact that they seemed unable to get to know members of the congregation. This is indicative of fundamental tensions between those who belong communally and those who belong associationally. The former see themselves as belonging to a universal and inclusive body in which face to face relationships, social, ethical and religious values are all taken for granted. The latter expect this body which they have joined to be special, exclusive, possibly elitist, that is why they have become members of it. The situation which arises out of the co-existence of communal and associational members of the same religious institution can be summed up in the words of Josephine Kelein who was describing a similar situation, "People are attracted into a group by their own ideas of it, which are largely determined by what is most obvious to them as outsiders. But in order to maintain the group as a unit with continuity of function it is the newcomer who must adapt himself. If he does not conform the group will change in nature, perhaps in directions desired neither by the old nor the new; the group loses its continuity".<sup>15</sup>

Predictably the associational form of joining the church was most common amongst the members of the Protestant minorities, and for most of them church membership was the outcome of a conversion experience, usually of the type classified by M. Penido as an exogenous conversion, that is

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15. Josephine Klein, Structural Aspects of Church Organisation, (The International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion, 1968).

a conversion which is dominated by an event in the informant's life.<sup>16</sup> This was not limited to the Brethren and the evangelical bodies, for of the eight Episcopalians included in the sample only one had been brought up in the Episcopal Church of Scotland, whilst two others had been brought up in other branches of the Anglican communion. The remainder had become Episcopalian through conviction, as a result of what they described as the impressive worship and the feeling of warmth engendered by the Episcopal Church. A fifty year old widower described this when he said "I became a member of the Church of Scotland automatically at the age of eighteen, but when I became an Episcopalian I wanted to be confirmed". It could be hypothesised that in Scotland the fact that the high Episcopalian Church is a minority church rather than an inclusive national church leads to its assumptions of some of the characteristics more commonly attributed to sects. Certainly a number of the Episcopalians are comparable with the ideal type of sectarian, their association with the church coinciding with the experiences of poverty, chronic illness, bereavement, occupational difficulties and broken homes. In England such experiences falling to individuals of a particular personality type might persuade them to become Roman Catholics, whereas in Scotland such potential converts to Catholicism may be more inclined to become Episcopalians, possibly because of the ethnic characteristics of the Catholic population. The

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16. M.T.-L. Penido, La Conscience Religieuse, (Paris, 1935), See Carrier, Op.cit.

Episcopal Church in Scotland may represent the way in which Protestants can become Catholic whilst retaining their Protestant birthright.

Those who become members of the Protestant minority churches as a result of conversion generally belonged to the older age groups and for the most part they were men. Their descriptions of the experience of salvation were accompanied by descriptions of unhappy home life, quarrelling parents, poverty and traumatic war-time experiences. The minority church was for them an exclusive body providing bulwarks against the disruptive and disintegrating forces of society. "After the war I came home empty, I had seen the dying about me, and I saw my own need for salvation. Only Christ was left". Participation in the associations of a wider society tended to be a source of tension for these informants, particularly for the men who were perhaps more economically involved in society than the women. Berger and Luckmann described how "The alternating individual disaffiliates himself from his previous world and the plausibility structure that sustained it, bodily if possible, mentally if not . . ." <sup>17</sup> Even when the individual has successfully appropriated his new world the old continues to constitute a threat. "Put simply, this means that one must now be very careful with whom one talks. People and ideas that are discrepant with the new definitions of reality are systematically avoided." <sup>18</sup> The mode of belonging to the

17. Berger & Luckmann, Op.cit., P.178.

18. Berger & Luckmann, Op.cit., P.179.

church maintained by the associational informants did not give to them a sense of belonging to a total community with an integrated world view, and they often described how they resented and resisted "the forces of the world". Many spoke with surprise and condemnation of the ways in which some of the Church of Scotland members and the Catholics appeared to be integrated in the wider society, and quite often this was castigated as being a failure of Christian commitment. This failure was used to confirm various preconceived notions about the two major churches, occasionally with the reluctant qualification that "it must be admitted that some members of the Church of Scotland and Catholic churches might be Christians". Amongst these informants are those who were offended by the shift supervisor or the works manager, men who were known to be elders of Church of Scotland congregations, who displayed an easy tolerance of the shop floor vernacular. By way of contrast the assembly or "the mission" was spoken of with affection, it possessed a congenial atmosphere created by the friendly like minded people who constituted it, people who shared identical values and goals. They valued the exclusive homogeneity of the minority church, an exclusive homogeneity which some of those who associationally belonged to the Church of Scotland coveted for the congregations of the national church, but rarely found.

It is interesting to observe that in the Protestant minority churches it is the male church members who are more likely to have an associational relationship with the



church and who are more likely to have become members of the church as a result of conversion. The pilot study conducted amongst the schoolchildren of the Graeme High School suggested that boys were more likely to attend church because of parental compulsion than were girls, but on the other hand a much higher percentage of girls than boys attended a church which was also attended by several members of their families. When parental constraints were withdrawn boys were likely to cease to attend church, whilst the girls would continue with their communal type of church involvement. Amongst other things this suggests the hypotheses that alternation and transformation are much more characteristic of men than women if only because their secondary socialisation is weaker, that men are more likely to be associational church members than women, and that the particular social world of men is likely to be more fragmented and lacking in a comprehensive world view than that of women. The social orientation of the religious institution, its relative inclusiveness or exclusiveness, its distance from the world, are all factors which may condition through socialisation the type of male/female involvement in the institution; but the great similarities between all three sub-samples in the influence of the family upon the embryonic church member contrasts sharply with the high level of communal belonging which is found amongst the women members of the Protestant minority churches.

d) Conclusion

It may seem strange that belief should play such a peripheral part in a discussion of religious socialisation and the motivations for becoming a church member, particularly when belief has been accorded so much importance in discussions and measurements of religiosity in contemporary sociological literature. In replying to the questions concerning religious socialisation and their motivations for becoming church members belief was accorded a relatively small place by the informants described as communal members. On the few occasions that belief was mentioned by them it was identified as being a part of a total learning process, one grew into belief just as one grew into the church. A number of the associational type members spoke of a religious experience accompanied by a decision, and one of the Brethren elaborated at length upon his understanding of believer's baptism. Exceptional amongst the Church of Scotland informants was a man who described how he deferred becoming a member of the church until he knew what he believed. Generally however the belief in God, the acceptance of basic Christian doctrines and dynamic commitment to the person of Jesus, did not figure in the motivations which led to the informants becoming members of the churches. As will be seen in a later chapter the exploration of belief within the interview revealed that doubt and uncertainty were at least as characteristic of the sample as belief and faith. Whilst a large majority of the informants described their belief in God as being certain there was considerable uncertainty,

confusion and doubt expressed in their beliefs about God.

This model of communal and associational belonging provides the general framework within which church membership will be described and discussed in subsequent chapters. The meanings of church membership are seen in terms of the relationship which the church member has with the world and the way in which he conceptualises the world. Behavioural and attitudinal data are brought together and are seen as being inter-dependent within this perspective. The nature of membership of a religious institution is an indicator of the church member's perspective upon the world. The co-existence of communal and associational members in a single institution is indicative of the presence of what may be radically different, even conflicting, world-views within the institution; in the terms of Berger and Luckmann they are indicative of differing social constructions of reality. It is to the description and exploration of the nature and meaning of such conflicting or alternative perspectives as these are expressed by church members that the following chapters will be devoted.

CHAPTER 4

## THE SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CHURCHES

a) Introduction

The terms communal and associational are used here in two ways. In the first usage they are seen as being relatively exclusive categories which have been established on the basis of relatively unambiguous definitional criteria. The criteria of categorisation which were adopted are the means by which the informants became members of their churches. Within this usage it is possible to apply to the categories fairly precise techniques of statistical measurement when correlations are sought between them and other factors which are few in number and which are clearly differentiated. Such correlations are made from time to time throughout the thesis. In describing the social significance of church membership in Falkirk one of the purposes of this thesis is to explore the criteria of communal and associational belonging in order to distinguish the different meanings of church membership. Within such an exploration criteria and definitions can only be hypothesised as it is difficult to establish empirically whether an individual church member may be said to possess more communal than associational traits of belonging. It is also difficult to establish, within the research interests which have informed this study, how far an associational member may become a communal member, although evidence concerning the possibility and nature of such

mutations will be discussed later in the thesis. In a number of instances the sample sizes are too small to permit an adequate differentiation of communal and associational characteristics, whilst in other instances they are too large to permit the intensive probing interview which would facilitate an "in depth" analysis of the ways in which the informants conceptualised their particular social world. These problems lead to an alternative usage of communal and associational at a rather higher level of abstraction. This second usage of communal and associational is more hypothetical and less precise than the first. The characteristics of communal and associational belonging will be sought in general terms in the religious groups without the statistical separation of the samples into communal and associational members. The focus will be upon generalisations about the characteristics of the sub-samples which seem to be indicative of a communal or associational orientation.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the church members' participation in the formal and informal structures of the churches. What characterises the extent and intensity of the church members' participation in the life of the church and what significance does it have for them? To explore these questions behavioural and attitudinal data will be considered together. The formal organisational activities of the churches, such as worship, church based clubs and organisations, and the alternative forms of Christian commitment such as evangelical campaigns and social

service activity will be described in the following pages. Participation in such activities does not occur in isolation from society, on the contrary it is an indicator of how the individual may conceive of society, and it may be an expression of his involvement in social relationships and social networks which include or transcend involvement in the church. The apparently uncomplicated categories of "worshipper" or "church worker" may disguise complicated and extensive social structures of a familial or associational kind in which the "world" and "religion" may be conceptualised in highly differentiated ways.

b) Church Attendance

Sunday morning is the focal point of church life in Falkirk. With the exception of public entertainment more people attend worship than attend any other collective activity in the burgh. It is estimated that on an average Sunday between three and four thousand people of all ages are present for at least one act of public worship.

The morning act of worship is the most important for almost all of the churches. The traditional reformed service of the Church of Scotland parish churches, the succession of Catholic masses, the Episcopal Church eucharist, the Brethren Breaking of Bread, all occur on Sunday morning. The importance of these acts of worship for the churches is reflected in the numbers of churchward bound people who constitute the great majority of pedestrians in Falkirk's streets between 10 a.m. and 11 a.m. on Sundays. The most casual of observers cannot fail to be aware of the social

interaction which occurs in most places of worship on Sunday mornings. The multiplicity of exchanged greetings, the hurried conversations, the administrative activity of stewards, elders, youth leaders, committee members, exchanges between kin and friends, constitute an atmosphere of considerable collective involvement. Superficially the collective image of the churches derived from the observation of the activity which occurs about the event of public worship is one of relatively large but remarkably cohesive social groups sustained by a series of face to face relationships which are both meaningful and pleasurable to the majority of the participants. People recognise each other and are pleasant with each other. The ministers and some of the lay leaders serve as catalyats for this interaction, being drawn simultaneously into several conversations, being consulted by committee members and church officers, whilst at the same time contriving to shake hands with the majority of the worshippers. Similar roles are played by the Brethren Elders. Most of the worshippers are present as part of a family unit and when worship is concluded there are excited reunions with children who have been attending Sunday School elsewhere on church premises. Questions to children about their Sunday School activities are punctuated with comments to other worshippers who are also parents. Between sixty and seventy percent of all church members interviewed attended worship en famille. Those informants with children were asked if they insisted on their attendance at church or Sunday School, and those whose children were now

adults were asked if they had previously insisted on their attendance when they were young. All of the subsamples, including that of non church members, revealed a higher percentage of positive replies to this question when compared with the similar question concerned with the insistence of the informants' parents (see Table 22).

Table 26.

Informants' replies to the question, "do you insist that your children should attend church or Sunday School?" in percent.

Denominational Group	N = <sup>1</sup>	Yes	No
Church of Scotland	106	68	32
Roman Catholic	21	62	38
Protestant Minority	21	52	48
Non Church Members <sup>2</sup>	27	52	48

df = 2;       $\chi^2 = 2.5$   
P = NS

1. Number of informants with children.
2. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

In the practice of attendance at worship however the significance of parental and familial constraints became more apparent. Between ninety and a hundred percent of the church members who had children accompanied them to worship, compared with fifteen percent of the non church members who accompanied their children, again revealing a considerable difference between the practice of the informants and that of their parents (see Table 21). Attendance at worship is very much a family occasion for the Roman Catholics and for the members of Church of Scotland congregations, for the sectarian members it is less so, although family groups still constitute the majority of



worshippers. In some of the Protestant churches worship is structured very much with the family in mind. The early parts of the act of worship are constructed in a way which might be meaningful for children, often focusing upon a "children's address" and a "children's hymn" before the children leave the service to attend Sunday School. There are undoubtedly tensions between the ministers and their congregations created by the presence and needs of families at worship. Some of the ministers are sensitive to the liturgical confusion which may be created by attempts to relate the structure of the service to different generations. A radical solution was attempted in the Congregational Church where it was decided to totally exclude children from the morning services for a trial period. In one of the Church of Scotland congregations a compromise was reached whereby a "children's address" was delivered by the minister on one Sunday morning every month. In those churches where no attempt is made to provide special liturgical provision for the children the ministers nonetheless go to some lengths to emphasise that people should worship together as families. The Rector of the Episcopal Church expressed this in his monthly magazine when he wrote, "Mothers with small children must feel welcome with their children, the older members of the Congregation must welcome them, and help them to feel at home as soon as they enter the Church doors. There are picture books for those children who can use them. For the very little ones, please bring their favourite toy, dolly or teddy. If necessary

bring the children to the Altar with you - they will receive a Blessing. All worship in Church, in the normal way, must be family worship if it is to make any sense of reality." Ministers were not infrequently judged by many of their people on the basis of their ability to communicate with children during the act of worship, underscoring some of the familial aspects of church membership, and appearing to create a certain amount of role conflict for some of the ministers who felt that their professionalism was being undermined in precisely that area in which it should receive the most crucial expression, the conduct of worship. A number of the ministers felt that it was a part of their responsibility to regularly uphold the family and the home as bastions of Christianity standing over against encroaching secularisation, thus endorsing the family centred quality of the membership of their congregations. For one Church of Scotland preacher "... the increasingly sophisticated modern world is a secular society which stands apart from the church and the tenets of religion. This secular technological society has robbed us of a certain homeliness and simplicity, and whilst the clock cannot be turned back, the simplicity of Christ, who called a spade a spade, offers us an antidote to a complicated world". Behaviour in the home and in the family also arose regularly as sermon topics. The congregations appeared to respond best to innovation when innovation was family centred. The Erskine and Grahamston parish churches combined to initiate an Easter Sunday morning open air service in a sloping park in the

southern, middle-class part of the town. The service is usually a very brief one which is followed by the rolling of Easter eggs down the slope and a picnic breakfast. The park is invariably surrounded by cars, as more than three hundred people attend the service, more than half of whom are children. It is decidedly an occasion for young middle-class families, and sheepskin jackets, quilted anoraks and ski-pants are the order of the day. Many of the people who attend this service are from the nearby middle-class housing schemes, and with some exceptions they are inclined to remain in small family groups, there being little exchange between strangers or semi-strangers.

The family attendance at Catholic mass is rather more differentiated because of the multiplicity of masses which are celebrated on Sundays. The most popular and best attended service is the one which is held at 10.45 a.m., and it is attended by innumerable family groups. A number of Catholics regretted the passing of "the children's mass" which used to be celebrated in the middle of the morning and to which the children were invariably sent by their parents in the charge of an older child.

Family involvement in worship is not wholly limited to the nuclear family. In the last chapter the strong parental influence upon the religious identity of a majority of the informants was analysed. For a number of informants worship is an occasion for the coming together, however briefly, of the extended family, insofar as the extended family is represented by parents, siblings and in-laws. Well over

half of the church members whose parents were still alive attended churches which were regularly attended by their parents, whilst relatively high percentages of church members attended churches which were also attended by siblings and other kin. Table 28 indicates how high is the percentage of those with parents, siblings and extended kin who regularly attend worship in a congregation which belongs to the same ecclesiastical tradition as that of the informants.

Whilst the numbers in the cells of the Roman Catholic and Protestant minority rows are small, tables 27 and 28 indicate the familial nature of church attendance and the ways in which this is differentiated between the localised familial involvement of the Catholics and members of the Protestant minorities on the one hand, and the more widespread familial involvement of the Church of Scotland members. This is in part explained by the higher level of geographic mobility revealed by the Church of Scotland informants (see Table 13), but it is also related to different patterns of marriage which exist between the three religious groups, for the Church of Scotland member is able to marry a member of another congregation without entering into an inter-faith or inter-denominational marriage, whilst this is more difficult for the Catholic or a member of a Protestant minority congregation. Attitudes towards marriage will be discussed in the third part of the thesis.

As between 75% (Roman Catholic sub-sample) and 88%

Table 27.

Informants with parents, siblings and extended kin, who regularly attend the same church as themselves, in percent

Denominational Group	N =	Mother	Father	Mother in Law	Brother	Sister	Sister in Law	Brother in Law
Church of Scotland	144	16 (33)	11 (23)	6 (21)	6 (33)	8 (39)	6 (33)	6 (28)
Roman Catholic	29	24 (24)	17 (28)	7 (14)	28 (66)	28 (76)	20 (45)	28 (45)
Protestant Minority	28	21 (36)	18 (25)	7 (15)	14 (50)	14 (43)	14 (40)	25 (40)

The figures in brackets are the percentages of informants in the three sub-samples who have such relatives still living.

Table 28.

Informants with parents, siblings and extended kin, who regularly attend a church of the same denomination as themselves, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Mother	Father	Mother in Law	Brother	Sister	Sister in Law	Brother in Law
Church of Scotland	144	29 (33)	16 (23)	16 (21)	19 (33)	28 (39)	21 (33)	18 (28)
Roman Catholic	29	24 (24)	20 (28)	10 (14)	55 (66)	65 (76)	20 (45)	38 (45)
Protestant Minority	28	29 (36)	18 (25)	7 (15)	18 (50)	18 (43)	14 (40)	25 (40)

The figures in brackets are the percentages of informants in the three sub-samples who have such relatives still living.

Protestant minority sub-sample) attended worship in the company of their spouse, it can be seen that the lone worshipper, particularly in the Church of Scotland and Protestant minority churches, is a relatively rare phenomenon. Most of the Protestant churches are organised for the accommodation of church members who will be worshipping as family groups. With the exception of the Old Parish Church and St. Andrew's Church, the stewards at the Protestant churches do not seem to be prepared for the arrival of strangers. They expect the worshippers to be familiar with the building and to be carrying their own hymn books. At the Breaking of Bread in the Brethren assemblies the stranger will be greeted with an embarrassed mixture of welcome and curiosity. Unless he identifies himself as a member of a sister assembly the bread and the wine will be discreetly withheld from him. With the exception of the Old Parish Church and St. Andrew's Church the parish churches of the Church of Scotland appear to be "congregational" places of worship rather than "public" places of worship. The familial characteristics of the congregations endorses this appearance. St. Andrew's and the Old Parish generally have the largest congregations, and although they stand literally back to back in the centre of the town, the one facing north and the other south, they both convey a feeling that they are "parish" churches. The majority of worshippers receive no particular welcome from the stewards upon their arrival, but they are preserved from embarrassed uncertainty. The stewards clearly do not expect to know all the worshippers

and they are all the more prepared for the accommodation of strangers. There is an atmosphere of anonymity about these congregations. Although many people greet each other at the conclusion of worship, large numbers appear to arrive and depart ungreetered. The minister of St. Andrew's expressed his awareness of this characteristic of his congregation in a pastoral letter. "Jesus himself is the source of our fellowship. It is our concern to make it real. This becomes more difficult as the numbers of those with whom we are to be in fellowship increases and becomes just about impossible as fellow members join our congregation, sit somewhere on the other side of the church and are promoted to new appointments away from here leaving us before most of us have even realised that they have joined us and are in our fellowship."

Not all of those who worship alone feel isolated from the rest of the congregation. An elderly retired school-teacher who has been a member of the Erskine Church all her life, whose parents were closely involved with the church throughout their life-time, and who had enjoyed close personal friendships with several generations of Erskine ministers and their families, commented "I feel at home in the church, I belong there. The present minister has never visited my home, and I'm sure that he doesn't even know my name, but that doesn't matter, he's a wonderful young man and exciting things are happening at the church." Conversely some of those who attend as families feel isolated as families, separated from the heart of church life. A forty

year old accountant who had been baptised as an adult and who attended worship with his wife and two daughters, also a member of the Erskine church, described how "the minister never comes here to see us, the church has been taken over by a lot of newcomers. I'm useful if they need someone to help move the Christmas tree, but not when it comes to making decisions".

Associational religious belonging does not appear to correlate directly with geographic mobility. The man described above has lived in Falkirk all his life but has never felt other than a fragmented relationship with the church. Neither is there a direct correlation between communal and membership and the family, as the woman previously described indicated it is possible to worship in isolation and be alone within the worshipping group and yet still be communally identified with it. Whilst the accountant is however fairly typical of a number of Church of Scotland members the schoolteacher is not. Several men described how they had been persuaded to become church members as a result of the influence of friends at work, neighbours or their wives, and how despite their involvement in the church with their families they nonetheless felt peripheral. One man told how for several years he had taken his wife and children to church every Sunday in the car and had returned later to collect them. Eventually he felt that in the interests of family solidarity he ought to go into the church with them. Although he has been a church member for a number of years he still feels "superfluous".



Another described how, when he stopped shift-work on Sundays, he felt constrained to attend the church attended by his children and where his wife was in the choir. Both he and his wife spoke of the social incompleteness of their belonging to the church, the belief that they were not "recognised" by other church members. Why did they continue in what they felt to be an unsatisfactory association with the church? "Well its better than going as a family to bingo". For many of their members the Church of Scotland congregations are a coming together on formal and semi-formal occasions of people who know each other well and who have known each other for a long time. Although their whole lives are not lived within the actual or metaphorical walls of the church in important ways the church constitutes their world. Josephine Klein has written of the fragmentation and diversification of the extended family in Britain which has resulted in the development of the congregation as an interest group for individuals.<sup>1</sup> Gerhard Lenski developing the theme of Christianity as a factor which severs blood-ties has suggested that traces of a more radical past may be found in Protestantism's attempts "to create through church-related organisations a substitute for secular social relationships, especially those of the extended family." He went on to argue that "To the degree that they succeed in this attempt, the Protestant churches weaken the hold of the family on the individual and orient him to associational-type relationships in which the bond of kinship is replaced

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1. Klein, Op.cit., P.103.

by the bond of common faith."<sup>2</sup> Whilst the churches in Falkirk do not equal the community, and the congregations are not "simply a unit of a larger size than the street group or kin group, which in turn enfolded the nuclear family in which the individual was embedded",<sup>3</sup> the majority congregations of the Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland churches nonetheless include in their numbers many people for whom the church is closely related to family and kinship ties. This distinction between those who worship within a familial context and those who attend worship alone or as part of an isolated family unit, is closely related to the distinctions which have been made between communal and associational members.

Those categorised as associational members, who it will be recalled are located entirely in Protestant congregations, attend worship more frequently than the communal members. In the Church of Scotland sub-sample however, 11% of the associational members are categorised as infrequent attenders, and this may suggest that in particular ways the associational member is the most vulnerable of the church members because his involvement in the church depends upon his interest being sustained and his motivations being confirmed or transformed. A discussion of the family orientation of many of the members gives an indication of the motivations for attendance at worship, but the question remains as to how far these motivations are recognised and

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2. Lenski, Op.cit., Pp.246,247.

3. Klein, Op.cit., P.103.

articulated by the church members themselves, as does the question of the articulated differences between the motivations of communal and associational members. The church members were asked why they attended worship and their responses were grouped into the categories contained in Table 30.

Table 29.

The church attendance frequency of communal and associational members, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Every Sunday	2/3 Times a month	Infrequently
Church of Scotland				
Communal		52	41	7
Associational	144	63	26	11
Protestant Minority				
Communal		75	25	0
Associational	28	87	13	0

Forty-three percent of the members of the Protestant minority churches were in no doubt at all why they attended worship, they went in order to worship God or to enjoy communion with God. This relative unanimity of response by a large percentage of church members was not repeated in either of the other two sub-samples. The largest single group of responses from Church of Scotland people was made by 25% of that sub-sample who attended worship because it was a habit or because of the children and other family reasons. The Catholics were more or less equally divided amongst those who went to church in order to worship God, those who went because of family reasons, and those who went because they felt that it was their duty as Catholics

to take part in worship. The members of the Church of Scotland were distinguished from the other samples also by the high percentages of the sub-sample who were attracted to church by the prospect of receiving spiritual and intellectual stimulation. The 14% of the Church of Scotland informants were alone amongst those interviewed who said that they attended church in order to obtain intellectual stimulation. All the informants were asked an open ended question, "Why do you attend worship?", and the interviewers were free to probe on this question in order to try to uncover reasons for attendance which might not have been immediately apparent. The informants were not given a series of multiple choices as it was felt that this might impose too many restraints upon them and would prevent the interviewers from clarifying the responses. Inevitably this created problems of analysis, and the major component selected from the responses as a statistical measure does not always do justice to the quality of the responses. Some of the categories contain both communal and associational characteristics and it is only in the actual phrasing of the responses that the complexity of motivations becomes really apparent.

Some of the Church of Scotland responses which revealed strong familial reasons for attendance at worship also suggested some sense of inquiry or loyalty to the institution. The wife of an elder said "I go to church because maybe I'll see the light - its a form of self-discipline, but mostly I go out of a sense of loyalty to my mother, I promised her before she died that I would continue to go to church". A

member of the Erskine church said that he went to church "because I'm a member and I've made vows to attend, but really I go to set an example to my daughters". A number of informants prefaced their response with the comment that they didn't really know why they went to church as it was something which they just did on Sunday morning without really thinking about it, "I've always gone to church" said a young man, "I don't really know why", whilst a middle-aged woman said "well I like to go, I suppose that it helps me through the week". A university student who was a member of the youth fellowship at the Erskine Church went to church "to see if I am the only feeling person around at 11 a.m. on a particular Sunday morning". Many gave conventional responses to the question, although they were anything but conventional for the informants themselves. "Worship is the centre of our religion" said an elder. "I obtain sustenance from my belief and great spiritual nourishment" replied a woman, "I feel the need to worship". Others were clearly unsettled by their participation in worship, were sceptical of sermons they heard, and uncertain of their own place within the life of the congregation. A Congregationalist was amongst these, "My thoughts about Christianity are going down and down - I want to be a good Christian and I go to church to try to find an answer". A young businessman who was interviewed five months after he had completed the original questionnaire said that he hadn't been to church for almost four months, "we were brought up to attend worship regularly at the Old Parish, it was a source of pride in the

family that we all went together. When I got married I started attending Grahamston but I just couldn't stand some of the sermons I heard there and I stopped going when the minister began to criticise the tour of the South African cricket team".

The members of the Protestant minority churches gave the most specifically religious reasons for attendance at worship, "I go to meeting to remember the death of Christ"; "I go because God said that we must go, you see God has an interest in me, he made me"; "I go to church to express my appreciation of the work of Christ"; "In worship I get into the kind of relationship with God in which I give him the glory due to him. Worship makes you feel the greatness of God, it gives you the strength to realise that you are only in this world temporarily".

The Catholics emphasised the mass in almost every response they made, but they related it differently to their motivations, sometimes as the medium for the objective worship of God, sometimes the major sustenance of communal identity, and at others the expression of individual responsibility. It is possible to make some general observations concerning these responses as they are ordered in Table 30 in the light of the communal and associational characteristics of the three sub-samples. In the most communal of the three sub-samples, the Catholic, fellowship and stimulation whether of the spiritual or intellectual variety, play no part at all in the motivations for attendance at worship. The Catholic does not need to go to a particular

Table No. 30.

Reasons given by the informants for their attendance at worship, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	To Worship, or enjoy communion with God.	Habit and Family reasons etc.	Fellowship	Duty as a Christian	Spiritual stimulation	Intellectual stimulation	Enjoyment
Church of Scotland	144	13	26	10	13	18	14	5
Roman Catholic	29	29	29	0	29	4	0	11
Protestant Minority	28	43	11	14	18	11	0	4

df. = 12;  $\chi^2 = 51.93$ ;

P = .001; G = .46.

place in order to identify himself with a set apart religious group in a special and exclusive fellowship. His membership of the group is communally assured by birth. Nor does he go to church for such a specifically personal thing as stimulation. There is a matter of factness about his reasons for attending worship, his purposes are relatively objective, the objectivity of the mass, the objectivity of family solidarity, and the objective demands placed upon him by his membership of the Catholic community. It is his duty as a member of the group to which he belongs to accept the obligations of worship. The primary motivation of the members of the Protestant minority churches was that of worship, but whether the informants were Episcopalians, Brethren or Congregationalists it was the subjectivity of the worship, the warmth it engendered, the sense of belonging that

it promoted, the comfort it gave that was important. The Catholic mass and the Episcopalian eucharist were seen to be closely related by many of the informants in these traditions, but there was a world of difference between the Catholic speaking of the celebration of the mass and the Episcopalian expressing the "yearning to make my communion". The duty to attend worship was expressed in terms of loyalty to God rather than loyalty "as a church member" or "as a Catholic". The scriptures were quoted at length by some of the sectarian Protestants, God required of them that they should express their special relationship with him on the occasion of a collective act of worship. The fellowship was seen as a special group of people with which one was united; during the week one looked forward in anticipation to being physically a part of this fellowship. For the members of the Church of Scotland, worship, spiritual and intellectual stimulation all belonged together and they were all bound up with the importance of the sermon in reformed worship. The associational type members of the Church of Scotland were very largely minister centred. People went to worship because of a particular minister, worship and the minister were inseparable, through him they were able to worship together, and from him they derived spiritual and intellectual stimulation. When they were asked what they liked most about their particular congregation 29% of the Church of Scotland informants replied "the minister". "My wife and I just rave about the minister's preaching" said one man, whilst a woman member of the Church of Scotland congregation, "I like these young ministers, they



are making us look outwards". By contrast only one Catholic mentioned the priest as being the thing he liked best about the church, and again it was the youthful active priests who appealed to him, "they're doing a great job these young blokes". None of the Protestant minority church members mentioned the minister. Those who attended worship for reasons other than the primacy of worship tended to do so despite rather than because of the minister. "Frankly when its time for the sermon to be preached I just shut my ears" said one informant. Fellowship was conceived of by the Church of Scotland members as being less of a commonly motivated group of people and more of a broad social network of friendships, many of which had been sustained from school-days through fairly continuous involvement in the life of the church. A young married woman said "I meet in church some of the people I've known all my life, we can catch up on the news", when its my turn at the creche I'm usually on duty with an old schoolfriend and between looking after the children we can have a good old gossip".

Whilst many of the informants framed their reasons for attendance in conventionally religious terms this manifest religiosity was closely related in practice to the existence of familial influences and the existence of social networks. Church attendance was for some an opportunity not only to meet members of the extended family but also an opportunity to meet with friends. What patterns of friendship existed amongst the church members?

c) Friendship and Church Membership

Church members expected to make their friendships in the churches more than anywhere else. A large majority of the members of the Protestant minority churches expected to make their friends in church. Whilst substantial percentages of the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic informants also expected to establish friendships in the church they expected to make friends elsewhere too, particularly the members of the Church of Scotland sub-sample expected to make friends in voluntary associations.

Table 31.

The places and groups within which the informants expected to form friendships, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Church	Voluntary Associations	Neighbours	Others
Church of Scotland	144	45	22	15	18
Roman Catholic	29	45	13	16	26
Protestant Minorities	28	79	4	7	11
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	3	26	32	38

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 13.96$ ; 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

P = .05; G = .24.

Amongst those categorised as Others were those who expected to make friendships at work and through participation in various activities such as the territorial army. The non church members are particularly dominant amongst this group and for the most part they expected to form friendships at work.

More than thirty percent of the members of the Protestant minority churches said that it was a matter of principle for them that they should associate most with and make their friends amongst the members of their own religious group, and a high percentage of them believed that the members of their religious group were in fact easier to get on with in personal relationships than the members of other religious groups.

Table 32.

Percentage of informants who believed that they should make their friends within their own religious group.

Church of Scotland	7
Roman Catholic	3
Protestant Minority	31

df. = 4;  $\chi^2 = 19.88$ ;

P = .001; G = .30.

Table 33.

Percentage of informants who found that members of their own religious group were easier to get on with in personal relationships.

Church of Scotland	22
Roman Catholic	7
Protestant Minority	41

df = 4;  $\chi^2 = 11.95$ ;

P = .02; G = .24.

The majority of Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland informants felt that the religious persuasion of their friends was relatively unimportant. A Catholic businessman said "I have close friends who are members of the Church of Scotland but religion just doesn't enter into our friendship, we never talk about it at all". A Church of Scotland woman said, "it doesn't matter what religions your friends are, folk are just folk". A few had experienced embarrassment with friends as the result of religious differences, but these were very much a minority. Some members of the Protestant minority churches felt that generally speaking those who shared their faith were more difficult to get on

with. This was particularly the case with some of the Brethren. A thirty year old woman who belonged to one of the Brethren assemblies said "I'm afraid that their devotion to their faith and their allegiance to the teaching of the bible makes some of our people rather difficult to get on with". A sales director who was a convert to the Brethren and a leader in a Falkirk assembly said "well you know, by and large they are a narrow minded lot, the Brethren, and it does make them difficult to get on with sometimes."

The Catholic and Church of Scotland people sometimes articulated a very broad universal approach to friendship, as one Catholic woman said "We have friends who are Seventh Day Adventists, atheists and evangelicals", for others religion was totally irrelevant, "You make friends amongst your ain kind whatever their religion". Some of the Catholics described experiences which they could only interpret as being Protestant prejudice against Catholicism, one unmarried woman who kept house for her brothers and sisters said ". . . we sometimes have difficulties with the neighbours. Last week when I was hanging out the washing my neighbour came into his garden and whistled "The Sash my Father Wore"."

A member of the Catholic parish council said "Basically we are all the same, but some people I have particular difficulty with. Of course the Orangemen are not Protestants any more than the Hiberrians are Catholics, and I don't approve of either movement, but an Orange family up the street shout obscenities about the Pope after my children. It is disquieting." Such experiences were relatively rare amongst

the interviewed Catholics, and the general opinion was that expressed by a housewife, ". . . we don't live in ghettos and I wouldn't want to live in a ghetto. If we only mixed with our own faith we would have a ghetto situation".

The Roman Catholics and non Church of Scotland Protestants were most likely to make their friendships and continue their friendships within the fellowship of the church. When the informants were asked about their three closest friends 46% of the members of the Protestant minority churches had at least one friend within the congregation to which they belonged, compared with 44% of the Catholics and 30% of the members of the Church of Scotland. Those who belonged to the Church of Scotland however were the most likely to have friends in other Church of Scotland congregations either in or beyond Falkirk, and at least 50% of the Church of Scotland informants had a close friend who belonged to and worshipped at another parish church of the Church of Scotland. In the question the difference between membership and attendance was emphasised and those friends who were members of churches but not attenders were included with non church members in a general category of non attenders. The Protestant minority members were least likely to include amongst their friends those who were not church attenders, whilst the Catholics were most likely to have friends who did not attend worship. The friendships across the three religious groups reflected the minority nature of the non Church of Scotland religious groups. High percentages of the Catholics and the members of the Protestant

minority churches had close friends who were members of the Church of Scotland, but the Church of Scotland members who had close friends who attended these minority churches constituted a very small percentage of the sample. The friends of by far the majority of non church members did attend one or another of the churches, although these were least likely to be the Protestant minority churches. Obviously the Church of Scotland embraces such a large percentage of the total population that it is difficult not to include amongst one's friends at least one person who is involved in a Church of Scotland congregation, whilst the other two religious groups are so small that the likelihood of anyone having a friend belonging to them is more remote.

Table 34.

Church attendance of the informants' closest friends,  
in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Same Church as informant	Different Church same denomination	Different Denomination	Non Attender
Church of Scotland	144	30	47	13	10
Roman Catholic	29	45	1	26	22
Protestant Minority	28	46	8	37	8
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	NA	NA	52	48

df = 6;  $X^2 = 33.38$ ;

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = .001; C = .39.

A number of the informants who belonged to the Brethren assemblies described how they had relinquished former

friendships when they had experienced conversion, although the friendships relinquished did not appear to be particularly close ones. A majority continued to make their friends outside the religious group, but in most instances these were evangelical members of other churches. Where possible the Brethren confined their personal demands upon people and services to their own religious group. Many of the evangelicals registered with an evangelical general practitioner in the town when they were choosing their doctor. If it was known that a member of the Brethren was offering a particular service or skill through his trade or business he was more likely to be favoured than a tradesman or businessman who was not a member of the assembly.

Despite their apparent predilection for making friends outside their church the Catholics were more likely to make friends with those who attended their own church than were members of the Church of Scotland. This again may be taken as an indicator of the localised communalism of the Catholic Church contrasted with the wider communalism of the Church of Scotland. All the informants appeared to move very largely in a circle of friends who belonged to the same broad religious group as themselves. More than a half of the church members said that they met with other members of their churches outside the formal activities of the church, and although there were differences between the religious groups in their responses to this question, they were not statistically significant.

Table 35.

The percentage of informants who met with other members of their church outside its formal activities.

Church of Scotland	57
Roman Catholic	72
Protestant Minority	61

$$df = 2; \quad \chi^2 = 2.44;$$

P = NS.

Church members met with their friends in a variety of situations, but by far the most common was in the home. This seemed to be particularly the case with the Catholics and the members of the Protestant minority churches, although again the differences between them and the members of the Church of Scotland were not statistically significant. Amongst the alternative venues available voluntary associations were the most common for the Church of Scotland members.

Table 36.

The venues of meetings with friends from church, in percent.

Denominational Groups	N =	Home	Work	Voluntary Assoc-iations	Public Enter-tainment	Other
Church of Scotland	82	48	13	19	12	8
Roman Catholic	21	63	7	7	7	15
Protestant Minority	17	70	0	4	9	17

$$df = 8; \quad \chi^2 = 12.23.$$

P = NS.

Social class is equally important for the friendship networks of the church members. Those church members who



were interviewed are at least as likely to have their friends in the same socio-economic group as they are to have them in the same religious group. As we have seen the class groupings to some extent follow the lines of the religious groupings, but the high percentage correlations suggest that the religious groups are also transcended along lines of class.

Table 37

The socio-economic class of church members, correlated with the socio-economic class of their friends, in percent.

Socio-Economic Class of Church Members	N =	Socio-Economic Class of Friends					
		Professional	Intermediate	Skilled NonManual	Skilled Manual	Partly-Skilled	Unskilled
Professional	15	60	20	20	0	0	0
Intermediate	46	17	63	4	15	0	0
Skilled Non-Manual	24	9	25	33	33	8	5
Skilled Manual	39	8	19	26	36	8	5
Partly-Skilled	15	6	13	13	33	33	0

The cases tabulated above add up to less than the total interview sample as in 62 cases it was not possible to determine the socio-economic class of the church members' friends, mainly because detailed information was not available concerning their employment.

$$df = 20; \quad \chi^2 = 102.64;$$

$$P = .001; \quad C = .65.$$

If the skilled manual and non manual workers were aggregated into one class of skilled workers the percentage in these classifications would compare more closely with those in the

professional and intermediate classifications. It has already been observed that the correlation between class and communal and associational modes of church membership is a negative one. It may be hypothesised that whilst class identity is to a large extent the equivalent of religious identity, it is nonetheless a source of tension for some church members, particularly when class identity is strong in the communal member who may be drawn into class relationships which go beyond and exist apart from those of the religious group. We would have three expectations of the class identity of the associational member, either his socio-economic class and religious group would be so close that his friendships could co-ordinate both quite amicably, or in his church he is engaged in severing class based networks, or his class and church friendships are an overt source of tension because they represent alternative social worlds. This last we would expect to find amongst the associational members of the Church of Scotland. These and the communal members of the Protestant minorities, it may be hypothesised, would be those most under social stress, whose social worlds and world view would be most subject to change.

d) Church Organisations

The only formal contact which the majority of church members had with the church was through attendance at worship. Despite the plethora of church based organisations and the many ad hoc social activities, the majority of church members in Falkirk, whether they were those who had completed

the original questionnaire or were those who were interviewed, belonged to no church based organisation. Amongst the 1,115 church members who constituted the sampling frame 66% of the Church of Scotland members, 77% of the Catholics and 63% of the remaining Protestants had no formal association with the church other than through worship. The Protestants included in the interview sample were marginally more activist.

Table 38.

The number of organisational memberships held by the informants, in percent.

Denominational Group.	N =	None	One	Two	Three
Church of Scotland	144	62	32	6	0
Roman Catholic	29	79	21	0	0
Protestant Minority	28	50	40	7	3

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 12.58$ ;

P = .05; G = .25.

The Protestants generally are more inclined to participate in church organisations and the majority of those who do so are women. The five Church of Scotland congregations alone have twelve women's organisations, whilst the other Protestant churches sustain eleven, and the Catholic Church has three. Within the churches the women's organisations are sharply differentiated by age, for example the young wives' clubs and the women's guilds, and by activity, the Ladies' sewing circle, and the women's missionary association. The larger and more established women's meetings such as the guilds and the Brethren "Women's Hour", function very much

as independent voluntary associations, although they do so within a devotional context and relate to the congregation at many points. Quite a number of their members, particularly amongst the non Church of Scotland Protestant organisations, are not members of the church. With the exception of the Catholic Church, which has four men's organisations which range in attendance from fifteen to two hundred, the churches in Falkirk do not have extensive organised activities for men. In the Protestant churches the men who are activist are channelled into the various decision making courts and committees. The age of the informants meant inevitably that few of them were members of youth fellowships and uniformed organisations,<sup>4</sup> and the numbers embraced by these organisations varied considerably from church to church.

Social class was again an important correlate. The church members who belonged to church organisations were emphatically placed in the three upper classifications. To a large extent the class distribution of the sub-samples is reflected in Table 39, but all the sub-samples had a more

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4. The interest of this study is not in the formal structures of the church as such, it is therefore not intended to describe in detail the activity of the organisations. At this stage in the thesis it may be asked why more attention has not been given to young people! The riposte is that inasmuch as the young people are church members their behaviour and attitudes are accorded their proper place in the total responses received from the church members. That a number of young people were included can be seen from a consideration of the age structure of the population under consideration. Their attitudes are discussed more specifically in an appendix.

or less representative distribution of skilled manual workers, and these are very largely non activist when compared with the classifications above them.

Table 39.

The number of organisational memberships held by the informants, correlated with social class, in percent.

No. of Organisation Memberships	Profess- ional	Inter- mediate	Skilled Non- Manual	Partly- Manual	Partly- Skilled	Un- Skilled
None	50	61	47	71	73	100
One	33	35	50	24	27	0
Two	11	4	3	4	0	0
Three	5	0	0	0	0	0

df = 15;  $\chi^2 = 44.78$ ;

P = .001; C = .44.

The well known middle-class penchant for social activism and participation in voluntary associations receives expression within the church organisations. In the case of women's organisations, particularly in the non Church of Scotland Protestant churches, the organisations function as social service organisations for the churches and voluntary associations for the non church members who attend them. The lower class members who belong to these organisations tend to be non church members rather than church members. In a previous chapter it was observed that there might be a correlation between class and church attendance amongst those people who do attend church, in that those categorised in the lower classifications may attend worship more regularly than those in the higher. If this is the case, it would contrast sharply with the membership of church

organisations which is something preferred by the middle-classes.

The organisations included in the above analysis include membership of inter-church organisations. These are few in number, being limited to specialist groups such as the Elders and Office Bearer's Union. There is relatively little social inter-change between the churches in Falkirk. Most organisations include in their annual programme a visit to a sister or brother organisation in another church at sometime during the year, and the organisations in some churches may do this more regularly than those in others. There are close associations between the churches and some non church organisations which have a strong social service emphasis and which in some cases are an extension of the churches' collective concern for society.

During the course of the research one event occurred which offered the opportunity of considerable social interaction between the churches, particularly the Protestant churches. This was the Leighton Ford Mid-Scotland Crusade conducted in the Falkirk ice-rink in 1969. Leighton Ford is an evangelist of the Billy Graham Organisation, and the campaign was conducted by that organisation. It was a condition of the Crusade that the Billy Graham Organisation would only be prepared to arrange the Crusade if it had the approval and active support of the Church of Scotland Presbytery of Linlithgow and Falkirk. When Dr. Ford addressed the presbytery he received a standing ovation from the presbyters. Before concluding this chapter the participation of members of the three sub-samples in the Leighton Ford

Crusade will briefly be described.

Almost all of those interviewed, including 81% of the non church members knew of the Leighton Ford Crusade. The organisers drew upon local congregations for committee members, counsellors, office help, choir and for stewards at the meetings. The non Church of Scotland Protestant informants were the most actively involved, 64% of them playing some part in the Crusade's activities compared with 30% of the Church of Scotland members and 7% of the Catholics. The majority of the Church of Scotland participants did little more than regularly attend the Crusade meetings in the ice rink whilst the other Protestant informants were generally more actively involved, particularly in the choir. The Church of Scotland informants seemed to constitute most of the decision makers however, 10% of those Church of Scotland people who participated were on the organising committee. The majority of the non Church of Scotland Protestants thought that the crusade was successful and worthwhile. They described increased attendances at their services following the appeals made at the crusade. The majority of Church of Scotland members were more sceptical, 25% said that the crusade was unsuccessful, that it was a waste of time, money and effort, whilst 41% were uncertain of its worth.

The reactions to the crusade and the level of participation in its activities are worthy of mention because they underscore a factor which will become more apparent in other chapters in the thesis. The underlying differences which exist between the associational and communal members

of the Church of Scotland. By and large the crusade supporters in the Church of Scotland were associational members who were strongly evangelical. It is these and other associational members who constitute a continuing challenge and threat to the majority as they collectively embody an alternative form of religious commitment which is not the social norm in the church but which prevails in all the Church of Scotland congregations to a lesser or greater degree.

e) Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt has been made to broadly describe some of the involvement of church members in the life of their churches with particular reference to the family and to social class. If it seems that worship has been over-stressed it is because for a large majority of the informants worship was the major occasion of their formal involvement in the life of the church. The meaning of worship for the informants is closely related to the ways in which they understand their belonging to the church. Communal belonging is very largely related to the religious orientation of the extended family, it is characterised by strong identification with the religious group which constitutes a social milieu. In the case of the Catholics and the Church of Scotland members such identification is supported by attendance at worship, although the social functions of attendance at worship are different for these two groups. In the one worship is very much an expression of communal identity, the mass constitutes a social as well as a religious focal point for the Catholic community.



In the other worship is less important as a focal point, perhaps because socially the Church of Scotland is closer to the society as a whole, it has a closer identification with society than the Catholic Church and worship is not quite so significant as a confirmation of the society. There is a close relationship between the communal and associational members of the Protestant minority churches, partly because the communal members tend to be the children of the associational members and the behavioural norms which are accepted are those set by the associational members whereas in the Church of Scotland the norms are established by the communal members and there are no ties of kin between associational and communal members. It may be expected that the differences between behaviour and overt values of the communal and associational members is greater in the Church of Scotland than in the other Protestant churches. This theme will be returned to in a later chapter, after a discussion of lay leadership.

CHAPTER 5LAY LEADERSHIP IN FALKIRK CHURCHES<sup>1</sup>a) Introduction

The percentage of informants belonging to the decision making courts and committees of the churches was very small, too small to permit reliable analysis. The schedule used for interviewing the members of the sub-samples did not permit for a structured discussion of the role of the lay leaders and functions of leadership within the different ecclesiastical traditions. Prior to the preparation of the schedule however, a pilot investigation was conducted by post with the leaders of the churches from which the samples were being selected. The primary object of this study was to provide guide-lines for the construction of the interview schedule, particularly with reference to the understandings of church membership which informed the thinking of the lay leaders. In addition to serving its primary purpose the questionnaire which was completed by the lay leaders also furnished a great deal of information concerning the leaders themselves, ranging from their social and family background to the extent of their participation as leaders and members of voluntary and political associations. These data constitute the basis of this chapter. Implicit within their presentation will be a number of questions concerning how far the lay leaders may be seen to be communal

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1. Parts of this chapter have been published as an article, Concepts of Church Membership, in M. Hill, (ed.), The Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain, (SCM, 1971).

and how far associational members of the churches. Is participation in the formal decision making processes of local congregations and churches a function of the communal or the associational members, and what are the implications of this for the direction which church life is likely to pursue?

There have been few attempts to discuss the role of the lay leader in church life. The most thoroughgoing is probably that of J.H. Fichter in his study of the lay leader as a nuclear Catholic parishioner.<sup>2</sup>

Questionnaires were sent to the lay leaders who had been elected to the highest level of lay leadership responsibility available within their particular church tradition. That is to the Church of Scotland elders and to the nearest equivalent in the other churches, namely the members of the Roman Catholic Parish Council, the elders of the Congregational Church, the members of the vestry of the Episcopalian Christ Church, and the elders of the two Brethren Assemblies and the non-denominational mission. The functions of these lay leaders, their ecclesiastical status, the rules which controlled their election and determined the length of their tenure of office varied from church to church, but it can reasonably be hypothesised that these were the most institutionally involved and

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2. J.H. Fichter, Op.cit.

committed of the members of the eleven institutions.

Two hundred and fifty-six lay leaders were approached of whom one hundred and sixty-nine finally completed the questionnaires, a response rate of 66.01%. The responses from individual churches varied, and no denomination revealed a consistently high or low response. The lowest response of all was from the elders of one of the Church of Scotland congregations and the highest response was from the non-denominational mission; but there were high responses from Church of Scotland congregations and low responses from non Church of Scotland congregations. It is noteworthy that although the Catholics in Falkirk outnumber the Protestant minorities the number of Catholic lay leaders is smaller than the number of those of the Protestant minority churches. Two factors help to account for this. The first is the fact that the Catholic sample was selected from only one institution, the leadership does not represent the leadership of several different institutions as is the case with the non Church of Scotland Protestant leaders. The second factor is the limited institutional role of the Catholic lay leader and the resulting small number of people appointed to assume advisory responsibilities on the parish council.

Table 40.

Distribution of the Lay Leaders Sample.

Denominational Group	N =	% =
Church of Scotland	130	76.9
Roman Catholic	11	6.5
Protestant Minority	28	16.6

b) The Socio-economic Class and Family Background of Lay Leaders.

Predictably, on the basis of what is already known of the class distribution of the church members, the class composition of the leadership in the three religious groups differed significantly. The differences between the three religious groups however did more than reflect the class differences which prevail in the congregations represented. The Church of Scotland lay leaders were drawn from the upper classifications of what are largely middle-class dominated congregations. The high percentage of Church of Scotland members in the skilled occupations is under represented in the kirk sessions. At the time when this study was conducted there were no women elders in Falkirk Church of Scotland congregations. The lay leadership was in the hands of middle-class men, and less than 1% were members of the lowest classifications of partly-skilled and unskilled workers. Three of those completing questionnaires were bank managers, several were company directors including one who was formerly the managing director of a large iron foundry. Industrial and works chemists predominated in the sessions as did senior foundry officials. Twelve of the Church of Scotland elders were in the teaching profession, three of them being headmasters. Other elders included a retired prison governor, the chief reporter of a local paper, several solicitors and accountants, architects and local government officials.

The lay leaders of the Protestant minority churches were

distributed through the social classes more typical of the burgh as a whole. This contrasted interestingly with the distribution of the classes through the minority churches. By and large the professional members of these churches did not hold offices in the church and did not officially contribute to the decision making. The partly-skilled and unskilled occupations were over represented in the decision making courts at the expense of professional and intermediate occupations. Most of the leadership responsibility was, nominally at least, in the hands of manual and non manual skilled workers. No one occupation was dominant amongst these, and although there were one or two senior clerical workers and workshop supervisors, the majority were lower grade clerical workers, or they worked in the foundries as moulders and pattern makers. One of the Protestant minority lay leaders was a woman.

Table 41.

The Socio-Economic Class of the Lay Leaders, through the three Religious Groups, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Profess- ional	Inter- mediate	Skilled	Partly- Skilled	Un- Skilled
Church of Scotland	130	20 (11)	41 (29)	38 (52)	·7 (7)	0 (1)
Roman Catholic	11	0	55 (20)	11 (60)	22 (16)	0 (4)
Protestant Minorities	28	4 (7)	15 (10)	65 (66)	11 (3)	4 (2)

The figures in brackets are the comparable percentage distribution of church members through the classifications, see Table 5.

$$df = 8; \quad \chi^2 = 34.58;$$

$$P = .001; \quad G = .41.$$

The Roman Catholic leaders included in their number two school teachers, insurance agents and salesmen, 63.6% of the Catholics were men. Almost all of the Church of Scotland elders were married compared with 90% of the Protestant minority leaders, and 45% of the members of the Catholic Parish Council.

The Catholics were the youngest of the lay leaders, and this in part may be explained by the fact that appointment to the Parish Council is for a fixed period of years after which retirement is compulsory. All the Catholic lay leaders were under the age of fifty-six, compared with the Protestant minority leaders 57% of whom were under fifty-six, and the Church of Scotland elders, 49% of whom were under that age. The only church other than the Roman Catholic Church with leaders under the age of thirty-one who completed the questionnaire was the Old Parish Church.

Almost all of the informants had church connections through the extended family. All the Catholics had been brought up in Catholic families, and 90% of them had mothers and fathers associated with St. Francis' Church. The Church of Scotland leaders were less likely to have been brought up in the church they currently served, and 28% of them had not been brought up within a church going family compared with 25% of the Protestant minorities. The Catholic leaders more than any of the others were bound up communally in their local Catholic Church. Catholic brothers, sisters, wives, parents were all worshippers in the St. Francis Church. The leaders in the Protestant minority churches were more

Table 42.

The age of the Lay Leaders, through the three Religious Groups, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	24-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	65+
Church of Scotland	130	2	5	11	6	12	14	13	14	23
Roman Catholic	11	18	36	9	18	9	9	0	0	0
Protestant Minority	28	0	7	0	4	25	21	7	14	21

df = 16;  $\chi^2 = 49.6$ ;

P = .001; C = .47.

likely than the Church of Scotland leaders to have siblings and parents worshipping within their own particular congregation, but the majority of Protestant relatives, whilst they were church members, were dispersed in other congregations either in Falkirk or elsewhere.

The Protestants generally came from families which were activist in the churches, and 42% of the Church of Scotland elders had relatives who held office in local congregations. Primarily these were male relatives, fathers, brothers, fathers-in-law. Church allegiance for the Protestant minority leaders was even more of a family affair as 63% of them had close relatives holding office in the church; 15% had brothers who held office of some kind, and 13% had wives who held office in their own congregations. Compared with this relatively high level of Protestant family involvement in the church the Catholic informants had no immediate family members holding lay office in the Catholic Church. The offices held by relatives were mostly those of equivalent status to the ones held by the informants, 22% of the Church of Scotland leaders' relatives were elders, and 30% of the



Protestant minority leaders had relatives who were elders or deacons. If the experience of Christian nurture within a Christian family and the involvement of the extended family in the Church are the major criteria of communal membership the majority of the lay leaders in all the churches are communal members. 75% of the Protestant minority leaders held office in the church in which they had been brought up compared with 41% of the Church of Scotland elders. Only 8% of the Church of Scotland leaders however had actually belonged to a church of another denomination before becoming members of the congregation in which they currently held office. Their movement between congregations had taken place within the Church of Scotland, and 59% of them had previously belonged to other Church of Scotland congregations. The Protestant minority leaders had moved to their present congregations from denominations other than the one to which they currently belonged. On the basis of the movements of church members described in chapter three this difference amongst the Protestants might have been anticipated. What would not have been anticipated is the high percentage of Protestant minority leaders who are apparently communal members.

In summary there are clear distinctions between the leaders in the three religious groups in terms of their class and family background, and these distinctions do not always reflect the over-all distinctions between the three groups of church members. The majority of the Protestants are men, they belong to the older age groups and they have been involved in their present congregations

for most if not all of their lives. The Catholics are divided, albeit unequally between men and women and they occupy the younger age groups. All the Catholic leaders had been brought up within the environment of Falkirk Catholicism. For a substantial minority of the Protestants activism within the church was a characteristic of the extended family.

The length of time during which the lay leaders have occupied their offices reflects the different definitions of the lay leaders' roles which are held within the differing traditions, for instance no Catholic can be a member of the Parish Council for more than five years. The majority of the Church of Scotland elders had held their offices for more than ten years, and a large percentage of all the Protestant leaders had held office for more than twenty years.

Table 43.

The length of time the Lay Leaders had held their offices in the church, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Under 1 year	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	More than 20 years
Church of Scotland	130	4	25	14	19	16	22
Roman Catholic	11	27	73	0	0	0	0
Protestant Minority	28	3	23	27	13	7	27

df = 10;  $\chi^2 = 30.9$ .

P = .005 G = .39

The most interesting distinction between the three groups of lay leaders is that of socio-economic class, and this is

particularly interesting in the distinctions which exist between the two groups of Protestants. It is the most middle-class of the Church of Scotland members who are elected to leadership offices, whilst it is the lower middle-classes who are elected to offices in the non Church of Scotland Protestant churches, even when such churches have professional people amongst their members. The factors, of age, length of tenure, familialism, communalism and class may be taken as evidence of a broad conservative orientation as far as the organised life of the local Protestant congregations is concerned. In the one the strong decision making role of the professionally occupied church member might be seen as being a force which counteracts the more associational and potentially change positing characteristics of lower class membership; whilst in the other the lower class leadership exercises control over the potential for change which might exist amongst the growing middle-class membership, particularly when that growing middle-class membership is very largely constituted of the first generation educated.

c) The Social and Institutional Involvement of Lay Leaders

It is sometimes assumed that active involvement in the life of a church is yet another indicator of middle-class activism which is also evident in the high rate of middle-class participation in voluntary associations. The voluntary associations differ from the churches in that they presuppose that any form of belonging they engender and any commitment they may attract is of an associational nature. People join voluntary associations because they

embody in a collective form the specific interests which they may wish to pursue. In her important study of Banbury, Margaret Stacey suggests that people choose the associations to which they belong on a combined basis of interest and a certain social compatibility which may be verbalised in terms of "a good atmosphere".<sup>3</sup> Dr. Stacey went on to suggest that the study of voluntary associations "helps to show the relationship between attitudes and values characteristic of political parties and religious denominations and those found in other spheres".<sup>4</sup> These questions will be returned to in a later chapter. The simple concern here is to examine how far those who are most committed in the management and organisation of churches are those who might also be otherwise committed in the associational life of the burgh. This in turn may throw light upon how far the churches exist and function as voluntary associations in Falkirk, and how far they might be quite different organisations fulfilling significantly different social functions from those of the voluntary associations.

The Church of Scotland elders were the least involved in the organisational life of their churches outside their own roles as members of the kirk session. The most involved were the Catholics, 33% of whom belonged to church based organisations. The differences between the Protestant groups in part reflect differences of manpower availability. The relatively large membership of the Church of Scotland

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3. Margaret Stacey, Tradition and Change, a study of Banbury (Oxford, 1960), p. 77.

4. Stacey, Ibid., p. 78.

Table 44.

The Lay Leaders' Memberships of Church-based organisations, in percent.

Denominational Group	N	None	Working Committees	Men's or Women's Organisations	Sunday School Teachers	Bible Class and Youth Organisations	Social Clubs	Choir	Denominational & Inter-denominational committees <sup>1</sup>
Church of Scotland	130	60	6	5	2	8	4	3	12
Roman Catholic	11	27	20	33	0	7	0	0	13
Protestant Minority	28	39	0	16	10	3	6	3	22

df = 14;  $\chi^2 = 69.92$ ; P = .001; C = .52. 1. Elders' and Office Bearers' Union, Christian Action, Y.M.C.A., Christian Union, and official denominational committees etc.

Table 45

Offices held by Lay Leaders in Religious and Voluntary Associations

Denominational Group	N	Memberships	No Offices	Professional	Charitable	Civic	Political	Religious	Recreational
Church of Scotland	130	21	20	9	7	11	1	14	17
Roman Catholic	11	20	7	13	0	7	13	33	7
Protestant Minority	28	27	20	0	0	1	1	6	2

df = 12;  $\chi^2 = 34.85$ .

congregations permits a division of labour which cannot be emulated by the other Protestant churches. It is in the Protestant minority churches that the familiar church cry that "everything is left to the same small group of people" is the most accurate, but it is the activists in the Protestant minority churches who are amongst the most jealous for their church based activities. In the pursuit of their church activities they achieved a fulfilment and satisfaction which often appears to be lacking amongst the Church of Scotland elders, for whom their peculiar responsibilities as members of the kirk session are often interpreted as being a duty to the community rather than as responsibilities which express a total commitment to an enterprise which arise out of some subjective imperative.

The Church of Scotland elders were the most active of the leaders in voluntary associations outside the churches, but the differences between the three religious groups were not statistically significant on all the indices investigated. 65% of the Church of Scotland informants belonged to at least one voluntary association compared with 53% of the non Church of Scotland elders and 47% of the Catholics. 45% of the Church of Scotland elders were also office bearers in the voluntary associations to which they belonged, some of them holding as many as four, five or six offices.

The majority of memberships held in voluntary associations were in the various recreational associations, particularly golf clubs. The least popular were the political and civic or community associations. Predictably

the Church of Scotland elders were the most likely to belong to professional associations of various kinds. As Margaret Stacey has pointed out there are status differences between the various associations, and the Church of Scotland leaders by and large belonged to the associations with a higher social status. Amongst the civic and community organisations which were given pride of place were the Toastmasters, the Sons of the Rock (a charitable organisation in Stirling), the Curling Club and the Rotary. Golf is of course a national pastime, but the Church of Scotland golfers tended to belong to the expensive Glenbervie Golf Club compared with the others who belonged to the Falkirk Golf Club. A number of the Church of Scotland elders, by virtue of their occupations or the part they played in civic affairs, might be broadly labelled as the community leaders. A number of senior local government officials were elders, and they played a strong part in such associations as the Rotary. Relatively few of the lay leaders were involved in politics at the Party level. Seven Church of Scotland informants were members of the Conservative and Unionist Party and two were Scottish Nationalists, but otherwise there was no duplication of political interests amongst the lay leaders.

The Church of Scotland lay leaders are distinctive in that they are also activist if not leaders in the community as a whole. How do the lay leaders understand the relationship between the church and the community? Are the church and the community seen as being a part of a whole,

Table 46.

Lay Leaders' Memberships of voluntary associations excluding church organisations, showing the distributions of all organisations memberships for each over-all number of memberships.

No. of Member- ships.	No. of Members in each org. ships.	Profess- ional	Local Chari- table	National Chari- table	Civic	Political	Recreat- ional	Total No. of Organ- isations	Total No. of Member- ships in each group as % of N.
None	57 (34)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	27 (16)	5 (4)	5 (25)	0	1 (2)	1 (6)	15 (11)	27	7.92
2	28 (17)	20 (18)	4 (20)	2 (17)	2 (5)	3 (17)	25 (19)	56	16.42
3	20 (12)	21 (18)	1 (5)	1 (8)	12 (28)	3 (17)	22 (16)	60	17.59
4	19 (11)	23 (20)	2 (10)	2 (17)	12 (28)	6 (33)	31 (23)	76	22.29
5	5 (3)	13 (11)	2 (10)	0	0	0	10 (7)	25	7.33
6	4 (3)	9 (8)	2 (10)	0	4 (9)	1 (6)	8 (6)	24	7.04
7	3 (2)	8 (7)	0	0	3 (7)	1 (6)	9 (7)	21	6.16
8	4 (3)	9 (8)	3 (15)	5 (42)	6 (14)	2 (11)	7 (5)	32	9.38
9 +	2 (1)	6 (5)	1 (5)	2 (17)	3 (7)	1 (6)	7 (5)	20	5.86
Totals	169	114	20	12	43	18	134	341	
as % of N		33	6	4	13	5	40		

The figures in brackets are the cells' figure as a percentage of the totals of the rows.



or are they two distinct universes offering alternative forms of social awareness? The lay leaders were asked about their understandings of church membership in order to clarify how far they might be categorised as communal and how far as associational members.

d) The Qualities of Church Membership

The lay leaders were asked two questions relevant to their understandings of the meaning of church membership. These were: "Give in order of importance no more than five of the qualities which you consider to be most desirable in a member of the Christian Church"; and "Give in order of importance no more than five ways in which you think that church members should differ from non-church members".

It was not anticipated that the responses to these questions would provide mutually exclusive categories of church membership, in which the distinctions between communal and associational would be discernible, all ready made for the use of the sociologist. It was hypothesised however that an analysis of the responses would suggest ways in which the understanding of the nature of church membership might be related to the apparent patterns of associational and communal membership, and would suggest how far the lay leaders' understandings constituted a norm of church membership for their respective churches. It was also hypothesised that the responses to the second question would confirm, complement or enlarge upon the responses to the first, and that they would also suggest the place of the church member in society and provide a commentary upon the relationship between the church and society.

The responses to the two questions will first of all be examined separately.

The responses made by the elders of the Church of Scotland congregations and by the members of the Catholic Parish Council focused for the most part upon broad moral qualities. Sincerity, decency, loyalty, modesty, integrity were amongst the one word responses, whilst other responses elaborated upon these virtues. Those who specifically referred to the "religious" criteria of membership, or distinctively religious qualities were in a minority. A bank manager who was a member of the session in an upper-middle class parish church was fairly exceptional amongst the Church of Scotland elders, in that amongst the qualities of church membership he included "belief in God" and "faith". Relatively unusual amongst the Catholic responses was that from a machinist in a clothing factory who cited "a willingness to work for Christ" as one of the qualities of membership. More often the qualities detailed were moral abstractions with a universal application indicative of a rather austere virtuousness. Religious and theological distinctions did not occur in these responses, which for the most part were little different from the conventional ethical values which underlie most of western society. Those specifically religious values which occurred were broadly based and might be summed up in the response of a retired insurance salesman, an elder in a parish church, who described as a major quality of church membership "one's complete faith in one's own religious beliefs, whatever

they may be". By contrast the responses from the leaders in the Protestant minority churches were characterised by their direct references to Christian criteria of religious identity, particularly those criteria associated with pietism. A Church member must be "born again"; he must be "converted to Christ"; he must have "personally accepted Christ as his saviour"; and in this state of redemption he must be "Christlike in all his actions"; "obedient to God's revealed truths" and committed to "the furtherance of the Gospel". But these qualities were often qualified by others which were more practical and specific, thus a middle-aged iron moulder who was an elder in the Grahamston Evangelistic Mission followed his emphasis upon Biblical belief with the added essential quality that church members should be "pleasant in their approach to others"; whilst a businessman, a member of the Brethren included "straight-forward dealings" and "moral living and talking" after "conversion" and "real conviction of belief". Not all the responses made by the sectarian leaders were specifically religious, occasionally they focused upon moral behaviour and general virtues; but religious responses were in the majority, and they were pietistic and exclusive in character, emphasising a qualifying experience such as conversion, re-birth or believers' baptism.

The content of the responses was analysed and separated into eight broad categories. These were as follows:

1) Attitudes towards others: These had a high place in the responses from all three groups, but particularly they were

emphasised by the Church of Scotland and the Catholic leaders. For the most part these attitudes were characterised by liberal, universalistic qualities; friendliness, tolerance, brotherly love, sensitivity towards the needs of others were all cited as being desirable qualities of church membership. Such responses were summed up by a senior accountant who was an elder in a Church of Scotland congregation; "A generally good attitude towards one's fellowmen".

2) Moral Characteristics: These responses were generally of two kinds; those which itemised a single abstract moral virtue, "honesty", "humility", "integrity" or "modesty" and the response that was cast in a behavioural context and which was occasionally phrased negatively; "the church member will avoid all gambling", for example. 31.45% of the Church of Scotland and 41.17% of the Roman Catholic responses were classified in this category. The Catholics never phrased their responses in the specific behavioural context, but all the Catholic respondents espoused several moral abstractions. The Church of Scotland elders on the other hand, whilst listing abstract virtues, were also inclined on occasions to be condemnatory of the society, by implication as it were, when they imputed to the Church member, "no permissiveness" or when they insisted that a church member would not gamble, would not be intemperate in his drinking habits or covetous in his appreciation of others' possessions.

3) Specifically Religious Characteristics: These responses were those which drew upon specifically religious sentiments, or used language which was unambiguously "religious" in character. The responses of the lay leaders in the sects described above would be coded in this category, as was the response of a work study officer who was an elder in a parish church and who wrote, "the church member will live under and with God's good grace". These responses tended to be those which were related to belief, conversion to belief, belief in Jesus as the Christ, acceptance of the Word of God and so on. The analysis of the content of these responses revealed no doctrinally contrasting emphasis.

4) Devotional and Evangelical Activities: One group of responses stood out as referring to a specific and pietistic understanding of religious behaviour. Criteria of church membership included "regular prayer", "love of the prayer meeting", "daily use of the bible in the home", coupled with quite specific evangelical responsibilities, "winning others for Christ", "proclaiming the Gospel" and "sharing in the work of evangelism". These responses were for the most part made by the Brethren.

5) Financial Giving: The giving of money, the raising of money and the administration, decision making and planning associated with income and expenditure inevitably play a large part in the life of all the churches and particularly in the life of the lay leaders. With this fact in mind it is surprising that more of the informants did not mention the significance of financial generosity as a quality of

church membership. However a small number did refer to "Christian liberality" and it was decided to put these together in a separate category, partly because it was difficult to categorise such responses under any other heading, and partly because this emphasis upon money is quite often used as a criticism of the churches by those outside them, whilst the giving of money to the institution is sometimes cited as a measure of the individual's commitment to the aims and values of the institution.<sup>5</sup>

6) Attitudes towards the Church: In addition to the giving of money to the church other positive attitudes towards the church were cited as being necessary qualities of the church member. These were concerned for the most part with regularity of attendance and more emphasis was given to this by the Protestants than by the Catholics. Those responses which were not concerned with attendance referred to "maximum participation in church activities and organisations"; "advancement of Christ's Church"; and "will show an interest in all aspects of the church's life".

7) Cognitive Attitudes: Some of the lay leaders made their responses in theologically sophisticated language and indicated a degree of philosophical or intellectual commitment desirable in a church member. The actual content of the responses varied as some were concerned with a universal or cosmological dimension whilst others made intellectual statements about the Christ and about belief. The Catholic manager of a multiple store wrote "the member

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5. W.S.F. Pickering, Religion, A leisure time pursuit, in A Sociological Yearbook of Religion, Vol. I (S.C.M. 1968).

of the church should possess a realistic appreciation of the church's role as an integral part of society in the modern world".

8) Tolerance: A number of responses stressed that the church member should be tolerant of other churches and other denominations. There were relatively few of these, but as they may reflect the extent of an ecumenical mood within the churches it seemed worthwhile separating such responses, although in a general scheme they probably belong to the sixth category above - attitudes towards the church.

Each of these categories transcended the ecclesiastical lines of demarcation which separated the three sub-samples. Although they are not a construction arising out of an evaluation of ways in which people are religious, nor a deliberately constructed model of church membership, there are relationships between some of these categories and the categories within the model constructed by Glock and Stark.<sup>6</sup> The relationship between the third and fourth categories described above and Glock's dimensions of religious practice and experience, for example. It should be stressed however that the strengths and weakness which the categories described above possess are rooted in the fact that they are devised primarily from the actual responses of the informants. Within the data obtained in response to the first question there was no characteristically Catholic or characteristically Calvinist image of the Christian or church member, and with the exception of qualities of church membership

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6. Glock, Op.cit.

delineated by the Brethren informants, the data did not cluster in any obvious way about institutional variables.

The responses were first of all ordered in the five positions of importance ascribed to them by the lay leaders and they were correlated with ecclesiastical affiliation. The relationship between the informant's church affiliation and the qualities he cited was significant in three of the categories. These were category three, specifically religious characteristics, category seven, cognitive attitudes, and category eight, tolerance. The various religious qualities of church membership were accorded the first place of importance by 9% of the Catholics, 24% of the Church of Scotland informants, and 36% of the Protestant minority informants, whilst these qualities were placed in the second position of importance by 9% of the Catholics, 6% of the Church of Scotland elders, and 28% of the non Church of Scotland informants. The religious qualities were not mentioned at all by 46% of the Church of Scotland elders who had responded to the question, by 64% of the Catholics and by 13% of the Protestant minority leaders. The figures for the latter clearly reflect the high response of the evangelicals, particularly of the Brethren, who gave religious qualities a high level of importance in church membership. These differences were significant at the .001 level. Very few of the responses were coded for cognitive attitudes, and the figures in the relevant cells are so small as to be almost worthless for any consideration of the ordering of the responses. The Catholics



had the highest response in this category however, with 26% giving cognitive attitudes some priority compared with 21% of the Church of Scotland elders and 4% of the other Protestants. These differences were significant at the .01 level. Similarly with the correlation between tolerance and denominational affiliation where once again the figures in the cells were extremely small. The percentages of Church of Scotland elders submitting the virtues of ecclesiastical tolerance as essential qualities of church membership was slightly under 2% compared with 7% of their Protestant colleagues and 9% of the Catholics. These differences were significant at the .05 level. Generally speaking however the ways in which the qualities were ordered had little or no denominational significance.

The ordering of the separate categories was then correlated with socio-economic class. The only statistically significant relationship between the ordering of qualities and socio-economic class was in the case of devotional and evangelical activities. These were predominantly the concern of those lay leaders who were classified in the Registrar General's third classification of skilled workers, particularly those who were non manual workers. The figures in the cells for classes four and five were too small for analysis. The highest priority was given to devotionalism and evangelism by the non manual lower middle class lay leaders and by a small minority of those classified as intermediate workers. These differences were significant at the .001 level. With this one exception the association between the ordering of church

membership qualities and socio-economic class was of little statistical significance.

As the ordering of the qualities was relatively insignificant it was decided that the analysis should focus upon the number of times the qualities in each category were mentioned in the responses, irrespective of the importance ascribed to them. The categories were given a numerical value equal to the number of responses coded within them and they were then correlated with denominational affiliation and socio-economic class. As a result a very different and rather clearer picture emerged. The Roman Catholic Parish Council and the Church of Scotland sessions appeared to be closely aligned in their responses whilst the non Church of Scotland Protestant leaders were somewhat isolated by their choices. The Church of Scotland and Catholic leaders, for example, both mentioned moral characteristics most frequently, followed relatively closely by responses indicative of attitudes towards others; in contrast with the non Church of Scotland Protestant leaders, who, as we would now expect, stressed religious qualities. The Church of Scotland and non Church of Scotland Protestant leaders were nearest to each other when they cited attitudes towards the church and financial giving as qualities of church membership. In order to examine the similarities and differences more closely an index of dissimilarity was used copying the employment of this method by Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn in their paper Religious Differences in Reported Attitudes and Behaviour. The simple nature and function of this is perhaps best described in their words:

" . . . an index of dissimilarity (abbreviated ID) is used as a summary measure of the differences between each pair of compared religious categories in response to each question. The value of the index is simply the percentage of respondents of either religion who would have to change their response in order for the two response distributions to be identical."<sup>7</sup>

On Table 47 the index of dissimilarity was

Church of Scotland/Roman Catholic ID	=	3.73
Church of Scotland/Protestant Minority	=	5.15
Protestant Minority/Roman Catholic	=	7.85

This suggests that the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic groups are more in alignment than any of the other possible pairings of sub-samples. The significance of this alignment will be considered more fully after a discussion of the relationship between class and qualities of church membership in which once again the ordering of the qualities is ignored and the focus is upon the number of responses in each category.

Moral qualities and attitudes towards other people are primarily the concern of those in the first three of the Registrar General's classifications. The major differences between the socio-economic classes occur with regard to belief and other religious qualities; devotional activities and evangelism; financial giving; cognitive statements; and tolerance of other denominations and churches. Belief, faith or religious characteristics were cited as being necessary qualities of church membership by

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7. Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, Religious Differences in Reported Attitudes and Behaviour, (Sociological Analysis Vol. 27, No. 4, Winter '66).

Table 47

Qualities of Church Membership: The opinions of the Lay Leaders in ten categories as a percentage of the total number of responses.

Denominational Group	N =	Attitudes Towards Others	Moral Charac-teris-tics	Belief, & Religious Qualities	Devotional Activities	Financial Giving	Attitudes Towards the Church	Cognitive Responses	Tolerance	N.R.
Church of Scotland	531	29	31	11	4	6	13	3	1	3
Roman Catholic	51	33	41	6	2	0	8	6	2	2
Protestant Minority	131	22	20	31	8	4	12	1	2	1

df = 18;  $\chi^2 = 59.87$ ; P = .005; C = .278.

Table 48

Qualities of Church Membership: The opinions of the Lay Leaders in eight categories, correlated with socio-economic class, in percent.

Socio-Economic Class	N =	Attitudes Towards Others	Moral Charac-teris-tics	Belief, & Religious Qualities	Devotional Activities	Financial Giving	Attitudes Towards the Church	Cognitive Responses	Tolerance
Professional	108	25	43	3	3	13	2	9	0
Intermediate Skilled,	250	32	36	11	2	4	9	3	2
Non-manual Skilled,	134	22	22	19	10	7	19	1	1
Skilled, Manual	109	29	36	22	3	1	8	3	0
Partly-Skilled	25	20	16	32	16	4	12	0	0
Unskilled	5	20	0	40	0	20	0	0	0

df = 35;  $\chi^2 = 99.43$ ; P = .001; C = .36.

2.5% of the Registrar General's professional class compared with 11.2% in the intermediate class and increasing percentages through to unskilled workers, 40% of whom gave responses in this category. Similarly the first two classes and the skilled manual workers had relatively little interest in qualities related to devotional and evangelical practice, and whilst more than 50% of those who did cite these characteristics were skilled non manual workers, they represented only 10% of the total number of elders who actually belonged to that classification. Conversely the lay leaders in the professional class emphasised financial giving more than any other of the lay leaders and 9.37% of their responses were expressions of cognitive attitudes. The differences between the classes were significant at a level of .001, and the differences between the religious groups were similarly significant at the same level.

These data suggest that there are distinct and significant differences between the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic leaders on the one hand and the leaders in the Protestant minority churches on the other; similarly there are distinct and significant differences between the classes. The meanings of these findings will be returned to towards the end of the chapter when it will be shown that whereas the differences between the denominational groupings are consistent the differences between the classes are inconsistent and variable.

These conclusions are based upon data which were originally ordered in a complicated manner in terms of their

identification with a particular category of qualities and a particular order of priorities; they were simplified numerically by eliminating the order of priorities as a factor in the analysis, and the result was that the differences and similarities became clearer. In order to illustrate the resulting alignment between the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic churches even more clearly the process of simplification was taken a stage further. The data were polarised, divided into those indicative of specifically "religious" qualities, that is to say those in which Christianity, its teaching, the church, belief, devotional activity, evangelism, prayer and faith were made explicit; and into those data in which the religious content was implicit or non-existent; that is to say those which did not specifically refer to religious forms, which focused upon abstractions, dictates of behaviour or attitude. The data in these two broad categories were then examined against the denominational affiliation and socio-economic class of the lay leaders. The alignment of church and class in terms of the responses which were divided between the two categories can be seen in the table below.

Table 49.

"Non-religious" qualities cited more often than "religious"				
Church of Scotland	66.29%	Class I	Professional	80.09%
Roman Catholic	76.46%	II	Intermediate	73.20%
		III	Skilled Non Manual	51.70%
		IV	Skilled Manual	62.43%
"Religious" qualities cited more often than "non-religious"				
Brethren, Congregational)		Class IV	Partly-Skilled	60.00%
Episcopal and Non-	) 51.9%	V	Unskilled	80.00%
denominational.		)		

The relationship between the three religious groups when the distribution of qualities is polarised can again be measured in terms of the index of dissimilarity.

Church of Scotland/Roman Catholic ID = 10.17

Church of Scotland/Protestant Minority ID = 18.26

Roman Catholic/Protestant Minority ID = 28.43

The significance of the alignment between the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic informants will be returned to as the differences postulated between church members and non church members are considered.

e) Qualitative Differences between Church Members and non Church Members

The second question asked of the informants was, "Give in order of importance no more than five ways in which you think that church members should differ from non-church members".

This question caused considerable unease amongst the Church of Scotland informants. This unease may have been the result of the phrasing of the question. A number of the Church of Scotland elders were troubled by the words "Should differ". The unease experienced over the phrasing is itself indicative of a tension which some of the elders articulated in their responses to the question, a tension arising out of their uncertainty about the relationship between church and society. A thirty-three year old quantity surveyor said, "personally I do not think church members and non church members do differ in as many as five ways. There are probably people who do not attend church who are better Christians than I am. If a man does his duty to his family and to his employer he is acting as a Christian,

and therefore I don't think we can say he is any different from someone who may be a church member but a layabout - except that he is a better man". The general manager of a large trade federation wrote tersely against the question; "Can you describe a non church member?" whilst a retired hairdresser commented quite simply. "Should there be a difference? We are all God's children." Implicit within these responses is the universalism which led to the citing of broad moral characteristics as qualities of church membership. On the one hand this universalism is expressed ethically. Ethical values are superior to religious belonging and are more important in the evaluation of another human being, consequently criteria of church membership take second place to these universal qualities. "I know many non church members who are better than church members"; "This question smacks of holier than thou"; "You are suggesting in this question that church members are superior to non church members", were typical of some of the responses provoked by this question. On the other hand this universalism is expressed in the feeling that there are no significant qualitative differences between church members and non church members, as expressed in the phrase, "We are all God's children".

The remaining responses to this question fell into six categories comparable with the eight categories suggested by the responses to the first question. These were divided as follows:

1. Moral Differences; These were differences of broad moral values directly comparable with the moral qualities cited in



response to the first question. The Roman Catholics particularly cited moral differences between church members and non church members and they frequently did so by referring to their selection of qualities of church membership with the comment: "The Church member will show the above more clearly than the non church member".

2. Behavioural Differences; with no specific religious content: The church member will behave differently in society from the non church member, usually as the upholder of conventional morality. A 64 year old Church of Scotland draughtsman wrote: "The Church member will not be given to boasting or swearing or evil speaking . . . he will take no part in gambling, coupons, premium bonds etc." "In his life he will express responsibility for others" wrote a Roman Catholic local government officer. The values implicit within the behaviour may be the same as those of the non-church member, but the church member will pursue them with greater rigour, he will express more emphatically in his behaviour the mores to which the whole society subscribes. Consequently there is considerable emphasis by Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland informants upon behavioural example. In his daily life the church member will express more clearly than the non church member the abstract qualities of honesty, charity, integrity. "Greater than . . .", "better than . . .", "more than . . .", were regular prefaces to the responses coded in this category. A senior member of the Episcopal Vestry said that the church member would have "a greater sense of responsibility", "better ability to help others", and that he would be "better informed

about his civic duties"; whilst a Congregational layman said that the church member would differ from the non church member "by deed and action". These differences, in which no specific religious content is identified, are not so much qualitative differences as reflections of higher degrees of commitment to or involvement in the behavioural expressions of universal values.

3. Behavioural differences with a specific religious content:

These differences include devotional practice, evangelism and also those activities indicative of a specifically Christian world view. A Church of Scotland headmaster wrote: "The church member will differ from the non church member in the daily practice of a Christian believer", whilst a bank manager wrote that "The church member will live in accordance with Christ's teaching." The responses in these categories were made for the most part by the Protestants in both groups, and were the only responses in which the traditional Protestant ethic was really made explicit.

4. Attitudinal differences with no religious content: These

responses ostensibly claimed that the church member would be in possession of values which differ from the values of the non church member. In fact these attitudes were really more intense versions of secular attitudes, accompanied once again by the prefaces "greater than . . .", "more than . . .", and "better than . . .".

5. Attitudinal Differences with a religious content: In this category the differences between church members and non

church members are unambiguous in that the attitude of the church member by virtue of belief or faith may be the antithesis of the attitude of the non church member. Such attitudes would be characterised by "love for God's Word and God's house", "the recognition of Jesus as Saviour and Lord". The largest percentage of responses in this category is taken up by the non Church of Scotland Protestants, although Roman Catholic and Church of Scotland informants have a relatively high rate of response within this category.

6. Religious differences of a cognitive nature: These differences are similar to the cognitive attitudes categorised as qualities of church membership. The highest percentage coded in this category belonged to the non Church of Scotland Protestant group. Typical of these was the response of an Episcopalian, a retired mechanical engineer, who wrote that the church member would differ from the non church member in that he would have "an understanding of the spiritual reality underlying the affairs of the world".

The order of importance in which the differences were listed was correlated with membership of the three religious groups. The application of the chi square test revealed that the ordering of the differences had greater statistical significance than the ordering of the qualities had possessed. The only categories which were not ordered significantly by the three religious groups were the Behavioural differences with no specific religious content. With the exception of these two categories the ordering of importance will be considered for each separately.

The moral differences between church members and non church members were accorded the most importance by the Catholics, 79% of whose responses described differences of a moral nature, compared with 30% of the non Church of Scotland Protestant responses and 33% of the Church of Scotland responses. Within this overall difference of response the Catholics had the highest percentage of informants who placed moral differences in first and second places. More than 25% of the Catholics placed moral differences either first or second in order of importance compared with 16% of the Church of Scotland informants and 10% of the Protestant minority leaders. The differences were significant at the .001 level.

Behavioural differences with a specific religious content were mentioned most by the non Church of Scotland Protestants and least by the Roman Catholics. 19% of the leaders in the Protestant minority churches ascribed greatest importance to such differences compared with 14% of the Church of Scotland elders and 7.6% of the Catholics. The largest differences occurred however towards the lower part of the scale where the percentages of non Church of Scotland Protestants giving such differences fourth and fifth priority (19% and 14%) respectively was much greater than the Church of Scotland (10% and 7.6%) and the Catholics (0% and 15%). The differences between the religious groups were significant at .05.

Attitudinal differences with a specific religious content were again given most importance by the leaders of

the Protestant minority churches, and again the really significant differences occurred lower down the scale with high percentages of these informants awarding such differences fourth and fifth priority. These differences were significant at the .001 level. Finally, the religious differences of a cognitive type were also ascribed greater degrees of importance by the leaders of the Protestant minorities than they were by either the Church of Scotland elders or the Roman Catholic Parish Council members. Few Catholic and Church of Scotland responses were coded in this category and the differences between the religious groups were significant at the .001 level. For 15% of the Protestant minority informants the church member would conceptualise the world differently from the non church member, he would have a different world view.

What do these correlations tell us? The data illustrate that not only do the non Church of Scotland Protestant informants ascribe the greatest priority to those responses with a "religious" content by giving them first and second orders of importance, but that also they mention such differences between church members and non church members more often. More of their responses to the question are given over to specifically religious answers. The Church of Scotland Elders might place one or another of the "religious" differences in first or second place, but they will then go on to make responses of a moral or behavioural kind whereas the other Protestants who place such differences in first or second place are then likely to go on to place

Table 50.

Differences between church members and non church members: The opinions of the Lay Leaders as a percentage of the total response in each category.

Denominational Group	N	Moral Differences	Behavioural religious content	Behavioural religious content	Attitudinal without religious content	Attitudinal with religious content	Cognitive	Non-Church members are 'better' than church members	No differences between church members and non church members
Church of Scotland	372	15	25	24	8	15	7	1	7
Roman Catholic	111	28	31	12	8	15	6	0	0
Protestant Minority	52	8	14	26	7	26	15	3	0

df. = 14;  $\chi^2 = 49.64$ ; P = .001; G = .284.

Table 51.

Differences between church members and non church members: The opinions of the Lay Leaders as a percentage of the total response made by socio-economic class.

Socio-Economic Class	N	Moral Differences	Behavioural religious content	Behavioural religious content	Attitudinal without religious content	Attitudinal with religious content	Attitudinal religious content	Cognitive
Professional	74	16	24	21	16	19	19	7
Intermediate	179	17	30	15	11	20	20	7
Skilled non-manual	105	8	15	26	4	30	30	17
Skilled manual	80	19	17	19	10	27	27	9
Partly skilled	25	8	28	16	0	44	44	4
Unskilled	6	0	50	17	0	33	33	0

df. = 25;  $\chi^2 = 49.94$ ; P = .005; G = .31.

such differences in third, fourth and fifth positions of importance too.

The ordering of the differences was then correlated with socio-economic class. There were no statistically significant differences between the five socio-economic classes in the way in which they ordered their responses. Membership of a religious group was emphatically more significant than class in the priority accorded to the differences postulated between church members and non church members.

The differences were then correlated with the religious groups on the basis of the number of responses within each category, regardless of the order of priority and regardless of the number of informants. As with the qualities of church membership this procedure served to clarify the nature of the differences between the three religious groups. A total of 535 responses was made and once again the overall alignment was between the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic informants who stood over against the leaders of the Protestant minority churches. The only category within which there was any similarity between the Catholic and non Church of Scotland Protestant responses was the category of attitudinal differences with no religious content, when the percentage of responses was 7% and 8% respectively. The only category in which there was a clear degree of similarity between the Church of Scotland and non Church of Scotland Protestants was in the category of behavioural differences with a religious content, 24% and 26% respectively. Once again the Index of Dissimilarity was used.

Church of Scotland/Roman Catholic ID	= 4.5
Church of Scotland/Protestant Minorities ID	= 5.4
Roman Catholic/Protestant Minorities ID	= 9.5

The first factor to emerge is the clear evidence that the non Church of Scotland lay leaders, usually but not exclusively the sectarians, consistently offered a self-consciously religious response. In this they were different from both the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic informants. The Church of Scotland informants were consistently aligned with the Roman Catholics but many Church of Scotland responses were clearly similar to those of the evangelicals amongst the other Protestants. A 53 year old Coal Board engineer an elder in the most intellectual of the five Church of Scotland congregations, described the differences between church members and non church members as being the church members' "inward happiness that they have found Christ, and their humbleness in their inability to 'sell' him to others"; and a thirty-five year old social worker wrote "the church member will have a personal commitment to Jesus Christ". The largest number of responses from the Church of Scotland and Catholic leaders was coded in the category of behavioural differences with no specific religious content, after which the two groups deviated, the Church of Scotland informants joining with their Protestant colleagues in their emphasis upon behavioural differences with a religious content, whilst the Roman Catholics emphasised moral differences. The distinction between the Church of Scotland elders and the members of the Catholic Parish Council seems



to be that whilst the former regard the major differences as being behavioural, the latter regard them as being moral and behavioural without religious content. The high level of similarity between these two groups in other categories minimises the differences between them. The differences between church members and non church members cited by the Church of Scotland informants and the Roman Catholics are differences of intensity rather than differences which reflect antithetical cultures. When differences are placed in the moral or non religious behavioural categories it is not that the church member necessarily subscribes to a different moral code or behaves in a different manner; it is that the church member is expected to be exemplary in his acceptance of a moral code which is regarded as being universal within the culture, whilst his behaviour is the successful pursuit of behavioural standards culturally accepted and subscribed to by the whole community. The behavioural differences with a religious content favoured by Church of Scotland informants also tend to be differences of achievement rather than differences of values. The significance of religious motivation is that it enables the church member to achieve that which it is assumed is culturally desirable for all. A forty-eight year old senior teacher wrote, "The church members have regular opportunity for self criticism against a standard of excellence, so they should live more exemplary lives". A slightly ambiguous response, but one in which the differences between the church member and the non church member are primarily functional. It is this which probably caused so much embarrassment amongst the Church of Scotland

informants as they contemplated this question. They did not want to say that church members were better than, more exemplary than, superior to, and yet this seemed to be the only possible range of differences which could exist between church members and non church members. The non Church of Scotland Protestants, particularly the sectarians, were more inclined to see a cultural difference between the church member and the non church member. The differences they cited were indicative of a difference between those who belonged to a religious culture and those who did not.

Communal and associational understandings of church membership, reflecting alternative world-views and to some extent being expressed in alternative social worlds, can be seen in the pattern of responses to these two questions. The Church of Scotland communal member may be identified as one whom it is assumed will occupy the same social world as the non church member, the distinction between church and society will be small, and will be measurable in terms of performance rather than in terms of alternative values. The Catholic communal member may be similarly identified. The associational attitude is evident amongst some of the lay leaders in the Church of Scotland whose responses suggested that the Church, through its beliefs, offered an alternative social world to those who became church members. The associational understanding of religious belonging is most apparent in the responses of the leaders of the Protestant minorities, but even amongst these there are indicators of communal understanding. Some of the factors indicative of the communal and associational dichotomy will

be discussed in the conclusion of the chapter.

When the total number of responses to the second question was correlated with social class, disregarding the order of importance, the most distinctive and statistically significant feature was the way in which skilled non manual workers emphasised differences with specifically religious characteristics, whether behavioural or attitudinal, compared with informants in partly skilled occupations who emphasised attitudinal differences of a religious nature.

As with the qualities of church membership the differences between church members and non church members were polarised, distinguishing between those responses with an explicit religious content and those in which religion was implicit. The ensuing alignment between religious groups and socio-economic class can be examined in the table below. When this table is compared with the previous table which sought to present the qualities of church membership in similar form, it can be seen that a higher percentage of informants expressed religious differences between church members and non church members compared with those who emphasised religious qualities as being essential to church membership. It can also be observed that the socio-economic classes re-align themselves in their responses to the second question whilst the religious groups do not.

The indices of dissimilarity compare with those relevant to the first table. Once more the similarity between the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic informants

Table 52.

Differences between church members and non church members:  
The alignment of religious groups and socio-economic classes.

"Non religious" differences mentioned more often than "religious"

Church of Scotland	55.27%	Class I Professional	55.9%
Roman Catholic	66.14%	II Intermediate	58.0%
		V Unskilled	50.0%

"Religious" differences mentioned more often than "non religious"

Brethren, Congregational, )	} 67.51%	Class III Skilled Non	
Episcopal and Non-		Manual	73.3%
Denominational )		III Skilled	
		Manual	53.7%
		IV Partly	
		Skilled	64.0%
		V Unskilled	50.0%

is underlined whilst the distance between them and the non Church of Scotland Protestants has increased.

Church of Scotland/Roman Catholic ID	= 10.87
Church of Scotland/Protestant Minority ID	= 22.78
Roman Catholic/Protestant Minority ID	= 32.40

Before turning, in conclusion, to consider the nature and import of the communal and associational distinctions which occur in the responses to the two questions, we shall briefly consider the attitudes of the lay leaders towards the priorities of church life.

f) Priorities in Church Life

The attitudinal data obtained from the lay leaders which have been discussed in the preceding pages were derived from their responses to open ended questions. These responses were subjected to content analysis, and content analysis presupposes lack of bias upon the part of the analyst. Despite careful checks and cross references it is impossible to

eradicate such bias completely. In order to provide a measure of control the informants were confronted with sixteen items relating to church life and they were asked, "Which of the following factors do you consider to be the most important in making the work of the churches more effective? Select the five most important and write the figures 1 to 5 against them in order of importance". These items ranged from those concerned with mass evangelism and worship to finance and political involvement. In addition to providing some kind of check against previous answers it was felt that this question was important in itself as a means of identifying the orientation of the informants. The items were scored on the basis of the order of importance ascribed to them, five marks were given to the item when it was given first order of importance, four when it was given second, and so on. As the number of responses was unequal the scores for each item were multiplied by the percentage of each religious group which awarded particular scores to particular items. By comparing the results of the scoring it was possible to make a comparative examination of the priorities as these were recorded by the three religious groups. In table 53, these items are listed in the order of importance ascribed to them by the leaders in each of the three religious groups, the number in brackets represents the score awarded to each item by the informants.

The response of the informants was bound to reflect the particular needs which prevailed within their own church or congregation at the time when the questionnaire was completed, but interesting similarities and dissimilarities occur between

the religious groups and some of these may be interpreted as reflections of communal and associational tendencies.

With the exception of the Catholic group of responses all the items were mentioned at least once. The Catholics omitted to give any importance to Mass Evangelism, the restructuring of Church organisations, improved Sunday Services, and the formation of team ministries, all of them items which are given some significance in Protestant discussions or priorities for mission. Two of the listed items are included in the first five positions by lay leaders in all three religious groups, these are the Christian education of children and adult Christian education. Considering the differences which occur between the three religious groups throughout the scale the lay leaders are remarkably unanimous in their according of priority to the Christian education of children. This is a relatively unambiguous criterion of communal belonging, a formal aspect of primary religious socialisation. Similarly adult Christian education may be regarded as being a formal aspect of secondary religious socialisation. The Protestants particularly tended to stress the institutional aspects of the churches lives, predominantly in terms of strengthening what already existed rather than in terms of effecting changes. Only the Catholics gave high priority to the community outside the church. The Church of Scotland elders whilst they were reluctant to distinguish between church members and non church members clearly made a distinction between church and society when they were considering the effectiveness of the church.

Table 53.

The factors considered to be most important in making the work of the churches more effective; listed in order of importance for each of the three groups.

Church of Scotland	Roman Catholic	Protestant Minorities
1. Christian Education of children (256)	Christian Education of children (336)	Christian Education of children (268)
2. Greater emphasis upon church fellowship (233)	Church sponsored community projects (263)	Visitation campaigns (168)
3. Church based activities for young people (190)	Christian unity (173)	Greater emphasis upon church fellowship (154)
4. Christian Unity (107)	Improved pastoral care (145)	Adult Christian Education (146)
5. Adult Christian Education (98)	Adult Christian Education (100)	Church based activities for young people (114)
6. Improved Pastoral Care (97)	Church based activities for young people (91)	Improved Pastoral Care (93)
7. Church sponsored community projects (90)	Greater emphasis upon church fellowship (64)	Mass evangelism (89)
8. Increased giving (81)	Political Involvement (55)	Christian Unity (86)
9. Restructuring of Church (70)	Outside work amongst young people (45) Increased giving (45)	Increased giving (81)
	Visitation Campaigns (45)	
10. Improved Sunday Services (60)	-	Church sponsored community projects (61)
11. Team Ministries (59)	-	Outside work amongst young people (50)
12. Outside work amongst young people (53)	Greater emphasis upon mid-week organisations (18)	Team Ministries (29)
13. Visitation Campaigns (51)	-	Improved Sunday Services (21)
14. Greater emphasis upon mid-week organisations (19)	-	Greater emphasis upon mid-week organisations (18)
15. Political Involvement (16)	-	Restructuring the Church (14)
16. Mass Evangelism (14)	-	Political Involvement (7)

It is noteworthy that with the exception of Christian Unity the priorities posited by the lay leaders tended not to emphasise those factors which are talking points with many ministers and assemblies and which constitute the substance of debates on mission in the higher courts of the churches. Such factors as the restructuring of church organisations, experimental worship, the formation of team ministries, community work amongst adolescents and involvement in the political arenas were given a low rating, whilst greater emphasis upon the fellowship of the church, improved pastoral care and the increase of church based activities for adolescents were all given a relatively high rating. In the Protestant ratings particularly there was a general leaning towards institutional conservatism, and the only item given a high rating by the Protestants which might require explicit change was the Church of Scotland high rating of Christian unity.

#### g) Conclusion

Two questions will be considered in this conclusion. How are the alignments between the informants to be interpreted, and what are the implications of such an interpretation for the consideration of communal and associational belonging?

The Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church are the two dominant religious bodies in Scotland and they embody in Scottish society the institutionalised forms of the two major historical alternatives which have been available to the Scottish people, Calvinism and Catholicism. Each of these churches embodies a rich and diverse social,



religious and cultural tradition. Each, in its own way, has succeeded in creating a unity out of diversity. The Church of Scotland achieved its unity out of a diversity of Calvinist bodies, many of them with firmly entrenched theological and political opinions. This Presbyterian unity was achieved and to some extent is maintained at the cost of constitutional and procedural tidiness. Within the Church of Scotland church members may more firmly identify themselves with the United Free Church tradition, or with some other secessionist tradition than they do with the broadly based united national Church. The Roman Catholic Church, in common with the branches of that Church in many western and non Latin countries embraces a variety of sub-cultures and ethnic minorities. In Scotland the Irish, Italian and Polish Catholics of differing generations are variously merged with the more or less indigenous Catholicism which originates in the Highlands and Islands. In embracing such variety these two major churches have established for themselves a communal form of religious identity which is closely related to Scottish national identity. For each of the churches the Church is something much larger than the local congregation or the local parish, and for the lay leaders at least, the concept of church membership has a universal rather than a particular connotation. This is expressed differently in the institutional forms of the two churches, but they are aligned in their universalism and their inclusive attitude towards their communities. The qualities they value are universal qualities, more embracing in character than the narrowly defined qualities of very small minorities. In the

responses of the lay leaders these qualities were expressed in the universal values of the society rather than in the distinctive values of the church. They were articulated in the form of abstractions rather than in the form of criteria or qualifications. Two broad meanings of church membership were evident. In the first membership of the church was taken to be membership of a sub-culture which was engaged in seeking to become the antithesis of a wider, national culture. Membership involves subscription to distinctive norms, the pursuit of distinctive life styles, and particularly the possession of distinctive beliefs. There is a cultural difference between the church member and the non church member, and by implication between church and society, which is measurable in terms of religious variables. Those who ascribed this meaning to church membership were predominantly, although not exclusively, the lay leaders of the Protestant minority churches. Within such an understanding of church membership the associational type of church member predominates because the church member is expected to voluntarily turn his back upon society and identify himself with a particular group which will embody all his aspirations. The group's dependence upon society however results in varying degrees of social fragmentation.

In the second meaning the church member is seen to be the member of an elitist group which embodies in exemplary form the highest ideals and values of the society. There is no cultural difference between church and society and between the church member and the non church member. This

position is adopted predominantly but not exclusively by the lay leaders of the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Scotland. To some extent this can be observed in the community participation of the Church of Scotland elders. Their high level of involvement in voluntary associations is indicative of the very small distinction which they appear instinctively to make between church and society. These distinctions between communal and associational forms of religious belonging, whilst they are provocative and suggestive of a true distinction in modes of church membership, are by no means wholly clear. A more rigorous examination of the understanding of the church possessed by those who have become church members communally and those who have become members associationally may help to clarify this distinction further.

CHAPTER 6

## CONCEPTS OF THE CHURCH AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

a) Introduction

Throughout this thesis an attempt is being made to maintain a balance between behaviour and attitude. The concepts of communal and associational membership are a compound of value orientation and behaviour in which the mode of joining the church is related to a particular world view with concomitant patterns of behaviour and attitudes. In this chapter the attitudes of church members towards the churches and towards Christianity will be explored in correlation with denominational affiliation, social class and communal and associational belonging. The themes to be explored will include the relationship between meanings of Christianity and church participation, images of the church implicit in those things about the church which are most valued by those who belong to them, and the attitudes of the church members towards institutional change. Inevitably an exploration of such themes is complicated by the inter-related social worlds which are represented in the churches and the thought forms and vocabularies which characterise such worlds. The religious professional, particularly the minister, the theologian or the church administrator lives within the church at a particular level of perception, and at that level of perception he establishes those areas in the church which appear to be problematic, those which should be accorded priority in theological thinking and administrative planning, and those in which alternative under-

standings and interpretations are possible. This is an ecumenical world in which the language of theology, even at a relatively unsophisticated level, enables the inhabitants to articulate their understandings of the church, their understandings of the world and the nature of the differences which exist between the alternative understandings which are available. It is a world which is informed by a form of "specialist" knowledge which constitutes the substance of "dialogue between the churches". It is very often this social world which represents the church in the media of mass communications, and it is often the differences and similarities which exist between the members of this world which are publicly articulated. From within this social world alternative theses of what the churches "ought" to be are expounded, often in relation to projects and experiments, whilst the local congregations and their members constitute what the churches are. The specialist social world of the religious professional is interested in the churches in terms of the possible differences between what is and what ought to be, and the questions it would ask of the churches are inevitably framed in a particular cognitive perspective, the conceptualising of church membership, attitudes towards Christian unity, towards the function of the church in society and towards the structural forms of the churches. The knowledge of religion and of the church possessed by the church member is largely different from that of the professional. It has been acquired differently and it has a different substance, to the church member the questions of the professional

concerning Christian unity or the function of the church are formal questions which have little significance for the meaning which he has of church membership. Berger and Luckmann make the distinction between theoretical knowledge and everyday knowledge when they write "The theoretical formulations of reality, whether they be scientific or philosophical or even mythological, do not exhaust what is "real" for the members of a society. Since this is so, the sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people "know" as "reality" in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, common-sense "knowledge" rather than "ideas" must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this "knowledge" that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist."<sup>1</sup> The church members' experiences of the church and their knowledge of the church, along with the meanings which church membership has for them, may constitute a very different reality from that which some religious professionals may categorise as the "essential" nature of the church. In exploring the social significance of church membership it is the meanings of church membership for the church member which provides the central focus of this report. The attitudes of church members towards worship, Christian unity and the structure of the church are important to theologians and administrators as indicators of the relationship between what is and what ought to be. They are important to sociologists as indicators of the

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1. Berger and Luckmann, Op.cit., P.27.

meanings of church membership for the church member himself.

b) Church Member or Christian?

Does being a member of the Christian Church amount to the same thing as being a Christian? The short answer is that it depends what you mean by a Christian, whilst a longer answer would require an investigation based upon the resources of historical and theological study. It is not the intention here to engage in such a theological investigation, nor is it the intention to try to establish whether or not the members of Falkirk churches are in fact Christian. It is the intention to explore how far the meanings of religious belonging experienced by Falkirk church members are related to their understandings of what a Christian is. That differing understandings of being a Christian were held by church members was only too apparent from the beginning of the investigation. When a group of adolescents at a Church bible class at Erskine Church were asked if they were Christians they responded with some reticence. To describe oneself as a Christian was regarded as being presumptuous, "Christian" was an epithet which would only be applied by other people. Becoming a church member was indicative of a willingness to explore the significance of Christianity, but whether or not their church membership would coincide with being Christian was not for them to say. The Brethren were quite clear that there was a distinction between being a member of the church and being a Christian, not with regard to their own assemblies, but most emphatically with regard to the Church

of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church. It was conceded that some of the members of these bodies might be Christian.

The church members were broadly agreed that in order to be a good Christian it was necessary to think about God and religion. This cognitive factor was more important than belonging to the church or attending worship, and it was more important for the members of the Protestant minority churches than it was for the other church members. It was the Protestant minority members who tended to accord importance to the institution for the Christian, although it was not nearly as important as belief or faith. Not surprisingly the non church members were the most emphatic in their disregard for the institution as an important factor in the awareness of the Christian. The responses of the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic informants compares with the lay leaders of these two groups described in the previous chapter, in their apparent judgements that the differences between church members and non church members are small and that the institution is relatively unimportant in assessing whether a man may be a Christian or not. In this they closely resemble some of the non church members. It is interesting to observe here that a number of the non church members expressed an understanding of being a Christian which closely resembled that of the members of the Protestant minorities although they rejected Christianity as being a form of commitment which they would themselves wish to adopt. The non church members tended to waver less than the church members - few of their responses were in the probably true, probably not



Table 54.

Responses to the statement "You can be a good Christian without thinking about God and religion", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Certainly True	Probably True	Probably Not True	Certainly Not True
Church of Scotland	144	17	10	3	69
Roman Catholic	29	32	7	11	50
Protestant Minority	28	0	4	0	96
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	31	6	6	55

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 18.38$ ;

P = .01; G = .29.

1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

Table 55.

Responses to the statement "You can be a good Christian without being a church member", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Certainly True	Probably True	Probably Not True	Certainly Not True
Church of Scotland	144	47	25	8	19
Roman Catholic	29	46	21	4	29
Protestant Minority	28	36	21	4	39
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	60	3	9	26

df. = 6;  $\chi^2 = 6.66$ ;

P = N.S.

1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

Table 56.

Responses to the statement "You can be a good Christian without going to church", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Certainly True	Probably True	Probably Not True	Certainly Not True
Church of Scotland	144	39	25	10	26
Roman Catholic	29	50	18	14	18
Protestant Minority	28	11	25	11	54
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	54	6	9	29

df. = 6;  $\chi^2 = 15.22$ ;

P = .02; G = .26.

1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

true categories, and in response to the statement that "you can be a good Christian without going to church", they were second only to the members of the Protestant minorities in saying that the statement was certainly not true.

When the informants had classified the statements as true or not true they were asked to say why they had responded in this particular way. Their answers are illuminating. In response to the first statement those who replied Certainly True and Probably True generally said that behaviour was as important if not more important than thought. It was not necessary to think that one was a Christian in order to be one, if a person behaved well, in a way which was observably Christian than reflections upon God and religion were irrelevant. A member of the Old Parish Church, a schoolteacher in the thirty age group summed up this attitude when he said "Christianity is being something special not thinking something special". The wife of an elder of St. Andrew's Church said "I don't have all that high an opinion of churchmen, some people are never out of church and must always be thinking about God and religion, but are they good Christians?", and another member of St. Andrew's Church who expressed some difficulty over accepting traditional Christian beliefs said "Christianity is doing good for other people, you don't need to think about God and religion for this". A Catholic woman said "People's actions towards others are more important than their thoughts about religion". The majority of the informants however, particularly those who belonged to the Protestant minority churches, believed that reflection upon

the nature of God and religion was bound up with Christian behaviour and distinctive Christian life styles. An Episcopalian said "A Christian must be Christlike and you cannot be that without reflecting upon Christ". A Church of Scotland personnel officer said "The word Christian implies a knowledge of its meaning, you must think about what a Christian is in order to be one". A number of the informants emphasised that behaviour was not a criterion of being a Christian, it is possible to be a humanitarian or to behave well within the codes of conventional morality but this is something different from being a Christian. This was particularly stressed by the members of the Protestant minority churches, a Congregationalist said "This statement is certainly not true, some people live good lives without thinking about God, but they are not Christians".

It is not necessary to be a church member in order to think about God and religion however, and it was the opinion of the majority of the informants that it was either certainly or probably true that you could be a good Christian without being a church member. The reasons for such a judgement combined the argument that "you don't need to belong to an institution in order to behave morally" with the argument that "you don't need to be a church member in order to know about God and Jesus Christ". A widow who belonged to St. Andrew's Church referred to her own experience of the church, "This is a difficult question, I was the same person before and after I became a church member, I was a Christian when I was not a church member".

A member of the Grahamston parish church stated the negative when he said that "Church members and ministers are not always good Christians", whilst a woman school-teacher who was a member of the Old Parish Church expressed a common attitude "In a way being associated with the Church puts people off Christianity, there are so many snobs in the church. I know ministers who are snobs in everyday life". A young married woman who belonged to the Grahamston Church commented that "being a member and attending church are personal choices and as a Christian you don't have to do either of them". The Catholics were particularly critical of the church as a whole, one Catholic man who was very active in civic and community affairs commented "your outlook and attitude can be Christian without your belonging to a church. Some churches would put you off", whilst another observed that "some of the biggest crooks . . . are pillars of the church". For some Church of Scotland informants the Church "is only a tradition" or "only a building", whilst for others ". . . signing on the dotted line is not absolutely essential to being a Christian". For the Brethren a religious experience was more important than belonging to an institution, "if you are right in your soul", "if you have a biblical faith", "if you have a close relationship with the Lord" church membership is unimportant if not irrelevant. Church membership was least important for the Church of Scotland informants. Those who believed that it was certainly not true that you could be a good Christian without being a member of the church expressed the

more orthodox position, emphasising the community of the church, the church as "a training ground for the Christian life" and the dependence upon other Christians. Only one informant, an elderly Catholic spoke of the liturgical significance of the church, "A Christian must follow Christ, and Christ gave us the sacraments in the Church and told us to observe them". Some of those informants who felt that it was probably not true that you could be a Christian without being a church member adopted this position not because they accorded any essential place to the church in Christianity but because they felt that it was probably difficult "to go it alone as a Christian". A doctor who was an Episcopalian said "Its perfectly possible to be a Christian without being a member of a Church, but the support of other people makes life easier". Some of the Church of Scotland members adopted a very pragmatic approach to church membership which appeared to be closely related to communal membership. A women who was a member of the St. John's Church in Camelon expressed a view which was expressed by several of the Church of Scotland informants when she said, "You can be a good Christian in your actions, but you need a minister's services at birth and death, so why should you take advantage of the church and not join?"

The informants regarded church attendance as a more important indicator of Christianity than church membership, although it was only the members of the Protestant minority churches who produced a majority response to the opinion that it was certainly not true that a person could be a

good Christian without attending worship. The inevitable contrast between the true and not true responses was that of private and public worship. Sometimes this was stated quite simply as by a Catholic informant, "You have to visit God in his home". Others were more sophisticated in their responses, for instance another Catholic who said "You should keep Sunday holy and you are breaking one of the commandments if you don't. Yet a lot of Christian people do not go to church". A member of the Miller Hall said "A good Christian wants and needs the fellowship of the church", and a member of St. Andrew's "One needs to hear the minister who is God's servant preaching to us through Christ". By way of contrast another member of St. Andrew's Church said "You can lead a Christian life by reading the bible by yourself, praying and showing it in your daily life"; a Catholic woman said "as long as you have faith in God, and a conscience, you cannot go far wrong", and a man who was a member of the Old Parish Church, "Religion is a personal thing, and you do not have to express it publicly".

In general the informants were emphatic in their opinion that the cognitive factor of thinking about God and religion was more important than the institutional factor of being a church member and attending worship. In Tables 54 and 56 where significant differences between the three sub-samples are recorded it is the members of the Protestant minority churches who stand out as being more emphatic in stressing the distinctive characteristics of the Christian whether cognitive or institutional. The non church members are

remarkably similar to the other informants in the responses to these questions, particularly when Certainly True and Probably True are aggregated. In order to examine how far these responses might be indicative of the alternative forms of religious belonging they were correlated with the categories of associational and communal, firstly distinguishing between associational and communal members in the two Protestant sub-samples, and then the aggregated associational and communal members disregarding denominational allegiance. Because the figures in the cells were small when the additional distinctions between church members were made, the categories of Certainly and Probably were combined. There were no significant differences between associational and communal members in the importance they ascribed to the cognitive factor. The percentages were almost identical and the Chi squares were extremely low. Differences of a statistically significant nature did however occur in relation to the two institutional factors and these are recorded in tabular form.

The differences between communal and associational members are largely insignificant in relation to the statement "You can be a good Christian without being a church member", there are however considerable differences in their responses to the second statement as can be seen in Tables 58, 58a and 58b. From these Tables it appears that whilst being a church member is more important to those who belong communally, attendance is more important to those who belong associationally, the differences between the two forms of church membership being particularly acute in the

Table 57.

The responses of communal and associational members to the statement "You can be a good Christian without being a church member", in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	Certainly/ Probably True	Certainly/ Probably Not True
Church of Scotland			
Communal	76	67	33
Associational	30	70	30

$$df = 1; \chi^2 = 8.08; P = .005; C = .266.$$

Protestant Minority

Communal	16	31	69
Associational	11	63	37

$$df = 1; \chi^2 = 2.7; P = N.S.$$

Table 57a.

The responses of communal and associational members to the statement "You can be a good Christian without being a church member", in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	Certainly/ Probably True	Certainly/ Probably Not True
Communal	114	58	42
Associational	41	68	32

$$df = 1; \chi^2 = 1.5; P = N.S.$$

Table 58.

The responses of communal and associational members to the statement "You can be a good Christian without attending church", in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	Certainly/ Probably True	Certainly/ Probably Not True
Church of Scotland			
Communal	76	59	41
Associational	30	48	52

$$df = 1; \chi^2 = 1; P = N.S.$$



Table 58a.

The responses of communal and associational members to the statement "You can be a good Christian without attending church", in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	Certainly/ Probably True	Certainly/ Probably Not True
<b>Protestant Minority</b>			
Communal	16	57	43
Associational	11	8	92

$$df = 1; \quad \chi^2 = 5.3; \quad P = .025; \quad C = .4.$$

Table 58b.

The responses of communal and associational members to the statement "You can be a good Christian without attending church", in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	Certainly/ Probably True	Certainly/ Probably Not True
Communal	90	60	40
Associational	39	36	64

$$df = 1; \quad \chi^2 = 6.5; \quad P = .025; \quad C = .21.$$

consideration of church attendance. Whilst Table 58b above is primarily a reflection of 58a it is also supported by the differences in Table 58 although these are not statistically significant.

What is the relationship between being a Christian and being a church member as this is understood by the church members interviewed in Falkirk? For the majority it is a tenuous relationship, the Christian is not necessarily a church member, and for a number the church member is not necessarily a Christian. With the exception of the Protestant minority church members the majority of informants clearly made no "religious" distinction between the church member and the non church member, in their eyes each was just as

likely to be a Christian, and this was an opinion which was shared by church members and non church members alike. Those who had been born into church going families and had become members through a process of communal socialisation appeared to attach rather more importance to church membership than did those who had joined the church. A majority of the associational members however found it difficult to conceive of anyone being a Christian and not attending worship, and this may possibly support the greater regularity of attendance which appeared to distinguish the associational members, and it also supports the voluntaryist characteristics of the associational sub-sample. The communal members on the other hand are the least likely to want to make a distinction between the church member and the non church member.

c) The Characteristics of Christianity

What then is distinctive about Christianity as opposed to church membership? For a large minority of the informants the distinctiveness of Christianity was to be found in its doctrine and teaching. The centrality of Jesus as the head of the church, resurrection, faith, love and belief were expressed either as the sole content of the response or as various combinations. The responses are doctrinally orthodox whether they come from members of the Church of Scotland, the Protestant minority churches or the Catholics. In bald type the verbatim responses read like passages from sermons. "Jesus is the Son of God. In Christianity you forget self and live for others, this makes it different from

other religious beliefs." "If people believe in Christ they live the life of Christ, that is the essence of Christianity". "Christianity gives me fulfilment, it helps me to grow - Jesus was the son of God who died for others sins and gave us life". There are remarkable similarities between Catholic and Protestant responses, for instance a Catholic said "Christianity is something you feel, something you experience. An experience of the Lord. I've had this at Mass and on retreats", and a Protestant, "As a Christian one experiences a constant feeling of uplift from a knowledge of Jesus". Such responses were made for the most part however by the members of the Protestant minorities and the Catholics, very few of whom were undecided about the nature of Christianity or critical of some of the traditional characteristics of Christianity. The members of the Church of Scotland however suggested a very broad range of distinctive characteristics, giving high priority to moral teaching and service to the community. It would seem that the universalism which occurred in some of the responses of the lay leaders is also present here. Christianity expresses what is best in society and in doing so it sets the tone for the whole of society. Its greatest distinction lies either in the moral code which it stamps upon the society or in the caring which it exercises for those who are members of the society. On the basis of the lay leaders' attitudes it might have been hypothesised that within the Church of Scotland such a stance would have been more typically communal than associational, but there are no significant differences between the different types of church member.

Table 59.

Informants' answers to the question, "What is distinctive about Christianity?"

Denominational Group	N =	Doct- rine	Exper- ience	Moral- ity	Commun- ity	Service	Nothing
Church of Scotland							
Communal	83	24	16	16	4	18	22
Associational	27	37	15	18	3	15	11
Protestant Minority							
Communal	2	100					
Associational	13	38	62				
Roman Catholic	27	46	30	11	3	0	7

Church of Scotland, Communal/Associational:  $df = 5$ ;  
 $\chi^2 = 5.18$ ;  $P = N.S.$

Protestant Minority Communal/Associational:  $df = 1$ ;  
 $\chi^2 = 2.81$ ;  $P = N.S.$

Church of Scotland/Protestant Minority/Roman Catholic:  
 $df = 10$ ;  $\chi^2 = 30.08$ ;  $P = .001$ ;  $C = .40$ .

The above categories were established on the basis of major component content analysis. The discrepancies in N are explained by a high percentage of "Don't Knows" and "No Responses" to this question, particularly amongst Protestant informants.

A relatively high percentage of the Church of Scotland people said that they felt there was nothing particularly distinctive about Christianity. This position was informed by two perspectives. In the one the informants were reluctant to make a distinction between a Christian and anyone else, whilst in the other the informants had experienced considerable disenchantment with Christianity and sometimes

regarded themselves as being peripheral within the church. The position represented in the first perspective has become familiar to us through the responses of the lay leaders and through some of the responses to the truth or otherwise of the three statements about what a good Christian is. An Elder said "it is difficult to say that anything is distinctive about Christianity, after all not many of us live up to our Christian beliefs do we?" whilst a member of St. Andrew's church said, "It really depends what you mean by Christianity, but I would say that there is nothing distinctive about it, there are no differences between those who are Christians and those who are not". The position represented in the second perspective was adopted to a large extent by the church members under the age of forty. Many of those who were experiencing disenchantment were categorised as associational members. Amongst these was the woman who said "I'm fed up with the teaching of the church. A lot of it is pompous and boring. I don't know what I think about Christianity and Jesus". Some of the younger Catholics, although not associational members, expressed some feeling of disenchantment. A Catholic manual worker in his thirties said "There is absolutely nothing distinctive about the faith or about Jesus, I wonder why I still bother about the church", and a thirty year old Catholic schoolteacher said "I can't say that there is anything particularly distinctive about Christianity although I've been indoctrinated from an early age to believe that there is".

The church plays little part in these responses. None of the informants said that the church was the most distinctive thing about Christianity, although a small number spoke of the sense of community which characterised the Christian experience, whilst others mentioned the church as an after-thought when speaking about the person of Christ. The emphasis however was upon the cognitive and experiential perspectives of Christianity whilst the significance of the institution was implicit rather than explicit. In the consciousness of the informants the relationship between Christianity and the church as they knew and belonged to it, appeared to be a very tenuous one. Not all the informants would regard themselves as being Christian in any orthodox sense. An indication of this emerged from some of the responses to the question on the distinctiveness of Christianity. Amongst the homiletic orthodoxy of those responses which were categorised as doctrinal were scattered unorthodox responses such as that of a Church of Scotland personnel officer, "I have a very scientific view of religion. There is a great universal dynamo from which the earth draws power. I don't accept many of the church's teachings, Adam and Eve and all that", and another Church of Scotland response, "I'm not sure about Jesus Christ - in a time of stress you feel that there is something else at the end, but what?" A woman member of the Church of Scotland said "The unique thing about Christianity is Jesus, Jesus was good - a person as good as him may be called Christ or whatever you like. It wouldn't make any difference"; and a Church of Scotland schoolteacher, "it seems to me that there are great

similarities between the Sikh and Christian religions".

One of the rare responses which stressed the importance of the church was combined with some doubt about the validity of Christian doctrine, "Jesus Christ was a good man, I'm not sure about the resurrection, I'm beginning to have my doubts - it is the community of the church which is the most distinctive thing."

If the relationship between being a church member and being a Christian was an uncertain one for the church members in Falkirk what image of the church did they have and what were their attitudes towards current issues and changes in the churches?

d) Images of the Church

The church members were asked what they liked most and what they liked least about their churches. The Catholics valued the worship and the doctrine of their church most, the Church of Scotland members were most attracted to their churches by the communal life of the congregation and the personality of the minister, and the members of the Protestant minority churches most liked the character of the congregation, although a higher percentage of this sub-sample felt that the most attractive feature of their church was its government and organisation compared with the other two sub-samples. Two of the informants said that there was nothing at all that they liked about their churches, one of these was a member of the Church of Scotland and the other a Catholic. The responses from which these categories were established reveal subtle distinctions between the sub-samples which are not revealed in the categories and this is particularly the case in the

Table 60.

The characteristics of the churches most liked by the informants, in percent.

Denominational Group	N	Doctrine	Worship	Organis- ation	Congre- gation	Minister	Building	Tradition	Other
Church of Scotland	144	0	14	4	35	29	3	8	8
Roman Catholic	29	26	35	4	13	0	4	9	9
Protestant Minority	28	4	11	11	58	0	4	3	8

df = 14;  $\chi^2 = 66.5$ ; P = .001; G = .50.

Table 61.

The characteristics of the churches least liked by the informants, in percent.

Denominational Group	N	Worship	Organis- ation	Congre- gation	Minister	Building	Outlook	Nothing	Other
Church of Scotland	144	9	4	26	2	3	14	39	3
Roman Catholic	29	21	10	7	3	3	0	55	0
Protestant Minority	28	14	4	7	4	7	7	46	11

df = 14;  $\chi^2 = 75.5$ ; P = .005; G = .61.



distinctions which occur between the Protestants in their liking of the congregation. For the members of the Protestant minorities it is the like-mindedness of the congregation and the closeness of relationships within it which are important. By one man the congregation was characterised as "home". One of the Brethren said, "the congregation is the centre of my life", a member of the Miller Hall said "it is my birth place", a woman member of the Brethren commented "Life goes on at such a pace that people haven't time for each other. At Bethany Hall we do have time for each other, I feel part of a family there". A Congregationalist contrasted her church with the Church of Scotland, "Its more of a family than the Church of Scotland". The Church of Scotland informants who liked their congregations appeared to value most the general uncommitted friendliness which prevailed, "It is a friendly congregation, more so than some kirks in Falkirk", "I don't know the people very well, but they are a friendly lot". Sometimes the congregation was appreciated because of some collective characteristic, "It's working class congregation, it doesn't go in for a fashion parade, you could attend church in a boiler suit if you wanted to, and people speak to you".

The minister obviously provided a strong incentive for the Church of Scotland members' involvement in the church. The thing most valued was the standard of the preaching. A member of Grahamston Church said of his minister, "He is a very good speaker who gets through to you and holds your attention", an elder of St. Andrew's Church "The minister's preaching is second to none"; a member of the Old Parish

Church described that church's minister's "modern approach to preaching, he relates his sermons to modern times"; and one of the older women members at the Erskine Church, "we have a tradition of good preachers at Erskine, and the present minister is certainly no exception".

If the Protestants tend to be congregation or minister centred the greatest appeal of the Catholic Church lies in the Mass and the distinctive Catholic teaching. A young woman civil servant described how she most appreciated "The new English Mass with its relevance to modern times", whilst an older woman said "The Catholic religion is the most complete form of religion, it is universally satisfying, through its doctrine and the Mass it satisfied both mind and spirit". A Catholic student said that "I most like the new version of the Mass, we can take part more, make a meaningful response". The Scottish wife of a Polish Catholic was one of the Catholic informants who stressed the community atmosphere of the congregation, "St. Francis' Church is home from home for me, I felt strange in the new building at first, and I've noticed that I do not seem to know quite so many people in the congregation these days". Of the two informants who felt that there was nothing in their churches that they really liked the member of the Church of Scotland congregation was the most vehement. His response contrasted sharply with almost all the others, "There is nothing I like about the church, they'll have a struggle to keep me, the atmosphere is too cold - a different minister might have kept me". As will be seen in a later chapter this response is an extreme one even when compared with those

made by people who do not belong to the church. This does not mean that the church members were not critical of the church, some of them had strong criticisms to make although they were not sufficiently strong to persuade them to become dissociated from the church.

The most satisfied of the informants were the Catholics, 55% of whom said that there was nothing that they did not like about their church. The least satisfied were the members of the Church of Scotland, 39% of whom said that there was nothing that they did not like about the church. The major Catholic dislikes were worship and church organisation; the major Church of Scotland dislikes were the congregation and the general outlook of the church; whilst the major Protestant minority dislikes were associated with worship. The Catholics who were unhappy about the ordering of Catholic worship were fewer in number than those who most liked aspects of worship, but they constituted the largest percentage of dislikes amongst the Catholics. The restructuring of worship, adjustments in times, the use of the vernacular, the greater emphasis at some services upon preaching and hymn singing, particularly the alteration of the evening Rosary, were all points of dissatisfaction amongst Catholic informants. Amongst the Protestant minorities the dissatisfaction was caused by conservatism rather than change, particularly in the assemblies of the Brethren. The reluctance of elders to sanction the use of guitars and modern hymns, the succession of ill educated preachers who occupy some of the evangelical pulpits, were criticisms of the young, whilst older members of the assemblies were critical

about "these string bands in which so many of our young people play". The greatest number of dislikes expressed by the Church of Scotland informants focused upon the congregation providing a contrast with those in that Church who found the congregation most appealing and revealing some of the tensions which exist between communal and associational forms of belonging. "Its not a friendly church, there is lots of pettiness, cliques, and strangers are not welcome." said one Church of Scotland member. A younger member of the Old Parish Church commented "Its a very cold atmosphere, I want to belong to a community but I feel that people don't want to know me". A teacher who belonged to a church outside Falkirk but who had been worshipping in the Grahamston Church for eight months said "No one has really spoken to me even though I've worshipped in the church more or less regularly since August. The minister shakes my hand but doesn't know me; the usual duty elder stands at the door and opens it for me; the people who sit next to me don't speak. It's not so much the minister as the people." The wife of an elder at St. Andrew's Church said that "I intensely dislike the failure of the elders to welcome new worshippers to the Church"; a member of the Erskine Church said "Oh I just feel that the ministers don't know about us, about my family and me. I'd like to do more and I'd like the minister to know the personal reasons why I can't, but over the years we have just been moved over to the edge of the congregation". An elder of St. Andrew's Church who is heavily involved in the overall life of the burgh reflected that "There is no feeling in the congregation, we are all

strangers. This seems to be a characteristic of the Church of Scotland".

Because the Church of Scotland is so congregation and minister centred it is inevitable that congregations and ministers should receive greatest approbation and greatest criticism. The ministers are in fact much less criticised than are the congregations, and when individuals are sensitive to tensions and unfriendliness within the congregation they will continue to attend the church because of the minister. It is a too hasty judgement to conclude that some congregations are "bad" whilst others are "good", and to presume from this that congregational life may be improved by adding or deducting various social ingredients. It is the tension between communal and associational belonging which is the root of these contradictory judgements about congregations.

The differing images of the church which emerge from these responses suggest the nature of the traditional emphases within the differing traditions. The likes and dislikes of the Catholics tend to cluster about doctrine and worship, whilst those of the Protestants cluster for the most part about the congregation and, in the case of the Church of Scotland, the minister. The contrasting doctrines of the Church are quite clearly revealed in these responses even though the attitudes of the informants may be as critical as they are affirming. To add depth to this general picture of informants' attitudes towards the church quite specific questions were asked relating to familiar stances adopted by the churches of different

traditions and relating to recent changes within the religious institutions. This was more difficult to do with the members of the Protestant minority churches than it was with the Church of Scotland and Catholic informants, because of the variety of different traditions represented by the minorities. The Church of Scotland informants were asked if they thought that every Christian in Scotland ought to belong to a congregation of the national church, if they approved of the ordination of women ministers and women elders and if they thought that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland should concern itself with political issues, quoting as an example the 1969 General Assembly's support for devolution of government resulting in greater home rule for Scotland.

Table 62.

Attitudes towards the Church: The positive responses of Church of Scotland informants to the questions 1) should every Christian in Scotland belong to a congregation of the Church of Scotland; 2) do you approve of women elders; 3) do you approve of women ministers; 4) do you approve of the General Assembly's involvement in political issues: in percent.

Every Christian should belong to a congregation of the Church of Scotland	Approval of Women Elders	Approval of Women Ministers	Approval of General Assembly's Political Involvement
15	79	71	43

The majority of the Church of Scotland informants felt that the establishment of the Church was a formality which had a certain historical and traditional significance and value but the Christian in Scotland should identify with

Table 63.

Attitudes towards the Church: The positive responses of Roman Catholic informants to the questions 1) Is the Catholic Church the only true Church established by God himself? 2) Do you approve of the celebration of the Mass in English? 3) Do you approve of the ordination of married men to the priesthood? 4) Do you approve of the general movement towards democratic government within the Church? 5) Do you believe that changes within the Catholic Church are making it more like other Churches? 6) Should Catholic children go to Catholic schools?

N	The Catholic Church is the only true church	Approve of Mass in English	Approve of Married Priests	Approve of Democratic Church Government	Changes in R.C. Church make it more like other Churches	Catholic children should attend Catholic Schools
28	76	83	41	87	72	48

whichever religious group most accorded with his inclinations. "It would be a pity if we were all the same", "religion is free, people shouldn't have to be members of the Church of Scotland just because they happen to live in Scotland" were typical responses. Those who felt that every Scottish Christian ought to belong to the national Church did not express this opinion very strongly, "It would be nice if everyone did", "It would avoid a lot of complications" were the usual type of explanations. One Church of Scotland informant was really emphatic, "Our Church is the National Church, it is the historic kirk of the Scottish people, its membership ought to include all the Christians in the land". A rather larger percentage of the informants approved of the Church's involvement in politics in its General Assembly, but the majority disapproved. It was a majority opinion that the church "should not meddle in politics", that the General Assembly "was convened to discuss the business of the Church not the business of the nation". 43% however felt that any issue which affected the Scottish people was a proper subject for the debate of the Church, "We have no other way of expressing our opinions", "Anything that concerns Scotland concerns the Kirk", and "The Assembly ought to speak out on matters of public opinion, abortion, divorce and unemployment as well as the Common Market and Scottish Nationalism". Despite the majority opinion amongst the Falkirk church members a substantial minority saw the General Assembly as an expression of the national ethos, although this ethos should not necessarily be expressed by membership of the Church at the grass roots level.



The two major constitutional and structural changes which have taken place in the Church of Scotland during recent years have been the approval of the admission of women to the kirk sessions as elders and the ordination of women ministers. Both of these changes were approved by a majority of the informants. Those who disapproved tended to be either elders or women. A number of women were very unsure about the propriety of women ministers feeling that this was a job best left to men, "Ministers have to do some very difficult tasks for which men are better fitted than women". A number simply preferred that their minister should be a man and found it difficult to imagine either a woman in the pulpit or a woman doing pastoral visitation.

The Catholic informants were asked if they believed that the Catholic Church was the only true Church established by God himself, if they approved of the vernacular Mass, married priests and the greater democracy in Catholic government since Vatican II. The Catholics were also asked to describe the differences between the Catholic Church and the Church of Scotland, and to say whether or not they thought that Catholic children should be sent to Catholic schools.

The majority of the informants were in no doubt that the Catholic Church was the one true church, and they were aware of the differences between their church and the Church of Scotland. "Our Church had doctrines and laws laid down, that is the biggest difference"; "Our Church is universal, it exists through all the world, this is a healthy thing"; "There are theological differences, such as the immaculate conception and the sixth and ninth

commandments"; some informants made comparisons, "The Church of Scotland ministers preach long winded sermons, in our Church you can take part in worship"; "Church of Scotland folk seem to stop going to worship at fourteen, I cannot understand it. Some Catholics lapse but most continue to attend"; "The Church of Scotland Sunday is more holy than ours I think"; "Our priests emphasise wrongs, we mustn't do wrong. The Church of Scotland doesn't pray to the dead". Unusual amongst the Catholics was the master baker who said "I find this difficult, we have the same bible and believe in the same God - but we interpret these things differently. There is no discipline in other churches and that is not a good thing".

Despite the Catholic orthodoxy which was expressed in the belief that the Catholic Church is the only true Church, and the relatively sophisticated knowledge of the differences between the Church of Scotland and the Catholic Church the informants were generally approving of changes, and even in such sensitive and controversial areas as the ordination of married men and the education of Catholic children substantial minorities were in favour of a change of the status quo. The question of Catholic schools is a particularly delicate question in Scotland, but 38% of the informants felt that Catholic children should not attend Church schools, whilst 14% were undecided. Those who favoured sending their children to Catholic schools stressed the significance of religious instruction and the prevalence of Catholic tradition in the school. The informants who

wanted the system changed were almost unanimous in their feeling that prejudicial barriers were being erected by the existence of Catholic and State schools "they can learn about religion anywhere but if they all go to the one school it would help to break down religious barriers" whilst "Coeducation is the only way to make sure that Catholic children grow up exactly the same as other children". Some of the informants felt that the present educational system was an excuse for the Catholic parish Church not to develop educational facilities within its structures. A thirty-three year old Catholic mother illustrated the prevailing tensions very well. "I think that children should go to whichever school is near. There should be a Sunday School at Church for religious education. We had one when we were young - it was a great thing. Why should we have to separate the children? My children attend a Catholic school because I want to protect them, I don't want them to be exposed to criticism or jeers because they are the only Catholic children in a State school. A child of a Protestant friend who has been treated like one of my own children asked me why my children went to St. Mungo's school. When I explained that it was a Catholic school he said "Och are ye Papes? I dinna like Papes". He was eleven. I was embarrassed and hurt - but this was a very unusual incident". Some felt however that the Catholic school was potentially a better institution educationally. A Catholic woman who had recently returned to Scotland after living in Australia for some years said "In Australia where the teachers are all nuns and

brothers there was a full time dedication to the children which the State Schools could never give". Those who were undecided were very largely in favour of an integrated system but were ignorant of the State schools' attitudes towards religion, "I wouldn't object to integration if they gave the children the Mass and Catholic religious instruction" said one informant, whilst another explained that the difficult thing is "that I don't know what happens about religion in Protestant schools. There are points for integration but I do know that the children will get religious instruction in the Catholic school". Those who approved most of the integration of the educational system were the Catholics in the more mobile socio-economic classifications, 60% of the intermediate workers and 67% of the non-manual skilled workers favoured integration compared with 38% of the skilled manual workers and 50% of the partly-skilled workers or members of their families. Those who were uncertain were all in the skilled manual classification.

The general feeling was that whilst the changes within the Catholic Church were not very great they were nonetheless serving to bring the churches together and on the whole this was a good thing. A Catholic student said "I think that the Protestants now realise that we are capable of change", and a Catholic town councillor said "Other Christians can now understand our services, in fact many of our own people are understanding them for the first time". A Polish Catholic said "The changes are not great big changes you know - there are no fundamental changes", whilst the women who had lived in Australia and who had witnessed changes which

were perhaps more radical than those which were evident in Falkirk, said "I think that the differences are still greater than the similarities". Those who felt that the Catholic Church was becoming more like other churches tended to belong to the lower classifications, 88% of partly-skilled workers and 77% of skilled manual workers took this stance, compared with 40% of those in the intermediate classification.

The informants were asked whether or not they approved of the ecumenical movement. The most approving response was that of the Roman Catholics, 96.5% of whom were in favour of Christian unity, whilst the least approving responses were those made by the members of the Protestant minority churches.

Table 64.

Informants' attitudes towards Christian Unity, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know
Church of Scotland	144	76	17	8
Roman Catholic	29	97	3	0
Protestant Minority	28	59	34	7
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	74	14	11

df = 4;  $X^2 = 13.15$ ;

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = .02; C = .24.

In all the sub-samples it was the skilled manual workers who were least enthusiastic about Christian unity and raised the greatest objections. The members of the Protestant minorities had some reservations about unity with the Roman Catholic Church. A twenty year old member of a Brethren

Assembly whose father was a Polish Catholic and whose mother was a Congregationalist said "I disapprove of Christian unity because the Roman Catholics are behind the whole movement. Those who support it are innocent groups and individuals. One day there will be a physical revival of the papacy". A well educated Brethren woman said "I could never link up with the Catholics although I admire them very much", she went on to describe some of her reservations about unity with the Church of Scotland. "There are certain things I wouldn't be happy about. 'membership' means so little to those who belong to the Church of Scotland, mostly they do not attend, but when they do they don't show their belief in their lives. Recently during the bus strike I gave dad a lift to work and we picked up one of his work-mates. As we were driving along he made me smile by saying 'the bloody minister was round last night, wanting me to be a bloody elder. He's asked me half a dozen times now'. Can the minister be aware of his attitude?" There was a general feeling however that Christians properly belong together, sharing the same faith and the same bible. A Congregationalist said "I voted for the unity of the Congregationalists and the Church of Scotland. They all seem to add up to the same thing. If we were united we should just go to church - the nearest one". The Catholics made no distinctions between the different Protestant traditions when they were thinking about unity and they were almost completely in favour of greater church unity although they were sceptical about it ever coming about. A Catholic woman said, "Since I've been young there's been changes, good changes, this Catholic

Protestant thing is nonsense, there is only one God." A Catholic labourer, who like many of the Falkirk informants had an almost passionate interest in football, said "Most of those I go about with are of other religions, and as far as I can see if there was nae fitba' there'd be nae arguments."

Some of the non church members aligned themselves with the Protestants, some with the Catholics, whilst others were bemused by the total situation. "I don't think that Catholics and Protestants should unite" said one woman, "A Catholic's Sunday is finished after Mass, but a Sunday should last all day". Whilst a man who has never attended church or been a church member said "We threw out Popery years ago, why should we have it back?". A young housewife was critical of the attitudes of the established Churches in both Scotland and England, "The Church of Scotland and the Church of England are both prejudiced against the Roman Catholic Church". For a great many of the non church members "church divisions are a lot of tomfoolery" and "they should not have separated in the first place", so "Why can't they all be one if they are Christians, why should one look down on another?".

To a very large extent the question of Christian unity was interpreted by all the informants as unity between Protestant and Catholic rather than as unity between particular churches. The Protestants who discussed unity amongst themselves were a minority. This may help to explain why it was that those with the widest experience of worship in other churches were the members of the Protestant minority churches, 57% of whom said that they occasionally worshipped in other churches, and of these 36% worshipped

in Church of Scotland parish churches, 14% worshipped in the Episcopal Church whilst the remainder worshipped in evangelical churches other than their own. The majority of Church of Scotland informants who worshipped in churches other than their own did so in other Church of Scotland parish churches, although 20% of them worshipped in churches belonging to another denomination. The greatest inter-change

Table 65.

The percentage of informants who worshipped in other churches.

Church of Scotland	48%
Roman Catholic	17%
Protestant Minorities	57%
df = 2;	$\chi^2 = 12.59;$
P = .001;	G = .24.

was between members of the differing evangelical churches, the most active of whom frequently worshipped at one another's churches. The members of the Protestant minority churches were also the church members who were most likely to have considered joining a church of another denomination, primarily because the church to which they belonged was not sufficiently evangelical.

Table 66.

The percentage of informants who had considered belonging to a church of another denomination.

Church of Scotland	21
Roman Catholic	3
Protestant Minority	46

df = 2;  $\chi^2 = 15.59;$  P = .001; G = .27.



The Church of Scotland informants who had considered belonging to a church of another denomination were largely motivated by a general feeling of dissatisfaction with the exclusiveness of congregations and the conservative outlook which some of them found within the parish church. A number of these were evangelicals who were of the opinion that the Church of Scotland lacked evangelical zeal.

e) Images of the Church in Society

It has already been observed that a substantial minority of Church of Scotland members were in favour of some political involvement by the General Assembly. Should the churches be involved in local as well as national politics? The informants were asked what political issues they felt ought to occupy the churches, and they were asked to describe any political involvement by the churches with which they were familiar.

Table 67.

Percentage of Informants approving of the churches' involvement in national and local politics.

Denominational Group	N =	National Politics	Local Politics
Church of Scotland	144	28	29
Roman Catholic	29	3	3
Protestant Minority	28	11	11
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	17	17

$$df = 2; \quad \chi^2 = 10.77;$$

$$P = .005; \quad G = .22.$$

The Church of Scotland responses to this question contrast sharply with the responses to the question on the political involvement of the General Assembly, and, as will be seen

in a later chapter, they also contrast with the actual political involvement of members of the Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland informants felt primarily that the Church should focus upon Scottish issues at the national level, but almost all were agreed that the Church should avoid involvement in party politics. "The Church of Scotland must speak for Scotland and the people of Scotland", "The Church should concern itself with Scottish politics but not with Westminster", said two Church of Scotland elders, whilst others felt that the Church should take a positive stand on moral questions which were debated in the political arenas such as race relations, divorce, and abortion. The informants were less clear about local involvement, although some said they felt that the churches should take a stand on housing problems, education, welfare facilities and local industrial relations. The majority felt that the churches should stay away from politics. A Roman Catholic said "The Church is universal and it is non-political, it has to be", whilst an elderly evangelical said "Ian Paisley is a great and old friend of mine, he's a lovely laddie, and I'm very sad that he has gone into politics - his movement has become a political one not a spiritual one". Other informants felt that the churches as institutions should not be politically involved but that church members by virtue of their beliefs ought to concern themselves with local issues including political ones. Very few of the informants were able to recall national or local political issues which had involved the churches. Some mentioned the question of home rule and others arms sales to Nigeria during the civil war. A Catholic

mentioned the Abortion Law as an issue which had provoked Catholic opinion, he said "We asked the M.P. to vote against it and he voted for it. We were not happy about that. David Steel doesn't know what he is letting us in for. I am sure that doctors performed abortions before, but it was discreet and sensible, now the way is open for abuse". The only local involvement mentioned by the informants was identified with two of the Church of Scotland ministers, one occupied a seat on the council as a Scottish Nationalist councillor, and the other had spoken in presbytery and from his pulpit against the South African Rugby Team's tour of Britain.

The majority of those who were interviewed were either against or indifferent to the churches' involvement in politics at any level. The comparatively higher percentage of Church of Scotland informants favouring political involvement was related to the position of the Church of Scotland as the national Church and the special political responsibilities of a national Church.

The churches are sometimes associated by those outside them with a somewhat strait-laced and restrictive attitude towards society. In 1969 Falkirk experienced a brief period of notoriety in the Scottish popular press when considerable publicity was given to the allegedly lax sexual morality of some Falkirk school-children and to an increasing number of drug offences being considered by local courts. These events led to a certain amount of heart searching by the local council and by the burgh's church

leaders. The clerk to the presbytery called a public meeting to discuss public morality in Falkirk, and a Scottish television programme devoted time to interviewing the clerk and filming the burgh. Amongst questions which were subsequently discussed were the quality of public entertainment and the under-aged consumption of alcohol, particularly in the hotel bars that were open on Sundays. These discussions led to the burgh council undertaking valuable initiatives in making provision for young people in Falkirk. Should the Church take action in an increasingly permissive social climate? Whilst the questions directly concerning Falkirk were considered to be too delicate for specific inclusion in the interview schedule the informants were asked if the churches should campaign for the closure of hotel bars on Sundays and for the stricter censorship of public entertainment.

Table 68.

Informants replies to the question, "should the churches campaign for the closure of hotel bars on Sunday?", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Yes	No	Don't Know
Church of Scotland	144	37	54	9
Roman Catholic	29	7	90	3
Protestant Minority	28	59	41	0
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	28	67	3

df = 4;  $\chi^2 = 21.21$ ; 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.  
 P = .001; C = .31.

Table 69.

Informants replies to the question "should the churches campaign for the stricter censorship of public entertainment?", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Yes	No	Don't Know
Church of Scotland	144	41	56	3
Roman Catholic	29	55	45	0
Protestant Minority	28	64	36	0
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	28	68	3

df = 4;  $\chi^2 = 6.97$ ; 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.  
P = NS.

The strongest support for the churches to exercise pressure for the closure of hotel bars on Sunday was given by the skilled non manual workers, 56% of whom were in favour compared with 28% in the professional classifications and 29% in the skilled manual and partly-skilled classifications. Similarly it was the skilled non manual workers who were in favour of the churches seeking to campaign for stricter censorship of entertainment, 56% compared with 28% of the Professional workers and 43% and 47% respectively of the skilled non manual and partly-skilled informants.

The answers to the first question reflect the temperance bias of many of the members of the Protestant minorities who would be happy to see public bars closed altogether. The Church of Scotland informants who were in favour of Sunday closure were expressing a sabbatarian attitude rather than an anti-alcohol attitude. "There are six other days in the week" for drinking" summed up the various responses. The Catholics on the other hand said that people ought to be free to drink as and when they wanted, and very many of the Catholics

and non church members were in favour of widespread Sunday licensing. The church members as a whole were disquieted by the quality of entertainment not only at local cinemas and clubs but also on television. They were not all happy however that the churches should take initiative in this situation. The non church members were no less disquieted but felt to a large extent that "the churches should mind their own business". With the exception of the members of the Protestant minorities, and particularly of the evangelical church members amongst them, there was no great feeling that the churches should engage actively in restricting personal freedom by limiting facilities or seeking to impose censorship, although there was a feeling that the churches might have a part to play in influencing the choices people made concerning their use of leisure time. It is unlikely that Mary Whitehouse and the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association would receive very much support from Falkirk church members. Did the informants think that the churches were narrow minded and repressive in their influence upon society? By and large the church members thought not whilst the non church members thought they were, although neither of these groups was unanimous.

Table 70.

Informants' replies to the question, "Are the churches narrow minded and repressive?", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Yes	Sometimes	No	Don't Know
Church of Scotland	144	24	25	50	1
Roman Catholic	29	24	10	66	0
Protestant Minority	28	15	15	70	0
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	33	28	31	6

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 6.80$ ; P = NS. 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

f) Conclusion

It is the church as congregation which is most important for the Protestant informants. Membership of the church is not necessarily synonymous with being a Christian although the consciousness of being Christian is undoubtedly strengthened by being a church member and particularly by attendance at worship. Doctrine as such has little significance for the members of the Church of Scotland, and although a minority derived intellectual and presumably theological stimulation from attendance at worship and listening to sermons, the factor which motivated most of their likes and dislikes of the church was the congregation. It is the life of the congregation as a social organism which is important, and this is relatively remote from the concept of the church as a national organisation. The denominational affiliation of church members was of little concern to the members of the Church of Scotland, although it was recognised by a substantial minority that the General Assembly might engage in political issues when these involved critical moral judgement or the self-identity of the Scottish people. As was seen in an earlier chapter the majority of members of the Church of Scotland had been born into Church of Scotland families and had been brought up within the communal climate of Church of Scotland congregations and it is here that the significance of being a member of the church appears to lie. More than 75% of the Church of Scotland people favoured Christian unity but they did so in terms which were rather different from those expressed in the official ecumenical movement which is largely actively supported by theologians,

ministers and highly motivated laymen. There was little talk of God's purposes for the church, of the will of God, or of a universal harmony expressed in the unity of all people. Religious divisions were considered to be irrelevant to the social reality of the churches at the grass roots level and there was little resistance to those changes which did not directly or immediately affect the life of the local congregation. The congregations were seen as being communities which were distinguishable from society as a whole in a social sense rather than a religious sense, and although the congregations undoubtedly embody considerable social interaction between church members the majority found it difficult to conceive of any form of collective social or political action. Indeed for most church members such action was quite undesirable. Paradoxically, although the congregation was accorded greatest importance, religion was taken to be a private and personal thing which the church member possessed independently of his membership of the congregation.

The members of the Protestant minority churches also emphasised the importance of the congregation, if anything more emphatically than the Church of Scotland members, but for them it was the church as "fellowship" that was important, and the word "fellowship" was used many times over. The church was a gathering of the like-minded who shared the same religious objectives and goals. It was possible to be a Christian without being a church member, but clearly undesirable. There was a religious difference not only between the congregation and society but also between congregations of different persuasions. There was less enthusiasm for



Christian unity, particularly with the Roman Catholics but also with the Church of Scotland, and the members of the Protestant minorities were not only critical of society they also adopted a restrictive attitude towards society. When they were asked if the church was narrow minded a number of these informants replied "No, the church is not narrow minded enough".

The church, for the Catholics, constituted primarily a body of doctrine and a form of worship which were universally recognisable. The Catholics who were interviewed tended to be the most articulate of the church members on questions of belief and the differences between the churches. They rarely spoke in any self-conscious way of the Catholic community which they very largely took for granted. Yet the community was clearly important to them, as was seen in an earlier chapter they were more likely to be communally involved through kin and social networks in a peculiarly Catholic community than either of the sub-samples might be involved in their communities. Whilst the Catholics were, of all the church members, the most approving of the movement towards unity, they were largely emphatic in their belief that the Catholic Church was the only true church and they recognised some of the barriers to unity in a more sophisticated way than did the Protestants. In most things the Catholics were not resistant to change, indeed they welcomed it. Some of these changes would involve cultural change which is perhaps not always appreciated by Protestants. The issue of segregated schools is a classical example, for this is not only a religious and an educational issue it is also a cultural issue. The Church

school has traditionally embodied Catholic communalism and it is a symbol of the cultural integration of the Catholic community. Those Catholics who feel that a wider social integration is of more value than the narrow integration of the Catholic community are indicating a readiness to accept and adjust to considerable cultural change.

The non church members have been used in this chapter as a control group, as a means of throwing into contrast the attitudes and behaviour of the church members, and the attitudes of non church members towards the church will be discussed in full in a later chapter, but it is perhaps worthwhile to refer to some of the attitudes which are revealed here. On many of the questions raised in this chapter the non church members are not widely dissimilar to the Catholic and Church of Scotland informants, although as would be expected a large majority believed that it is possible to be a good Christian without being a member of a church. They tended to be more undecided than the church members on the question of Christian unity although the percentage approving was only marginally less than that of the Church of Scotland sub-sample. Whilst none of the sub-samples had particularly high percentages of informants in favour of political involvement the non church members were second only to the Church of Scotland members in believing that the church should be politically involved. Despite this they were reluctant to see the churches campaigning for what they might have interpreted as being retrogressive social change.

PART III

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND THE COMMUNITY

CHAPTER 7

## PERSONAL AND FAMILY RELIGION

a) Introduction

Membership of the Christian churches is related to a variegated pattern of social, economic, cultural and theological factors which combined to constitute the social world of the individual. In the constitution of this world he has sometimes made conscious, sometimes unconscious choices, and there are parts of his world over which he has had relatively little control because he was born into it and awareness of its reality grew with the developing consciousness of childhood. Conscious choice may have played little part in the church members' emergent religious belonging, or choices may have been made within a context of complicated motivations in which a delicate balance of social acquiescence, religious values, psychological need and social identity resulted in the decision to receive confirmation or to make a profession of faith. The discussions of the previous chapters focused upon the relationship between church membership and some of the factors which contribute to an individual's identity as a church member. It is not possible to discuss church membership adequately without reference to the religious institutions and the traditions they embody, but as we have seen the ecclesiastical traditions which help to shape the membership style of the individual and which receive expression in the specifically Catholic or Calvinist consciousness, may have been mediated by the family, by

socio-economic class, by unique or peculiar factors in personal biographies, as well as by highly personal perceptions of God and religion. What of the church member in society, in the family, in the community and at his work? Does the church member pursue a distinctive lifestyle and adopt distinctive values which set him apart in some way? We have seen that in conceptualising church membership the lay leaders of the Falkirk churches had differing views on this question. The church member was either a very distinguishable individual set apart from non church members because of the quality of his faith, or he was exemplary in the pursuit or embodiment of the highest ideals of society, or there was nothing distinguishing about the church member other than he was a member of a religious institution. These alternative interpretations of the place of the church member in society were related in various ways to the three denominational groups and to the different types of religious belonging which are apparent within them. In the chapters which follow an attempt will be made to examine how far membership of the three religious groups corresponds to distinctive social behaviour and attitudes.

Gerhard Lenski began his study of the religious factor by asking if a man's religious commitment really does influence his every day actions and if the actions of Protestants differ from those of Catholics or Jews in the fields of politics, economics and family life?<sup>1</sup> In his

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1. Lenski, Op.cit., p.1.

study he set out to explore the thesis of Max Weber that religious groups develop distinctive orientations towards all aspects of life, a thesis that was classically stated in Weber's study of the Protestant ethic.<sup>2</sup> Our intention is more modest. Following the pattern of the previous chapters the objective is to be descriptive rather than explanatory. The three major variables which were employed in Part II of the thesis will also be used here, namely denominational group, communal and associational membership, and socio-economic class. The main focus will be upon the first variable, but where significant differences exist or the character of the data demands, the remaining variables will also be employed. Lenski's work refers to the urban scene in the United States during the middle nineteen-fifties, but some of his empirical conclusions, although these have been partially refuted by subsequent events in urban America, will occasionally be used as a checkpoint for observations arising out of the present study, particularly with regard to the discussion of attitudes towards work and career. Weber's work will also be referred to from time to time. As this study has been undertaken in the most Calvinist of all nations, the Falkirk church members and Weber's thesis should prove to be mutually illuminating.

By way of a prelude to the chapters which are to follow this one will be concerned with personal and family religion. In discussing personal religion the primary focus will be

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2. Weber, Op.cit.

upon belief with some reference to the practice of prayer, whilst in the discussion of family religion the major concern will be with the communication of belief and with the practice of religion within the family.

b) Religion as Belief

The majority of the church members who were interviewed professed a certain belief in God. The largest percentage of those who were uncertain about the existence of God was to be found amongst the Church of Scotland informants, but the differences between the three religious groups were not statistically significant. The major differences between the church members and the non church members was that 11% of the non church members were atheist whilst, not surprisingly, none of the church members described themselves as being a non believer. This percentage difference is small however when it is reflected that 69% of the non church members professed a certain belief in the existence of a God.

Table 71.

The informants' belief in God, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Certain	Uncertain	Non-Existent
Church of Scotland	144	78	22	0
Roman Catholic	29	93	7	0
Protestant Minority	28	93	7	0
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	69	20	11

df = 4;  $X^2 = 5.99$

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = NS.

Those informants who believed in the existence of God were asked to say what they understood by the word God The

responses fell into four groups, those which referred to a person of the Trinity, those which referred to an abstraction, and those which were naturalist, referring to a creator, a life force, or life itself. The final group of responses consisted of those who did not know what they meant by God, and the highest percentage of such responses belonged to the Church of Scotland sub-sample.

Table 72.

The informants' responses to the question, "What is God like?" in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	A Person of the Trinity	Abstraction	Naturalist	Don't Know
Church of Scotland	113	51	29	3	16
Roman Catholic	27	74	15	4	7
Protestant Minority	26	73	20	0	8

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 9.51$ ;

P = NS.

Although none of these differences are statistically significant, these tables together suggest that the members of the Church of Scotland were the least certain about the existence of God and the least orthodox in their understandings about God. The differences between the Church of Scotland sample and the others provoked the thought that these differences might be indicative of an underlying difference to be found amongst the members of the Church of Scotland. If such a difference was to be found it seemed



reasonable to assume that it would lie between the communal and associational members. This was in fact the case, 92% of the Church of Scotland communal members were certain in their belief in God, compared with 53% of the associational members. Unfortunately the figures in the Protestant minority sub-sample were too small to permit a reliable analysis of the comparative beliefs of communal and associational members of the non Church of Scotland Protestant churches. The percentages in Table 73 reveal a situation which one might expect to be the reverse in view of the voluntaryist characteristics of associational membership.

Table 73.

Church of Scotland communal and associational members' belief in God, in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	Certain	Uncertain
Communal	92	92	8
Associational	52	53	47

df = 1;  $\chi^2 = 7.16$ ;

P = 0.01; G = .21.

In addition to the differences between communal and associational members in the certainty of their belief in God, there were also differences between them in the ways in which they understood the nature of God. The associational members were the more biblically orthodox of the two sub-groups.

Whilst the high level of uncertainty of belief amongst the Church of Scotland associational members is responsible

Table 74.

Church of Scotland communal and associational members' understandings of God, in percent.

Type of Membership.	N =	A Person of the Trinity	Abstrac- tion	Natur- alist	Don't Know
Communal	85	45	33	4	18
Associational	28	71	18	0	11

df = 3;  $\chi^2 = 7.96$ ;

P = .05; C = .25.

for the differences in certainty between the Church of Scotland and the two remaining sub-samples, it is the relatively unorthodox understanding of God held by more than half of the communal members which is responsible for the differences between the Church of Scotland and the other sub-samples in their understandings of God. As a check against these important differences within the Church of Scotland the understandings of God held by the communal and associational members of the Protestant minority churches were examined. No significant differences were found between them, although this may in part be due to the smallness of the sample. But, as Table 75 indicates differences did exist, and these differences suggest that amongst the minority churches it is the communal members who are the more orthodox in their understanding of God.

The attempts to describe God are in themselves interesting, ranging from the extremely orthodox responses of a Brethren woman, "God is an Old Testament idea, you don't know him, not as a person. But Christ - he is God and we know

Table 75

Protestant minority associational and communal members' understandings of God, in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	A Person of the Trinity	Abstrac- tion	Natura- list	Don't Know
Communal	13	77	15	0	8
Associational	13	69	23	0	8

df = 3;  $\chi^2 = .33$ ;

P = NS

him and we can understand God through him", and the response of a Catholic, "Oh I see him as the blessed Trinity, three persons inseparable from each other", to the response of a member of the Grahamston church who is a leading member of its youth fellowship, "God is purely imagination. They try to put a form to God, but you can't, anymore than you can to - well say to civilisation. You cannot point and say 'there is God'". A young married woman, also a member of the Grahamston Church said "I'd like to think of him as a father - but there must be more to him than that - he must be greater than your own dad. He is all powerful and completely in control over all ...". A retired policeman, a member of St. John's Church said, "Yes, God comes up doesn't he? At a road accident or anything really unpleasant to which we were called when in the police we would find ourselves saying "My God", and meaning it. God is a power not a person." The Catholics quite often referred to traditional Catholic symbolism as a means of describing God, "God and Jesus are the same. This is difficult to express and I could only

point to the crucifix to illustrate", and another Catholic said "God is an abstract spiritual being, you cannot describe him - that's why you need holy pictures".

The non church members were divided between seeing God as a person of rather vague and unqualified substance, and as a spirit. One man said "common sense tells you that the world didn't grow from chance - God is the creator", and another, "God is a spirit - a force that created earth and people, but man has a mind of his own and is not controlled by God". A woman who has not worshipped in a church since her childhood said, "God is a person you turn to in a time of crisis", and an elderly man said "He is definitely a person, looking down on us, and Jesus, he was God's son".

The informants were asked if their beliefs in God had changed over the years. There was remarkable unanimity between all the sub-samples with the exception of the Catholics. More than 75% of those interviewed had experienced no change in their beliefs. Both communal and associational members had held their present beliefs for as long as they could remember, no crisis, no experience, no advent of new knowledge had intervened between them and their beliefs.

The Catholic sub-sample is not only the most orthodox of the sub-samples in its beliefs, it is apparently also the most stable. It can reasonably be assumed that this fact is related to the communal nature of Catholicism and to the processes of religious socialisation which characterise it. It has been observed that the communal members of the Church of Scotland are the least orthodox in their beliefs,

Table 76.

Informants' responses to the question, "Has your belief in God always been Certain/Uncertain?", in percent.

Religious Group	N =	Yes	No
Church of Scotland	144	75	25
Roman Catholic	29	93	7
Protestant Minority	28	75	25
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	77	23

df = 2;  $X^2 = 4.71$ ; 1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = NS

although they are apparently the most certain. The stability of the beliefs of Church of Scotland communal members is however less secure than that of the associational members.

Table 77.

Church of Scotland communal and associational members' responses to the question, "Has your belief in God Always been Certain/Uncertain, in percent.

Type of Membership	N=	Yes	No
Communal	92	67	33
Associational	52	82	18

df = 1;  $X^2 = 4.37$

P = .05; G = .17.

In terms of belief the associational members of the Church of Scotland, the Catholics, and all the members of the Protestant minority churches are most likely to be orthodox within the doctrinal frameworks of their particular tradition, whilst the communal members of the Church of Scotland are the most unorthodox in their beliefs, and their beliefs have been most subjected to change. This is of course a description

of an existing situation, but it would be possible to elaborate upon the description in an explanatory and mainly hypothetical manner. It is possible, for example, that the communal constraints within the Church of Scotland have persuaded the communal members to remain within the church despite their doctrinal unorthodoxy and the changes which have occurred in their beliefs, whilst those associational members whose beliefs became weaker may very well have left the church because of the lack of communal constraints, and consequently they would not be available for the analysis above. The evidence concerning church attendance and religious identity presented and discussed in previous chapters suggests that this in fact is what has happened. Such a hypothesis however does not explain the high percentage of associational members remaining within the Church of Scotland even though their beliefs are uncertain. These informants may well be those who have an elitist view of the Church and for whom religious belonging is identifiable with association with a special group of people who carry the highest ideals of the society, however much such a view may have been subjected to disenchantment.

The nature and the conditions of the changes of belief which had occurred were numerous, but they can quite clearly be divided into those in which belief in God had become stronger, and those in which belief in God had become weaker. A number said that their understanding of God had changed, but within this changed understanding their belief in God had become more firm. The number of those with changed

beliefs in the Protestant minority and Catholic sub-samples were too small for responsible analysis. They amount to only two or three cases. By far the most interesting are those of the Church of Scotland sub-sample, particularly when they are divided into communal and associational members.

Table 78.

The nature of the changes in belief experienced by the Church of Scotland communal and associational members, in percent.

Types of Church Membership	N =	Unchanged	Stronger	Weaker
Communal	92	67	11	24
Associational	52	82	8	10

$df = 2;$        $\chi^2 = 4.7;$

$P = .10-.05;$        $G = .17.$

The causes of changed belief most frequently identified by the informants were illness and education, and these more than any other factors appeared to contribute to the growth of uncertainty. Those whose belief had become stronger described how various life events had served to confirm as reality those beliefs which they had taken for granted. For the communal members particularly a change in belief was more likely to be a weakening rather than a strengthening of belief.

The correlation between class and belief in God very largely reflected the association between socio-economic class and membership of a religious group. There was a marked increase in certainty of belief the further down the social classifications went. The most certain of believers amongst the church members were the unskilled workers, the

partly skilled workers and the skilled manual workers, 100%, 94% and 84% respectively. The professional and other traditional middle-class people were less certain in their beliefs.

c) The Practice of Prayer

Certainty or uncertainty about the existence of God notwithstanding, the church members in one form or another observed the practice of prayer.

Table 79.

Informants' responses to the question, "Do you ever pray?", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Yes	No
Church of Scotland	144	91	9
Roman Catholic	29	93	7
Protestant Minority	28	96	4
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	57	43

df = 2;  $\chi^2 = 1.03$ ; 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

P = NS

Not all of those who prayed did so in a formal fashion, nor did they do so regularly. Although a majority said that they offered prayer regularly in the morning or evening, a large minority, particularly of the Church of Scotland people, described their prayer as being irregular, informal and unorthodox. The majority however responded in a way typified by a man who belonged to a Church of Scotland congregation, "I pray every single night. I always have, ever since I was a child", and by a Catholic woman, "I pray regularly night and morning, and I attend 9 a.m. Mass every day". Some of those who said that they prayed regularly clearly did not feel



bound by any specific church teaching. A Catholic woman said "There are no rules about prayer, if I pray I do so because I want to. I offer up little prayers during the day because I've such a lot to be thankful for". Whilst a Catholic man said, "Prayer can be offered anywhere. I don't just pray the long prayers we were taught as children. I think about things. I thank God for the day, for enabling me to cope or for giving me enjoyment or satisfaction".

The modes of prayer were categorised as regular and irregular, and these categories almost corresponded to an alternative possible categorisation of formal and informal. The members of the Protestant minority churches and the Roman Catholics were the most regular performers of private devotions.

Table 80.

The informants' practice of prayer, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Regular	Irregular	Never
Church of Scotland	127 <sup>1</sup>	57	33	11
Roman Catholic	29	72	21	7
Protestant Minority	28	71	21	8

df = 4;  $\chi^2 = 3.83$ ; P = NS.

1. These figures had to be adjusted in order to facilitate further analysis. Information on other variables for 17 Church of Scotland informants was not available, so these were omitted from the analysis. One Protestant minority informant who did not respond to this question was included in "Never" as he was critical of the practice of prayer.

An examination of the comparative practices of the communal and associational members suggested that amongst the Church of Scotland members whilst there was no great difference simply

in terms of regularity a higher percentage of communal members never prayed, whilst the associational members of the Protestant minority churches appeared to be regular rather than irregular prayers.

Table 81.

The Church of Scotland communal and associational members' practice of prayer, in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	Regular	Irregular	Never
Communal	92	56	30	14
Associational	35	57	37	6

df = 2;  $\chi^2 = 1.7$ ;

P = NS

Those who pray irregularly tend to be driven to prayer at times of crisis. A Church of Scotland woman said "I don't pray very often, but if something happens regarding the family - then I pray". An elder of one of the parish churches said "I tend to pray at night when I am worried, it gives me help in times of crisis, this was particularly so when my father was dying". A Catholic said, "Prayer is important. I've experienced fear, and the first thing in your mind is prayer. I pray inwardly at times of crisis, that's real prayer".

Table 82.

The Protestant Minority communal and associational members' practice of prayer, in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	Regular	Irregular	Never
Communal	15	66	27	7
Associational	13	77	15	8

df = 2;  $\chi^2 = .7$

P = NS.

In the practice of private devotions it is the Church of Scotland members who are again the least orthodox, 44% of them praying either irregularly or never. For a substantial minority of Church of Scotland people the certainty of belief, orthodoxy of belief and the practice of a personal devotional life do not correlate positively with membership of the institution. Conversely the Catholics and members of the Protestant minority churches are very largely orthodox in their beliefs and in the pursuit of their private devotions, they were, on the whole, much less vague and imprecise than the Church of Scotland members in the discussion of these topics.

The majority of the non church members who offered prayer did so irregularly, but some of their responses revealed a high level of perception concerning the nature of prayer whilst a number of those who did not pray expressed their belief in the value of prayer and their admiration for those who did pray. One man said, "One should pray, but I don't. Well I pray deep within myself, we all should you know, and I think most of us - deep inside us - most of us do. But I don't go down on my knees and put my hands together". A woman married to a Catholic described how she admired people who had been brought up to "pray properly", "My husband's brother's children all kneel and offer prayer at night. I admire it, its a good thing. I do not know if they will be better people though". There is amongst the non church members strong evidence of what has sometimes, not always appropriately, been called "residual Christianity", a majority

of them believe in God and in the power of prayer if not in its regular practice. The significance of this for the understanding of church membership and for the understanding of the place of religion in Scotland will be discussed in a later chapter.

d) The Family and the Communication of Belief

The importance of the family of origin for the processes of religious socialisation has been stressed several times. The church orientation of the family and the religious practices and teaching which exist within the family are closely related to the alternative types of church membership which may become possible within a given institution.

The majority of church members with children gave moral teaching in the home, or had done so when their children were younger. In most cases the teaching was given by both parents. Religious teaching constituted a relatively small part of this, particularly for those parents who belonged to the Church of Scotland who emphasised the importance of broad moral norms rather than religious belief. The pattern of teaching within the family compares interestingly with that received by the church members themselves, presented in tabular form in Table 23. It is the Church of Scotland members who give most teaching in the family but it is the Catholics and the members of the Protestant minority churches who emphasise the place of specifically religious teaching. The non church members are perhaps closest to their parents in that they are the least likely to give teaching to their children, and when they do so they are the least likely to

give sex instruction. Although the percentages of those giving religious teaching in the home are relatively small, the non church members emphasise this in a specific sense more than the members of the Church of Scotland. The quality of this teaching is of course variable, and it is difficult to establish precisely what is taught and how it is taught, as in the interviews great reliance was placed upon the informants' interpretation of what they actually did. Such interpretations were for the most part extremely precise, and the response of a member of the Church of Scotland was fairly typical of all the church members, "I take a decided interest in this sort of thing. I imagine that a lot will be done at school, but my wife will certainly talk to them about sex and about behaviour - as they are too wee girls". A college lecturer, a member of the Erskine Church described how "During discussions and bed-time stories we try to encourage fairness in play, an awareness of people, how to behave, an interest in the arts and a positive attitude towards all things. We have even tried to introduce the subject of death".

Religious teaching was very largely given within the context of bed-time stories into which scriptural teaching was incorporated. Consequently it was very largely limited to the very young children. This was the case with most of the informants, several of whom expressed the vague belief that the churches or the schools would take over this side of things when the children became adolescent. The evangelical Christians were more directive in their religious

Table 83.

Religious and moral teaching given by the informants to their children, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Religious Teaching	Moral and Behavioural	Sex Instruction	None
Church of Scotland	106	6	53	25	16
Roman Catholic	21	18	30	30	20
Protestant Minority	18	13	31	31	23
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	27	11	22	4	63

df = 6;  $\chi^2 = 7.55$ ;

1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

P = NS

Definitions:

Religious Teaching.

Scriptural teaching; moral and behavioural teaching with a specific religious content. Sexual morality within a religious perspective.

Moral and Behavioural Teaching.

General teaching about behavioural and moral norms; right from wrong; the moral aspects of sexual behaviour.

Sex Instruction.

Those who give sexual advice only with no moral or religious teaching of any kind.

None.

Those who gave no teaching of any kind, and those who said that it was their principle to teach by example, non verbally.

- N.B. 1. The above groups were established on the basis of major component content analysis.
2. N = all those informants who have or have had families, for example single people were not asked this question.

teaching than were the other informants, "We talk to them about how to behave in response to the love of the Lord Jesus Christ", "I have always taught them their prayers, and if they

ask me anything about Jesus or God, I explain". The Church of Scotland informants who gave religious teaching to their children talked in terms of "Christian principles" or "the moral teaching of the bible", and as we have seen several times in this thesis there was a general conviction amongst the members of the national Church that moral and behavioural principles constituted religion.

The non church members who taught their children about religion also stressed the moral and behavioural values of religion. A working class woman whose daughters are both graduates described how she taught them the values of honesty, hard work and kindness, "the usual Christian code", whilst a man employed as a storekeeper said "we have tried to teach them the commandments and their meaning". One of the non church members said that his children were told "that they had a decision to make about religion and the church, they must be either for it or against it, we taught them as neutrally as possible". An unusual response was made by a woman who is a part-time cashier in a supermarket, "In my parents' home things were never spoken about. My children are free to talk to us - that way we can teach them. They must have this freedom. My eldest son has brought quite crude jokes home from school sometimes - but I'm glad that he can tell me". These responses provide a contrast to those made by the majority of the church people, a great many of whom were quite emphatic in their allegiance to behavioural norms within the family. A Church of Scotland widow said of her daughters "I tell them what I believe to be right and

wrong. They do not accept my judgement, but I believe that I must make my position clear. I accept the old moral values - I may not look it but I am something of a Puritan". An elder of the St. Andrew's Church described how he taught his children ". . . the differences between right and wrong, and I show them that certain things will not be tolerated in this house", whilst an elder of the Old Parish Church equally emphatically said quite simply "There will be no cigarettes and no alcohol".

The informants were asked if they had any particular rules for the organising of the home and if these were of a religious nature. About half of the informants said that they had rules of some kind, but clearly they did not think of themselves as being strict disciplinarians. Very few of the informants imposed any kind of religious pattern upon the family, the greatest emphasis was upon behaviour in the interests of family order. A Catholic with a large family said "We employ no nonsense rules really - just to prevent us from going completely mad". There were no significant differences between the sub-samples in the application of family discipline although the Catholic sub-sample had the largest percentage of parents imposing discipline whilst the Protestant minority sub-sample had the smallest percentage. These percentages correlate with the largest and smallest numbers of children in the families represented in the two sub-samples.

The differences between church members and non church members in their attitudes towards discipline and order within



Table 84.

The informants' responses to the question, "Do you insist upon the application of religious or other rules in the family?" in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Yes	No
Church of Scotland	106	51	49
Roman Catholic	21	57	43
Protestant Minority	18	42	58
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	27	50	50

df = 2;  $\chi^2 = .94$ ; 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

P = NS.

the family are small. There are however considerable differences between them in the amount of teaching which takes place within the family. A majority of the non church members who are parents undertake no teaching within the family, and whilst this is most noticeable in the case of sex instruction it is also true with regard to general moral and behavioural teaching. The relatively high degree of emphasis upon religious teaching by non church members is noteworthy, particularly as the non church members constitute the only sub-sample in which greater emphasis is placed upon religious teaching than upon sex instruction.

e) The Family and Religious Ritual

Ideas and beliefs are communicated not only verbally but through action, particularly symbolic actions which have a particular relationship to belief. When discussing the imposition of rules within the family a number of church members commented that they tended to be strict with their children on Sundays, they were more likely to impose restraints

upon leisure activities on the sabbath than on any other day, and they encouraged their children to attend worship either at the morning service or at Sunday School. What if any was the pattern of worship actually observed within the family?

Table 85.

Religious Ritual within the Family, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Family Prayers	Family Bible Reading	Mealttime Grace	Bedtime Prayers
Church of Scotland	106	4	1	28	51
Roman Catholics	21	14	0	14	48
Protestant Minority	18	22	33	56	66
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	27	0	0	4	15
df =		2	2	2	2
$\chi^2 =$		11.23	36.83	8.36	1.71
P =		.005	.001	.02	N.S.
G =		.27	.45	.23	N.S.

The families of the Protestant minority church members were the most devotional, a majority of them practising bedtime prayers with the children and mealttime grace, and relatively high percentages also observing family prayers and family bible reading. It was only in the practice of bedtime prayers that there was any close similarity between the three religious groups. Although the Church of Scotland families practising collective family devotions were few in number, the Church of Scotland and Catholic sub-samples were perhaps closer to each other than any other possible pairings. Devotions of all kinds were noticeably lacking in the families of non church members.

For the children of the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic parents the observance of religion in the home was primarily confined to infancy. The bedtime prayers taught during infancy were heard by a parent. Mealtime grace was a responsibility given to one of the children in the family. In late childhood and adolescence religious devotion, and as we have seen, religious teaching, played little part in the life of the family. If the practice of religion has been a common feature of family life for Catholics and Presbyterians in Scotland in the past, it certainly plays relatively little part in the family life of the present. The practices of the non Church of Scotland Protestants are more family and adult oriented, and this is particularly so with the Brethren, for whom the daily religious observance has a place of considerable importance.

The influence of the family upon the appropriation of religious ideas and upon religious socialisation is an influence which is exerted in the earliest years of childhood. Consequently the substance of this influence is extremely simple - it is based on scriptural stories, stories with "a moral", and simple childhood prayers. In adolescence, particularly for the Church of Scotland children, the emphasis within the family is upon moral and behavioural norms, and the underlying, half forgotten religious teaching, remains child-like in content. The majority of Church of Scotland members rely upon the Bible Class, the Sunday School and the Church to develop the religious socialisation of their children, whilst the Catholics look to the church

school. The difference between the families of church members and non church members lies in the almost complete absence of primary religious socialisation for the children of non church members who are given some religious teaching in adolescence and childhood, but who do not inherit a family tradition of childhood devotion and the accompanying teaching on scripture and prayers. If the families, particularly the Church of Scotland and Catholic families look to outside agencies for the continuing religious socialisation of their children to what extent are their children associated with such bodies?

f) Church Members' Children and their Church Involvement

All of the Falkirk churches have organisations for young people and children, and in the case of the Protestant churches these organisations are primarily for purposes of instruction, the Sunday School Bible Class, and the Bible Classes of the Brigade companies are traditional sources of religious education. The Catholic Church has no such organisations, it does have Scout and Guide troops however, and a youth club and badminton club run specifically for young people. The Scout and Guide troops attended by Protestant children are not church based organisations.

The percentages in Table 86 refer to the church members who have children. Two factors are not accounted for in this table. The first is age, for whilst the children may be old enough to attend Sunday School they may not be old enough to belong to the Youth Fellowship or a Youth Club. The second is sex, not all the church members had children

Table 86.

The attendance of one or more of the informants' children at organisations which contribute to religious socialisation, in percent.

Religious Group	N =	Sunday School	Bible Class	Boys' Brigade	Girls' Brigade	Youth Fellowship	Scouts	Guides
Church of Scotland	106	95	43	12	11	18	24	31
Roman Catholic	21	15	0	0	0	0	6	25
Protestant Minority	18	94	50	13	0	28	20	7
Non Church Members	27	81	15	20	6	0	4	6

of both sexes, and a more representative picture is obtained if the percentages of church members with children attend the Boys' Brigade and the Girls' Brigade are taken together, and similarly those with children attending the Scouts and the Guides are taken together.

The table provides for some interesting general observations. The church based uniformed organisations, the Brigades, are clearly less popular than the non church based uniformed organisations, the Scouts and Guides, for the Protestant children. This despite the centrality given to the Brigades by the Protestant churches. Those non church members who were interviewed appeared to prefer church based organisations for their children rather than those which are not church based, underscoring the fact that the Brigades do tend to cater most for the children who have no familial association with the churches. For the Catholics of course the Scouts and Guides are church based organisations, fulfilling functions similar to those of the Brigades within the Protestant churches. A number of the Catholic children however attended independent, non sectarian troops. Amongst some Protestants and amongst the non church members the Scouts and Guides tend to be associated, mistakenly, with Catholicism. Some church members recalled that in their youth membership of the Boys' Brigade or the Scouts was a source of information concerning the religious persuasion of an individual. To some extent the membership of the Brigades by the children of non church members might be an extension of the distinction they make between Protestantism and Catholicism.

The high attendance at Sunday School by Protestant

children is an indication of the strong influence of the family during early childhood, this influence declines with adolescence, and although parents described how they were able to encourage their children to attend the churches when they were young, many described difficulties with their teenage children. A woman married to a senior civil servant, who belonged to St. Andrew's Church described how "When he was little my son went to church with us and never rebelled or questioned church attendance, but when he was fourteen he left the church and won't go near now, he says that he finds it dull, although he does believe in God". A member of St. John's Church said, "The oldest girl was very docile and attended church regularly. She loathed the church really and rebelled and left the Sunday School". Whilst another member of St. Andrew's Church said, "My children are critical of the church and of religion just as I was. I know my son is looking for an answer to the meaning of life - he reads books on spiritualism - and my younger daughter once expressed the desire to be a minister, although now she is too critical".

A majority of all those interviewed said that they would be reluctant to be persistent with their children about church attendance and involvement once they reached adolescence. The general opinion was that once the children were in their teens they were old enough to decide for themselves about the church, and if they decided not to attend, then it was their own free decision which would be respected by their parents. Of the children of church members who were old enough to become church members themselves only the Catholics had a high

percentage who continued in the church. A majority of the Church of Scotland children did not become church members.

Table 87.

The percentage of church members' children who were also members of the church.

Denominational Group	Number of children of membership age	Members of parents' church	Members of another church of the same denomination	Other Church	None
Church of Scotland	149	24	7	4	65
Roman Catholic	36	81	8	3	8
Protestant Minnrity	22	41	5	13	41

df = 8;  $\chi^2 = 46.45$

P = .005 C = .42.

Whatever the educational merits of church related schools within a State system of education in a pluralist society, the Catholic school certainly seems to function as a more efficient agent of secondary religious socialisation than the organisations for children and adolescents in the Protestant churches.

In the case of the Church of Scotland members particularly these figures would seem to be indicative of a breakdown in the communal process of religious socialisation within the family.

There was a majority feeling amongst the non church members that their children ought to attend church or Sunday School when they are small. Usually these children were expected to attend church unaccompanied by their parents. A woman living in a council house in Camelon said, "I never



insisted heavily, but both my daughters attended St. John's Sunday School and have ten years perfect attendance certificates, they used to enjoy attending. They never attend a church now, they do not accept the teaching of the church and they are very critical of the churches for not being involved in the community". Another woman said "They all attended the Miller Hall when they were little. I set them a bad example and they don't go now. They were never encouraged, we should have encouraged them more", whilst a third "My husband is a Catholic. I insist that the children attend Chapel although I don't go myself. I want them to be good Catholics". An elderly man said of his adult sons "They regularly attended Bainsford Parish Church Sunday School, they were in the Lifeboys and then the Brigade - but they wouldn't go once they reached the age of thirteen or so, and they won't have anything at all to do with the church now". None of the children of the non church members have gone on to join a church, although one teenager is a regular and voluntary attender at Mass in one of the Catholic churches.

g) Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the differences between the church members and non church members in terms of personal religious beliefs and the expression of belief within the family. Differences do exist, but they appear to be differences of practice rather than differences of expressed conviction, although of course practice is an indicator of conviction. The beliefs of non church members

are not greatly dissimilar from those of members of the Church of Scotland, but their expression of these beliefs in the family differ considerably. Although the non church members to a large extent believe in prayer they do not practice it; although several of them wanted their children to be brought up within the context of the church beyond Sunday School they did not do so. The church members as a whole made more attempt to give their children religious and moral teaching, encourage them in habits of prayer, and bring them up within the life of the church. The children of church members were generally encouraged to be more activist and socially outgoing, although the church members seemed to be uncertain and undecided in their dealings with their children as teenagers, they relied upon the development of habits and the growth of some kind of religious impetus during childhood, and Table 87 is indicative of the somewhat inadequate outcome of this reliance from the point of view of the Protestant churches.

In many ways the differences between the church members are more interesting and revealing than the differences between the church members and non church members. There are differences between the religious groups, and within the Church of Scotland sub-sample there are fascinating differences between communal and associational members, particularly in terms of belief.

In his study of the religious factor in Detroit Lenski concluded that "the relationship of the Catholic Church to the kin group seems to be quite different from that of the Protestant churches. Whereas the Protestant churches appear

to stand in a competitive relationship with the kin group to some degree the Catholic Church stands in what is more nearly a complementary relationship. The church and the kin group seem more often to be mutually reinforcing organisations in the lives of devout Catholics".<sup>3</sup> In Falkirk there is a positive correlation between the religious orientation of the family and religious belonging for each of the different sub-samples of church members. We have seen that involvement in the kin group correlates more positively with church attendance for the Catholics than for the Protestants, but this was related to questions of geographic mobility as well as to religion. In the practice of religion within the family the members of the Protestant minority churches are much more zealous than either the Catholics or the Presbyterians. Although the Catholics and members of the Church of Scotland are comparable in the attention they give to religious practice in the family their emphases are different, the Catholics according greater priority to family prayers. The traditional differences between the Church-type religious organisation and the Sect-type religious organisation are not clearly applicable to the religious institutions in Falkirk. Lenski argued that in Detroit the Catholic Church possessed many of the separatist tendencies associated with sectarians, and he cited the existence of Catholic voluntary associations and

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3. Lenski, Op.cit., pp.247 & 248.

parochial schools as evidence. The influence of the parochial school is clearly strong in Falkirk, whilst the influence of other distinctive Catholic organisations is less strong for children. If separate church based organisations are used as evidence of sectarianism then the Protestant churches of all denominations are more sectarian on this index than the Catholic. Terms become confusing however. The parochial school for example may be regarded as a communal phenomenon in the sense that it is expressive of an ideal for the whole of society; from the Catholic perspective it is not that there should be special schools for Catholics, but that in the ideal expression of Catholicism in which the State and Church would be closely aligned, all schools would be church schools. Outside the Sunday School and the Bible Class the most important organisations for the Protestant children are not the church related organisations, they are the Scouts and Guides which are community based organisations.

The differences which occur between communal and associational members suggest that these categories of church members are real ones reflecting an authentic distinction between different types of religious belonging within the one institution. The qualities ascribed institutionally to the sects and the churches might more appropriately be accorded to the church members themselves, particularly within the Church of Scotland. Although we have no means of assessing the significance of the differences between the church members and the non church members, the differences between associational and communal members appear to be more

significant on the questions of belief than are the differences between church members and non church members.

Whilst the Catholic Church seems able to sustain its communal characteristics the communal participation of the children of Church of Scotland members in the life of the church along with the relatively low percentage of Church of Scotland children becoming members of the church suggests that communalism may be declining within that Church, although at a lower rate than the decline of associationalism. Conversely, within the Protestant minority churches communal religious belonging may be expressive of greater orthodoxy within these churches in terms of religious belief, whilst far from being drawn out of the family by the demands of religious belonging, the Protestant minority members find support from the family as the high level of religious observance within the family indicates.

CHAPTER 8

## CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND POLITICS

a) Introduction

The most obvious areas of social involvement in Falkirk, outside the spheres of work, family and religion, are the voluntary associations and politics. Both of these areas are important for the understanding of the social significance of church membership in the burgh. The similarity between voluntary associations and politics is comparable with the similarity which exists between religion and voluntary associations. There are senses in which both politics and religion are associational, not only in the fragmented nature of the allegiance which they sometimes command but also in their fulfilment of social functions which are ancillary to their primary functions. The main difference between politics and religion on the one hand and the voluntary associations on the other, lies in the fact that the former embody world views which imply commitment to distinctive ideals and values, whilst the latter are more limited in their objectives, being concerned primarily with specific interests which, in theory at least, transcend the boundaries which lie between the alternative political and religious value systems. The understanding of voluntary associations used here is that of Margaret Stacey in her study of Banbury, in which the voluntary associations were deemed to have five common characteristics; "(1) They are formal associations having some kind of constitution by which the affairs of the group are ordered; (2) membership is voluntary; (3) the

qualifications for membership are determined by the members themselves; (4) the group has some continuity and is not convened merely for a special purpose or occasion; (5) the group has some formal name by which it is known".<sup>1</sup>

Voluntary associations and politics together provide a valuable illustration of the continuity between the teaching of the churches and the church member's involvement in the organised life of society. The alternative ideal relationships which are possible between the church and the world closely parallel the five relationships between Christ and Culture established by Richard Niebuhr. The broad theological positions described by Niebuhr<sup>2</sup> do not however correspond neatly and exclusively to the various ecclesiastical traditions represented in Falkirk, nor do they correspond directly to the alternative forms of consciousness which seem apparent amongst some of the Falkirk church members. Moreover, in their ideal form several of his alternatives would be difficult to sustain within the social and economic realities of twentieth century life. A form of other worldliness which demands withdrawal from a corrupt society is difficult to achieve within the economic order for example, although it may contribute to strong personal attitudes of criticism and truculence amongst those church members who would ideally adopt such a stance. But whilst withdrawal from the economic order is difficult

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1. Stacey, Op.cit., P.75.

2. H.R. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, (Faber, 1953).

on the obvious grounds of material necessity, withdrawal from participation in the life of society as this is represented by the voluntary associations and politics may be successfully achieved. Voluntary associations and politics may serve as indicators of the strength and consistency of the church members' adherence to their social world and of the continuity between a particular kind of membership of the church and a particular kind of participation in society.

Voluntary associations and politics together share an ambiguous place in ecclesiastical and theological thought. In different ways they constitute a threat to aspects of the existence of some ecclesiastical institutions, whilst in other ways they provide arenas within which Christian ideals may receive more or less formal expression.

Voluntary associations may reflect a challenge to the social functions of the churches, offering as they do alternative forms of interaction and community participation. Lenski more than hints at this in his discussion of the associational life which has developed within Detroit Catholicism, which is seen as being a form of separatism most commonly associated with sectarianism, and which is a response to the growth of voluntary associations in the United States.<sup>3</sup> Voluntary associations may contribute to the fragmentation of social life by the institutionalising of specific interests and the subsequent development of social groups formally based on such interests and threatening

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3. Lenski, Op.cit., p.250.



the social cohesion of groups based on kinship ties, the family and communal religion. In reaction the church may have to establish alternatives to such interest groups within its own structures. On the other hand participation in voluntary associations may well be encouraged by those churches which have a wider identification with the society as a whole and whose members see their membership of the church and of society as being inextricably woven together into the fabric of religious belonging. Within such a perspective it is the church member's duty to participate as fully as he is able in the community life of his village, town or city, either in order to bring to bear a specifically Christian judgement upon the deliberations and programmes of secular associations, thereby fulfilling a "Christian presence"; or in order to accept the responsibilities of community participation and leadership which are properly the inheritance of the church member whose religious perceptions will enable him to uphold with greater authority and in an exemplary fashion the ideals and values to which the whole society subscribes.

The alternatives which exist for the voluntary associations are to some extent also applicable to the areas of politics, but politics provide a more dangerous and threatening milieu. Whilst voluntary associations may require the church member to devote time and specific gifts to their organisation which might otherwise be used within the religious institution, and they may, in a limited sense persuade him to identify with a social group which does not base its collective identity upon the church, politics

require commitment to a particular world-view which, through the appeals of its strongest protagonists, commands on occasions a high level of commitment and activism. Political activism may demand subscription to a world view which is not commensurate with that of a specific religious institution or the majority of its members. Even when the political ideals are broadly acceptable within the society as a whole, their adoption within the church may result in factionalism within the religious institution. For a socially inclusive church like the Church of Scotland, politics may be regarded as being a potentially fragmenting and disruptive force. Alternatively, within that Calvinist tradition which sees Christianity as being a transforming and reforming influence within society politics may offer a medium for the expression of the Christian virtues of love, truth and justice.

In this chapter it is intended to examine how far church members are involved in voluntary associations and politics. It can be seen that a consideration of these forms of involvement in society provides an opportunity for exploring in greater depth the significance of communal and associational belonging, particularly within the Church of Scotland which of all the churches is the one which is closest to the society on most of the indices which have been examined in this thesis. Other factors are known to have a positive correlation with participation in voluntary associations and politics. Specifically is this the case with socio-economic class and sex. Consequently four major variables will be adopted for consideration. These are, church membership, types of church membership, class and sex, and against these

participation in the community and its political life will be measured. In addition, in a limited way we shall examine how far church members may differ from non church members in the wider life of the community and in their subscription to political ideals.

b) The Church Member as a Member of Organisations

It was suggested to the informants that church members constituted the membership and provided the leadership for most of the voluntary associations in Falkirk, and they were asked if they agreed with this observation and if so whether or not they approved of this high level of community involvement by church members. It was only amongst the Church of Scotland informants that a majority agreed with the statement, whilst many of the other informants were undecided. The smallest percentage agreeing with the statement was that of non church members.

Table 88.

Informants' responses to the question, "Is it your impression that the voluntary organisations in Falkirk are mainly run by church people?", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Yes	No	Don't Know
Church of Scotland	144	53	38	8
Roman Catholic	29	48	38	14
Protestant Minority	28	39	46	14
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	29	49	22

df = 4;  $\chi^2 = 2.64$ ; 1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

P = NS.

The large majority of those replying yes in the above table were approving of the church members' involvement. An elder in the Old Parish Church said "My impression is that they are

all from the Old Parish, partly because the Parish Church has a tradition of staying in the life of the community rather than having separate organisations", whilst a Congregationalist commented "If it wasn't for church people there would be no social life in the town at all". A woman who belongs to St. Andrew's Church said, "Oh yes, it is the same people who do everything in the town", whilst a member of the Grahamston Church said, "Church people are always the ones who accept responsibility, they'll do things others won't". Only one voice of dissent was raised, by another member of the Grahamston Church, "It's not an awful good thing. Church people are clannish and I think that they won't let anyone else take part in anything sometimes". The non church members were generally sceptical about the community involvement of church members, as one commented "When they do run outside organisations they do it badly", and another "Well the folk who run my fishing club are not church members - I do know that for a fact".

How did these general observations compare with reality? Ninety-nine church members had a total of one hundred and eighty-seven memberships in almost sixty voluntary associations. The majority of these memberships were held in Falkirk based organisations, but some, such as golf clubs and professional associations, were either based outside the boundaries of the burgh, or had a wider membership with a county or national base. Political parties and Trade Unions are not included amongst these memberships.

Table 89.

The number of memberships held by the informants in voluntary associations outside the church, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	None	1	2	3	4	5+
Church of Scotland	144	38	30	15	8	4	3
Roman Catholic	29	61	33	0	0	0	6
Protestant Minority	28	72	21	7	0	0	0
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	65	21	12	2	0	0

df = 10;  $\chi^2 = 10$ ;

1. Excluded from  $\chi^2$  analysis.

P = .05; C = .31.

By far the most heavily committed in the voluntary associations were the members of the Church of Scotland, 62% of whom had membership of at least one voluntary association, whilst the least involved were the members of the Protestant minority churches.

The most popular associations were those concerned with sports and hobbies, whilst the organisations concerned with service and civic interests attracted relatively few church members. There are a number of prestigious associations in the burgh with familiar national and international links, the Rotary, Round Table, and the Freemasons are all prominent organisations in the burgh. Those church members who belonged to them were entirely drawn from the Church of Scotland sub-sample, although it is known that in the case of the Freemasons for example members of other Protestant churches belong to the various Lodges. Similarly only one of the informants belonged to the Orange Order and he was a member of the Church of Scotland, although it is known that other Protestants in the burgh do belong to the Orange movement.

Table 90.

The membership of voluntary associations held by women church members.

Denominational Group	Number of Memberships	Electrical Association for Women/Townswomen's Guild	Business & Professional Women's Ass/ Soroptimists	Star Legion	Eastern British Dramatic Soc-ial Club	Civic Prof. Assoc.	Sports
Church of Scotland	44	3	4	3	2	1	22
Roman Catholic	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
Protestant Minority	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
Non Church Members	8	1	0	0	2	0	4

Note: In addition one Church of Scotland member belonged to the W.R.V.S. and four belonged to various charitable associations.

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Table 91.

The membership of voluntary associations held by men church members.

Denominational Group	Number of Memberships	Free-Masons Order	Orange Toast-Masters	Round Table Legion	British Dramatic Soc-ial Club	Civic Prof. Assoc.	Charitable Orgs.	Sports
Church of Scotland	86	11	2	3	4	1	5	48
Roman Catholic	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	4
Protestant Minority	8	0	0	0	0	3	1	3
Non Church Members	8	2	0	0	0	2	0	4

The members of the prestigious women's organisations were again to be found only in the Church of Scotland sub-sample. When a check was made of the religious allegiance of the members of the women's organisations it was found that almost all their members were in fact associated with one or another of the Church of Scotland parish churches. Some sports organisations are more prestigious than others, particularly amongst the golf clubs. The Church of Scotland men who played golf were divided equally between those who were members of a private golf club and those who played at a municipal course. Almost all the women golfers belonged to a private club. Far more of the Church of Scotland members belonged to voluntary associations than belonged to church based organisations, but there were distinctions between the men and women in this respect. Margaret Stacey in her observations in Banbury commented that men played by far the largest part in running the organisations in that town.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the Falkirk church members men were far more likely than women to belong to voluntary associations despite the fact that women outnumbered the men in the churches. Conversely it is the women who are most likely to play most part in the church based organisations, with the exception that is of the decision making committees which are, or until recently have been, barred to female participation.

Dr. Stacey additionally observed that a special characteristic of voluntary associations in Banbury is the relatively

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4. Stacey, Op.cit., P.78.

Table 92.

The number of memberships in voluntary associations, correlated with the sex of church members, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Sex	None	1	2	3	4	5+	df	$\chi^2$	P	G
Church of Scotland	144	Male	22	32	24	11	6	5				
		F/Male	58	27	6	5	3	1	5	25.60	.001	.39
Roman Catholic	29	Male	69	25	0	0	0	6				
		F/Male	85	15	0	0	0	0	2	1.43	NS	-
Protestant Minority	28	Male	50	33	17	0	0	0				
		F/Male	88	12	0	0	0	0	2	4.44	NS	-



high social status of their members.<sup>5</sup> In the fifth chapter of this thesis (Table 39) it was observed that there was a high correlation between participation in church based organisations and class, the highest level of participation lying with the professional and skilled non manual classifications. A similar pattern was found for the participation of the church members in voluntary associations, but the differences between the classes in this instance were not statistically significant. However as the classifications are closely related to the religious groups we can reasonably hypothesise that there is an association between church membership, sex, and socio-economic class on the one hand, and the number of memberships in voluntary associations on the other. Church membership appears to be more significant than class however in the determination of how many organisations a church member is likely to belong to.

On the basis of examining the offices held simultaneously in several associations Margaret Stacey was able to chart the inter-connection between the several voluntary associations in Banbury including the churches and the political parties. In Falkirk the distinction to be made between the associations might at one level be made between those associations, mainly prestigious, in which the membership is made up of mainly Church of Scotland members, and those associations which tend to be either neighbourhood based or lower class in which the majority of members have no church association whatsoever. In an introductory chapter we have described how the members of such organisations as the Rotary, the W.R.V.S. and the

Townswomen's Guild are almost all church members, the very large majority of whom are members of the Church of Scotland. Where a positive correlation exists between associations and the non Church of Scotland churches, it is largely to be found in the case of political and semi-political associations such as the middle-ward ratepayers association which at the time of the research had a large Congregationalist membership, and the Conservative and Unionist Party a large percentage of whose committee members were members of the Episcopal Church.

Table 93.

The number of memberships in voluntary associations, correlated with socio-economic class, in percent.

Number of Memberships	Profes- sional	Inter- mediate	Skilled Non- Manual	Manual	Partly- Skilled	Un- Skilled
None	47	48	41	51	76	100
One	18	25	38	29	12	0
Two	24	10	15	7	6	0
Three	6	7	3	9	0	0
Four	6	7	4	0	6	0
Five and More	0	3	0	4	0	0
N =	18	60	34	56	17	1

df = 25;  $\chi^2 = 19.33$ ; P = NS.

Note: The correlation between class and number of memberships was unknown for fifteen church members.

There is fairly clear continuity between membership of the Church of Scotland and participation in the major civic associations in the burgh. This can be related to the fact that the Church is the national church, and to the inclusive communalism of the Church of Scotland within which no great

distinction is made between church and society. There are no differences between communal and associational members in the numbers of memberships of associations held, although a marginally higher percentage of the communal members belonged to none of the voluntary associations.

Table 94.

The number of memberships in voluntary associations held by the communal and associational members of the Church of Scotland, in percent.

Type of Membership	N =	None	1	2	3	4	5+
Communal	92	42	25	16	8	4	4
Associational	52	39	36	11	8	5	0

df = 5;  $\chi^2 = 2.70$ ;

P = NS.

The means by which a church member becomes a church member does not help to determine the extent of his involvement in voluntary associations which lie outside the formal structures of the church.

What if any are the leadership roles played by church members in the voluntary associations? Predictably the largest percentage of offices was held by members of the Church of Scotland, but in relation to the actual number of memberships in voluntary associations the largest percentage of offices was to be found amongst the members of the Protestant minority churches. A number of church members held several offices in the voluntary associations, but clearly the Church of Scotland members were the most influential. Amongst the offices held by members of the Church of Scotland were the chairmanship or presidency of

fourteen voluntary associations, the secretaryship of fifteen associations, the treasury of three associations, and committee memberships in fourteen associations. None of the other religious groups compared with this, although three associations had secretaries who were Catholics.

Table 95.

Offices held by the informants in the voluntary associations, by percent.

	% of Offices	% of Memberships
Church of Scotland	24	72
Roman Catholic	13	59
Protestant Minority	18	28
Non Church Members	9	35

The largest number of participants in the voluntary associations were members of the Church of Scotland, and the majority of the office bearers in the associations were also members of the Church of Scotland, many of them office bearers in the Church also.

If weight is to be given to the suggestion that the churches provide an additional species of social club for the clubbable middle-classes the Falkirk data suggest that this is only true for the Church of Scotland, and it is only true for men within the Church of Scotland. For them the church may possibly be one club amongst many bearing a prestige comparable with the Rotary or the Round Table or the Freemasons, but the general observation is too facile to do justice to the relationship which exists between the churches and the voluntary associations for as we have seen class does not correlate significantly with the church members' participation in voluntary associations, whilst women who

outnumber the men in the churches and constitute most of the organisational life of the churches, are involved in the associations to a much smaller extent than the men, particularly in the Church of Scotland.

The community participation of non church members is comparable with that of the Catholics and the members of the Protestant minority churches. The distinction to be made is not a distinction between church members and non church members but one between members of the Church of Scotland and those who are not members of the Church of Scotland. The percentage of non church members involved in voluntary associations lies somewhere between that of the Catholics and the Protestant minority members, and in common with the members of these two sub-samples they are notably lacking from the prestigious organisations which exist for both sexes.

Some of these observations support Margaret Stacey's general observations concerning the participation of men and women in voluntary associations although the connection she establishes based on the polarisation of the Liberal and Free Church connections on the one hand and the Conservative and Church of England connection on the other would not in any way apply to Falkirk. Whilst no sociometric study was undertaken it seems relatively clear that no single group or association of groups provides an alternative to the Church of Scotland in the alignment of voluntary associations in the burgh. This suggests that in a functional sense the Church of Scotland is much more closely related to the society than is the Church of England. How far this may be interpreted to the existence of a Christian "presence" in the

structures of society is open to speculation. The lay leaders had relatively clear views about this, insomuch as they were reluctant to claim a hard distinction between Church and society, and where a distinction was made it was in terms of performance rather than in terms of values. There was no sense in which the Church was standing over against society, on the contrary the Church through its members was affirming and pursuing the values which appeared to be widely held within the society. Whatever else may be said of them, the voluntary associations and the Church of Scotland are complementary rather than opposing structures. The low level of participation by the Catholics and the members of the Protestant minorities may be indicative of separatist tendencies. In the case of the Brethren this would be the traditional position, a symbolic gesture of world rejection in a world where total withdrawal is no longer viable, on economic grounds if on no other. Lenski's reflections on the Detroit Catholics have already been noted, and although in their attitudes the Falkirk Catholics expressed an openness in questions of friendship, church unity and ecclesiastical change, their patterns of behaviour and styles of religious belonging revealed a separatist tendency. A tendency which has doubtless been engendered by generations of rejection by various sections of society as much as it has been engendered by the untypical exclusive characteristics of Catholic doctrine in a Calvinist society.

c) The Church Member and Politics

In a chapter on politics in his study of The Sociology

of Protestantism,<sup>6</sup> Roger Mehl warns against the too easy assumption that "The participation of the members of a religious group in the political life of their country constitutes one possible measure of the religious vitality of that group". On the one hand he argues, those Protestant churches with long pietist traditions may for a variety of reasons stand apart from the political realm, whilst on the other hand the "solidarity between religious problems and political problems is no longer quite as strong". Reflecting that "We live in a society where the difference between Christians and non-Christians is much more marked than in the past, where the churches constitute differentiated and sometimes clearly delineated societies in relation to the global society. These delineations do not mean, however, that it is impossible to establish political and social consensus beyond the walls of partition. Politics thus has a tendency to become a domain largely independent of religious convictions". Mehl then went on to examine some of the differences between the political orientations of Protestants and Catholics.<sup>7</sup> In these observations Mehl's twin roles of theologian and sociologist become partially confused (no sociologist would make the easy assumption that in present society the difference between Christians and non-Christians is much more marked than in the past), but he states the case for the secularisation of politics and the irrelevance of religious belonging for political behaviour. This may possibly

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6. Roger Mehl, The Sociology of Protestantism, (SCM, 1970), P.266.

7. Mehl, Ibid., P.270f.

be the case in the formal support of political programmes and parties, but has politics become totally separated from the religious social consciousness?

The relationship between the churches and the political parties in England has been well documented. The general picture is one of broad alignment between the Anglicans and the Conservative Party, traditional dissent and the Liberal Party, other nonconformist churches and the Roman Catholics with the Labour Party. David Martin writes interestingly on the churchmanship of politicians illustrating these alignments.<sup>8</sup> The Scottish situation is much less easy to interpret, even within the area of broad generalisations. A number of national features at both the political and ecclesiastical level complicate the issue. In Scotland the Conservative Party is also the Unionist Party traditionally associated with the place of Scotland within the total identity of Britain, latterly it has been associated with strong appeals for devolution, at least in the form of regionalism, which has made some traditional non-Conservative attitudes in Scotland appear to be ambiguous. For some of the Catholics who were interviewed the party was regarded with suspicion because of its name, which associates it with the Unionist Party of Northern Ireland. The situation is further complicated by the not inconsiderable strength of the Scottish Nationalist Party in some areas of Scotland, which ambiguously suffers from the gibe of "Tartan Tories" from the members of the Labour Party, whilst many

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8. David Martin, Op.cit., P.49f.



of its members appear to protest that it is their ambition to achieve a socialist government in a "Free Scotland". The Liberal Party, traditionally strong in some parts of Scotland, scarcely exists in the central urban belt of the country, and its demise can be dated to its identification with the disestablishment cause in Scottish ecclesiastical affairs which flared at the end of the nineteenth century and which to some extent coincided with the establishment of the Scottish Labour Party.<sup>9</sup> The Unionist Party has traditionally been regarded as the embodiment of anglicised and episcopalian values, whilst the contemporary Labour Party, which draws heavily upon the large unchurched and working class vote in the urban areas, is also associated with the extensive Catholic and Irish population of the nation.

In their study of political behaviour in Scotland Budge and Urwin provide evidence to show that one of the most significant differences between Scottish and English electors is that for the Scots religious allegiance influences how they vote.<sup>10</sup> Broadly speaking the distinction is between the Conservative orientation of the Protestants and the Labour orientation of the Catholics. Amongst the Protestants socio-economic class contributes to the political differentiations which occur, but amongst the Catholics class divisions do not act as an influence upon the way a vote is

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9. James G. Kellas, The Liberal Party and the Scottish Church Disestablishment Crisis, article in The English Historical Review, Vol. LXXIX, January, 1964.

10. Ian Budge & D.W. Urwin, Scottish Political Behaviour: a Case Study in British Homogeneity, (Longmans, 1966), See Chapter 5, P.55f.

cast. "For Scottish Catholics religious, not class, ties seem to constitute the important influence upon voting". This conclusion of Budge and Urwin would seem to suggest, at one and the same time, that Mehl's judgement should not be taken at face value, particularly his apparent assumption that the relationship between the Church and politics only occurs in a conscious and manifest way; and that a distinguishing feature of Scottish religiosity when compared with that south of the border may be found in the relationship between religion and politics.

The political preferences of Falkirk church members compare with the correlation between religion and political preference of the electors in Glasgow studied by Budge and Urwin. The Protestants provided the Conservative/Unionist support, whilst the Catholics and the non church members provided the Labour support.

Table 96.

The political preference of the informants, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Conser- vative	Labour	Nation- alist	Liberal	Other	None
Church of Scotland	134	43	24	11	9	2	11
Roman Catholic	26	19	54	12	3	3	8
Protestant Minority	21	44	14	14	5	10	10
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	5	51	8	8	3	20

df = 10;  $\chi^2 = 21.18$ ;

P = .025; C = .32.

Note: Discrepancies in N reflect no response. Some informants were reluctant to discuss their politics.

If the non church members and the Catholics can be compared it would appear that the non church members are less likely to vote Conservative than the Catholics, and indeed less than any of those who are associated with the churches. The Catholics are apparently the ones with the fewest political uncertainties. The above figures however refer to preferences rather than to participation, and whilst the Catholics are the most active churchmen in local parties, their level of non participation is marginally higher than that of the members of the Church of Scotland, although it is much lower than that of the members of the Protestant minority churches and the non church members. The Catholics and members of the Church of Scotland together are the ones most likely to be members of the political parties, whilst of all the informants it is the members of the Protestant minorities who are least likely to belong to a party. Whilst the party memberships of the members of the Church of Scotland are mainly in the Conservative party, they are nonetheless distributed through the other major parties also. This is not the case with the Catholics who are concentrated almost entirely in the Labour Party.

Table 97.

The political activism of the informants, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Active in a Party	Vote Only	No Participation
Church of Scotland	144	5	83	12
Roman Catholic	29	14	70	16
Protestant Minority	28	7	60	32
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	6	68	26

df = 4;  $\chi^2 = 11.7$ ;

P = .01; C = .22.

The members of the Protestant minority churches who are members of the Conservative Party are in fact two Episcopalians. The non involvement in politics of the remainder is indicative of a deliberate decision not to be involved on the part of the Brethren and the members of the mission. Some commented that they would always vote for the Christian candidate whatever his official politics might be.

Table 98.

The political party membership of the informants, by percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Conser- vative	Labour	Nation- alist	Liberal	Other	None
Church of Scotland	134	11	1	2	1	0	85
Roman Catholic	26	3	11	0	0	0	86
Protestant Minority	28	4	0	0	0	0	93
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	0	6	3	0	3	89

df = 10;  $\chi^2 = 43.06$ ;

P = .005; C = .428.

With the exception of these there was no self-conscious commitment on the part of the church members. When they were asked why they supported a particular political party the responses simply indicated support for general policies, and in some instances admiration for particular politicians. There was no explicit reference to Christian responsibility in politics, and indeed this was not expected in view of the majority of informants who rejected the idea of there being a link between the Church and politics.

Socio-economic class was also a determinant of the church members' political preferences. The sample of Catholics was too small to establish how far the influence of class upon Catholics differed from the influence of class upon Protestants, but the one Catholic who was a member of the Conservative Party was a middle-class businessman.

Table 99.

The political party preference of church members, correlated with socio-economic class, in percent.

Socio-Economic Class	N =	Conser- vative	Labour	Nation- alist	Liberal	Other	None
Professional	17	80	6	0	6	0	6
Intermediate	57	47	19	9	10	2	12
Skilled Non- Manual	29	41	21	14	14	0	10
Skilled Manual	56	29	38	11	2	4	18
Partly Skilled	15	27	40	13	6	6	6
Unskilled	1	0	0	0	0	0	100

df = 25;  $\chi^2 = 38.44$ ;

P = .05; C = .42.

Note: Discrepancies in N are explained by those informants who refused to answer concerning their political preference.

Within the Church of Scotland there were no differences between the political preferences of the communal and the associational members. Class and religion together constituted the major determinants of political identity. Falkirk is a Labour burgh, its council is Labour dominated and the constituency has had a Labour M.P. since the nineteen-forties. The Protestants, particularly the members of the Church of Scotland, who constitute a majority of the burgh's population, lean towards the Conservative and Unionist Party rather than

towards any of the others. They also belong to and very largely organise the more prestigious of the burgh's associations. The Church of Scotland members are by and large actively involved in the wider community and because of this it is very much a Church of Scotland community in which they are involved. The communal world of the Church of Scotland extends beyond the local congregation, religious identity is expressed naturally and communally within the community as a whole. The Protestant minority members, with exceptions, are separated from this communal world either in alternative church based associations, or in dissociation from the life of the burgh. The non church members appear to pursue the most fragmentary lives, their social world apparently lacking the collective cohesion, the consistency which characterises the religious groups.

d) Some Social and Political Attitudes

In order to clarify the political allegiance of church members in Falkirk they were asked a number of questions concerning matters of importance either to the burgh or to Scotland. Two items of local interest and some controversy were the Grangemouth and Falkirk development plan and the increase of Burgh rates. The first proposes a large new local authority unit in which the environment, institutions and industry of Grangemouth, Falkirk and several outlying communities would be co-ordinated into what would be for all effective purposes a new city located in the Forth valley. The second item raised the issue of the extensive council housing in Falkirk, the expensive high rise council flats, the social status of council tenants, and the uneconomic

rent of council property. An item of continuing national debate which was receiving some considerable press coverage at the time of the interviews was the extent of Scotland's share of the National Income. This debate was coinciding with the General Assembly's pledge in support of devolution and, in Falkirk, with the election of a Church of Scotland minister to the burgh council as a Scottish Nationalist Party councillor. The attitudes of the informants to these controversial issues revealed no significant differences.

Table 100.

## Some Social and Political Attitudes of Informants, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Approve of the Development Plan	Support Council's housing policy	Believe that Scotland does not get fair share of income
Church of Scotland	144	73	63	48
Roman Catholic	29	66	68	59
Protestant Minorities	28	68	75	29
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	69	74	49
df =		4	4	4
$\chi^2 =$		2.62	3.05	7.30
P =		N.S.	N.S.	N.S.

No significant differences occurred on these issues for types of membership, sex, or any of the other variables being considered here. The reasons given for these responses were fairly conventional ones. The development plan was approved in the interests of efficiency of government, the extensions of facilities, and, hopefully, the cessation of the wage spiral. The extensive development of council housing in the

burgh was supported, but with reservations. Many informants of all religious traditions and none were critical of subsidies in the form of cheap housing for the professional and well paid workers who occupy the council houses, in some housing schemes at least. Pithy comments were made about the two car, colour television owning council tenants who hold well paid and secure jobs. Alternatively considerable concern for the elderly, for the jobless, for those unable to work was expressed by the church members. Some wanted to institute a means test upon council tenants, but many recalled the application of the means test of an earlier day during their childhood, and recoiled from the idea. Nearly all the informants recognised an impasse, in that without a means test social justice could not be done, whilst a means test was undesirable. With some reluctance the status quo had to be accepted.

With the exception of the Roman Catholic sub-sample less than fifty percent of the informants felt that Scotland failed to receive a fair share of the national income. The informants were almost unanimous however in their feeling that Scotland was ignored by other constituent nations in Great Britain, that the country suffered from decision making by Westminster, and that money was spent badly in Scotland. Over and again Scottish services were contrasted unfavourably with English services - the roads, the consumer market, public transport, income, availability of employment. In these responses no distinction could be made between the religious groups. "A disproportionately larger sum is needed in Scotland because of the geographic and social conditions",



"There is perhaps not an unequal distribution of income, but I feel that Scottish problems and affairs are ignored in England". Such responses were made by English informants living in Falkirk as well as by the Scots. What should the relationship between England and Scotland be? The informants were asked what kind of Government they would like to see in Scotland.

Table 101.

The form of national government preferred by the informants, in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Total Independence	Provincial Parliament	Improved communications with Westminster	Status Quo
Church of Scotland	144	1	46	45	6
Roman Catholic	29	3	62	21	10
Protestant Minority	28	4	41	33	16
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	14	29	20	11
df = 8;	$\chi^2 = 12.9;$	1. Excluded from $\chi^2$ analysis.			
P = N.S.					

The above table is indicative of a not inconsiderable amount of dissatisfaction with the role of Scotland in the United Kingdom. The percentage of informants favouring the status quo is very small, and although a relatively small percentage of the church members wanted total independence, a substantial number was clearly in favour of devolution. Although the differences between the religious groups are not significant the Roman Catholics stand out as being most in

favour of maximum change, and this is commensurate with the high Catholic percentage believing that Scotland did not receive a fair share of the national income.

The political image of the Church of Scotland members could perhaps be located marginally right of centre. There is little radicalism within the Church, although some of the members possessed an unfulfilled political liberalism of the kind that is not infrequently found in the middle-class sectors of English Congregationalism. The traditional image of the Conservative and Unionist Party, its identification with the laird, its garden parties at the Callendar House, its strong identification with Episcopalianism and Anglicism, does not prevent more than 40% of the Church of Scotland members from expressing a Conservative preference. Few of the Church of Scotland members in Falkirk would want to achieve fulfilment of national consciousness in a separate nation, politically, economically apart from the rest of the United Kingdom. The concept of a provincial parliament supported by 46% of the Church of Scotland informants has drifted in and out of Conservative and Liberal election manifestos for a number of years now. Strangely devolution has not played a great part in Labour politics in Scotland, but 62% of the Catholics, many of them Labour voters, were in favour of a provincial parliament.

It is interesting to observe the discrepancies which exist between the informants who prefer the Scottish Nationalist Party and who prefer total independence of government for Scotland. 11% of the Church of Scotland informants preferred the Nationalist Party, but 1% only preferred the

concept of total independence. Highest support for the Scottish Nationalist Party was given by members of the Protestant minority churches, 14%, but only 4% of the Protestant minority informants wanted full home rule. It was the members of the Protestant minorities who were most likely to prefer the status quo.

e) Conclusion

A number of questions are raised by the data presented in this chapter. These include the difference between church members and non church members in community and political participation; the identification of church members with the social consciousness of the nation; and particularly the relationship between the Church of Scotland and the social consciousness of the nation as this is evident in the formally organised social life of Falkirk and in the political allegiance of its members. Is there a special relationship between being a member of the Church of Scotland and being "Scottish" in the political and cultural sense of that word?

Generally the church members do not differ from non church members in the extent of their social involvement. The difference, as we have already stressed, tends to be one between members of the Church of Scotland and others. The church members are on the whole likely to be more activist in voluntary associations than non church members, a larger percentage of them holding offices in the town's associations. The non church members differ from the church members of all three sub-samples politically, in that a very small percentage

has a Conservative preference, and a relatively high percentage has no political preference whatsoever. In that their political preference tends to be in favour of the Labour Party the non church members are comparable with the Roman Catholics in the sample rather than with the Protestants.

In the popular imagination the Church of Scotland is accorded a special place in the formation and presentation of the Scottish consciousness. It is closely related to the Calvinist personality as this has been interpreted by Max Weber. Thrift and frugality, devotion to duty, justification by faith, the ingredients of the Protestant ethic all combine to produce the familiar Scottish image of dourness, thriftiness, and austerity. "The Word made Flesh is here made Word again", as one of Scotland's own poets has it. The fact that the leaders of the Church of Scotland were reluctant to distinguish between the Church and the society, and that they saw the role of the Christian as being in the vanguard of society upholding and pursuing the goals of society, is an indicator of the closeness of the relationship between the Church of Scotland and the nation. The Protestant ethic, or more accurately the Calvinist ethic, characterises the major secular institutions, and particularly the voluntary associations. The Church of Scotland is large, and it is pervasive, but the Scottish consciousness it embodies becomes confused with class consciousness in the voluntary associations and political preferences. Far from possessing the total embodiment of Scottishness which Ian Henderson claimed for

his Church,<sup>11</sup> the Church of Scotland members are illustrative of an interesting attempt to achieve a balance between national and class consciousness. The voluntary associations and political preferences favoured by the Church of Scotland members are those which in other parts of Britain would provide the typical middle-class social milieu. Their combination with the Protestant ethic of the Scottish middle-class gives them a unique blend of religious earnestness and austerity and status aspiration.

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11. Ian Henderson, Scotland, Kirk and People. (Lutterworth, 1969).

CHAPTER 9

## THE CHURCH MEMBER AND THE WORLD OF WORK

a) Introduction

Ever since the seminal work of Max Weber, in his studies of the relationship between Protestantism and Capitalism, and his claims for the "this-worldly" meaning of religion, the relationship between religion and economics has been widely debated. Within the Weberian thesis the western Capitalist system is a latent function of Protestantism, an ancillary product of the Protestant ethic. Worldly success has traditionally been regarded as being a Protestant achievement whilst the Catholics have generally been less successful and are less ambitious. This thesis has been explored in a variety of contexts, including attitudes towards work, attitudes towards money and careerism. The contemporary relevance of Weber's argument has been widely contested in the United States, most notably in the debate between Gerhard Lenski and Andrew Greeley. Lenski claimed that as a general rule commitment to the spirit of Capitalism is "much less frequent amongst Catholics . . . even when the class system is held constant".<sup>1</sup> Greeley, a Catholic priest and sociologist, refuted this in his study of careerism amongst American graduates.<sup>2</sup> The debate is of particular interest to Scotland where the two dominant religious bodies are Calvinist and Catholic, and

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1. Lenski, Op.cit., P.82f.

2. Greeley, Op.cit.

where there is a widespread acceptance of a popular Scottish image of hard work, frugality and thriftiness, associated with a stern morality and devotion to duty.

The Calvinist character of Scotland as a whole may well have rubbed off onto those in the population who, religiously speaking, are not Calvinists. It has already been suggested that in view of the Calvinist orientation of secular institutions in Scotland the Catholics may well have been caught up in a general subscription to Calvinist economic values. The main area of investigation in this chapter will be the differences which exist between Catholics and Protestants, not only in their work attainments, but in their attitudes towards work. A number of factors evade examination. The relevance of environmental factors is difficult to establish. Falkirk is a part of a major development area. Its former dependence upon the iron industry for its economy has given way to a more diverse economy based on a variety of industries. Whilst the iron industry undoubtedly provided a vehicle for social mobility, particularly amongst Calvinists, during the first hundred years of its existence, the decline of the industry and the decreased economic viability of the smaller foundries which has resulted in rationalisation and centralisation within the industry, has imposed limitations upon the traditional routes of social mobility. The newer industries in the burgh tend to be local plants and subsidiaries of large national and international companies. The local management tends to be in the hands of people who have been promoted from other parts of Britain. There is considerable mobility

within these industries and the Falkirk born worker with aspirations may well have to accept postings and promotion to factories elsewhere in Britain, and even abroad. This introduces elements of inconsistency into our considerations of work attainments within the samples under consideration. The measurement of career attitudes and achievement is further complicated by the increased number of women workers and women pursuing careers. These groups are predominantly represented in Falkirk by an electronics firm which employs a great deal of unskilled and partly skilled female labour, and by the Technical College and College of Education which have increasingly become devoted to preparing mature women for the teaching profession. It is difficult to distinguish between women who work purely for immediate financial gain and those who are pursuing a career (a distinction which is rarely made for men), and it is increasingly unreal to discuss attitudes towards work, ambition and careerism simply in terms of the responses of men only. The discussion here will be concerned with all the informants, men and women alike. The samples used are not sufficiently reliable in their sex distribution to enable us to separate the variety of sub-samples, which would be required in order to conduct a detailed analysis of the different kinds of work orientation and their relationship to traditional values.

The data to be discussed, whilst they are specific for Falkirk, may have only a general application to Scotland as a whole and to the different religious groups within Scotland. In particular the discussion will focus upon ambition, the values of work, and, because of its complicating factor,



attitudes towards working wives.

b) Church Members and Ambition

In an earlier chapter the social mobility of the samples was discussed in relation to the differences between the three religious groups. By comparing the socio-economic class of the informants with that of their parents it was shown that the most mobile of the informants were those belonging to the Protestant minority churches (see Table 9). It was suggested that there may be a positive correlation between social mobility and first generation church membership. The Catholics seemed to be the least mobile of the church members, and the non church members were apparently the least mobile of all the informants. The informants were asked if their current occupations were the fulfilment of ambitions. In the case of wives who did not work they were asked if their husbands had ambitions to do the work which currently occupied them.

Table 102.

The percentage of informants of their husbands whose present occupation represents a fulfilment of ambition.

Denominational Group	N =	%
Church of Scotland	144	47
Roman Catholic	29	30
Protestant Minority	28	56
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	15

df = 2;  $X^2 = 4.61$

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = NS.

The members of the Protestant minority churches were the informants who had in their own estimation, or that of their

spouse, achieved the ambition which they had set themselves. This appears to correlate with the high level of social mobility in the Protestant minority sub-sample. They contrast particularly with the non church members, 15% of whom occupied positions or did work which had been a part of their ambitions. These figures may represent the relatively low level of career aspiration amongst the non church members and the Roman Catholics. What percentage of the informants had unattained ambitions? The largest percentage of informants with frustrated ambitions was found amongst the Roman Catholics and the least frustrated were the non church members. There were no significant differences between the three religious groups in terms of the numbers actually possessing ambition, although the Roman Catholics had a marginally higher percentage with ambition. The non church members were by far the least ambitious of the sub-samples, only 32% of them actually having some kind of work aspiration. The difference between the religious groups is not in terms of career motivation but in terms of the actual attainment of their ambitions. The members of the Protestant minority

Table 103.

The informants with unattained ambitions as a percentage of those whose present occupation is not a fulfilment of ambition

Denominational Group	N =	%
Church of Scotland	77	59
Roman Catholic	21	70
Protestant Minority	14	31
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	30	21

df = 2;  $X^2 = 48.28$

P = .005; C = .54.

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

churches were the most successful in achieving the ambitions they had set themselves whilst the Catholics were the least successful. Again this confirms the previous conclusion that the members of the Protestant minority churches are the most socially mobile, but it also suggests that the relative lack of mobility amongst the Catholics is not a direct result of low motivation, it is rather an expression of frustrated ambition. The factors within the social and economic systems which conspire to thwart Catholic ambitions are many, and they cannot simply be placed at the door of prejudice and lack of

Table 104.

The percentage of informants who had occupational ambitions.

Denominational Group	N =	%
Church of Scotland	144	79
Roman Catholic	29	82
Protestant Minority	28	78
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	32

df = 2;  $X^2 = .2$ ; 1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = NS.

job opportunity. The size of Catholic families, the possible educational limitations of parochial schools referred to by so many of the Catholic informants, combined with residual prejudice all conspire to result in the low level of career attainments by the Catholics interviewed in Falkirk. To these factors must be added the strong local communalism which prevails amongst the Catholics and the low level of geographic mobility which might be an expression of the Catholics' reluctance to move out of the extended family in

the pursuit of ambition. The few Catholics who had lived, for a time, outside Falkirk, described the familial constraints which had led to their return to the burgh. The associational members of the Protestant churches would be unlikely to be influenced by such constraints, and as we have seen, there appears to be a positive correlation between associational membership and ambition, in that it is the members who are most mobile who are least likely to have grown up in church going families.

If the difference between the members of the churches is one of actual achievement rather than one of motivation, the difference between the church members and non church members is one of motivation. Few of the non church members had career motivations, and the ones who had were predominantly from middle-class backgrounds.

The survey of children in a comprehensive school, which was limited almost exclusively to Protestants, revealed that the church going children were the ones who were most career oriented. It was these children who had clear ambitions, it was these children who were most likely to remain at school after the permitted school leaving age, and it was these children who were most likely to be going on to receive further education, not only at university but also in technical colleges and colleges of education. This supports the evidence that the distinction between church members and non church members is that of motivation rather than attainment.

The informants were asked to list in order of importance four desires which they might have for the future of their children. These were, 1) that they should have a better

position in life than their parents; 2) that they should have a well paid job with financial security; 3) that they should do the kind of work which would give them satisfaction; and 4) that they should be engaged in work which would help others. The first three of these represent different aspects of the Protestant ethic. The third is comparable with Lenski's category "The work is important and gives a feeling of accomplishment" which he claimed best expressed the classical Weberian understanding of the Protestant ethic,<sup>3</sup> whilst the third represents an expression of the strong emphasis upon attitudes towards other people which characterises so much of Scottish preaching at the present time.

The informants who were most desirous of their children attaining a better position in life than their own, and who gave this the first priority, were the Roman Catholics, 25% of whom ranked this first, compared with 7% of the members of the Church of Scotland, 12% of the members of the Protestant minority churches, and 20% of the non church members. The non church members were the most desirous of their children having financial security and 27% of them gave this first priority compared with 10% of the Roman Catholics, 12% of the Church of Scotland informants and 17% of the members of the Protestant minority churches. Whilst high percentages of all the informants placed work satisfaction in first position of importance, this was given most priority by the Church of Scotland informants suggesting that

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3. Lenski, Op.cit., P.89.

this category indicative of the classical Weberian understanding of the Protestant ethic was emphatically favoured by the most Calvinist of the three religious groups, whilst it was least favoured by the non church members; 73% of the Church of Scotland informants as against 36% of the non church members.

Table 105.

The percentage of informants according first place to each of the four categories.

Denominational Group	N =	Most Satisfying Work	Better Position than parents	Financial Security	Helping Others
Church of Scotland	144	73	7	12	16
Roman Catholic	29	57	25	10	10
Protestant Minority	28	53	12	17	29
Non Church Members	35	36	20	27	24

The above percentages add up to more than 100% because a number of informants responded that they would give each of these qualities first ranking.

When the responses were given a score and ranked in order of importance for each of the sub-samples the differences between the four sub-samples were small. They were each given a figure equal to the percentage of the responses in each position multiplied by the position in which they were ranked. That is to say that those responses recorded in the first position, that of most importance, were percentaged and multiplied by four, those second in importance were multiplied by three, those third by two and those least important by one. This revealed that each of the four groups

was in favour of their children or any children they may have doing the work which gave them most satisfaction. The results of this calculation were as follows:

<u>Church of Scotland</u>		<u>Roman Catholic</u>	
Most satisfying work	254	Most satisfying work	323
Help Others	263	Help Others	255
Security	210	Better position than	
Better position than		parents	210
parents	157	Security	185
<u>Protestant Minority</u>		<u>Non Church Members</u>	
Most satisfying work	307	Most satisfying work	264
Help others	271	Security	231
Security	234	Help others	220
Better position than		Better position than	
parents	143	parents	184

When these categories were examined in relation to socio-economic class, whilst no positive associations were found, it was the informants in the lower classifications who tended to hope that their children would have a better position in life than their own, whilst the informants in the professional and intermediate classifications were the ones who most emphasised job satisfaction. With the exception of the members of the Protestant minority churches between 20 and 37% of the informants believed that there were other aspirations which they had for their children which were more important than those listed. For the most part they cited happiness, contentment, good marriages and an exemplary life style. But 42% of the members of the Protestant minority churches, most notably the Brethren, said that the most important thing for their children was that they should grow up to be Christians, "I hope" said one "that they will love the Lord Jesus Christ and obey him",

whilst another said, "My son should be upright, honest, and have faith in God".

It is relatively clear that work satisfaction is more important for the majority of informants than simply "getting on in the world", and ambition may be relatively unimportant for the informants even though they do have ambitions. Ambition is not necessarily indicative of a motivation for social or economic improvement, a man may have an ambition to do the same job as his father, to join his father in the foundry, he may even have an ambition to do work which is of lower social status than that which occupies his parents. What were the ambitions of the informants? The majority of ambitions were associated with the professions. Only two informants actually had ambitions to go on to do work comparable to that done by other members of their families "I wanted to join my brother in the pit" said one Church of Scotland member, whilst another said that he wanted to become a pattern maker in a foundry "like my dad". A number of the white collar workers who belonged to all the churches recalled aspirations to be doctors, lawyers, accountants, architects and pharmacists, and they laid their failure to achieve these ambitions at the door of economic conditions which had prevailed during their adolescence. By contrast a number of the professional informants confessed that they had just drifted into their occupations, "I really just drifted into being a solicitor" said a Church of Scotland elder, whilst another member of the Church of Scotland said "I just drifted into being a Chartered Accountant, but I quite enjoy it". Others, not all of them elderly, felt



that they were fortunate to have obtained a job at all during their youth, "I've always had to work, ever since I was fifteen", "My present job is just something I do to earn my living. I would like to have more interesting work, but I don't have the education". "I never had any choice, I had to go out to work, but I found that I quite liked working with figures so I ultimately became an accountant". The most frequently expressed and most frequently attained ambition was that of school-teacher. It is difficult to assess how serious the informants were in their ambitions, but the ambitions directed towards the professions and the superior white collar occupations were more common amongst the members of the Church of Scotland than they were amongst any of the other informants.

c) Attitudes towards Work

The informants were asked to say which of ten qualities they most valued about their work. These were 1) it enabled them to serve others; 2) it gave them responsibility; 3) it provided opportunities for promotion and betterment; 4) it enabled them to work with other people; 5) it assured a high income; 6) it provided security; 7) it gave them good holidays and lots of free time; 8) it secured their retirement with a good pension; 9) the work itself was stimulating and satisfying; 10) their work was done in a pleasant and easy going atmosphere. Again the informants were asked to list these qualities in the order of importance to them, and again the satisfaction of the work itself was generally favoured by the Protestants and by the non church members,

but the Roman Catholics gave it little importance, emphasising the importance of income, 28% and security 40%. None of the informants were particularly interested in good holidays or promotion. When these responses were scored and ranked the following results were obtained.

<u>Church of Scotland</u>		<u>Roman Catholic</u>	
Stimulating work	159	Security	152
Security	111	High Income	124
Responsibility	89	Easy going atmosphere	68
Working with others	76		
<u>Protestant Minority</u>		<u>Non Church Members</u>	
Stimulating work	157	Stimulating work	119
Working with others	90	High Income	93
Responsibility	83	Working with other Security	64
Serving Others	73		

The lowest scores were as follows

<u>Church of Scotland</u>		<u>Roman Catholic</u>	
Holidays	7	Promotion	0
Pension	19	Holidays	8
Atmosphere	23	Serving Others	25
<u>Protestant Minority</u>		<u>Non Church Members</u>	
Holidays	0	Holidays	0
Pension	0	Atmosphere	20
Promotion	22	Promotion	22

There is a relatively clear distinction between the Catholic informants and the others. The emphasis upon income, security, and an easy going atmosphere at work are primarily qualities cited by the Catholic informants, whilst dedication to the work itself, the possession of responsibility, and the opportunity of working with or serving other people are Protestant choices. It seems reasonably clear that there is a distinction between the Protestant work oriented attitude and that of the Catholics which might be interpreted

Table 106.

The percentage of informants according first position of importance to each of the categories.

Denominational Group	N =	Service to Others	Responsibility	Promotion	Working With Others	Income	Security	Holidays	Pension	Work Itself	Atmosphere
Church of Scotland	144	13	13	2	13	4	24	0	2	27	1
Roman Catholic	29	8	4	0	8	28	40	0	4	4	4
Protestant Minority	28	17	11	0	17	6	6	0	0	28	6
Non Church Members	35	3	3	3	10	24	14	0	3	21	0

The percentages are calculated to the nearest figures. The discrepancy in the Protestant Minority and Non Church Member rows are accounted for by failures to respond to this question.

in terms of the Protestant ethic. Rather more than fifty percent of the informants said that there were things they considered to be more important, and these were predominantly members of the Protestant minority churches, 78% of whom described alternative characteristics of their work which they most valued. In fact most of these were complementary to the categories originally listed, good relationships with colleagues or employers, the challenge of work, pride in achievement, the fact that the work was creative were all cited as being important. The least satisfied with their work were the Catholic informants, fourteen percent of whom said that there was nothing that they particularly valued about their work, it was just a means of surviving, or the conditions were bad; eleven percent of the non church members responded similarly. The members of the Protestant minority churches appeared to be most contented with their work, three percent of them saying that they did not value their occupation, whilst six percent of the Church of Scotland informants responded in this way. The dislikes were not confined to those engaged in the traditional lower class occupations. A Catholic shop-keeper said "I dislike my work, its no sort of life. I wouldn't have my children in the business, they must be free". A Church of Scotland accountant said, "You ought to be asking what I don't like about my job - it drives me mad at the moment". A Catholic woman said, "My husband's job is just his livelihood, otherwise it means nothing to him or to me, I know that it doesn't interest him at all". A Brethren woman, an office worker in a large Falkirk factory said "My work is not important to me, I don't like it. The

atmosphere is bad and they discriminate, they won't employ Catholics for instance". A Catholic man said "If the family didn't want the money I wouldn't work, but as I do work its important to remember that one owes responsibility to one's employers, we should do a good job". A Brethren man said, "I'm not really able to say what I appreciate about my work, its just a job isn't it? I can't say what's important about it". But these responses were exceptional. Far more typical was that of a leader of the Brethren who was a pattern maker in an iron foundry, "The work is creative and satisfying, you're shaping something, creating something - you have a sense of achievement". A member of the Erskine Church of Scotland said of his job with the Scottish Tar Distillers, "I enjoy the freedom I have in the implementation of policies and the making of choices, I enjoy organising and seeing what I plan come into being". A motor salesman who is a member of St. Andrew's Parish Church said, "I enjoy being able to give somebody a really good deal. I want to be honest in my business and the competition in the trade today makes honesty difficult, its a challenge". Another Church of Scotland man said of his job in a foundry "There are good relations between the staff and the management, and there is respect for the older generation's experience and hard work, rather than respect for the younger men's paper qualifications". Only one of the informants referred specifically to religion in relation to work, this was the president of the non-denominational mission who said that the most valuable thing about work was that "one should show the love of Jesus Christ in everything that you do".

Returning from the specific to the general there are distinctive differences between the Protestants and the Catholics in their attitudes towards work. The non church members fluctuate between Protestant and Catholic in the subscription to the Protestant value of stimulating and satisfying work and the Catholic emphasis upon income. The sub-sample of non church members is made up of former Catholics and former Protestant church members as well as of those who have never had any kind of specific religious orientation, and their collective responses may well reflect the alternative influences which have been brought to bear upon them.

In relation to work the world of the Protestants appears to be more integrated than that of the Catholics. Protestant communalism, it may be hypothesised, embraces work, whilst Catholic communalism appears not to except in a purely economic sense. The intrinsic values of work either in a creative sense or as a means of involvement in and identification with the community is a Protestant characteristic, whilst for the Catholics the primary function of work is in the support of the family. This is not to say that these characteristics are true of all Catholics and all Protestants, but they do appear to characterise the sub-samples of Falkirk church members.

In some respects work constitutes a social world of its own with its own network of social relations, its own formal organisations and its own politics. Membership of social clubs and voluntary associations related to occupation was

very largely confined to participation in sporting activities, most notably by members of the Church of Scotland. Political activism at work seems to be more closely related to membership of the Roman Catholic Church. Fifty-three per cent of the Church of Scotland informants were either Trade Union members or were married to husbands who were members of a Union, compared with 48% of the members of the Protestant minority churches, and 82% of the Roman Catholic informants. One of the Church of Scotland members was a Union secretary, but four Catholics played an active part in the life of their Union. This supports the judgement of a local Union organiser that generally speaking the religious persuasion of Union participants was unknown unless they were Catholics and therefore activist, or Brethren, particularly members of the exclusive Brethren who therefore sought to dissociate themselves from the Union. He described how some of the latter offered to contribute the equivalent of their subscriptions to any charity or cause which he would wish to name, and his response was always that the most worthy cause he knew was the Union. A number of the Brethren, particularly amongst those who worked in the foundries, said that they had to belong to a Union in order to do their jobs, but this was regarded by them as being a formality, and they played no active part in the work of the Union.

d) Working Wives

Almost all the married women associated with the sample, either as actual informants or as the spouse of an informant, had worked before their marriages. In all one hundred and

twelve marriages were represented by the sample, and amongst these it was the Catholic and Protestant minority wives who were most likely to go out to work. Eighty-eight percent of the Catholics and eighty-four percent of the non Church of Scotland Protestant wives went out to work, compared with sixty-one percent of the Church of Scotland wives and sixty percent of the non church members' wives. The informants were asked if they approved of married women working. Despite the high percentage of working Catholic wives it was the Catholics who were most reluctant to agree to wives working.

Table 107.

Informants' responses to the question, "Do you approve of Married women having a job outside the home?", in percent.

Denominational Group	N =	Yes	No	Don't Know
Church of Scotland	144	55	39	6
Roman Catholic	29	48	48	4
Protestant Minority	28	50	46	4
Non Church Members <sup>1</sup>	35	65	29	6

df = 4;  $X^2 = 1.42$ ;

1. Excluded from  $X^2$  analysis.

P = NS.

The most common objection to women working which was voiced by members of all the churches and of none was the importance of demands made upon the mother by her children. This was often qualified by the reflection that once the children have grown up there is no intrinsic objection to women working. It was sometimes qualified too by the reflection that a woman with a career might be regarded as being in some way different from a woman who was working simply for the sake of earning additional money for the family.



For example one Church of Scotland male informant said "Looking after a family is enough, it is a full time job. I do not approve of women doing jobs for money. It is different if you have a career as a doctor or teacher, but time spent with the children, influencing them, is more important than earning additional money". This was not only a male opinion, and even women with qualifications for pursuing a career were inclined to say that the home came first. The middle-aged wife of a Church of Scotland elder who was a qualified doctor said "I think that we should be responsible for maintaining a pleasant and comfortable home", and another married woman, also with professional qualifications and also a member of the Church of Scotland said "My husband said a woman couldn't have a family and a profession. He objected to my working and I was happy to comply with his wishes". A number of the middle-class wives expressed their desire to get out of the home from time to time, but for some of them returning to work was a problem. Whilst their husbands had risen in occupational status during the years of their marriage, improving their qualifications and job opportunities the wives had devoted their attention to the home, with the result that they were not qualified to do work of a comparable status to their husbands' occupations. A Church of Scotland woman married to a senior education officer had been a telephone operator in the first years of her marriage; she said, "I'd be interested in going back to work, but to a job of a higher standing and for which I wouldn't have qualifications". Another Church of Scotland woman said "I would like to work, as I'd like to be known as myself as

well as a wife and mother". The number of informants rigorously opposed to married women working on principle was small, and they were mainly Roman Catholics. A Catholic businessman said "Women belong in the home - Oh they will please themselves - but this is my opinion". A Catholic man in his thirties whose wife was working in order to help pay for a holiday they were to take said "I've taken quite a bit of persuading on this, the woman's place is in the home". This attitude was not confined to men nor was it limited solely to Catholics. A Church of Scotland woman who worked part-time with a catering firm said "Well really the husband is the breadwinner - properly speaking the wife belongs at home". The majority of informants however had no strong feelings about this and generally they approved of women working, either on financial grounds or, just as frequently, on the grounds that going out to work would give a married woman additional interests and would preserve her from boredom.

The non church members were very largely in favour of women working on the grounds of adding to the family income. The class composition of the sample of non church members was clearly influential in these responses. One woman said "It has always been a financial necessity, particularly as I wanted the girls to go to university", and another one commented "When you are short of money you don't have very much choice". Not all the non church members responded in this way however, one man said "I'm sure that women feel happier when they are working and they can do so quite easily when the children are at school", and another man said of his wife "It gives her a feeling of independence, helps her to

keep up her appearance, and of course it does help financially".

A familiar theme in contemporary sociology is the fragmentation of the western family and the geographical and occupational dispersion of its members. This applies particularly to the extended family, but also to the nuclear family particularly in a climate of vertical social mobility in which children assume a higher social status than that of their parents. Various causes are attributed to this phenomenon. These are typically the processes of urbanisation, and within the sociological theory of Tonnies<sup>4</sup> the rationalising process of the movement from community to association, from the face to face relationships of the community in which the individual is known in a multiplicity of roles, to the knowledge of the individual only in his specialised roles in a series of associations. There has been other evidence, however, furnished by studies in both Britain and the United States, which suggests that this erosion of the family is not as advanced as some sociologists have claimed, nor is it inevitable that in an expanding and changing urban area the family will succumb to fragmenting pressures. The work of Wilmott and Young in Bethnal Green<sup>5</sup> suggests that

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4. Tonnies, Op.cit.

5. Peter Willmott and Michael Young, Family and Kinship in East London, (Penguin, 1957).

although the family may be geographically dispersed in an urban area it nonetheless adapts itself to the accommodation of such dispersal and somehow in an adapted form it manages to survive. Lenski refers to the comparison made by Max Weber between Confucianism and Puritanism and Weber's claim that Puritanism substituted the community of faith for the community of blood.<sup>6</sup> This is a familiar theme in the work of Weber,<sup>7</sup> who in his discussion of the emergence of the city argued that Christianity contributed to the development of the city precisely because it de-emphasised blood ties and the ties of the tribe making possible the development of a new form of social world, which increasingly, because of its dispersed and relatively autonomous nature became dependent upon economics. Inevitably this process militates against communalism and against the family, and a large part of Lenski's thesis is devoted to the submission that Protestantism particularly de-emphasises the family. We shall refer to the relationship between the findings of Lenski and this study in a later chapter, our purpose here is to underscore the significance of attitudes towards working women not so much for the world of work as for the family.

There are differences between actual behaviour and attitude. Whilst the largest percentage of working wives is found amongst the Catholics the greatest opposition to married women working is also found amongst the Catholics.

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6. Lenski, Op.cit. P. 214, referring to Max Weber, The Religion of China.

7. See also, Max Weber, The City, (Free Press) and Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, (Methuen, 1963).

The communalism which is cherished by the Catholics in association with the family is threatened by economic necessity or financial aspiration. Conversely the Church of Scotland members who are most in favour of married women working constitute a substantially smaller percentage of the working wives. A consistent relationship between behaviour and attitude is found most amongst the members of the Protestant minority churches who have both a majority of their members in favour of married women working and a large majority of working wives. The tension between communalism and associationalism in the economic realm is experienced most by the Catholics. Their traditional emphasis upon the importance of the family, the communal structure of their social world embracing kin who are bound up in the Church is threatened by economic contingency. The separation of home and work in which the function of employment is that of supporting and sustaining the family is also threatened when the family itself begins to change its pattern through the wife going out to work. The Protestants have no such problems. Their associationalism, we may hypothesise after Weber, contributes to their willingness to see married women working. It is significant that for so many of the informants work was seen as a widening of the social world of the married woman, frequent references were made to the possibilities of new relationships, a sense of purpose outside the family, a contribution which could be made to society, and the need for an identity which exists independently of the identity of wife and mother. This is tempered by factors of class and status. The relative financial security of the middle-classes

means that many Church of Scotland wives do not need to go out to work for financial reasons, whilst problems of status make it difficult sometimes for women to accept certain occupations after being some years confined to the home and the family. In this connection the increasing numbers of women returning to the technical college to work towards their Higher Certificate, and to Callendar Park College of Education to train as primary teachers, is highly significant. Many of the women interviewed were doing one or two courses at the technical college and a number were already students at the college of education. They were all Protestants, and nearly all of them were planning on returning to work as their children grew older. Before their marriages they had worked as clerks, typists and general office workers, whilst their husbands were often men with responsible white collar occupations, managers of various kinds, senior office workers, industrial chemists and so on. The undoubted need for more primary teachers and the existence of colleges willing to prepare mature women for the profession is complemented by the willingness of so many to approve of working married women, particularly within the Church of Scotland, and with the peculiar social situation created by the need to redress the imbalance of occupational status which potentially exists between husband and wife. How far this may lead to increased associationalism within the Church of Scotland resulting in greater fragmentation is a fascinating subject of speculation. The differing attitudes of the religious groups towards working wives appear to reflect the differences

which prevail in the ways in which they comprehend their belonging to the church, and they complement the broad communal or associational orientation of the church members. In this connection it is interesting to observe that the Protestant minority sub-sample which has the largest percentage of associational members also has the largest Protestant percentage of working wives.

Table 108.

Working wives as a percentage of the marriages represented in the sub-samples.

Denominational Group	Number of Marriages	Percentage of wives who work
Church of Scotland	78	61
Roman Catholic	12	88
Protestant Minority	12	84
Non Church Members	10	60

The non church members who are most emphatic in their belief that married women should be free to work if they wish to do so had the lowest percentage of working wives in their marriages.

e) Conclusion

The work of Lenski formed one of the models upon which this study was based. Without undertaking a sophisticated factor analysis we have nonetheless leaned heavily upon the concepts of communal and associational which, in some of their aspects at least, compare with those used by Lenski in The Religious Factor. The emphasis has been upon the conceptual framework provided by Lenski and not upon the theoretical implications of his specific findings. Some

of the conclusions of this report however compare remarkably with those of Lenski. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the consideration of the church members' attitudes towards work. Lenski wrote:

"Our over-all impression is that Catholics and Protestants alike have assimilated the materialistic values of contemporary society to the point where they equally value a good job with high income, and are equally likely to aspire to such a position. However, Catholics seem to be at a disadvantage in the competition because of a series of values to which they apparently become committed as a result of their involvement in the Catholic Church and sub-community."<sup>8</sup>

With various qualifications this statement could be accepted as a summary of the conclusions arising out of this chapter, but we would perhaps be more emphatic in seeing the world of work and the attitudes expressed towards it as a function of the differing modes of religious belonging, and we would also, in Falkirk and Scotland, distinguish between the Church of Scotland Protestants and the non Church of Scotland Protestants. Despite the relatively high level of his occupational aspirations the Catholic is frustrated in his ambitions to some extent because of his devotion to the communal world of Catholicism. Work, like the voluntary associations and, in a different way, politics, lies outside this world. In the last analysis work is primarily a means to the end, the end being the local communalism of Catholicism, primarily the family. The values of security and a high income which are given priority by the Catholics are both expressive of the separation between work and family. An easy going atmosphere which makes no demands upon the

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8. Lenski, Op.cit., P.345.



individual in terms of complicated relationships or responsibility at work may also be taken as evidence of maximum personal involvement in the life of the Catholic social world rather than in a wider world. The Catholic concern with politics in the society as a whole and at work are directly related to his concerns with security and high income.

The Church of Scotland members are divided between those who belong communally and those who belong associational-ly. We have suggested that Church of Scotland communalism is more broadly based than that of Catholicism, the Church of Scotland communal member not only makes little distinction between the Church and society in principle, he also expresses this in practice through a relatively high involvement in voluntary associations and a general identification with the community as a whole. This contrasts with the Church of Scotland associational member who has "chosen" to belong to the church, and for whom the church may be one amongst a series of alternative institutions which are available to him. The associational members would be the ones most likely to distinguish between Church and society in the Church of Scotland precisely because they have made a choice. For them the institutions which lie outside the church would be possibly seen as being alternatives to the social world which they are trying to construct. These alternatives appear in the attitudes towards work revealed by the Church of Scotland members. The combination of security and the value of work for its own sake may be indicators of communal and associational

preferences combining for Church of Scotland members. The responses of the members of the Protestant minority churches might be interpreted in a wholly associational way. The importance of work for its own sake, the value of working with other people, serving others, the possession of responsibility which lies outside the home, the family, the church can all be interpreted in an associational way, as offering a series of alternative associations and relationships through which the behaviour of the individual becomes highly differentiated.

It might be claimed that work possesses its own distinctive values and that it has intrinsic moral and behavioural qualities which "a good worker" will endorse in terms of dedication to the job, loyalty to employers, friendliness towards colleagues or workmates, tempered with ambition, skill and knowledge. The mainstream Protestant churches, the Church of Scotland particularly, are inclined to endorse these virtues as they seek to achieve some kind of Christian presence in industry. These are, of course, largely Capitalist virtues and largely Protestant in their emphases. The Christian presence is not always the manifest one, the self-conscious one. The influence of the Church, its theology, its teaching and the social world it generates can be expressed in a latent way through the attitudes which are taken to the place of work by the Church member. The location of work within the social consciousness of the individual is expressive of his membership of the church as much as, if not more than, any self-conscious attempt to be a Christian in industry. The Scottish Catholic with

ambitions has great demands put upon him because of the social world he inhabits and the separation which occurs between this world and the society as a whole. The demands are intensified by the strong Calvinist orientation of secular institutions in Scotland. It is not simply that the Protestant work ethic is so distinctive, although this is important, it is also that this ethic is a part of the social world of the majority of the population, and those amongst whom he works will very largely belong to this social world and for them the ethic will take its natural place within it. The Catholic has to partially step outside his world and his world becomes threatened with fragmentation. For members of the Church of Scotland fragmentation is not such an obvious threat, for this reason they are able to encourage their womenfolk to engage in remunerated work in an environment which lies beyond the home and the church and the social network of kin and close friends. It is seen as being a potentially good thing for a woman to be ambitious like her husband, as long as children do not suffer, for horizons are widened, interests are extended, new relationships become possible, and these do not threaten the social world they extend it. The problem for the Catholic is made even more acute because of the universalism of his Church. The large number of Catholics in Scotland may obscure the fact that this is a church in diaspora, and despite its implicit universalism which tends to embrace rather than discard other social institutions, in Scotland these institutions have already been embraced within the peculiar Calvinist consciousness which prevails within the nation.

The above comments are of course theoretical generalisations. In his discussions of the Protestant ethic, indeed in almost all his work, Max Weber was discussing "ideal types". The discussion above is in a sense a typological discussion which will be contradicted by the specific, but in broad general terms it is submitted as a description of the differences between Catholics and Protestants, more particularly Catholics and members of the Church of Scotland, in the world of work. It is more difficult to discuss the members of the Protestant minority churches in this context, primarily because they constitute such a disparate group whose churches stand in differing relationships with the Church of Scotland and which have appropriated in different ways and from different sources those elements of Calvinism which may prevail in their theology. The Brethren are perhaps the most interesting members of this sub-sample, conditioned as they are to making a clear distinction between the religious group and the wider society within which it exists. It is perhaps because of this clear distinction that so many of the Brethren are in fact owners of their own businesses, as such occupations may offer less compromise with the world than the employee/employer relationship which they might otherwise have to accept. Clearly such businesses cannot be sustained by Brethren custom alone, within the community of the Brethren, but to a very large extent in Scotland the Brethren do patronise the shops, garages and other businesses which are owned by fellow members of the assembly. It is also by no

means uncommon for the wealthier members of the assembly "to help out" their brethren financially when occasion arises. Some of the Falkirk informants made no secret of their preference for dealing in business with other members of their assembly rather than with people outside.

CHAPTER 10

## THE NON CHURCH MEMBERS

a) Introduction.

Throughout the previous chapters an attempt has been made to compare the non church members with the church members belonging to differing ecclesiastical traditions. The primary object of doing this was in order to endeavour to establish the distinctive characteristics of the church members in structural terms, in attitudinal and behavioural terms, and also in terms of the alternative social worlds they inhabited. In some instances the non church members were seen to be quite different from the church members. This was particularly so with regard to class and sex, but it was also true for the attitudinal and behavioural variables which were examined. The abiding and accepted distinction was of course the one of religious belonging, whereas church members belonged to one or another of the several ecclesiastical institutions the non church members had no such formal association, although a small minority of them occasionally attended worship. It is the purpose of this chapter to reconsider the non church members. In doing this two foci will be adopted. The first will regard the non church members as the negative to the church members' positive. That is to say that the non church members will be considered in terms of the characteristics which appear to set them apart from the church members. The second and more difficult if more fruitful focus will be upon the non church members and their place in the social world of the church member.

In considering the church members we have been dealing with fairly cohesive groups. The Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic sub-samples were particularly unambiguous, and it was possible to make tentative evaluations of their distinctive characteristics. The Protestant minority sub-sample was more difficult, the factors which gave it such cohesion as it had were related to the minority characteristics of the religious institutions to which the informants belonged. Within this sub-sample there were differences of social structure and of attitudes which were very largely disguised by the need to treat the minority members as a single group. The non church members however do not constitute an easily identifiable and cohesive group. Although none of these informants belonged to a church the nature of their associations with the churches varied considerably. Some of them had been born Catholics, some had belonged to the various Protestant churches at some time during their lives, whilst others had never been in any way associated with the church, and for them churches were unknown and foreign countries which had never been visited. Those who had formerly been members of the churches had ceased to be members for a large variety of reasons. In some instances the peculiarities of the Church of Scotland transfer system which were described in a previous chapter had been misunderstood and abused. Geographic mobility certainly puts church membership at risk more than any other factor. In other instances the non church members had unfortunate experiences of particular congregations and ministers which

had resulted in disillusionment, and in others church membership had just lapsed as the outcome of growing disinterest. Inevitably the attitudes towards the church of those who had formerly been members differed from those who had no experience of the church at all. Some of the non church members, although they had no personal experience of church membership, were married to church members. Usually it was the wife who was associated with the church and through their wives a number of men had a second hand knowledge and experience of the churches. In such marriages the husband might well have what can only be called a "joking relationship" with the minister upon his occasional visit to the home. Some of these differences will be considered in this chapter, along with the attitudes towards the churches which are displayed by those who do not belong to them.

The churchless have always figured prominently in the thinking of the Christian Church, but as the different ecclesiastical traditions developed, their understanding of the churchless moved into several differing channels, reflecting as they did so the assumptions of church members about the nature and significance of their own religious belonging. These differing assumptions were woven into the complicated fabric of the relationship between Church and State, Church and society and between Church and Church. The Roman Catholic Church, for example, assumes in its total organisation that a direct equation can be made between being a Catholic and being a citizen. It thereby distinguishes not between church members and non church members, but between good and bad Catholics, or, in a more sophisticated



way, between nuclear, modal, marginal and dormant Catholics. Until recently Roman Catholicism assumed that "the churchless" included church going Protestants as well as those who were not members of any religious institution. The Catholic Church in Scotland is a Church in diaspora and this has led to the development of ambiguous attitudes. On the one hand the Church is separatist, its members increasingly bound together with their Catholic kin and the Catholic sub-community based on parish and school. On the other hand the Church has had to become accommodating to secular institutions which are not influenced nor wholly staffed by Catholics. The sociological universalism which is implicit in Catholic Church Order would orient it to the wider society whilst its role in dispersion would demand withdrawal from that society. The separatist sects are more likely to distinguish between Christian and non Christian than they are to distinguish between church member and non church member. The Church is regarded by them as being essentially a gathering of believers, and the distinctive thing about their church is that it is a community of faith unlike other churches which are regarded as being little more than secular institutions. In the responses of the lay leaders it was apparent that the distinction between church members and non church members was measurable in terms of traditional values of conservative Protestantism; and by "church member" they mostly meant members of their church. The Church of Scotland is unique in that it is a Calvinist Church which is also a national Church. Its role is complicated by the fact that the present body includes congregations which originally belonged

to the secessionist churches the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Many ministers and church members can recall the structures and more importantly the ethos of the United Free Church of Scotland which until 1929 was an amalgam of the two major secessionist bodies. This complexity is reflected in the ambiguities and inconsistencies which exist within the structures of the Church of Scotland and it is also reflected in the prevailing attitudes towards the churchless. Structurally the ambiguity is to be found in the confused relationship between parish and congregation which exists in the Church of Scotland. The appropriateness of the Church adopting a geographic territory as its domain, and of describing this domain as a parish are both suspect activities within the biblical understanding of the Church and the parish. The parish structure of Britain is in fact a manorial structure rather than a true parish structure, the original parish was nearer in conception to the gathered church than it was to the national parochial system with which we are familiar today.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless the parish system is essentially a characteristic of a national Church whilst other Churches have a congregational system. The Church of Scotland has both, and in discussing the church the distinction between the parish and the congregation is not always made clear. Whilst with the Act of Union in 1929 the Church of Scotland adopted the local church organisation of the continuing Church of Scotland it also increased within its system the numbers of those who thought of the Church as

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1. P.D. Thomson, Parish and Parish Church, (Nelson, 1948).

being a gathering of people, an understanding typical of the secessionist bodies. Implicit within the two understandings of local church organisation are differing understandings of what is meant by the churchless. Within a state Church which provides every parish with a place of worship, by definition none are churchless, for their church is the one which is present within the boundaries of the parish in which they live. But not all members of the parish are members of the congregation, and it is membership of the congregation which constitutes church membership. So that, whilst they may not be churchless those who have not "joined the church" remain non church members. This situation does lead to ambiguity in thinking about the relationship between the Church and the society, for it becomes difficult to establish precisely what is meant by Church in the discussions of such a relationship. If the Church is essentially the parish church then the differences between church members and non church members would indeed be expected to be small, it is not so much a question of differences of membership as differences between those who decide to identify themselves closely with their church and those who choose to ignore their church, but they both belong to the same milieu and the parish church is the church which exists for them all. If on the other hand the Church is essentially the congregation then there will be a difference between church members and non church members, primarily a difference of belief. This attitudinal ambiguity was reflected in the lay leaders' understandings of what the

differences are between the church member and the non church member. An attempt has been made in this study to discuss both the structural and attitudinal ambiguity of the Church of Scotland particularly, in terms of the communal and associational forms of religious belonging which appear to characterise the members of that Church. It will be suggested in a concluding chapter that such alternative modes are characteristic of a Church at a particular stage in its history. Within the Church of Scotland it may be hypothesised that the communal members would minimise the distinctions between church member and non church, their Calvinist universalism would see the whole of Scottish society as being engaged in the pursuit of the same broad ends in terms of honesty, integrity, dedication to work and thrift. Conversely it may be hypothesised that the associational members would maximise the distinctions between church member and non church member, if only because they are aware that they have in some way belonged to the world of those who are not members of the church and they have chosen to switch worlds. Their attitudes might be characterised as being pietism. The question to which we will turn our attention in this chapter is that of how far the non church members appear to conform to these alternative assumptions about them and how far they conform to the attitudes and life styles which complement such assumptions. At the root of such a consideration will be a recognition that the Churches' understanding of mission, evangelism and social responsibility and social action are geared to how they understand the relationship between the Church and the

world, which in its turn is related to the modes of religious belonging of those who express the alternative understandings.

b) The Non Church Member and Church Membership

Almost fifty percent of the non church members had at some time been church members. The majority of these had been members of the Church of Scotland whilst the rest were equally divided between those who had been Catholics and those who had been members of the Protestant minority churches. Not surprisingly the total sampling frame revealed a much wider distribution through the several churches and the former Catholics constitute a minority when compared with former members of the Church of Scotland and former members of the Protestant minority.

Table 109.

The former church membership of non church members, in percent.

Sample	N =	Church of Scotland	Roman Catholic	Protestant Minority	None
Total Sample	85	35	6	15	44
Interview Sample	35	32	9	9	50

Twenty percent of the non church members who were interviewed were married to church members. These were men whose wives belonged to the churches with one exception, that of a woman who was married to an active Catholic. This distribution was rather higher than the distribution for the total sample. Thirty percent of the wives who attended church attended the Grahamston Parish Church, reflecting the correlation between the lower social classifications and non church membership

Table 110.

The non church members who were married to church members,  
in percent.

Sample	N =	Unmarried/ Widowed etc.	Church of Scotland	Roman Cath- olic	Protestant Minority	None
Total Sample	85	30	13	2	0	55
Interview Sample	35	23	17	3	0	57

and the lower social classifications and membership of  
Grahamston church.

The reasons given for ceasing to be a church member reflected a general disinterest in the churches rather than any strong criticism. A former Congregationalist said "I started work and I just drifted away from the church", whilst a former member of a Church of Scotland congregation said "I could make a thousand excuses, but I haven't the clothes and I couldn't be bothered"; whilst a Catholic said "I used to go in my working clothes, but I couldn't do that now. I stopped going in 1939 when my mother died". Only three of the former members expressed any opposition to the church as such. An elderly man who was born a Catholic said "I didn't believe in everything that the Catholic Church taught. They interfere too much in private life". A Church of Scotland man described his experience of being out of work during the nineteen-thirties "The church would not give me any assistance when I was out of work for a long time. The minister came round and looked all over our house; he was very un-sympathetic and arrogant, and decided that we didn't need help". A former member of the Old Parish Church said "The

church is full of hypocrites, how can you mix with hypocrites."

Fifty-five percent of the non church members had considered joining a church quite recently, most of them did not do so because they were critical of the church in some way, but a number suffered from feelings of conscience because in the final analysis they would be unable to accept the full teaching of the church. The woman who was married to a Catholic expressed this very well, and in doing so provided an interesting sidelight on the exclusive quality of Catholicism in Falkirk when she said, "Because of my husband and the children I started to receive instruction in the Catholic faith, but I didn't complete it. I can't make myself join in with things that I can't really accept. You have to be born into it and brought up in it, not accept it at a questioning age. I can never be a real Catholic, never a member of their community." A woman in her thirties said "I sometimes have the feeling that I would like to join a church because I have a basic belief in God and Christianity, but I like to have a good time". Some who were interested in the possibility of becoming members of the church were prevented from doing so by their own embarrassment. One woman said "I felt that it would be a good thing to join, but frankly I couldn't afford to compete clothes wise with those who went to church. Some church members look down on you all dressed up on a Sunday. Clothes are not important, but I didn't want to be in a situation in which they would be important". A man aged fifty said "My wife and two daughters belong and I consider myself a good enough living person and believe in the Bible teaching, but I don't like to

approach the minister because I don't know if I was baptised. I tore up my birth certificate when I joined the army." A number of the non church members were put off by what they considered to be the shortcomings of the churches, although these may well have been little more than isolated experiences. One woman said "I felt that I should belong to a parish church, and I attended the Guild there. But I just cannot stand the pettiness of the church". A retired man said "My background is religious and my wife is Church of England, but in ten years no minister came to see us even though our sons went to the Boys' Brigade and the Sunday School. The strongest statement was made by a man in his forties, "I can claim to be a member of the universal church. There are no hypocrites in the universal church".

It is the social worlds constituted by church membership which provide the greatest stumbling block for the non church members, not the church as an ideal institution nor belief or religion. The problem is very largely one of either being communally recognised or being able to accept the terms of associational membership. In the first instance, as was exemplified by the woman married to a Catholic, there is a recognition that despite all the initiation processes one cannot ultimately belong to the community because one has not been born into it, it is not a natural and primary social group, and this recognition is all the more difficult to accept when husband and children do fully belong in the communal sense. Alternatively it is the problem of wanting to join a church and finding that one is in fact joining a



congregation which demands a degree of adaptation and adjustment to the social mores of a particular group and the severance or partial severance of existing social ties and the values which are unconsciously present within them. Both the inclusiveness and the exclusiveness of the churches provide particular problems for particular individuals. The problems have in common the fact that they would either not provide a solution to the social fragmentation which the individual is already experiencing, indeed they may aggravate and add to such fragmentation, or they would create social fragmentation where at the moment it does not exist. The Church of Scotland presents a specific problem because of the confusion which exists in the distinctions between parish church and congregation, for the question which the would be church member must ask, albeit unconsciously, is, precisely what is it that he is joining, a universal institution to which he belongs by birthright, or a pietistic conventicle which would set him apart in some way from the social world to which he belongs.

c) Non Church Members' Attitudes Towards the Church

In general terms although the non church members were confused by the Church and experienced difficulty in understanding precisely what it was in social terms, they were not opposed to it. Indeed a majority described their attitudes towards the church as being on the whole favourable.

Table 111.

Non church members' attitudes towards the church in terms of degrees of favourability, in percent.

Very Favourable	Mildly Favourable	Indifferent	Mildly Unfavourable	Very Unfavourable
26	34	26	3	11

Not all of those who were favourably disposed towards the Church favoured it for their own purposes, but they recognised that it met a need for other people. The informants who were most favourable in their appreciation of the Church were women, whilst the men tended to be indifferent or critical. One woman said of the Church "Some people do get pleasure from it. They use it for different things, they need it or they find it entertaining. Its a healthy organisation". A man said "The Church exists to be a help to people. I have worked beside good Christians and found that they were happy and tried to make others happy." and another man, "I'm not an atheist, The Church keeps people together, and it helps and does a lot of good for bereaved people", and yet another "I believe in the Church, I think it is important to the country and does a lot of good". Other responses included "Its good to see people going to church, it makes people more Christian", and "There are good people in the Church and the Church generally tries to do good in the community", and "The Church gives a lot of people a lot of joy. It has a good influence and ought to be supported". Such responses could be repeated several times over. One man vehemently said "It represents the Protestant Faith. Children should be brought up in it. Protestantism is in

danger and the Church ought to be upheld".

The number of non church members who were critical of the Church was small, five out of thirty-five. But their criticisms were not always strong, the woman married to a Catholic felt that the Church was mistaken in its allegiance to the bible "I cannot believe the bible. Science nowadays is beginning to prove that its all fairy tales. The Church perpetuates a myth. Christ fought for people's rights, but he was not the Son of God". A man in his twenties said "The Church offers very little of practical importance to people of my age group. It's pointless and I'm not losing anything by not being a member". Only one informant was wholly and absolutely against the Church, and he was an elderly man who lived permanently in a model lodging house, a former miner who had been born a Catholic. His comment was "They are greedy, selfish and uncharitable people in the Church", but he was exceptional, although a man brought up in the Church of Scotland came close to a similar response when he recalled a conflict in one of the Church of Scotland churches in the thirties, "there were terrible rows in the Old Parish; My father was stopped from going by the Kirk Session because he wouldn't pay his contribution. He was struck off the congregational roll".

We have seen in the previous chapters how there were relatively few clear differences between the church members as a whole and the non church members. On so many indices the non church members were aligned with one or another of the religious groups, and quite often the differences which

existed were between the Church of Scotland informants and the remainder. This was true even of attitudes towards the Church, although as was noted the non church members were perhaps more emphatic than the other informants in their belief that it was possible to be a Christian without being a church member, and they were more inclined to see the Church as fulfilling a repressive role in society from time to time. A number of quite specific attitudes of non church members towards the Church were examined with a view to establishing how far non church members might conform to conventional images of the churchless which are not infrequently possessed by those who do belong to the Church. Particularly we were interested in exploring the attitudes of non church members towards the marriage of non church members in the Church and the baptism of non church members' children by the Church. In addition, to supplement the information already collected concerning attitudes towards the churches a question was asked concerning the appreciation of change within the Church, particularly with regard to Christian unity. Another question focused upon the attitudes of non church members towards church people. This seemed to be particularly important in view of the clear distinctions which emerged in the lay leaders' understandings of the differences between church members and non church members.

A slight majority of the non church members, fifty-one percent of them, felt that it was wrong for people who had no church associations to be married in a church. In one form or another the responses expressed a broad consensus

that it was hypocritical to expect an ecclesiastical ceremony when the major participants were not church members and had no intention of playing any part in the life of the Church. A number recalled their own experiences of church weddings. One woman said "I was married in church chiefly because of my mother, but I felt guilty all the time because I was not a church member. Of course I did not know then that there was such a thing as civil marriage". Another woman said "You take it for granted that you should be married in the church, but its not right. I felt bad talking to the minister before our wedding, expecting him to marry us. I can't look him in the eye". A man commented that "Its not natural to be married in the Lord's sight if you're not a member". whilst perhaps the most rational response was made by a woman, "You have to make certain vows which are meaningless if you are not a practising Christian". Implicit in these responses was an attitude towards the Church which saw a separation between church and society in which the Church was an exclusive social phenomenon which existed for the members of the congregation. The majority of those who favoured church marriages saw the Church as providing a public service in society. One man said "The minister is a professional, and marriages and funerals are his line. After all, you go to a dentist for your teeth". Some of these responses implied that the Church was a part of society which expressed the tenets of religion for the whole of society, if you were religious or Christian then a church marriage was appropriate even if you did not actually belong to the Church. "If you want a church marriage it

should be allowed" said one man, "you are not necessarily un-Christian if you are not a church member." Whilst a woman said "A church wedding should really be at the discretion of the minister, but a minister who refused would be intolerant. The gates of Christianity should be open for all". Another woman said "The minister is standing in for God and it should not matter whether you are a church member or not".

This same dichotomy occurs with regard to the question of baptism but a much larger percentage of non church members was opposed to the baptism of children whose parents were not members of the church than was opposed to the church ceremony for the marriage of non church members. Sixty percent of the non church members thought that the children of people who were not church members should not be baptised. This was partly suspicion at the meaning of the rite itself, but most of them associated baptism with the first steps in religious belonging and it was on this basis that it was either approved or disapproved. For the majority the decision concerning baptism was one which their children should make themselves when they had reached an appropriate decision making age. As one man said, "I accept believers baptism if there's going to be baptism". The rite of baptism was seen as being one peculiarly for those involved in the church and there was much opposition to infant baptism. A woman said "The Church is for church people" and a man commented "If you don't support the church how can you reasonably expect anything from it". Those who favoured infant baptism in the church did so for a mixture

of sentimental, superstitious and ill informed reasons. There was a general feeling that an unbaptised child was being deprived and would experience difficulty when it became an adult. There was also a feeling that baptism was something which was accepted as a credential by society and without this credential members of society are at a disadvantage. One woman said "Your stand may deprive the wains. On your birth certificate it says whether or not you have been baptised and when you go for a job and show 'em your certificate they see you've been baptised and they'll employ you - it isn't to say you're good at your job though". A former Catholic said "You can't have a name if you haven't been baptised". Another man said "It will result in making the children church members and this would do them some good in the long run".

For the majority of informants baptism was associated with belonging, either belonging to the church or belonging to the society. The first might be taken as an associational understanding of religious belonging which was very largely identified with the making of a conscious decision, "when the children are old enough to decide for themselves" was the characteristic response. The second was a communal understanding in which religion provided various social sanctions, the church gave you a name, and baptism was some kind of social passport which facilitated acceptance by the society. In the first instance infant baptism was rejected whilst in the second it was expected and sought. A large majority of the non church members adopted the first

position, they expected their children to make their own decisions about the church and they certainly did not expect their children to be brought up in the church. This contrasts sharply with the practice of so many of the non church members who sent their children to Sunday School until they could decide for themselves. It may be hypothesised that the congregational rather than the parochial aspect of the churches is more prevalent amongst the non church members' understandings of the church.

Sixty percent of the non church members believed that important changes had taken place in the churches during their lifetime, and the majority of these were changes relating to the gradual breaking down of denominational and ecclesiastical boundaries. This was particularly apparent to the men, thirty percent of whom cited Church Unity as the most important change, and forty percent of whom felt that there was a significant change in the outlook of the church, that it was more relaxed and tolerant in its understanding of society. Nine percent of those who were aware of change identified this as an overall decline of the Christian faith. The decline of faith was phrased by one in a particularly prophetic manner. "Faith in God is passing away. The end of days was promised and now we are at the beginning of the end".

A large majority of those who were able to identify changes were approving of the changes. "There is a better atmosphere, sermons are more modern and the ministers are younger and understand young people better" said one man,



whilst another reflected that "The church is laxer in doctrine and in its outlook on modern living. The old fashioned Sunday has gone". A woman informant pointed to the Church of Scotland's admission of women ministers when she said "They now have women preachers and elders. Its about time too because women are the backbone of the church and they should have a say". Some of these responses suggested that the non church members had a relatively large knowledge of events within the Church as a whole, mostly mediated through television and the press. In a number of instances their knowledge was apparently greater than that of some church members, suggesting that in Falkirk people know about the Church, they know something of what is occurring within the Church and to a large extent they are approving of what they see.

The informants were asked to say whether or not they found church people easier in personal relationships than other people. For fifty-seven percent of the non church members there was no difference between church people and others. Twenty-three percent had a generally unfavourable impression of church members and some of them were clearly speaking from personal experience. "They are stand-offish and unfriendly, and they are not very good neighbours" said one informant, and another "They're all elderly and keep themselves to themselves. They don't talk or gossip in the street". Inevitably a number of responses indicated a feeling that church members were hypocritical "They think that they are better for going to church to save their souls -

but they can still swear the rest of the week". Twenty percent felt that church members were generally easier and pleasanter to mix with than other people, "They are generally nice people. I think you should go to church. There should be religion in the house - we were brought up with no religion - whatever it is"; "They are very sincere in their beliefs - but in a rather childish sort of way".

For the majority of non church members however religious belonging does not make a difference in the establishing of social networks and the pursuit of normal social relationships, "It is difficult to generalise about all the church people I know", said one, "but generally going to church makes no difference"; and another informant said "The vast majority are not very 'churchy' so there's no difference", whilst another responded in a way reminiscent of the Church of Scotland elders, "Why should they be different?"

There is considerable inconsistency in the attitudes towards the Church revealed by all these responses of the non church members, in some instances, rightly or wrongly, they expect the Church to be different from society, whilst in others they make the minimum distinction between Church and society. There is no broad consensus of opinion about the Church amongst the non church members, and clearly there is no concentrated antagonism towards the Church. Not all the non church members were opposed to the Church, and several of those who were interviewed are seriously considering making some kind of approach to the Church whilst others have already done so but feel that they have been slighted or

Table 112.

The non church members' attitudes towards the church:  
Percentage responses on selected variables.

Non-Church Members should be married in Church	The children of non-Church Members should be baptised	Church people are easier to get on with than others	There are no differences between church members and non-church members
49	40	20	58

rebuffed in some way either by the congregation or the minister. The responses also indicate a relatively high level of so called residual Christianity. Facts about the Church were recalled from childhood and adolescence by many of the informants, and some were familiar with the current moods and tenor of the churches. These were inclined to express feelings of guilt about not belonging to the Church and to proffer a series of excuses for their lack of involvement ranging from the demands of occupation to problem children or the need to care for elderly relatives. There were no "cultured despisers" of religion amongst the informants who were interviewed. Non church members are often castigated by church members on the grounds of indifference rather than on the grounds of their opposition. There is a conventionally shared opinion that lack of church involvement is really caused by laziness, over fondness of television, the desire to use Sunday exclusively for purposes of leisure and relaxation. Indifference there was, in the sense that the non church members were not prepared to allow the social world of the church to make a difference to them personally. Some of them admitted to an unwillingness

to put themselves out on a Sunday morning, but these were a minority. The reasons for non involvement in the Church are much more subtle than the television compulsion or the desire to drive to the coast, and some hypothetical reasons will be discussed in the conclusion to this chapter.

d) Non Church Members and Religion

The non church members were asked if they considered themselves to be a religious person, and although a large majority, seventy-seven percent, said that they were not, their elaborations upon this suggested that by some of the definitions of religion used by sociologists they might in fact be described as being religious. Fifteen percent of the informants said that they had no beliefs whatsoever. The majority of these, despite probing on the question, simply responded that they just did not have any belief and they had no interest in religion whether it was the organised variety or not. A further fifteen percent said that they had never thought about religion, except perhaps during the interview and they were not able to pass an opinion one way or the other. Eighteen percent of the informants, in one way or another, argued that it was necessary to go to church to be religious and as they did not go to church they could not call themselves religious. A woman said "I approve of people who go to church but I am not religious. I don't think about religion often although I discuss it with my daughters from time to time. We think of the bible as being a good historical document, but can't see it otherwise. My daughters are more interested in being active in the community - belief? well my eldest daughter said 'I've seen

Table 113.

The informants' responses to the question, "Do you consider yourself to be a religious person?" in percent.

Have belief but reservations about being religious	Have Christian belief but non practising	Not religious because it is necessary to go to church in order to be so	No religious belief at all	Never think about religion
12	35	18	15	15

1. These groups were established by major component content analysis.

nothing at all to make me believe'". This was an exceptional response, the others were in some respects less articulate and less informed. "To be religious you have to go to church, but the people who go to church are not necessarily any better than those who don't", "A religious person is someone who goes to church and goes out of his way to help people"; "A religious person is never out of church and church organisations". Thirty-five percent of the non church members felt that they had Christian beliefs although they were not practising Christians. One of the men who was interviewed said "Definitely I am a religious person, I try to live as a Christian. I believe in God, and a lot of the church's teaching"; and a woman said "Yes - I believe in God, I believe that Jesus is the Son of God. Isn't that enough for me to be described religious?" and yet another, "I think of myself as a believing Christian, and I try to live up to it". Many of these had been brought up in church going homes and they had belonged to one of the churches at some time. Twelve percent were different from such

informants in that they had reservations about describing themselves as being religious although they professed particular beliefs. One man is illustrative of this group in his response "I'm a moral and thinking person, believing in all the religious ethics, but not in the accepted "practising" sense of religion". For many of these in order to be described as being "religious " it was necessary to be associated with the church, that this posed various problems did not escape some of the informants, one of whom said "If being religious means prayer, church attendance and instruction, then no I'm not religious, but if it means belief, the answer is yes".

Some of those who would not describe themselves as being religious went on to describe how they accepted the tenets of the Christian faith, one responded "No, I'm not religious, though I believe in a lot right enough - I accept the teaching of the bible and I believe in God, in Jesus and the Resurrection". Clearly a number of the informants distinguished between being a religious person and belief. For them "religion" was a behavioural category, most specifically associated with going to church. Because they did not conform to this behavioural criterion, although they appeared to conform to many of the orthodox criteria of belief, they nonetheless felt that they did not really count themselves as being religious. To be religious was to be caught up in a collective activity focusing upon public worship and involvement in the organisations of the church. Some of them, in a similar way, distinguished between being religious and being Christian, and again the major measurement of being religious

was behaviour. In terms of belief and their general acceptance of the teaching of the church they were prepared to describe themselves as Christian, they were loth to call themselves religious.

It is worth observing that whilst seventy-seven percent said that they were not religious, only thirty percent said that they had no religious belief at all. The non church members distinguished between themselves and church members very largely in terms of behaviour rather than belief, and this confirms the conclusions reached when belief was being discussed in an earlier chapter. It is not that the religious beliefs of non church members and church members are radically different, it is rather their behaviour patterns which are different. It is curious that for a substantial percentage of the non church members beliefs and subscription to belief systems is not an adequate criterion of being religious. It is tacitly assumed that the whole of society is religious in this way, that these beliefs are part of the fabric of society and are not necessarily the prerogative of the churches. Within such a society those who can really be described as being religious are those who set themselves apart by their involvement in the religious institution. Religion is something you take part in rather than something you believe, and the quality of such participation may result in accusations of hypocrisy from the non participants. A middle-aged mother, whose children were brought up to pray and attend Sunday School reflected this understanding most explicitly when she said "I wouldn't say anything against religion, but I don't take

part. I'm as good a Christian as anyone though".

e) Summary

Before proceeding to make concluding observations about the non church members we shall briefly summarise what appear to be the most distinctive characteristics of the sub-sample of non church members when it is compared with the sample of church members.

The non church members constitute a large minority of the population of Falkirk. Compared with the church members they belonged to the lower classification of the Registrar General and they tended to be manual workers and their families. A substantially smaller percentage of non church members had received further education than the comparable percentage for church members, and the non church members appeared to be less socially mobile. The non church members had smaller families than the church members and they were less geographically mobile. A very small percentage of them had been born outside Scotland and none of those who were born in Falkirk had lived outside Scotland. The non church members were less likely to have attended church with their parents during their childhood and adolescence, and although the percentage attending church during infancy was comparable with the percentage of church members who attended at the same age their attendance declined from adolescence onwards. The parents of the non church members were less likely to have positive religious views than the parents of church members, although the percentage of non church members receiving religious instruction during their childhood within



the family compared with the similar percentage for the Roman Catholic and Protestant minority informants. More than half of the non church members who were themselves parents insisted that their children should attend Sunday School, and although this was a lower percentage than that of the Church of Scotland members and the Roman Catholics, it was the same as that of those who belonged to the Protestant minority churches.

There was a difference between the understandings of what a Christian is between the church members and non church members in that the non church members were more likely to believe it possible to be a good Christian without being a church member and without going to church to worship. In their approval of Christian unity the non church members were not as unanimous as the Roman Catholics but they were more approving than the members of the Protestant majority churches, they were second only to the Church of Scotland members in their approval of the church's involvement in national and local politics, and they were more opposed to the church's campaigning for censorship of public entertainment and more likely to find the churches to be repressive in their influence upon society.

When they were asked about their beliefs the non church members were generally less certain in their belief in God than the church members and more likely to be atheistic in their beliefs. They were less likely to practice private prayer and religious ritual within the family, but a larger percentage of non church members gave their children religious

teaching in some form than was the case with the members of the Church of Scotland. A relatively high percentage of the non church members sent their children to Sunday School, and their sons were more likely to be members of the church based Boys' Brigade than were the sons of church members.

As we have reflected several times on many indices the non church members really belonged with the Roman Catholics and members of the Protestant minority churches in a non Church of Scotland bloc. This was particularly the case with regard to participation in voluntary associations, and their relatively high level of non involvement was comparable with the Catholics and Protestant minorities. They were however much less likely to hold offices in voluntary associations than any of the church members.

When compared with the church members politically the non church members were more likely to prefer the Labour Party or no party at all, and the percentage of those preferring the Conservative Party was very small. They were more likely to opt for total independence for Scotland than the church members, but the percentages doing so was small.

The non church members were less ambitious than the church members and few of them had either fulfilled or unfulfilled occupational aspirations. In their aspirations for their children they were more likely than the church members to hope that they would achieve a measure of financial security, and although the largest percentage of non church members' responses were those which looked for satisfying work for their children this percentage was much smaller than that

of the church members.

In their evaluation of their own work the non church members were similar to the Roman Catholics on some indices and to the Church of Scotland members on others, possibly reflecting a Catholic/Protestant polarisation amongst the burgh's population, whether associated formally with a church or not.

f) Conclusion

The most consistent and most influential of differences between the church members and the non church members is that of socio-economic class, and with class, the familiar middle-class characteristic of social activism. Donald Robertson's findings in Edinburgh indicated that behaviour rather than belief provided the major religious difference between the social classes, and superficially his judgement is confirmed by the Falkirk data. With the exception of the understanding of what a Christian is, there are no striking differences between the church members and non church members in terms of belief. The non church members however do reflect the very low level of participation in the church by manual workers and their families. The difference should not be interpreted solely in a behavioural manner, it is too facile to say that there is a consensus on questions of belief and a divergence on patterns of behaviour. The differences between the church members and non church members are informed by different conceptualisations of the social world and social reality, and of the place of the church and religion within this reality. The more zealous churchmen may accuse those who do not belong to the

churches of being apathetic, implying disinterest, laziness, irresponsibility. The differences of behaviour are observed differences, but they are infused with meaning. The majority of non church members have had some experience of the Church and although this may have been extremely fragmentary, particularly in childhood, they had formed images of the Church and opinions about it. They did not identify with the Church to a large extent because they had been unable to identify themselves as "church people". The world of the Church and of religion constituted an alien world for them. This is particularly the case with those non church members brought up in a church going family which has an associational type of relationship with the church. There is a family atmosphere of criticism, ambivalence and disorientation in which the child shares. Unable to achieve a communal relationship with the church and unable to achieve an independent associational relationship with the church, it is inevitable that the church should become a social world which appears to reject rather than to accept. This was apparent with the adolescents who completed questionnaires at the High School and it is apparent also with the non church members who were interviewed. Charges of hypocrisy against the members of the church are one manifestation of this as are the expressions of a sense of not belonging, but in some instances professed lack of belief may also be a manifestation not so much of lack of religious perception as a rejection of the social worlds of the church members or an expression of the non church members'

resentments at being unable to achieve identity within such worlds. By and large people are not prevented from becoming church members because of religious doubts nor because of criticisms of the churches as institutions. The patterns of social and inter-personal behaviour, and the assumptions and social values which are shared in that behaviour; the every day perceptions and conventions; the established roles and social rules which constitute the social worlds of the church members are, for the non church members, the ingredients of an alternative world. To become a part of that world, if one has not been born into it, it is not necessary simply to be or to become a Christian, or a Presbyterian or a Congregationalist, it is also necessary to undergo a process of "alternation". Within the present structure of the churches, with their emphasis upon a communal base and their preponderance of communal members, such alternation may only be achieved within a family over one or two generations.

There are, of course, those who have rejected the communal world of the churches. Examination reveals however that their rejection is closely related to their inability to achieve an identity within the social world of the churches. A constant feeling of being on the periphery of the church, the identification of the church with the exclusive world of the family of origin, a feeling that the church could not embrace various personal attitudes and idiosyncracies all resulted in the defection of non church members from the churches and in the conclusions of some of them that one does not need to belong to that social world in order to be Christian or religious or "a good person".

PART IV

CONCLUSIONS.

CHAPTER 11

## CONCLUSION

a) General Theoretical Observations

The sociology of religion in Europe has generally focused upon the historical or the structural dimensions of religion. The emphasis upon the historical has emerged naturally within the tradition which leans most heavily upon the work of Weber and Troeltsch, whilst the structural concern has arisen out of the needs of the churches as these have been interpreted and understood by their appointed leaders. Historical and structural materials are to be found in this study, but they do not constitute its main thrust. They are used primarily as a means of illuminating and complementing the primary focus upon the meaning of church membership. In exploring this theme the sociology of knowledge propounded by Berger and Luckmann has provided the basic theoretical framework in association with Tonnies' sociology of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft and the Weberian emphasis upon the individual as the locus of meaning rather than the Durkheimian emphasis upon the collective. Prominence has been given to the actual verbatim responses of the informants, and whilst these have been used for the most part within the theoretical framework as illustrations of differing perspectives, they have also been used to underscore the location of meaning in the individual by allowing the informants to speak for themselves about their attitudes towards the church, its place in society, and their understandings of religious belonging.

Two hypotheses were initially formulated. The first that the ecclesiastical tradition to which the church members belong contributes to their distinctive styles of social, economic and political behaviour and to the social, economic and political values which they uphold; and the second that communal and associational forms of church membership, corresponding in part to the qualities of church-type and sect-type religious organisations transcend the formal denominational boundaries and dissect the internal structures of the denominations. In his Detroit study Lenski argued that whilst the religious factor was a determinant in the acquisition of social and economic values its major influence was seen in combination with various social factors such as ethnicity and communalism. Beyond the broad categories of Catholic and Protestant denominational differentials just did not have social significance. The Falkirk situation is simpler than the Detroit situation in a number of different ways, and as the findings described in this thesis to some extent contradict those of Lenski it is important to briefly describe the differences which exist between the two situations. American religious pluralism is unique. The United States does not provide a model applicable throughout the western hemisphere. Ethnicity does not have the importance in Scotland that it does in the United States despite the existence of ethnic groups such as those which are to be found in Falkirk. Neither does America have such a dominant single Church as is to be found in Scotland, nor does it have a comparable ecclesiastical history. In many instances the American churches are bound up with the history,



culture and social needs of ethnic groups to a point at which it is inevitable that the "religious group" as this is understood by Lenski might wholly take over from the denomination and its tradition as a locus of religious meaning, and might very largely take over from socio-economic class as the locus of social and economic meaning. This is associated with the fact that many of these American churches are geographically, socially and politically separated from their own ecclesiastical history, a factor which it may be hypothesised would result in the de-emphasising of denominational differentials. This is not the religious situation in Scotland. Denominational differences are largely indigenous, rooted in Scottish national history, and as such they are important for the understanding of church membership and the place of religion in Scottish society. The ecclesiastical changes which have been described as occurring in Falkirk represent in microcosm the religious history of Scotland. Within the Church of Scotland the social attitudes and to some extent the distinctive class structure of at least three major presbyterian traditions are to be found, and they are reflected in existing congregations and their social organisation. The non Church of Scotland Protestant churches have assumed their own distinctive ways of interpreting and relating to the dominant presence of the Church of Scotland. The members of these churches have been treated as one group in this study, but care has been taken to indicate from time to time the differences which occurred between the members of this group. Evidence has been provided to suggest that there are very clear distinctions

between the Church of Scotland and non Church of Scotland Protestant church members. Similarly distinctions were found between these groups and the Roman Catholics. Factors of ethnicity may be complicating from time to time, and the various streams of Catholicism provide the clearest example of the prevalence of ethnicity in British church life, but the samples were not large enough for an examination of the influence of Polish or Irish or Italian Catholic sub-groups upon the whole. As these populations are small their impact is not likely to be influential although it undoubtedly exists.

Lenski also argues that the religious factor is at least as influential in the determination of social attitudes and behaviour as is economic class. Wherever it has been appropriate in this study the variables under examination have been considered in relation to denominational groupings, communal and associational membership and socio-economic class. To some extent these correlations obscured the relationships which otherwise might be found between socio-economic class and these variables. Generally however, socio-economic class did not account for differences within the religious groups. For the majority of church members their membership of a particular denominational group was more important than socio-economic class in influencing the behaviour and attitudes under examination. On a number of indices it was found that church membership and socio-economic class were significant in a complementary fashion; friendship patterns and political allegiance provide clear examples of this.

A great deal of contemporary research has been devoted to the evolution, development and categorisation of the sect, using in various ways the typology developed by Weber, and elaborated upon by Troeltsch, Niebuhr and more recent sociologists, and the theories developed by Toennies to which reference has already been made. This study has suggested that whilst the church/sect dichotomy does not appear to indicate a fruitful way forward for the structural consideration of the churches in Scotland, it does lend itself to adaptation for a consideration of church members within the development of communal and associational characteristics of religious belonging. Evidence has been submitted to suggest that church-type and sect-type belonging can occur within the same institution, that they are indicative of differing understandings of religion, of the place of the church in society, that they are related to distinctively different social factors, and that they are potentially a source of conflict. In short it is argued that communal and associational modes of church membership are descriptions of different kinds of meaning ascribed to the religious group, and that they are crucial to the understanding of the social significance of church membership at the grass-roots level. Not all of the indices upon which communal and associational belonging were examined proved to be statistically significant, but there was enough statistical significance to suggest that communal and associational modes of religious belonging are of considerable importance within the Church of Scotland, and that they provide an instrument for describing in general terms the differences which exist

between the Church of Scotland and non Church of Scotland Protestant congregations. The concepts of communal and associational were not employed as controls in the sample selection processes at the outset of the study, so the relationship between communal and associational membership and the factors against which they were measured may consequently be an inconsistent one, weighted by complicating denominational or social factors. Sufficient evidence is furnished however to suggest that carefully stratified samples of communal and associational members might confirm and further illuminate the distinctions which seem to occur between these different types of membership.

b) Denominational Differentials

The thesis shows that differences occur between the denominational groups, not only in belief and religious practice, but also in social behaviour, in family life, economics and politics, and in general attitudes towards society. In this sense the study of church membership in Palkirk confirms Lenski's judgements that religion is one determinant in the adoption of life-styles and values, whilst the mores of the different denominational groups are reflected in the attitudes towards other people and the behaviour of church members within society. As we have seen however, this is only part of the story. The influence of membership of the denominational group was not equally felt on all the indices examined, and the three groupings re-aligned themselves from time to time in various ways. When this re-alignment took place it could frequently be described and explained in terms of the dominant attitudes

of communal or associational members which on particular indices were found to transcend denominational boundaries.

The differences discussed in detail in the thesis sometimes confirmed the prevailing conventional wisdom about the differences which exist between religious groups in Britain generally. This is particularly the case with regard to socio-economic differences and the social structure of those churches from which the interview samples were selected. There were differences of class, age and sex distribution between the three groups, as well as differences of religious practice which confirmed the well documented discussion of such differences in Europe and North America. Scotland however is not a truly pluralist society, the Church of Scotland has an overall majority of church members amongst the Scottish churches, and the culture of the nation is one which is very largely identifiable with Scottish Calvinism. The uniqueness of the Church of Scotland's catholicity means that on many of the questions discussed the Church of Scotland members can be distinguished from those who are not, whether they are other Protestants, Roman Catholics or non church members. There are occasions however when the Church of Scotland by virtue of its peculiar universalism is very close to the Catholic Church in the orientations of its members. This was particularly found in the discussion of the attitudes of the lay leaders. On other occasions the members of the Church of Scotland were closer to the members of the Protestant minority churches, particularly on those factors which are related to associational religious belonging.

Few of the distinctions between the denominational groups were illustrative of the different doctrinal perspectives of the denominations, and where they did suggest support for doctrinal differences they were supplemented by other factors. The high church attendance frequency of the Catholic informants, for instance, is indicative of the Catholic teaching on the Mass, but the Protestant churches also expect a high attendance frequency, suggesting that the social and communal constraints which existed in relation to attendance at worship by Catholics were an important factor in the high level of their attendance. By and large however there was a general doctrinal uncertainty, particularly in those areas which relate directly to the institutions, and high involvement in the institution was often more related to the social factors associated with the institution rather than to any specific sense of religious commitment. The influence of the family, the special significance of the congregation as a social group, the existence of social networks and the feeling of enjoyment and relaxation derived from involvement in the life of the churches were collectively more important for the church members than an unambiguous desire to worship or serve God. Indeed there was uncertainty about belief and the distinctive characteristics of Christianity, although this was more prevalent amongst the members of the Church of Scotland than it was amongst those who belonged to the other churches. The value given to the Church by the informants focused primarily upon the fact that it was a collectivity, whether the emphasis was upon collective worship as with the Catholics, or upon the

sense of belonging to a congregation as it was predominantly with the Protestants. Only the Catholics gave any value to doctrine in the Church. Obviously there are great and theologically important doctrinal differences between those churches from which the Protestant minority sub-sample was selected, and because of the sample size these differences were to some extent hidden. There were however great similarities between the members of these doctrinally different churches which were indicative of similar emphases in church life within the institutions. It is their characteristics as social and religious minorities which appeared to provide them with so much similarity. Their emphases upon the local group, their discovery of friendships within the church, their feeling that generally people of their own religious persuasion provided easier social relationships, and the lower level of church involvement by their extended kin, combined with the Protestant emphasis upon the congregation to make the style of religious belonging found amongst these informants very similar in its emphases.

Some of the factors described in this thesis clearly support the causal relationships established by Lenski between religion and selected variables. The most specific and important of his conclusions, serving to confirm the importance of the religious factor in modern life is that ". . . the differences associated with religion are substantial. In general they are of a magnitude comparable to the differences associated with class on the same questions."<sup>1</sup> Lenski locates

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1. Lenski, Op.cit. P.326.

the religious factor in the socio-religious group de-emphasising the denomination, but in Falkirk membership of a denominational group makes a difference to the beliefs and the behaviour of the individual on a relatively wide range of variables. In those instances in which denominational membership was compared with socio-economic class membership it seemed clear that church membership is at least as important as socio-economic class for church members. In some instances church membership is unexpectedly more significant than class. As an example, the differences between the denominational groups on the number of memberships held by church members in voluntary associations are statistically significant, whilst the differences between the socio-economic class memberships are not significant. In terms of political party preference, to take another example, church membership is rather more statistically significant than socio-economic class in its relationship with the different political parties preferred by the church members.

In several important areas which might broadly be defined as secular, it is true to say that church membership has a social significance. In terms of social networks and friendship patterns, in the participation in voluntary associations, in political preference, and apparently in attitudes towards work there are differences between the three denominational groups which are statistically significant. All of these findings strongly support the initial hypothesis that ecclesiastical tradition contributes to the church members' life styles and values, although the relationship between membership of a denominational group and social and economic factors is not always an overt one.



c) Communal and Associational Membership

The factors which constitute the major components of communal and associational membership were adopted from Toennies' theory of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, and Berger and Luckmann's sociology of knowledge, particularly the latter's discussion of the individual's construction of his social world. The criterion which has been used throughout this report for establishing communal and associational membership is the means whereby the informants had actually become church members. There were two means of becoming church members, the informants were either born into the church in the formal Catholic sense and in the sense that they were born into church involved Protestant families, or they "joined" the church on a voluntary basis as a result of a decision of some kind. These are not the only criteria of membership from a sociological perspective, but they are the most obvious ones and from the point of view of the research described here they were the criteria which most easily lent themselves to separation and examination. They correspond directly to Toennies' distinction between the natural and the rational will, in that the communal member identifies with the church naturally as the church constitutes his natural communal group, whilst the associational member chooses to belong to the church, it is not a group to which he naturally expects to belong, as he is a member because he has decided to become a member.<sup>2</sup>

Within the Roman Catholic Church communal membership

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2. Toennies, Op.cit., P.37f.

is normative. Within the Protestant churches, and particularly within the Church of Scotland, there are both communal and associational members. The co-existence of communal and associational members within the Church of Scotland is related partly to the Calvinist doctrine of the Church and partly to the over-all social significance of the Church of Scotland and its cultural and political meaning within the national consciousness. As we have seen, for some of its members the Church of Scotland is identifiable with the consciousness of being Scottish, it is communal in a national sense, whilst for others it is communal in the sense that they have been born into families which are closely associated with a particular parish church, and membership of the church is communal inter-related as it is with local kin groups. The associational members of the Church of Scotland have "joined" the church as a result of a number of external factors which were described in an earlier chapter. Those characterised as being associational members may have been communal members of another church, and in the terms of Berger and Luckmann, they have switched worlds. Using the method of becoming a member of the Church as the basis for establishing the type of membership, a number of cognate characteristics could be seen as being typical of the different types of members in the Falkirk churches; it may be hypothesised that these characteristics are applicable to church members in Scotland as a whole.

The major differences between the communal and associational members were cognitive rather than behavioural; the two types of church member were to be predominantly

distinguished from each other in terms of the meaning that religion and church membership had for them rather than in patterns of behaviour in relation to the church. There were some indications of behavioural differences, but these were not statistically significant for the samples used in this study, although they might prove to be statistically significant for larger samples in which the concepts of communal and associational were used as sampling criteria. The communal members of both the Protestant sub-samples were less frequent in their church attendance than associational members, for example. The cognitive differences between communal and associational members were not always consistent within the two Protestant sub-samples. A difference between the two types of church membership might be significant for the Church of Scotland sub-sample but not for the Protestant minority sub-sample, thereby raising interesting questions concerning the relative functions of the different types of church membership in the different Protestant denominations. A large majority of the associational members in the non Church of Scotland Protestant group believed that it was impossible to be a good Christian without attending church services and this contrasted with only a slight majority of the Church of Scotland associational members who answered in this way. The associational members of the Church of Scotland were much less certain in their beliefs but much more orthodox in the nature of their beliefs than were the communal members. This difference was not found within the Protestant minority sub-sample.

Communal and associational categories appear to describe

the attitudes of differing groups of church members and help to explain some of the differences which occur within a denominational grouping, and particularly explain the differences which occur between church members of the Church of Scotland. To some extent these categories reflect the different social and organisational traditions which contribute to the overall character of the Church of Scotland, but they do more than this in that they usefully describe the differences which currently prevail amongst church members concerning their understandings of the nature of the Church, what its role in society is and should be, factors which in themselves are indicative of different types of religious belonging. Such different understandings may contribute to the expression of different attitudes in personal relationships within the church and to the articulation of different perspectives within the decision making courts. Where one particular type of church membership is dominant and forms the core of the congregation and its decision making bodies, the differences between the alternative types of membership may be apparent in congregational tensions and conflicts. Such conflict may be carried over into the wider decision making courts of the Church, even to the point of expression in the debates of the General Assembly. Associational membership at the local level in Falkirk appears to be generally more conservative in orientation in terms of belief and in terms of behaviour, and as might be expected it also appears to have separatist tendencies. These characteristics can be usefully described and discussed in terms of "switching worlds" and the ensuing desire to make a clear distinction

between the church member and the non church member, as well as between the church and society.

The majority of the members of the Protestant minority sub-sample are associational in type, reflecting the emphasis upon conversion in the evangelical bodies, but also reflecting the mobility of Episcopalians, many of whom have moved to Scotland from other parts of Britain. Episcopal associationalism is particularly interesting because of the opportunity it appears to offer of alternation from Protestantism to Catholicism within the broad Protestant perspective. Amongst the Brethren the associational members are particularly conservative, whilst the communal members are, by Brethren standards, more liberal, adopting changes in their life styles whilst not necessarily seeking to advocate or enforce these for the group. The non Church of Scotland members are differentiated in age in a way which almost parallels the differentiation between communal and associational. The associational members tend to be older and first generation members, whilst the communal members are younger and are second or subsequent generation members of the religious group. The tension and conflict which occurs between communal and associational members is not as overt as it is with the members of the Church of Scotland because it is also linked to a tension between the generations. The older members of the Protestant minority churches were on the whole critical of the younger members in a way which was much less marked than in the Church of Scotland. The problems of adjustment within the minority churches are probably greater than in the Church of Scotland, particularly

as they are also associated with the high social mobility of the younger, and hence communal, members. As the mores of some of the minority churches are extremely rigorous the conflict which occurs is much more demanding in terms of mutual tolerance of personal behaviour and values.

d) Socio-Economic Class Differentials

Although social class is one of the most frequently investigated phenomena in the pursuit of sociological research it remains one of the most enigmatic. However class may be defined and conceptualised, however it may be measured causally in relation to other variables, it is reasonably clear that there is a relationship between the socio-economic class to which a person belongs and the style of life he pursues, the values he upholds, the relationships he has with his kin, the occupation he follows, and the way he votes. What is the relationship between socio-economic class and church membership? This general question can be refined into a number of more precise questions. If a person belongs to a particular class is he more likely to belong to the church than if he belongs to another class? Is a person belonging to one class more likely to belong to a particular church than one belonging to another? Is there a class difference between communal and associational members? Does socio-economic class make a difference within the membership of the church? that is to say do the middle-class members of a particular congregation behave differently and have different values from the lower middle-class and working class members of that congregation?

In short does socio-economic class transcend and dissect religious belonging, or does it parallel church membership to the extent that religious belonging perpetuates class distinctions? Alternatively does church membership transcend class overcoming socio-economic barriers? These are large questions but the Falkirk data provide some indication of the relationship which prevails in the burgh between class and church membership.

In discussing the social demography of the churches it was shown how the church attendance in Falkirk was strongly weighted in favour of the professional, intermediate and skilled worker groups of the Registrar General's classification. This is not to say that partly-skilled and unskilled workers and their families did not attend church, but it is to say that they were greatly under-represented in Falkirk congregations. The membership of the churches is heavily weighted in favour of the middle-classes, but there are important differences between the denominational groups. The Protestant congregations have a monopoly of the professions, whilst the Catholic Church has the largest representation of partly-skilled and unskilled workers. Inasmuch as the barriers of socio-economic class are perpetuated in an overall way by the churches it is the Protestant churches which are likely to represent the middle-classes whilst the Catholic Church, although its membership is weighted in favour of the intermediate and skilled workers, nonetheless has a substantial lower class presence when compared with the other churches. There are important class differences between the Church of Scotland congregations

which have a high level of statistical significance, but none of the Church of Scotland congregations has a lower class membership which is comparable with that of the Roman Catholic Church. These differences between the churches, and between the church members and non church members are reflected in the level of education, particularly in the percentages of church members who had received further education.

How far are these structural differences reflected in attitudes and behaviour? There are no significant class differences in patterns of church attendance. It was the denominational group to which the church members belonged rather than the class to which they belonged that shaped their attendance patterns. Class and denominational group were equally prominent in the development of the church members' social networks. A large majority of the Church of Scotland members made their friends within the same denominational group and a rather smaller majority of the non Church of Scotland Protestants similarly made their friendships within the context of their own denomination. Although the Catholics were more likely than the Church of Scotland members to make their friends within the context of their own parish church, a majority of them made their friendships outside their own denomination. The majority of church members made their friends within the same socio-economic class, and this was particularly so with those who belonged to the higher social classifications. The members of the lower classifications were much more likely to count the middle-classes amongst their friends than were the middle-



classes likely to count members of the lower classes amongst their friends. It may be hypothesised that the lower class church members belonged to the socially aspiring groups in the Registrar General's lower classifications. It is the lower classes who have the lowest level of participation in church based organisations suggesting that the differences between middle-class and lower class participation in the voluntary associational life of a community are perpetuated in the church, bearing in mind that participation in the life of the church at all is largely an untypical form of activism for people who belong to the Registrar General's two lowest classifications. Predictably the lay leaders in the Church of Scotland and Catholic churches were drawn from the higher classifications, the majority of their policy makers and decision makers belonging to the middle-classes. This was decidedly not the case with the Protestant minorities whose leaders were drawn to a large extent from the skilled workers in the congregations, and whose leadership representation in the partly-skilled and unskilled classifications was disproportionately higher than the representation of these classifications in the congregations. This suggests that socio-economic class is given a different value by the three denominational groups. Within the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church high esteem was given to the decision making qualities of the professionals and the middle-classes, presumably because the rationalism and decisiveness of these classes is valued. In the Protestant minority churches other qualities were given greater esteem, and it may be hypothesised that these

qualities are those of piety, devotionism, religious experience and knowledge of the local congregation; qualities to which all the Protestant minority members may be likely to defer, middle-class and lower class alike.

Similarly it was the upper classifications of the Registrar General and the leaders of the Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic Church who gave the greatest priority to the specifically "non-religious" factors in church membership as opposed to the specifically "religious" factors cited by the Protestant minority leaders and the members of the partly-skilled and unskilled classes.

One of the more intriguing findings is that of the relationship between church membership and the number of voluntary associational memberships held by the members of the denominational groups. As class made a difference to the number of memberships they held in church based organisations it was a reasonable assumption that class would similarly make a difference to the church members' belonging to voluntary associations. In fact this appeared not to be the case. Whilst membership of the denominational group influenced the number of voluntary associations a church member was likely to belong to, socio-economic class apparently made no difference. This was particularly provocative in view of the hypotheses submitted by many sociologists concerning the relationship between socio-economic class and social activism. In the area of politics however, as has been recalled above, there was a positive correlation between church membership and political preference, and between socio-economic class and political preference.

The size of the sample prevented an analysis of the class differences between communal and associational members, but the evidence that is available suggests that the relationship between church membership and socio-economic class is not the clearly straightforward one which some sociologists seem to believe. In some senses it may be claimed that the churches structurally at least perpetuate the distinction which prevails between the middle and the lower classes. In attitude and behaviour however the relationship between social class and church membership is highly complex. In some instances there are clear distinctions between the classes within the churches suggesting that class distinctions generally prevailing in society do carry over into the churches. These are primarily to be found in terms of behaviour, friendship patterns, membership of church organisations and political preference. These class differences are muted within the denominational group and do not seem to be potentially a source of active disagreement or conflict, partly because of the relatively low representation of the lower classes in the churches, partly because of the aspirations of the lower class church members and partly because of the identification of all classes with the social world constituted by the differing denominational groups. Whilst in many instances socio-economic class does transcend religious belonging therefore it does not do so in a potentially disruptive way. In other instances the actual fact of belonging to a church makes as much if not more difference to the church members' behaviour in society than does their membership of a particular

class. This, as we have seen is particularly the case with regard to participation in voluntary associations and politics.

e) The Hypotheses Reconsidered

The three categories variously considered as independent variables have each been shown to have a determining influence upon the life of the church member. Within the analysis conducted for this thesis membership of the denominational group is apparently more influential than other categories in influencing the over-all life of the church member. There are clear distinctions between the three groups which transcend any external class differences or unite any internal membership differences which are to be found. It is membership of the denominational group which is the most clearly integrating factor in the church members' conceptualisation of their social world. The ecclesiastical tradition to which the church members are denominationally related contributes to their distinctive styles of social and economic and political behaviour and to the social, economic and political values which they uphold. Contrary to Lenski's Detroit findings denominational differentials in Falkirk are causally important, although they are not always consistently maintained. Where they are not consistently maintained, in the sense that the three denominational groups variously re-aligned themselves with each other on selected variables, the influence of socio-economic class and types of membership within the institution appear to be important causal factors. The most significant differences between communal and associational members which transcend the

denominational boundaries are notably those concerned with religious behaviour and belief. These differences however are inconsistent and contribute to the differing alignments of the three groups. There is a general movement in the Protestant churches as a whole towards internal self-perpetuation as more and more emphasis is placed upon education and the integration of the family in the life of the group, and a decreasing emphasis upon strengthening the group from recruitment or evangelism. This process may serve to establish the communal characteristics of the churches as the norm and, if it continues, will accentuate the class distinctions which are to be found between the "churched" and the "churchless". The distinction between communal and associational forms of church membership is a valid distinction inasmuch as it distinguishes within the groups between different types of church members who see the religious organisation differently and place differing emphases upon their participation in the beliefs and practices of the organisation. The type of membership is probably the least influential of the three factors which have been examined in this study, but it is the variable which benefitted least from the use of controls and weighting in the selection of samples primarily because it was the variable about which the least information was available. The differences which occur between associational and communal members are differences which are perhaps most available to theological scrutiny in that they are concerned with belief and religious behaviour. The findings suggest that the communal/associational model of church membership offers a

rewarding means of understanding the social significance of religious belonging, drawing as it does upon a number of classical formulations. A reconsideration of this model with samples in which some of the factors discussed are properly weighted and controlled may prove to be enlightening in the exploration of the meaning which church membership has for the church member. The recent research has left unexplored a number of unknowns concerning the possible components of the alternative forms of religious belonging. The means and the meaning of joining the church remain worthy of further examination. Other factors also requiring investigation within this context include the formal and informal processes of religious socialisation; the relationship between primary and secondary socialisation; the nature of the potential and actual conflict between associational and communal belonging; and a more intensive examination of the various differences between associational and communal members which have been uncovered by the present research. Related to these potential areas of further investigation is the relatively unexplored field of the sociology of adolescent religion which would seem to have a particular relevance to the question of secondary religious socialisation but which would also have a wider relevance to the whole question of adolescent development and the factors which contribute to that development. At a time when the sociology of education is an expanding field, the sociology of religious education is a neglected area, and the study of adolescent religion might well provide data of considerable importance for the whole field of education.

f) Conclusion

In the introduction to this study it was argued that the sociology of religion had arrived at an impasse arising out of a preoccupation with structure at the expense of other aspects of the study of religion. This impasse was achieved by an exclusively structural interpretation of Troeltsch's dichotomy between church and sect. In research terms the outcome of such an impasse has been the sterility of so much of the European sociologie religieuse on the one hand and the discarding of structural concerns in favour of explorations of religiosity on the other. The purpose of this thesis has been to explore the possibility of working through the impasse by using traditional structural concepts as the means of exploring the nature and content of religious belonging. Whilst a great deal is known about the demographic features of church populations relatively little is known empirically about the relationship which exists between the demographic, organisational and belief structures of the religious institutions on the one hand and the religious and social meanings which are ascribed to such institutions by those who belong to them on the other. The application of the sociology of knowledge expounded by Berger and Luckmann to traditional structural concepts in the sociology of religion suggests that new conceptual resources are available for a timely re-examination of the nature of religious belonging. Through a tentative exploration of religious belonging with the aid of some of these resources it has been the aim of this present study

to suggest that it is possible to work through the impasse which exists within the discipline to a wider and yet more integrated sociological perspective upon socio-religious phenomena.



PART V

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

SOME SOCIAL CORRELATES OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION  
AMONGST TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT SCHOOL  
CHILDREN IN THE BURGH OF FALKIRK

A preliminary report of the first stage of a pilot study conducted in the Graeme High School, Falkirk.

Peter L. Sissons            May 1969.

Introduction

The object of this report is to present the results of a pilot study undertaken as part of a wider investigation of the social significance of church membership in the burgh of Falkirk. During the early stages of fieldwork an opportunity was sought for the conducting of a limited survey in Graeme High School, one of the town's secondary schools, with the possibility of undertaking a comparative study in at least one other school. The advantages of such a study are manifold, but particular priority was given to the following:

- 1) A survey in a school would provide data for a cross-section of the children in the population of Falkirk, representing most of the possible religious affiliations in the burgh, including a sample of those with no formal religious affiliations. Such a sample would be difficult to obtain by other means because of the problems of weighting for socio-economic class, participation in voluntary associations and family size, all variables which are of particular interest for the total study. In addition a sub-sample of non church attenders who are uninvolved in voluntary associations would be difficult to obtain for the general purposes of a pilot study.
- 2) The survey could provide valuable guidance for the formulation of hypotheses and the devising of categories, whilst at the same time suggesting areas which are suitable for more intensive investigation.
- 3) Whilst the study would focus primarily upon a sample of school children, guide-lines could be sought concerning the relationship between the family and religion, and data could be obtained concerning the religious affiliations and behaviour of the adults in the households to which the children belong.

- 4) Finally the survey would assist valuably in the costing of those aspects of the research which would require the administration of questionnaires or interview schedules with their subsequent coding and machine processing.

The data to be discussed in this report are those obtained from the survey in Graeme High School. It is not intended here to assess the value of the survey in terms of its contribution to the total Falkirk study, the aim is simply to present data obtained from a specific sample in a specific school. It was intended that no particular validity would be claimed for these data, other than that they are relevant to the school from which they were obtained and that they serve the purposes of a wider study. Upon analysis however it was discovered that the data appeared to support various generalisations and hypotheses about religion in western society. This discovery encouraged the opinion that other aspects of the analysis might suggest new hypotheses concerning the sociology of adolescent religion which were at least worthy of submitting for consideration.

#### THE SCHOOL

Falkirk is served by five secondary schools. The Graeme High School was selected for investigation for a number of reasons. The school has relatively recently been accorded comprehensive status which gives it a breadth in the socio-economic class and academic ability of its intake which is more likely to be representative of the population as a whole than would be the case of the four other schools. This judgment was confirmed in conversation with the youth employment officers, teachers from the various schools in the

burgh, and particularly with the Rector of the school. An additional and important factor in the selection of this particular school was the Rector himself, who is a member of the project's local sponsoring committee, and who has expressed considerable sympathy with the aims of a pilot study of this kind whilst emphasising that the final report should not violate the privacy of his pupils. The one major disadvantage from the point of view of the research was the fact that the religious affiliations represented in the school were predominantly Protestant as the majority of Roman Catholic children attend Roman Catholic schools either in Falkirk or Stirling. This is an important limitation as the Roman Catholic population has recently been estimated as being 12.8% of Falkirk's population.<sup>1</sup>

The focus of the survey was not upon the school as a school, but upon the school as a sample of the adolescent population. It is therefore unnecessary to engage in a detailed description of the school as a sociological entity. The only factors of interest are those which directly influence the interpretation of the data. In common with most new comprehensive schools the emphasis academically, particularly for the higher streams, is upon scientific and technical subjects. Those who go on to further education are more likely to pursue studies in the sciences rather than the humanities. This orientation may have influenced the

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1. A.E.C.W. Spencer, Report on The Parish Register, Religious Practice & Population Statistics of The Catholic Church in Scotland, 1967. (Pastoral Research Centre, Harrow, 1969).

responses of the older pupils.

#### RESEARCH METHODS

The study was conceived in three stages. These were, Stage I, the administration of a questionnaire to a sample of pupils in the school; Stage II, the correlating of data obtained from the questionnaire with additional data appertaining to school leavers which would be made available by the youth employment service; and Stage III, a follow up interview to be conducted with a sample of the school leavers some eighteen months after the administration of the questionnaire. This third stage goes beyond the normal scope of a pilot study and the results will be incorporated into the final reports of the main study of the social significance of church membership.

Following several conversations with the Rector, discussions with some of the pupils at a meeting of the school's Scripture Union, and further discussions with pupils and former pupils of the school who attend some of the churches in which research is being undertaken, a questionnaire was devised for administration to the children in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth forms. There are 1,069 pupils at the school and 490 of these were members of the forms to be investigated. These forms were selected because they included amongst their members all those children who would leave the school during the calendar year of 1969. No attempt was made to achieve a stratified sample or to obtain a sample which was statistically representative of the school's total population.

The aim of the questionnaire was to obtain primary data

relating to religious affiliation and practice correlated with variables indicative of social structure and social behaviour. Whilst the emphasis was primarily upon behaviour some unsophisticated attitudinal data were obtained with a view to their possible use in the correlating of behaviour and attitudes for the establishing of categories of religiosity required for the major part of the Falkirk study. The questionnaire was a relatively uncomplicated instrument. It was necessary to devise a questionnaire which could be administered on the school premises during a thirty minute form period, and which could easily be understood and completed by children aged from fourteen to eighteen with a wide range of abilities and intelligence. The children were told in advance that they would be asked to complete the questionnaire; they were asked to obtain their parents' permission for them to participate; and they were given the freedom to refuse to complete the questionnaire if they or their parents so desired.

The questionnaire was administered on the 21st March, 1969. One hundred and twenty children were absent from the forms on that day reducing the sample to 438, of these, one hundred and eighty children either refused to complete the questionnaire or, in the case of eight children, returned incomplete questionnaires which were unsuitable for analysis. Altogether 58.6% of possible respondents completed the questionnaires, providing a 24.1% sample of the total school population. The questionnaires were coded, and the data were transferred to punched cards and processed in the Social Sciences Research Centre of the University of Edinburgh.

The most common popular assumptions made about religion in western society are those which concern the relationship between religion and social class, religion and age, and religion and the female sex; whilst the prevailing sociological motif is that of the relationship between institutional religion and secularisation. Religious affiliation was adopted as the independent variable for a consideration of the first three relationships above; whilst a sub-sample of former church attenders suggested insights into the fourth. An analysis of religious affiliation revealed three major sub-samples, 1) those currently attending churches, 2) those who formerly attended church but have now ceased to do so, and 3) those who have never attended church. Each of these sub-samples will be considered in turn.

#### CHURCH ATTENDERS

It is a generally accepted opinion that institutional religion with its attendant behavioural patterns is predominantly a concern of the middling classes of society. It is true that Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr and more recent writers have identified a relationship between social stratification and religious pluralism in which the "sects" accommodate the socially disenfranchised and the "churches" endeavour to be socially inclusive, whilst the continuum between sect and church is characterised by a process of social mobility. More rigorous analyses of sectarianism in recent years suggest that the sects retain their essential characteristics despite the social mobility of their members, giving grounds for the belief that the religious affiliations

of the middle-classes are not solely with the established churches and adding a degree of scientific authenticity to the conventional wisdom of the over-all relationship between religion and the middle-classes. In Scotland, where by far the majority of church attenders attend congregations of the Church of Scotland, which historically has been the church of the middle-classes, it can be expected that this relationship will be particularly evident.

Church was attended with varying degrees of regularity by 45% of the children in the sample (Table 114). The Registrar General's classifications were used for distinguishing socio-economic class which was measured by the occupation of the father, or, when this was unknown by the occupation of working mothers. By these criteria 64% of the church attenders were in the Registrar General's first three classifications, whilst 5% were placed in the fifth classification reserved for those engaged in unskilled occupations (Table 115). The highest percentage of church attenders was to be found in the third of the five classifications, indicating that more than half of the children attending church had one or both parents engaged in a skilled occupation of either manual or white collar in nature. The percentage of church attenders in this category was higher than the comparable percentage of either of the other subsamples. The children who attend church are predominantly from lower middle-class homes. This was reflected in their career expectations (Table 128). Almost 36% of those who attended church hoped to go on from school to further education or to enter one of the professions, whilst 11.8%



expected to be employed in manual work and 22.6% expected to be engaged in skilled work in offices or laboratories. The fact that 34.4% of the church attenders expected to engage in occupations which currently engage 86.8% of church attenders' parents, whilst 36% aspire to occupations which currently engage less than 10% of church attenders' parents is indicative of an expectation of high mobility typical of lower middle-class families of a certain type and, in our sample, it is typical of those who attend church.

The middle-classes are traditionally the great "joiners", the participants in voluntary associations, W.E.A. classes, political associations and voluntary charitable organisations. The participation of the middle-classes in community affairs has been compared with their participation in the churches in several important monographs.<sup>2</sup> Could this be true of middle-class children? 17% of the sub-sample of church attenders did not belong to any organisation other than the churches, compared with 31% of the sub-sample of former attenders and 26% of the sub-sample of those who have never attended church (Tables 122 & 123). Perhaps significantly the former attenders had the largest percentage in the lower classifications. 71% of the church attenders belonged to either one or two organisations compared with 54% of the former attenders and 51% of the non attenders. Those children who attend church appeared to be those who were most likely

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2. For an English and an American example of these, see respectively M. Stacey, Tradition and Change, a study of Banbury, and Vidich & Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society, (Doubleday, 1957).

to be involved in other organisations. There were interesting differences in the types of organisations preferred by the three sub-samples. Those organisations in which church attenders had a larger percentage membership than the other two sub-samples were uniformed organisations outside the aegis of the churches, school organisations and predictably, church based organisations. Youth clubs, the various general interest groups such as the Falkirk Folk Song Club, Philatelist Society, and the Young S.N.P., and the sports and athletics clubs appealed more to the other two sub-samples and particularly to the former church attenders. When church attenders were members of these latter clubs they showed a low rate of attendance compared with the other sub-samples, whilst in the three groups of organisations in which they had the highest membership the church attenders were inclined to attend every meeting or at least attend frequently the various organisations to which they belonged. In what ways do these types of organisations differ? And in what way does attendance at these organisations differ from attendance at church? Data relating to companionship have yet to be analysed, but the organisations attended by the church attenders are the more disciplined organisations which are institutionally based. They are the organisations which are likely to invite parents to attend open meetings or special displays. They are communal organisations in that they are not based on narrow interests but develop a wide range of interests within the organisation, they are communal also in that they are related to communal institutions such as the school and the churches,

or to communal interests as with the scouts, guides, army cadets and air training corps. The organisations attended by the children who are not church goers tend to be associational, they appeal to the individual because of his special interest or through his friendship networks, and the influence of the family is less significant. Parental attitudes in these latter instances are likely to be characterised by either tolerance, indifference or opposition, whilst in the former instances they are likely to be characterised by identification, encouragement or at least lip service to the general values of the organisation. Before considering the second question, in what ways does attendance at these organisations differ from attendance at church? it is necessary to look more closely at church attendance and particularly at the function of the family in church attendance.

The children were asked why they attended church and with whom they attended church. The three major reasons for attending were that they enjoyed belonging to church organisations (approximately 33%), that they wanted to worship (approximately 25.5%) and because their parents attended church (12.5%). 54% of the children said that they attended church with friends either from school (15.5%) or elsewhere. 35% of the children attended church with members of their families, including 23% who attended with their parents and 10% who attended with brothers or sisters. In fact an examination of the church attendance of members of the church attenders' families (Table 124), revealed that 53.4% of the children attended the same church as their

mothers, 35.3% attended the same church as their fathers, 40.5% attended the same church as their sisters and 28.4% attended the same church as their brothers. 60% of the church attenders had mothers who attended one church or another, compared with 21% of the mothers of former church attenders and 7% of the mothers of the non-church attenders. Similar comparisons can be made for the church affiliations of fathers or siblings. More than 60% of the church attenders had one or more members of the nuclear family attending some church, whilst more than 53.4% of the church attenders had one or more members of the nuclear family attending the same church as themselves. It may be hypothesised that the family exercises a positive influence on more than 60% of the children who attend church. Further analyses of the data may reveal more precisely the extent of this influence.

More girls attended church than boys, and they attended more often. 77% of the church attenders attended their churches regularly, but 84% of the girls attended regularly including 50.7% who attended every Sunday. The girls were more likely to attend the same church as other members of their families than were the boys, although fewer girls than boys said that they attended church because of their parents. 64% of the children who attended church were girls, whilst girls generally had a marginally higher degree of participation in all organisations. A consideration of the attitudinal questions, unsophisticated as these were, suggests that the girls possess a higher level of religiosity than the boys and that the boys relate to the church through their families

or through their friends rather than because of internal convictions. Only 37% of the male church attenders believe in God, whilst 76% of the girls do so. A higher percentage of girls believes that God created and rules the world and that God guides the choice of career, although the percentage decreased with each of those questions. Similarly 38.7% of the girls said that they attended church because they wished to worship God as opposed to 12.2% of the boys; 75% of the girls who attend church said that they prayed alone on some occasion, and 60% of the girls added comments to the questionnaire about their need for the church and the importance of Christianity in their lives. In their behaviour and in their expressed beliefs the girls are more religious than the boys, although they appear to relate to the church through their parents, particularly through their mothers, more than the boys.

The majority of the children in this sub-sample appear to have a communal relationship with the church which is bound up with their belonging to a family. Those boys who attended church with members of their families were particularly sensitive to this, and family custom was markedly more influential upon them than religious belief or personal commitment. 63% of the male church attenders were unable to express any belief in God. A commentary upon this was obtained from a discussion with twenty adolescents in a Church of Scotland bible class. They affirmed that their object may be to become church members, but it was not to become Christians, these two terms were not necessarily mutually inclusive. It was permissible to be able to say,

"I am a church member", it was approaching arrogance or hubris to say, "I am a Christian", this was something which perhaps others may say of them in the future, but they would be reluctant to say it of themselves. Church attendance and attendance at other organisations was, for this sub-sample, similar in kind, communal rather than associational. This in part may be related to the fact that the majority of the children attended Church of Scotland congregations with their communal associations and national ethos, although an interesting aspect of the sample was the number of children attending meetings of the Christian Brethren, 5.3%, many of whose parents attended the same church and whose families appeared to display a high level of religiosity with family prayers, family Bible study, and communal participation in mid-week religious activities.

The children were divided into six age groups (Tables 119 & 120). The percentage of church attenders in each of these groups increased as the age ascended, up to and including the group of seventeen year olds, from 32% church attenders aged fourteen to 70.8% aged seventeen. This was particularly evident for the girls, as 37.7% of the fourteen year old girls attended church compared with 84.2% of the seventeen year old girls. Various factors combine to influence these figures. The numbers of children in the older age groups are fewer as many children leave school at fifteen; those who stay on at school tend to be those with greater career opportunities or those from predominantly middle-class families whose parents may encourage them to stay at school for two or three additional years. Consequently the older

groups are likely to be weighted in favour of children who attend church. This may explain to some extent apparent ambiguities which are suggested by the age distribution of church attenders. These are, 1) it could be expected that a larger number of younger children would attend church as these would be more directly under the influence of the family, 2) more than 80% of those children who had ceased to attend church claimed to have done so before their fourteenth birthdays, 3) disenchantment with Sunday School usually occurs in the early teens and a decline in church attendance invariably begins with the thirteen and fourteen year olds.

A number of factors remain to be examined, and further information to be extracted from the data may contribute to the foregoing discussion of the sub-sample of church attenders. Amongst the factors yet to be examined and reported upon are the relationship between the family and the regularity of attendance at worship; and the attendance regularity and participation in organisations of the 30% of church attenders who do not have members of their families involved in any of the churches. The sample is too small to permit a reliable examination of denominational differentials, although these may be considered at a later stage in the processing.

#### FORMER CHURCH ATTENDERS.

If the class distribution of the total sample of children is taken as the mean distribution, those who have ceased to attend church are below the mean in classes three and four and above the mean in classes two and five. That

is to say that there is a higher percentage of former attenders in classes two and five than there is of church attenders, and a lower percentage in classes three and four. Those who have ceased to attend church differ from those who continue to attend in that a larger percentage of them belong to educated middle-class families and working class families. Fewer of the former attenders belong to organisations in the community and those who do belong to such organisations, as has already been noted, prefer youth clubs and the various sporting and athletics associations which they attend very regularly. A very small percentage of these children belongs to the church organisations (1.7% of the boys and 3.8% of the girls). Family involvement with the church contrasts sharply with the level of involvement indicated for the families of church attenders; 20% of the former attenders have mothers who attend church, whilst the church attendance of their fathers and siblings is low, ranging between 7% and 12%. Together with the lower level of participation in clubs and organisations this may be an indication of the class differences which exist between the two sub-samples.

The reasons given for ceasing to attend church reflect interestingly on the relation between attendance and the family. 10% ceased to attend church when the family moved to a new district; 23.5% gave various behavioural reasons for their ceasing to attend church, 8.4% had taken Sunday jobs, milk and paper rounds, whilst 15% had "no time to attend church", were "too busy", had "joined Sunday football teams", had "too much to do". Attitudinal reasons were given for the cessation of church attendance by 32.7%



(Table 125). The church attenders were asked to say what they most disliked about their churches, and their criticisms focused for the most part upon worship, the dullness of the prayers, the length of the sermon coupled with its incomprehensibility, the "dreary services". These dislikes expressed by the church attenders appeared for the most part to coincide with the attitudinal reasons given for ceasing to attend church by the former attenders. The quality of these criticisms of the church was often vague, "it was boring", "the sermons were rubbish", "just couldn't see the point", but in several instances the children were quite specific in their expression of dislikes, and some of them expressed remarkably frank antagonism for ministers, Sunday School teachers and church people. They had left the churches because they were alien communities in which they could achieve no form of self identification. Whereas most of the children who attend church seem to belong to families which relate to the church and which persuade them, for whatever reason, to continue attending church, those who had ceased to attend church had apparently done so from within the context of largely disinterested families, suggesting the hypothesis that factors which contribute to a child's dissociation from the church are the breakdown of a communal relationship with the church through the family, or the inclination of parents to adopt towards their children's churchgoing the same attitude that they adopt towards their attendance at football matches and interest group activities, attitudes which it was previously suggested might be characterised by tolerance, indifference or opposition. Those children who have ceased to attend

church, it may be hypothesised, have done so because of their failure to sustain an associational relationship with the church in which the church is identified with some of their major interests and with the group of friends who share those interests.

The former attenders differed markedly from the church attenders in that they were more often to be found in the younger age groups. Almost 60% of the fourteen year olds had ceased to attend church, whilst only 20% of the seventeen year olds no longer attended. Factors which might adversely affect the weighting of these figures have already been outlined. More interesting than the age distribution is the fact that 83% of the children who had ceased to attend church had done so before their fourteenth birthdays. This is undoubtedly related to disenchantment with the Sunday School, but as the analysis above has suggested there are other variables to be taken into account, particularly the role of the family.

Various data remain to be analysed in this connection before further interpretations of these figures might be suggested. Amongst the factors yet to be considered are the correlations between socio-economic class, the age of ceasing to attend church and the reasons for ceasing to attend; and the correlations between these two latter variables and family religious affiliations.

The age differential between those children who attend church and those who have ceased to do so may be reflected in their career expectations. Uncertainty about their choice of occupation was expressed by 24% of the former

attenders compared with 10% of those who do attend church; 27% of the children who had ceased to attend church expressed the intention of taking up some form of manual work as against 17% of the children who currently attend church. It is clearly the case that those with the highest career expectations will remain at school, most of these are church attenders and most of them belong to lower middle-class families. Michael Carter has analysed the influence of the home and the social background upon career expectation and has suggested a family typology based on social class and value orientation which may describe ways in which the home may significantly affect aspirations towards work.<sup>3</sup> His analyses of the roles of the home-centred aspiring families, the solid working-class families and the under-privileged families in the development of occupational choice of children might correspond in some ways to the relationship between the family and religion which is tentatively being hypothesised in this present analysis. The differences between the sub-samples in career expectations seem to support this hypothesis when they are considered in relation to Michael Carter's analysis.

Belief in the existence of God was expressed by 52% of those children who had ceased to attend church, whilst 13% and 12% respectively believed that God rules the world and that God influences the choice of careers, and 34.6% of the sub-sample believed that the world had been created by God. The boys who had ceased to attend church showed a higher incidence of belief than those who continued to attend, 46%

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3. Michael Carter, Into Work, (Penguin Books, 1966), P.39f.

against 37% of the male former attenders believed that God rules the world as against 12.1% of the male attenders. One boy who had ceased to attend church expressed his awareness of this apparent contradiction when he wrote on the questionnaire, "I do not believe that it is necessary to attend church in order to believe in God"; he went on to express positive belief in God as the creator, the ruler of the world and as an influence in occupational choice. This supports the hypothesis suggested earlier that boys who go to church consciously relate to the church in social terms rather than in terms of commitment or belief, it also suggests a promising area of investigation for testing the hypothesis that church membership has ceased to be a reliable index of religiosity postulated by Piéter H. Vrijhof<sup>4</sup> and Thomas Luckmann.<sup>5</sup> A smaller percentage of female former attenders subscribed to all four beliefs than in the sub-sample of church attenders. The bible was read occasionally by 34% of male former attenders and 35.3% female former attenders, compared with 31% and 60% respectively of the boy and girl church attenders, and a similar ratio existed for the offering of private prayer. Indication of what has been described as "residual belief" is high for former attenders, and the boys who formerly attended church compare remarkably in these limited criteria of religiosity with the boys who

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4. P.H. Vrijhof, Methodologische Probleme der Religionssoziologie, (International Yearbook for the Sociology of Religion Vol. II, 1967), P.31.

5. Thomas Luckmann, Das Problem der Religion in der modernen Gesellschaft, (Verlag Rombach, 1963).

attend church.

Current debates on the sociological meaning of secularisation are fierce and increasingly uncompromising whilst the sociological theories of secularisation are complex and often ambiguous. It is not intended to attempt a contribution to this debate on the basis of data obtained from this sample. A number of relevant factors do however emerge from the sample. Secularisation is evident in this sample in institutional rather than ideological terms. The cessation of church attendance was not necessarily a cessation of religious belief for these children, it was rebellion against a form of institutionalisation, the imposition of an unwelcome ecclesiastical routine and it was an inability to identify with the church in communal or associational terms. The attitudinal data was unfortunately not sufficiently refined to permit an exploration of the relationship between church attendance and degrees of overt and covert identification with the church through participation and subscription to orthodox or unorthodox religious beliefs. Some theories of secularisation begin with the proposition that in an increasingly fragmented and specialised society religion is assuming a fragmented and associational character in which it is identified with a part of life rather than with the whole of life. This appears to be borne out by the apparent influence of the family upon the sub-samples of church attenders and former attenders inasmuch as the loss of identity with the religious institution coincides with the family's disinterest in religion, and the loss of the family's communal identity.

At the same time the children have difficulty in achieving an associational relationship with the churches.

#### NON CHURCH ATTENDERS

Only 12% of the sample had never attended church; 67.8% of these were boys. The social class distribution of this sub-sample was similar to that of those who had formerly attended church, and statistically these two sub-samples possessed more in common than either of them did with the sub-sample of church attenders. Together they had a higher percentage in classes two and five and a lower percentage in classes three and four than did the sub-sample of church attenders. A smaller percentage of the non-attenders belonged to organisations than was the case with either of the two other sub-samples. Very few of the girls who did not attend church attended other organisations, and whilst amongst the organisations youth clubs were preferred, the regularity of attendance was low when compared with that of those who had formerly attended church. 6.4% of the non-attenders had mothers who attended church, none of them had fathers with church affiliations; 6.4% had brothers with church affiliations, and 12.8% had sisters who attended church. In this sub-sample familial incentive is at its lowest and predictably the families are amongst the largest, for 24% of these children had four or more siblings and 32% of them lived in households of between six and ten people (Table 5). But if large families and large households, mainly working class in composition, appear to be related negatively to church attendance, it is possible that small households of the more mobile, better educated

middle-classes may also be related negatively to church attendance, as there is a marginal difference between the percentage of non-attenders who live in households of two or three and the percentage of the other sub-samples who live in similar households, whilst there is more than a marginal difference between the percentage of non-attenders in class two and the percentage of attenders in class two. Unfortunately the sub-sample of non-attenders is too small to permit a reasonable degree of confidence in the validity of such a judgment, but the sub-samples of non-attenders and former attenders together account for over 50% of the children in class two.

In many ways the non-attenders constituted the most enigmatic of the three sub-samples, they registered the highest number of "Don't Knows", in most of the indices investigated. Uncertainty about their future careers was expressed by 29%. None of the children in this sub-sample intended to go to university, less than 10% intended to continue their education in Colleges of Education or Technical College, although approximately 12% intended to take up occupations which could require them to undertake some professional training. There was a distinct contrast between the career expectations of the girls and the boys in this sub-sample. Whilst their academic expectations may not have been as high as those of the boys in the other sub-samples, the male non-attenders provided the largest percentage of boys who intended to seek further education or enter work which would require professional training, 33.3% compared with 10% of the girls. This was the only

sub-sample in which less than 50% of the children expressed belief in God, whilst the three other beliefs - in God as the creator, ruler and guide - were affirmed by low percentages in this sub-sample when compared with the two other sub-samples.

#### SUMMARY

The nature of the claims to be made for this study were stated in the introduction. As the first stage of a pilot study it is not intended that the survey conducted in Graeme High School should stand on its own as a viable piece of research. The scope of the study and the limited research methods are sufficient to restrain any over ambitious claim for the validity of the results described above, particularly in their general applicability either to Falkirk or to Scotland. A number of analyses have not yet been completed whilst others have only now been suggested as an outcome of the compilation of this report. In these circumstances the difficulties of attempting to summarise the results of the study will be obvious. In the face of these difficulties an attempt will be made to present concisely those results of the survey which seem to be most incontrovertible, which suggest far reaching implications for the churches if the hypotheses arising out of them have a general validity, and which provoke the most intriguing avenues of speculation.

I The children who attend church are those who belong to lower middle-class families, whilst those who do not attend include the children who belong to lower-middle



class families, and almost all of the children who belong to working class and the better educated middle-class families.

II The girls in the sample were more religious than the boys in terms of both behaviour and belief.

III Most of the children who attended church did so with their families or had parents or siblings who attended other churches.

IV The boys were more conscious than the girls of the fact that they related to the church through their families, whilst the girls cited belief and the desire to worship as their primary motivations for church attendance.

V The member of any of the families most likely to attend church was the mother.

VI Those who attended church were the children most likely to attend voluntary associations, and the associations which they attended were of a communal rather than an associational nature.

VII The children who attended church predominated in the older rather than the younger age groups.

VIII Those who attended church were more certain of their career expectations and were more ambitious (in that they expected to engage in occupations with a higher social status than their parents) than were the children who did not attend church.

IX Those children who had ceased to attend church had for the most part done so before their fourteenth birthdays.

X The children who had ceased to attend church and those who had never been church-goers belonged mainly to families in which church going was not a custom.

XI These children were not such avid joiners of voluntary associations as those who attend church, and the bodies to which they belonged were associational rather than communal in character.

XII The reasons which were given for the cessation of church attendance were attitudinal rather than behavioural, reflecting disinterest in the central activities of the churches, but in some cases expressing complete disenchantment with religious teaching and antagonism to the beliefs, practices and adherents of the churches.

Some of these conclusions have been pointed to in more thorough going studies of religion in schools, particularly those conclusions relating to the religiosity of girls. Other conclusions appear to contradict those studies which claim greater religiosity for the younger children rather than for the older, but age is relative and a more detailed examination of this factor would be required before any valid judgment could be assayed. On the basis of the hypotheses suggested in this report the relationship between the family and religion would merit more intense sociological investigation. In a recent study of religion in the secondary school Colin Alves posited that "the majority of schools are

acting as media through which the general religious mood of the country is conveyed, rather than contributing anything very positive of their own."<sup>6</sup> He described in an unspecific way the influence upon the child of the "social atmosphere"; "Even when a school has aroused the full loyalty and enthusiasm of its pupils by the high quality of its RE and Assembly ... it may still fail to register a particularly high 'general Christian attitude' score if other (and stronger) factors in the pupils' environment are tending against the formation of such attitudes". The strongest claim that might be made for this pilot study is that it suggests that a sociological study of the influence of the school, the church and the family upon the religion of the adolescent may contribute substantially both to the sociology of education and "the sociology of religious belonging".

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6. Colin Alves, Religions and the Secondary School, (S.C.M. 1968), P.66.

LIST OF TABLES

The following pages contain a selection of the Tables relevant to the study, some of which have been referred to in the text. They are named and numbered below.

- Table 114. The distribution of the children through the three sub-samples.
- Table 115. The socio-economic class of the children as a percentage of each sub-sample.
- Table 116. The denominational affiliations of church attenders.
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The number of organisations.
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Table 114

The distribution of the children through the three sub-samples.

	N =	%
Church Attenders	116	45
Former Church Attenders	107	41.5
Non Church Attenders	31	12
No Response	4	1.5
Total	<u>258</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 115

The Socio-economic class of the children as a percentage of each sub-sample.

Sub-Samples	Registrar General's Classifications					Unknown
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Church Attenders N = 116	•86	8.6	55	26.8	5	4.2
Former Attenders N = 107	0	12	44.8	23.3	14.9	5.6
Non Attenders N = 31	0	16	45.1	22.5	12.9	3.2
Other N = 4	0	0	75	0	25	0
Total = 258	<u>•39</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>10.4</u>	<u>4.2</u>



Table 117

## Sex Distribution

	Church Attendees N = 116	Former Attendees N = 107	Non Attendees N = 31	Other N = 4	Total N = 258
Male	35.4	52.4	67.8	100	47.3
Female	64.6	47.6	32.2	0	52.7

Table 118

## Household Sizes

	N =	Number in Households								
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Church Attendees	116	1.7	14.7	31.8	27.5	14.7	5.1	1.7	2.8	0
Former Attendees	107	1.7	14.9	40.1	15.8	12.2	5.6	4.6	.9	3.7
Non Attendees	31	3.2	16.1	35.4	12.9	16.1	9.6	3.2	0	3.2
Other	4									
Total	258	1.9	15.5	35	20.9	13.5	6.2	3.1	1.5	1.9





Table 121

## Number of Siblings

	Church Attendees	Former Attendees	Non Attendees
None	10.3	11.2	12.9
1	28.5	32.7	19.4
2	33.6	19.6	35.5
3	14.6	23.4	6.5
4	5.2	5.6	12.9
5	3.4	1.9	3.2
6	1.7	1.9	3.2
7	0.9	2.8	3.2
8	0.9	0	0
9	0	0.9	3.2
Don't Know	0.9	0	0

Table 122  
Membership of Organisations I

Number of Organisations	Church Attenders		Former Attenders		Non Attenders		Total Sample						
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total				
None	17	16.9	17	17	25	37.2	30.8	14.2	60	25.8	19.6	27.9	24.8
1	36.5	49.2	44.8	44.8	39	39.2	39.2	47.6	9.5	38.7	38.5	50.7	45.6
2	31.7	22.6	25.8	25.8	21.4	7.8	14.9	14.3	10	12.9	22.9	16.3	19.6
3	4.8	6.6	6	6	5.3	0	2.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	1.3	.8	.8	3.5	0	1.8	0	0	0	1.6	.7	1.1
5	2.4	0	.8	.8	0	0	0	0	0	0	.8	0	.3
Don't Know	1.3	6.6	6.8	6.8	5.3	15.6	10.2	23.8	10	19.3	9.8	10.2	9.4

Table 123  
Membership of Organisations II

Type of Organisations	Church Attenders		Former Attenders		Non Attenders		Total Sample					
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F				
Church Organisations	41.3	34.4	36	1.7	3.8	2.7	0	10	3.2	13.8	21.2	19
Sports & Athletics Organisations	16.8	10.5	11.9	26.7	9.7	18.6	9.4	0	6.4	19.5	8.7	13.3
School Organisations	2.1	12	8.5	5.3	0	2.8	0	0	0	3.3	6.6	5
Youth Clubs	21.5	19.9	20.4	33.7	29.3	31.5	37.9	20	28.2	29.3	23.3	26.1
Uniformed Organisations	17	17.3	17.2	14.1	0	6.8	0	0	0	20.3	10.2	14.9
General Interest Organisations	9.7	4.9	5.9	8.8	1.9	4.6	9.5	0	6.4	8.2	2.8	5.2

N.B. This table may be misleading, in that the judgments made in the text refer to an examination of this table and six tables referring to the regularity of attendance at the organisations.

Table 124

## Correlation of children's church attendance with the attendance of other members of the family

	Mother		Father		Brothers		Sisters		Total			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F				
Attends the same church	43.9	59	53.4	31.7	37.3	35.3	34.1	25.3	28.4	34.1	44	40.5
Attends a different church of the same denomination	2.4	4	3.4	0	4	2.5	0	2.6	1.7	2.4	2.6	2.5
Attends a church of a different denomination	2.4	2.6	2.5	2.4	0	.8	0	1.3	.8	2.4	2.6	2.5
Not applicable: does not attend church; deceased; or no brothers or sisters	43.9	30.6	35.3	82.8	57.3	59.4	60.9	69.3	66.6	58.4	48	51.7
Unknown	6.3	4	5.1	2.4	1.3	1.7	4.8	1.3	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.5

Table 125

## Reasons for ceasing to attend church given by former attenders

Family moved to new district	10.2%
Sunday job	8.4%
Behavioural reasons	15.1%
Attitudinal reasons	32.7%
Alternative convictions	4.6%
"No reason"	3.7%
Unknown	25.2%

N.B.

Behavioural reasons include "no time"; "too busy"; "joined Sunday football team" etc.

Attitudinal reasons include "boring"; "couldn't see the point"; "didn't like" etc.

Alternative convictions include "became an atheist"; "saw more point in joining S.N.P."; "religion in church not modern enough".

Table 126

## Age upon ceasing to attend church

Under 10 years	27.2%
10 years	10.2%
11 years	12.2%
12 years	17.7%
13 years	15.8%
14 years	8.4%
15 years	3.9%
16 years	0
17 years	1.8%
Unknown	2.8%

Table 127

Affirmative expressions of belief as a percentage of each of the sub-samples

	Church Attenders		Former Attenders		Non Attenders		Total Sample					
	M	F Total	M	F Total	M	F Total	M	F Total				
Believe in God	37	76	62	46	58.8	52.3	47.3	40	45.1	41.1	66.9	55.9
Believe that God created the world	37	50.6	45.6	30.3	39.2	34.6	28.5	30	29	32.2	44.8	50.7
Believe that God rules the world	12.1	29.9	23.2	16	9.8	13	9.5	20	12.9	12.7	21.3	17.3
Believe that God guides the choice of career	21.2	25.3	24.1	16	7.6	12.1	0	10	3.2	15.2	25	20.4

Table 128

## Career Expectations

	Church Attenders		Former Attenders		Non Attenders				
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			
University	2.5	9.5	6	5.4	2	3.7	0	0	0
Further Education	4.9	28	16.5	3.6	15.7	9.4	9.5	10	9.6
Professions	14.6	2.6	8.6	0	0	0	23.8	0	11.9
Social Work	0	9.6	4.8	1.8	7.8	4.8	0	0	0
Armed Services	4.9	0	2.4	5.4	2.0	3.7	4.8	0	2.2
Clerical/Office Laboratory Work	14.6	30.6	17.1	3.6	21.6	12.6	4.8	30	17.4
Unskilled manual	2.5	0	1.2	1.8	7.8	4.8	0	0	0
Skilled manual	14.6	6.6	10.6	30.3	13.7	17	19	20	19.5
Other	4.9	5.3	5.1	8.9	5.9	7.4	4.8	10	7.4
Don't Know	14.6	6.6	10.6	28.5	19.6	13	30	0	15
No Response	21.9	1.3	11.6	10.7	3.9	7.3	4.8	0	2.4

APPENDIX II

## SCHOOL LEAVERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

## RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Please answer all the questions. Where you do not know the answer, please write, "Don't Know". All your answers will be treated in absolute confidence.

1.a. What is your father's occupation?

b. Where does he work?

If your father is unemployed, retired or no longer alive please say so and give his last occupation and place of work.

2. If your mother works, what job does she do?

If she has a part-time job please write "Part-time". If she is a housewife write "Housewife". If your mother is no longer alive please say so.

3. If you have brothers or sisters please write their ages in the columns below. If you have no brothers or sisters please write "None" on the top line of the columns.

(a)

Age of Sisters

(b)

Age of Brothers

4. How many people live in your household? Please put the number against the following; if none, write "None".

1. Parents
2. Brothers and Sisters
3. Grandparents
4. Other relatives
5. Others

5. Please list below all the clubs and organisations of which you are a member, and say how often they meet, e.g. weekly, etc.

Which of these clubs do you attend

1. Every meeting
2. Frequently
3. Occasionally
4. Rarely.

6. Which of the above clubs do you attend mostly.

1. Alone?
2. With school friends?
3. With friends from Church?
4. With other friends?
5. With brothers or sisters?



7. a. Which Church do you attend? Please give denomination, and name of Church. If none, please write "None".  
b. Are you a Church member?
8. If you do not now attend Church, did you ever do so? If the answer is "Yes", would you say  
1. Which Church you attended?  
2. When you stopped attending?  
3. Why you stopped attending?  
If you do attend Church, please write "Not applicable".
9. Do you attend Church  
1. Every Sunday?  
2. Once or twice a month?  
3. Three or four times a year?  
4. Less often?  
5. Not applicable.
10. Do you attend Communion regularly?  
a. Yes      b. No      c. Not applicable
11. Do you mostly attend Church  
1. Alone?  
2. With your parents?  
3. With your grandparents?  
4. With your brothers/sisters?  
5. With school friends?  
6. With other friends?  
7. Not applicable.
12. If your parents or brothers and sisters attend Church, please say which they attend. If none, please write "None".  
1. Mother  
2. Father  
3. Brothers  
4. Sisters
13. What do you like best about your Church? If you do not attend Church, please write "Not applicable".
14. What do you like least about your Church? If you do not attend Church, please write "Not applicable".

15. Do you attend Church because
1. Your parents attend?
  2. Your friends attend?
  3. You want to worship God?
  4. You enjoy belonging to Church organisations?
  5. You like the minister?
  6. Other reasons (Please give these below).
  7. Not applicable.
16. Do you ever say prayers
1. With your family
    - a) before or after meals?
    - b) in the morning or evening?
    - c) on Sunday?
  2. Alone
    - a) before or after meals?
    - b) in the morning or evening?
    - c) on Sunday?
17. Do you ever read the Bible
1. with your family?
  2. Alone?
18. Do you believe in God? (Please ring the answer).
- Yes                      No                      Don't know.
19. Do you believe that God guides your choice of career?  
(Please ring the answer)
- Yes                      No                      Don't know.
20. Do you believe that God
- |                       |     |    |             |
|-----------------------|-----|----|-------------|
| 1. created the world? | Yes | No | Don't know. |
| 2. rules the world?   | Yes | No | Don't know. |
21. What do you intend to do when you leave this school?  
-----

Name:

Address:

Form:

Sex:

Date of Birth:

(Please write the above in block capitals).

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

## APPENDIX III

## Lay Leaders' Questionnaire

1. Name of Church
2. How long have you been a member of this church?
3. At what age were you received into membership of the Christian Church?
4. Were you previously a member of another church of
  - a. the same denomination? Yes/No
  - b. another denomination? Yes/No
5. If you were a member of a church belonging to another denomination please state the denomination
6. Have you held office in another church of
  - a. the same denomination? Yes/No
  - b. another denomination? Yes/No
7. Please underline the church affiliation of the following members of your family
  - a. Mother member of your church  
member of another church  
not a church member
  - b. Father member of your church  
member of another church  
not a church member
  - c. Brothers member of your church  
member of another church  
not a church member  
no brothers
  - d. Sisters member of your church  
member of another church  
not a church member  
no sisters
  - e. Wife member of your church  
member of another church  
not a church member  
no wife  
not applicable
  - f. Husband member of your church  
member of another church  
not a church member  
no husband  
not applicable
  - g. Mother-in-Law Member of your church  
member of another church  
not a church member  
not applicable



1. Mass Evangelism
2. Visitation Campaigns
3. Increased financial giving
4. Improved Pastoral Care
5. Adult Christian Education
6. Complete restructuring of the organisation and methods of the church
7. Greater emphasis upon the fellowship of the church
8. Improved Sunday Services
9. Greater emphasis upon mid-week organisations
10. The Christian Education of Children
11. Involvement in the political life of the community
12. Church-based activities for young people in the community
13. The employment of teams of specialised ministers
14. Work amongst young people in their meeting places, e.g. La Bamba etc.
15. Church-sponsored community projects e.g. community centre, youth club etc.
16. Christian Unity  
What is your occupation? (If retired or unemployed, give former occupation. Please describe your occupation as exactly as possible)
17. Marital status. Please underline the appropriate category  
a) Married                      b) Single                      c) Widowed
18. Age
19. Male/Female
20. Name:
21. Address.

APPENDIX IV**Church Membership in Falkirk/Random Sample Interview**

Serial Number:

Name of Respondent:

Address:

(If the spouse of the respondent is interviewed in the absence of the respondent please enter the name below this space.)

Sex: Male Female

Married Widowed Single

1. a. Are you a member of any church?  
 b. Is your wife/husband a member of any church?
2. Which church is that? a) Informant: Denomination:  
 Name of Church:  
 N/A  
 b) Spouse: Denomination:  
 Name of Church:  
 N/A
3. (If "No" to Q.1.) Have you ever been a member of a church?  
 Has your husband/wife ever been a member of a church?
4. Which church was that? a) Informant: Denomination:  
 Name of Church:  
 N/A  
 b) Spouse: Denomination:  
 Name of Church:  
 N/A
5. Do you attend church services? Yes No
6. How often?

Every Sunday		Several times a year	
2/3 times a month		Less Often	
Monthly		Never	

7. (If "Yes" to Q.1) Have you ever been a member of another church of the same denomination?
8. (If "Yes" to Q.1) Have you ever been a member of another church of a different denomination?

9. Do you (and your husband/wife) hold any office in the church?

- a) Informant: Yes No  
 b) Spouse: Yes No

10. (If "Yes" to Q.9) What offices are these?

- a) Informant: b) Spouse:

11. (Ask all respondents) Do you (and your husband/wife) belong to any church organisations?

- a) Informant: Yes No  
 b) Spouse: Yes No

12. (If "Yes" to Q.11) What organisations are these?

- a) Informant: b) Spouse:

13. Do you (and your husband/wife) attend any other clubs or societies in the town?

- a) Informant: Yes No  
 b) Spouse: Yes No

14. (If "Yes" to Q.13) Which clubs or societies are these?

- a) Informant: b) Spouse:

15. (If "Yes" to Q.13) Do you hold any offices in them?

- a) Informant: Yes No  
 b) Spouse: Yes No

16. (If "Yes" to Q.15) What offices do you hold?

- a) Informant: b) Spouse:

17. (If married) Could you tell me the year in which you were married?

18. How many people live in your household?

(Please ring the appropriate number)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
 10 10+

19. What relationship are they to you? (Where there are more than one please write the number in the appropriate box)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Husband	<input type="checkbox"/>	Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	Uncle	<input type="checkbox"/>	Father-in-Law
<input type="checkbox"/>	Wife	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	Aunt	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mother-in-Law
<input type="checkbox"/>	Son	<input type="checkbox"/>	Grandmother	<input type="checkbox"/>	Cousin	<input type="checkbox"/>	Other
<input type="checkbox"/>	Daughter	<input type="checkbox"/>	Grandfather	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lodger	<input type="checkbox"/>	(please Specify)

20. How many children do you have?

Boys \_\_\_\_\_ Girls \_\_\_\_\_

21. How old are they?

Boys ,

Girls

Under 1 year  
 1 - 5 years  
 6 - 10 years  
 11 - 15 years  
 16 - 20 years  
 21 - 25 years  
 26 - 30 years  
 Over 30 years

22. What is your occupation?

23. (If married) What is your husband's/wife's occupation?

24. What are the occupations of the other members of your household?

Can you now answer some questions about your education please?

25. Which school did you attend last?

26. How old were you when you left this school?

14      15      16      17      18      19

27. Have you had any further education?      Yes      No

28. Where did you receive this?

College of Further Education  
 Technical College  
 College of Education  
 University  
 Other

29. How old were you when you completed it?

30. Finally, how old are you now?

Name of Interviewer:

Date of Interview:



APPENDIX V

## Church Attenders' Questionnaire

Please answer each question by writing in the provided space or by ticking the appropriate box.

1. Name of Church:
2. Do you usually attend worship.  

Every Sunday?	Twice or three times a month?	
Monthly?	Several times a year?	
Once a year?	Less Often?	
3. Are you a member of  

This Church?	Another Church?	No Church?
--------------	-----------------	------------
4. If you are a member of this church, have you ever been a member of another church of the same denomination? Yes/No  
another church of a different denomination? Yes/No
5. If you are a church member how long have you been a church member?  

Less than one year	1 - 4 years	5 - 9 years
10 - 14 years	15 - 19 years	20 or more
6. What offices do you hold in the church? (If none, please write "none").
7. What church organisations do you belong to? (If none, please write "none")
8. Are you married , Widowed , single .
9. How many people live in your household? (Please circle the appropriate number)  
1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10   More than 10.
10. How many children do you have?   Male    Female
11. How long have you lived in Falkirk or the Falkirk area?
12. What is your occupation? (If you are a housewife please write "housewife" and give your husband's occupation).
13. Age?
14. Sex?   Male    Female
15. Are you willing to be interviewed by a research worker in the Church & Society Research Unit?   Yes/No

Name (in block capitals) \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX VI

## Intensive Interview Schedule

Schedule Serial Number:

Name of Respondent:

Address of Respondent:

Type of Residence:

Date/Dates of Interview:

Duration of Interview:            From:                            To:

Interviewer's Name.:

You have already completed a questionnaire relating to your church attendance and your family background. We would like you to enlarge upon some of the questions you answered then. Your answers will of course be treated in absolute confidence.

OR

As you may know a research team from the University of Edinburgh is conducting an investigation of religious life in Falkirk. The churches have agreed to our interviewing people whose names have been taken from their congregational rolls. We wondered if you would be willing to be interviewed as a member of \_\_\_\_\_ Church. Your answers will of course be treated in absolute confidence.

-----

## TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS

First of all I would like to ask you some questions about your childhood and adolescence.

1. What was your father's occupation?
2. Did your parents attend church during your childhood?
  - a. Father: Yes:                            Sometimes:    No:
  - b. Mother: Yes:                            Sometimes:    No:
3. (If 2a and 2b both "Yes") Did your parents attend the same church?
 

Yes	Sometimes	No
-----	-----------	----
4. (If "Yes" or "Sometimes" to 2a and 2b above) Which church/churches did they attend?
  - a. Father:    Name of Church  
                  Denomination  
                  Town
  - b. Mother:    Name of Church  
                  Denomination  
                  Town

5. (If "Yes" to 2a or 2b) Did your parents hold office in the Church?
- a. Father Yes/No  
b. Mother Yes/No
6. (If "Yes" to 5a or 5b) What offices did they hold?
- a. Father b. Mother
7. Did you attend church as a child (up to the age of twelve).
- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| Every Sunday      | Several times a year |
| 2/3 times a month | Less Often           |
| Monthly           | Never                |
8. Did you attend church in your "teens"
- |                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| Every Sunday      | Several times a year |
| 2/3 times a month | Less Often           |
| Monthly           | Never                |
9. (If a regular attender in Q.7 and Q.8) Was there ever a time in your youth when you did not attend church? Yes/No
- 9.b. If "Yes". Why was that?
10. (If a difference is revealed between answers to Q.7 and Q.8). Why did your church attendance habits change?
11. Did you belong to
- |               |                  |
|---------------|------------------|
| Sunday School | Boys' Brigade    |
| Bible Class   | Youth Fellowship |
| Scouts        | Guides           |
| Girls' Brig.  | Tempce. Org.     |
| Other         | Other            |
12. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
- |  |               |               |
|--|---------------|---------------|
|  | Alive         | Deceased      |
|  | Older Younger | Older Younger |
- Brothers.....  
Sisters.....
13. When you were children how many of your brothers
- Attended the same church as yourself  
Attended a different church  
Attended no church at all.
14. When you were children how many of your sisters
- Attended the same church as yourself  
Attended a different church  
Attended no church at all.
15. Did you attend church as family
- Every Sunday  
Regularly but not every Sunday  
Sometimes on special occasions  
Never

16. Did your parents insist that you should attend church, Sunday School or Bible Class

Yes                      Sometimes                      No

16.a. If "No" and a church attender,

Why did you attend Church/Sunday School/Bible Class?

17. If you did not attend church with members of your family, with whom did you attend?

18. Did religion play any part in the day to day life of your childhood home? For instance did you have

Family Prayers	Yes	No
Bedtime Prayers	Yes	No
Mealtime Grace	Yes	No
Family Bible Reading	Yes	No
Other		
(specify below)	Yes	No

18.a. Were you conscious of "religious" laws and rules guiding your parents and the organisation of the family? Yes/No.

18.b. If "Yes" would you describe these?

19. Did your parents ever give you moral teaching or instruction?

Yes                      No

Father  
Mother

19.b. If "Yes", can you describe this?

20. Did either of your parents express firm religious views?

Father	Yes	No
Mother	Yes	No

20.b. What were these?

Father                      Mother

21. Did your parents ever express political views?

Father      Yes      No.      Mother      Yes      No.

21.b. (If "Yes") What were they?

Father                      Mother

22. Which schools did you attend?

22.b. Did you have further education? Yes/No

If Yes, what was this?

University	Technical College
College of Education	Other (Specify)
C.A.T.	

22.c. Do you have academic or professional qualifications?  
Yes/No.

22.d. If "Yes", what are they?

23. TO BE ASKED OF ALL THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE NOT LIVED IN FALKIRK ALL THEIR LIVES.

You say that you have lived in Falkirk \_\_\_\_\_ years.

- a) Where were you born?
- b) Have you lived anywhere else? Yes/No
- c) If "Yes" Where was that?
- d) How old were you when you moved to Falkirk?
- e) Why did you move?
- f) Were you married then? (If applicable) Yes/No
- g) Were you working then (If applicable) Yes/No
- h) What was your job? (If applicable)
- i) Did your husband/wife have the same job? (If applicable)  
Yes/No
- j) If not what did he/she do?
- k) Did you go to church in your former place/places of residence?  
Yes/No
- l) What denomination(s) was the church/were the churches you attended?
- m) Did your Husband/Wife attend the same church/churches?  
Yes/No

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE TO BE ASKED OF ALL MARRIED AND WIDOWED RESPONDENTS.

I would now like to ask you some general questions about your present/recent family life.

24. You have \_\_\_\_\_ children, how old are they?

	Boys	Girls
Under 1 year		
1 - 5 years		
6 - 10 years		
11 - 15 years		
16 - 20 years		
21 - 25 years		
26 - 30 years		
Over 30 years		

25. How many of your children are married (If applicable)

Male                      Female

26. How many of your children live at your home?

Male                      Female

27. What are your children's occupations?

Male                      Female

28. How often do you visit your children who live away from home?

Male

Female

29. How often do they visit you?

Male

Female

30. Have any of your children received/do any of them receive further education? Yes/No

31. If "yes" please describe what further education they have/they are receiving

Male

Female

University  
College of Education  
College of Advanced  
Technology  
Technical College  
Other

32. Do you/did you insist that your children should attend church or Sunday School? Yes/No

33. If you insist/insisted that they should attend church, at what point will you/did you let them decide for themselves?

34. Do you and/or your husband/wife accompany them to church

Respondent: Yes No

Spouse: Yes No

35. If not, with whom do they/did they attend church?

36.a) How many of your children are church members/confirmed?

Male

Female

Member of your church  
Member of another Church of  
the same denomination  
Member of another Church of  
a different denomination  
Old enough, but not a church  
member

b) If not, why not?

37. How many of your children belong/have belonged to

Sunday School

Bible Class

Scouts

Girls' Brigade

Other

Boys' Brigade

Youth Fellowship

Guides

Temperance Org.

Other

If "Other" please specify.

38. Does religion play any part in the day to day life of your home? For instance do you have

Family Prayers	Bedtime Prayers
Mealtime Grace	Family Bible Reading
Other (specify below)	

38.a. Do you have any rules or laws by which you run the family and the home? Yes/No.

38.b. (If "Yes") Would you describe these?

39. Do you and/or your wife/husband ever give moral teaching or instruction to the children? IF NO CHILDREN - Would you give moral teaching or instruction to any children you might have?

Respondent:	Yes	No
Spouse:	Yes	No

39.a. (If "Yes") Precisely what is/what would you, taught/teach?

40. Do any of the following relatives live in the Falkirk area? (Show card). How often do you see them? Which church if any do they attend?

Mother	Father	Mother-in-Law
Brother 1	Brother 2	Father-in-Law
Sister 1	Sister 2	Brother-in-Law
Grandfather	Uncle	Sister-in-Law
Grandmother	Aunt	Son-in-Law
Nephew	Niece	Daughter-in-Law
Grandson	Grand-daughter	

41. Which of the following would you most wish for your children? (Show Card) Would you please list the others in order of importance to you?

That they should obtain a better position in life than your own.

That they do the kind of work they want to

That they should be in a position to help others

That they should have a well paid job that will give them security

41.b. Are there any other wishes that you consider to be more important than these? Yes/No

41.c. (If "Yes") What are they?

---

## TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS:-

Now I would like to ask you questions about your own and your husband's/wife's occupation.

42. Your occupation is \_\_\_\_\_, what kind of business or industry is that in? (If applicable)
43. (If applicable) Your husband's/wife's occupation is \_\_\_\_\_, what kind of business or industry is that in?
44. Was it your/your husband's ambition to become a \_\_\_\_\_, or to work in this particular industry or business?  
Yes/No
- 44.b. If "No", did you/your husband have a particular ambition?  
Yes/No
- 44.c. If "Yes", what was it?
45. Have you (married women)/Has your wife (men with working wives) always worked since your marriage? Yes/No.
46. TO BE ASKED OF HOUSEWIVES AND MARRIED MEN WHOSE WIVES DO NOT WORK.  
Did you (housewives), Did your wife (Married men whose wives do not work), work before becoming a full-time housewife?  
Yes/No.
- 46.a. Was this (If yes)  
Before your marriage  
After your marriage  
Before and after
- 46.b. What did you/your wife do?
47. Do you believe that married women should have a job outside the home? Yes/No
- 47.a. Why is that?
48. TO BE ASKED OF ALL EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS.  
Do you belong to a Trade Union? Yes/No.
- 48.a. If "Yes" which one is that?
- 48.b. TO BE ASKED OF HOUSEWIVES AND MEN WITH EMPLOYED WIVES.  
Does your husband/wife belong to a Trade Union? Yes/No.
- 48.c. (If "Yes") which one is that?
- 48.d. (If "Yes" to 48) Do you play any active part in this?  
Yes/No.
- 48.e. (If "Yes" to 48d) What part do you play?



- 48.f. (If "Yes" to 48b) Does your husband/wife play an active part in the Trade Union? Yes/No.
- 48.g. (If "Yes" to 48f) What part does he/she play?
49. Which of the following do you think is most important about your work/your husband's work? (SHOW CARD)
- 49.a. List the others in order of importance to you.
- |                     |                                |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| High income         | Good Pension or Superannuation |
| Security            | Serving others                 |
| Promotion Prospects | Responsibility                 |
| Working with others | Stimulating work               |
| Good holidays       | Easy going atmosphere          |
- 49.b. Are there qualities you consider to be more important than the above? Yes/No
- 49.c. (If "Yes") What are they?

---

TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS.

- Can we move on now to discuss the kind of social life you live.
50. FALKIRK has a great many voluntary, charitable and sports associations - e.g. women's clubs, masonic lodges, etc.
- Do you belong to any of these?  
Does your husband/wife belong to any?  
Do any of your children who live at home belong to such associations?
51. (If "Yes") Which organisations are these and how long have you and/or they been members?
- |                 |               |                       |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| Respondent:     | Organisation. | Length of Membership. |
| 51.a. Spouse:   | Organisation. | Length of Membership. |
| 51.b. Children: | Organisation. | Length of Membership. |
- 51.c. Which of these organisations do you attend regularly, occasionally and rarely?
- 51.d. Do you or your husband/wife hold office in the above associations?
- |             |        |         |        |
|-------------|--------|---------|--------|
| Respondent: | Yes/No | Spouse: | Yes/No |
|-------------|--------|---------|--------|
- 51.e. (If "Yes") What offices do you hold?
- |             |         |
|-------------|---------|
| Respondent: | Spouse: |
|-------------|---------|
52. Do you associate with members of these organisations outside the formal meetings of the organisation? Yes/No



62.a. Why?

63. There has been some local controversy concerning the amount of ratepayers' money spent on subsidised council housing. Do you think that ratepayers' money should be spent on low rent housing or not?

Yes                      No                      D/K

63.a. Why?

64. There are some people in Scotland who believe that Scotland does not receive a fair share of the National Income. Do you

Agree                      Disagree                      D/K

64.a. Why?

65. There are movements in all the political parties to obtain greater national independence for Scotland. Do you think that

- a) Scotland should be wholly independent with its own Government?
- b) Scotland should have provincial status with a provincial parliament? (Like Ulster)
- c) Scotland should retain its present place within the U.K. but existing communications between Westminster and St. Andrew's House should be improved?
- d) The present relationship between Scotland and the rest of the U.K. is acceptable and should remain unchanged?

REPEAT THE QUESTION IF NECESSARY BUT DO NOT PROBE

a                              b                              c                              d

TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS:-

I would now like to follow up some of the questions relating to your membership of the Church.

66. You say that you have been a church member for \_\_\_\_\_ years. How long have you been a member of \_\_\_\_\_ church?
67. Can you recall the experiences and events which led to your becoming a church member/receiving confirmation? (THE INTERVIEWER MUST PROBE HERE FOR INFLUENCES OF FAMILY? FRIENDS, MINISTER: "EXPERIENCE". CONVERSION SOCIAL CUSTOM ETC.
68. Many people in the churches to-day are expressing doubt about some of the traditional beliefs held in the churches. I would like to ask you about some of these beliefs. For instance would you say that your own belief in God is

Certain                      Uncertain                      Non-existent

- 68.a. Has this always been the case? Yes/No
- 68.b. (If "No") In what ways has your attitude changed and when did the change take place?
69. (If Certain or Uncertain in Q.68) What do you think that God is like? Or how do you think about God?  
(Probe: "Do you see him firstly as Father or as a pervasive Spirit?")
70. If you had to describe the Christian Faith to someone, what would you say was distinctive about Jesus and about Christianity?
71. (SHOW CARD) On this card there are three statements. I want you to say of each one whether it is  
i) certainly true; ii) probably true; iii) probably not true; iv) certainly not true.
- a. You can be a good Christian without thinking about God and religion  
Why?
- b. You can be a good Christian without being a Church member  
Why?
- c. You can be a good Christian without going to Church  
Why?
72. Do you ever pray? Yes/No
- 72.a. (If "Yes") On what occasions and under what circumstances?
73. If you had personal troubles and needed to tell someone, which of these people would you find it most easy to talk to?
- |                |           |
|----------------|-----------|
| Doctor         | Nurse     |
| Social Worker  | Clergyman |
| Bank Manager   | Others    |
| Specify Others |           |
74. If you talked to a clergyman about a problem that was troubling you, would you expect him to  
Give advice about how to deal with the problem based on Christian doctrine?  
Not give any direct advice but help you to work out the problem for yourself?  
Don't know.

75. Here is a list of situations in which you might approach someone else for advice. (SHOW CARD)

1. Death of a close relative or friend
2. Difficulties at work
3. Worries about making ends meet
4. Marriage problems
5. Difficulties in bringing up young children
6. Problems with teenage children
7. Drinking problems
8. Feelings of boredom and frustration
9. Anxieties about illness in yourself or someone close to you
10. Worries about retirement or growing old
11. Uncertain about right thing to do in a particular situation
12. Problems with parents
13. Feeling under strain not able to cope
14. Religious doubts or uncertainties.

Can you tell me in each case:-

- A. Have you ever consulted a clergyman about this kind of problem?
- B. (If Yes) How many times did you see him?
- C. How long did you talk?
- D. (If No to A) If you had this kind of problem would you consult a clergyman? (Or would you expect a clergyman to be able to help?)
- E. (If No to D) Would you consult anyone else? (e.g. Those mentioned in Q.73).
- F. If you did not seek professional help with this problem would you approach a fellow member of your Church and talk to him or her?

76. When you attend worship what are your main reasons for doing so?

77. When you do not attend worship what are your main reasons for doing so?

78. What do you like best about your church?

78.a. Why?

79. What do you like least about your church?

79.a. Why?

80. Do you associate with other members of the church outside the formal activities of the church? Yes/No.

81. Where do you meet?

- Each others' homes?
- At Work?
- In voluntary associations?
- Public Entertainment?
- Elsewhere (Specify)

82. Would you tell me the age, sex, occupation and religion of your three closest friends?

83. If you were a newcomer to Falkirk and you wanted to make friends and get to know people where would you expect to be able to do this?

In a Church                      In a Voluntary Assoc.  
At your Neighbours  
Others (Specify)

84. How many of your immediate neighbours attend Church?

85. How many of your immediate workmates attend Church?

86. Do you ever discuss religion?

With your neighbours?  
With your friends?  
With workmates/colleagues?  
With your family?  
Others (Specify)

87. What are the topics which most often come up in these discussions

88. TO BE ASKED OF THOSE WHO BELONG TO CHURCH ORGANISATIONS.

You are a member of \_\_\_\_\_ organisations; how often do you attend them?

Organisation                      Frequency.

89. Do you ever attend organisations in another church?                      Yes/No

89.a. (If "Yes") Which?

89.b. (If "Yes") Why?

90. Do you ever worship at another church?                      Yes/No

90.a. (If "Yes") Which?

90.b. How often?

91. Which other church in Falkirk do you consider yours to be most like?

92. Which other church in Falkirk do you consider yours to be least like?

93. Do you think that the church should take up a position in relation to

A. National Politics	Yes	No	D/K
B. Local Politics	Yes	No	D/K



99. Have you ever considered belonging to another denomination? Yes/No.

99.a. (If "Yes") Which one?

99.b. TO BE ASKED OF ALL:- Why?

FOR CHURCH OF SCOTLAND RESPONDENTS ONLY:

100. Do you think that every Christian in Scotland ought to belong to a congregation of the Church of Scotland?

Yes No D/K

100.a. Why?

101. There is a climate of change in the church at large during the present time and I would like to know your opinions about some aspects of the changes which seem to be occurring within the Church of Scotland.

The General Assembly has approved the ordination of women elders.

Do you: Approve Disapprove D/K

101.a. The General Assembly has approved the ordination of women ministers.

Do you: Approve Disapprove D/K

101.b. The General Assembly in 1969 lent its support to some appeals for greater home rule for Scotland. Is your attitude towards the General Assembly's involvement in such political issues one of

Approval Disapproval D/K

102. Do you in general approve or disapprove of the movement towards Christian unity?

Approve Disapprove D/K

102.a. Why?

103. Do you think that people should marry within their own religious group? Yes No D/K

103.a. Why?

104. Do you think that people should make their closest friends within their own religious group?

Yes No D/K

104.a. Why?



105. Would you say that generally speaking Church of Scotland people are easier to get on with in personal relationships than other Christians?

Yes No D/K

105.a. Why?

FOR CATHOLIC RESPONDENTS ONLY:

106. Do you believe that the Catholic Church is the only true Church established by God Himself? Yes No D/K

107. What would you say were the major differences between your Church and The Church of Scotland?

108. There is a climate of change in the church at the present time and I would like to know your opinions about some aspects of the changes which seem to be occurring in the Catholic Church.

The Mass has now been translated into the vernacular and in Scotland is celebrated in English.

Do you: Approve Disapprove D/K

108.a. There is a movement within the church to ordain married men to the priesthood. This has actually occurred in Australia and in some European countries.

Do you: Approve Disapprove D/K

108.b. During recent years the Pope has given more authority to the Cardinals and Bishops and there is a general movement within the church towards a more democratic system of government and organisation.

Do you: Approve Disapprove D/K

109. Do you in general approve or disapprove of the movement towards Christian unity?

Approve Disapprove D/K

109.a. Why?

110. Do you think that the changes which are occurring within the Catholic Church are making it more like other churches? Yes No D/K

110.a. Why?

111. Do you think that Catholic children should attend Catholic schools? Yes No D/K

111.a. Why?

112. Do you think that people should marry within their own religious group?      Yes      No      D/K

112.a. Why?

113. Do you think that people should make their closest friends within their own religious group?      Yes      No      D/K

113.a. Why?

114. Would you say that generally speaking Catholics are easier to get on with in personal relationships than other Christians?      Yes      No      D/K

114.a. Why?

FOR NON-CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PROTESTANT RESPONDENTS ONLY:

115. What would you say were the major differences between your church and the Church of Scotland?

116. What would you say were the major differences between your church and the Catholic Church?

117. Do you in general approve or disapprove of the movement towards Christian Unity?      Approve      Disapprove      D/K

117.a. Why?

118. Do you think that people should marry within their own religious group?      Yes      No      D/K

118.a. Why?

119. Do you think that people should make their closest friends within their own religious groups?

Yes      No      D/K

119.a. Why?

120. Would you say that generally speaking members of your church/denomination/assembly are easier to get along with in personal relationships than other Christians?

Yes      No      D/K

120.a. Why?

121. Would you name three changes in your church or denomination which have taken place during the past ten years.

121.a. Do you approve or disapprove of these changes?

FOR NON CHURCH MEMBER RESPONDENTS ONLY:

122. Have you ever been a member of a church? Yes No
- 122.a. (If "Yes") Which one?
- 122.b. (If "Yes") At what age did you cease to be a church member?
- 122.c. (If "Yes") Why did you cease to be a church member?
- 122.d. (If "No") Have you ever considered joining a church?
- 122.g. (If "Yes" to 122.d) Which one?
- 122.f. Why?
123. Would you say that your attitude towards the church was
- a. Very favourable
  - b. Mildly favourable
  - c. Indifferent
  - d. Mildly unfavourable
  - e. Very unfavourable.
123. a. Why?
124. Do you think that any important changes have taken place in the church during recent years? Yes No D/K
- 124.a. (If "Yes") What are they?
- 124.b. Do you approve of these changes?
125. Do you think that it is important that the churches should grow closer together? Yes No D/K
- 125.a. Why?
126. Do you think that Catholics and Protestants should marry within their own religious groups?
- Yes No D/K
- 126.a. Why?
127. Do you think that church people are easier or more difficult to get on with than other people?
- Yes No D/K
- 127.a. Why?
128. Do you think that the children of non church members should be baptised by the church?
- Yes No D/K

128.a. Why?

129. Do you think that non church members should be married within the church?

Yes            No            D/K

129.a. Why?

130. Finally would you describe yourself as being a particularly "religious" person?

Yes            No            D/K

130.a. Why?

APPENDIX VII

## Sampling Checks for Samples of Church Members

Table 129

Sample Distribution through Religious Population

Religious Group	Estimated Total for Falkirk	%	Sampling Frame	%	Interview Sample	%
Church of Scotland	10,051 <sup>1</sup>	66.81	813	72.91	144	71.64
Roman Catholic	3,550 <sup>2</sup>	23.59	131	11.74	29	14.42
Protestant Minority	1,443 <sup>3</sup>	9.59	171	15.33	28	13.93
Totals	15,044	99.99	1,115	99.98	201	99.99

## 1. Official Presbytery Returns

2. Baptised Catholics over the age of fifteen years. Interviews were only conducted with informants aged seventeen years and over, hence the disproportionate sample distribution.

3. Figures supplied by the Protestant Minority churches. A number refused to provide this information.

Table 130

A comparison of the socio-economic class of the samples and the sampling frames, the percentages are rounded to the nearest figure.

Religious Group	I	II	III(i)	III(ii)	IV	V
<b>Church of Scotland</b>						
Sampling Frame	11	29	23	29	7	1
Sample	12	37	17	27	6	1
<b>Roman Catholic</b>						
Sampling Frame	0	20	22	37	16	4
Sample	0	17	10	45	28	0
<b>Protestant Minority</b>						
Sampling Frame	7	23	29	37	3	2
Sample	8	27	30	27	4	4

Table 131

A comparison of the regularity of attendance at worship by the three sampling frames and samples, the percentages are rounded to the nearest figure.

Religious Group	Every Sunday	2/3 times a month	Monthly	Infre- quently
<b>Church of Scotland</b>				
Sampling Frame	54	35	4	7
Sample	54	36	5	5
<b>Roman Catholic</b>				
Sampling Frame	99	0	1	0
Sample	100	0	0	0
<b>Protestant Minority</b>				
Sampling Frame	80	15	3	2
Sample	81	19	0	0

APPENDIX VIIIThe Falkirk Churches and their Membership  
Figures

<u>Church of Scotland</u>		<u>Protestant Minorities</u>	
Bainsford	1022	The Apostolic Church	21
Camelon:		Baptist Church	228
Irving	531	Brethren:	
St. John's	1060	Bethany Hall	80
Trinity	389	Olivet Hall	100
Erskine	772	Weir Street	Unknown
Grahams Rd	432	Congregational Church	222
Grahamston	882	Episcopal Church	400
Old Parish	1215	Faith Mission	Unknown
St. Andrews	1581	Grahamston	
St. James	637	Evangelistic Mission	70
St. Modans	586	Methodist Church	150
West	845	Nazarene Church	23
		Town Mission	Unknown
		Salvation Army	100
		United Free	Unknown
		Church of Christ	Unknown
<u>Roman Catholic</u>		Newmarket Street	
St. Francis Xavier)		Mission	Unknown
St. Mary's	} 3550	Thornhill Road	
Polish Church		Mission	Unknown
		Assembly of God	Unknown
		Spiritualist Church	Unknown
		Jehovah's Witnesses	Unknown
		The Mormon Church	Unknown
		Seven Day Adventist	Unknown

APPENDIX IX

## Church Based Organisations in Falkirk Churches

Table 132

The number of church based organisations for all the churches<sup>1</sup>

	Women's Orgs.	Men's Orgs.	Young People's Orgs.
Church of Scotland	22	7	28
Roman Catholic <sup>2</sup>	4	6	1
Protestant Minorities	20	3	13
Total	46	16	42

1. This includes the figures for only ten of the non Church of Scotland Protestant churches.
2. St. Francis Xavier Church only.

Table 133

The number of memberships held in church based organisations<sup>1</sup>

	Women's Orgs.	Men's Orgs.	Young People's Orgs.	Other
Church of Scotland	770	171	1077	151
Roman Catholic <sup>2</sup>	75	305	100 <sup>3</sup>	35
Protestant Minorities	600	25	260	445

1. This includes the figures for twelve of the non Church of Scotland Protestant churches.
2. St. Francis Xavier Church only.
3. This is an approximate figure supplied by an assistant priest at St. Francis'.



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