

FAITH WITHOUT FOCUS:
NEIGHBOURHOOD TRANSITION AND RELIGIOUS CHANGE
IN INNER-CITY VANCOUVER

By

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Abstract

Communities are constantly changing, physically, socially and in terms of the values and ideologies of their residents. This research examines the linkages between neighbourhood transition and religious change both theoretically and empirically in an attempt to discover possible connections between social transition and changes in religious values.

Initially, literature discussing both neighbourhood transition and religious change and secularization are discussed. This is followed by an attempt to integrate these two bodies of theory, making reference to studies which have attempted to link religious changes to demographic variables. This literature review provides the framework for an examination of social and religious changes in the three inner-city Vancouver neighbourhoods of Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey. Information on these neighbourhoods is derived from census and denominational statistics, city directories and other sources including newspapers, local fiction and interviews with residents.

Emerging from the study are indications of linkages between neighbourhood transition and religious change. Although the case studies emphasize that the interaction is very complex, general demographic variables including age, sex, ethnicity, education, occupation, mobility and family status, plus less well-defined cultural values related to post-industrial emphases on aestheticism appear to be related to both traditional religious involvement and the prevalence of new religious movements and other less formalized ideologies. Traditional religions appear to be particularly weak in neighbourhoods with many university-educated, professional young singles and childless couples who are very

mobile and whose values include the enjoyment of social and cultural amenities and self-actualization. However these are the same communities where new religious movements and alternative ideologies appear to flourish. More stable, family-oriented neighbourhoods seem to have stronger traditional churches and fewer alternative belief systems.

In conclusion, while a theoretical literature on neighbourhood transition frequently ignores religious changes and writing on religion frequently ignores spatial differences, this thesis attempts to combine these two bodies of theory and empirically examine interactions between social and religious changes. What emerges is a complex picture, supporting secularization theory by documenting the decline of traditional churches in some contexts, yet recognizing that while traditional churches decline, other belief systems frequently emerge.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Acknowledgement	viii
Chapter One - Introduction	1
A. Methodology	8
B. Defining the study neighbourhoods	14
Chapter Two - Neighbourhood transition and religious change	19
A. Neighbourhood transition	20
1. The changing nature of urbanization	20
2. The processes of neighbourhood transition	27
B. Religious change	40
1. Religious change in classical sociology	45
a. Emile Durkheim	47
b. Max Weber	54
2. Contemporary secularization and religious change theorists	59
a. Secularization and modernization	59
b. Religious change	71
C. Neighbourhood transition and religious change	84
Chapter Three - Neighbourhood transition in Vancouver	106
A. Historical overview of Vancouver	106
B. Historical overview of the study neighbourhoods	115
1. Fairview	115
2. Kitsilano	130
3. West Point Grey	141

Chapter Four - Secularization and religious change in Vancouver	152
A. Religious change and secularization in Vancouver	154
B. Religious change in the study neighbourhoods	169
1. Fairview	169
2. Kitsilano	187
3. West Point Grey	204
Chapter Five - Conclusion	214
Bibliography	231

List of Tables

I. Independent variables correlated against "no religion" response in Canadian inner-cities, 1971	96
II. The top eight Canadian cities ranked by revitalization index and "no religion" response, 1981	100
III. Population characteristics of City of Vancouver, 1931-1986	110
IV. Population characteristics of Fairview, 1931-1986	121
V. Areas of post secondary qualification, Fairview, 1986	128
VI. Social status of Kitsilano residents, 1900-1980	132
VII. Population characteristics of Kitsilano, 1931-1986	135
VIII. Areas of post secondary qualification, Kitsilano, 1986	138
IX. Population characteristics of West Point Grey, 1931-1986	147
X. Areas of post secondary qualification, West Point Grey, 1986	148
XI. Religious affiliation in Vancouver, 1931-1981	160
XII. Religious affiliation in Fairview, 1931-1981	171
XIII. Church membership in Fairview, 1926-1986	171
XIV. Church affiliates who are church members, Fairview, 1931-1981	171
XV. Religious groups in Fairview, 1901-1986	173
XVI. Religious groups in Kitsilano, 1901-1986	189
XVII. Religious affiliation in Kitsilano, 1931-1986	192
XVIII. Church membership in Kitsilano, 1926-1986	192
XIX. Church affiliates who are church members, Kitsilano, 1931-1981	192
XX. Religious groups in West Point Grey, 1901-1986	205
XXI. Religious affiliation in West Point Grey, 1931-1986	207
XXII. Church membership in West Point Grey, 1926-1986	208
XXIII. Church affiliates who are church members, West Point Grey, 1931-1981	208

List of Figures

1. Study neighbourhood boundaries	16
2. Fairview	116
3. Kitsilano	131
4. West Point Grey	143

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Chapter One

Introduction

Who can snare the soul of a city
in a butterfly net of words?
Who can melt steel and concrete
into the flowing matrix of song?
Yet there is a word-symbol,
if it can be found.
There is a sign and a password
in the plastic stuff of mind,
an image behind the veil,
that can reveal the hidden meaning of a city.

A.M. Stephen, "Vancouver"

Seeking to capture the soul of Vancouver, to put into words the hidden meaning of the city, A.M. Stephen found it necessary to paint poetic panoramas of different aspects of urban life. Stephen's first canvas celebrates the social diversity of a city populated by Japanese, Chinese, Greeks, Italians, Irish, Russians, Scots, Danes, Syrians, Swedes, Jews, Americans and English, all flowing in human rivers through the "the canyons, between steel and concrete," overshadowed by the "dark green stairways" of the North Shore Mountains. But, for the poet, Vancouver was more than a collection of varied individuals. In his second portrait, Stephen left the bustle of downtown and stood on the docks. The soul of Vancouver was also intimately connected with the grunts of a C.P.R. freight train, with the "song of prairie lands" sung by a "golden voice hidden in the pipes" of a grain elevator, with the dream told by a "battered" Japanese freighter and with the soft sighs of a reclining ocean liner. Finally, Stephen concludes with brushstrokes painting the brilliant hues

and gathering darkness of the sunset, mysteriously pulling Vancouver into union with the distant Orient.

Stephen's poem is an exploration of the meaning of place. Glimpses, caught between tall buildings, of water "shimmering like the wing of a mountain blue-bird," "the honks of autos, the rumble of trucks ... punctuated by the shrill sopranos of ferry whistles, the tenor of tugs, and the throaty bass of ocean liners" and "the eternal hills ... the Lions couchant, unchanging against the sky ... Capilano and the singing waters of Melawahna and Tslan Tala" are all, unmistakably, Vancouver. The poet's powerful evocation of place leads him to exclaim, "This is Vancouver!" Yet underlying the uniqueness that is Vancouver, Stephen emphasizes that Vancouver is not its own architect isolated from the rest of the world. Rather, this city, glittering "like the bride of an Oriental king," is the dynamic product of interacting international, national, provincial and local economic and political decisions, individual cultural backgrounds, values, dreams and aspirations all coming together in a particular location of exquisite natural beauty. Stephen's poem stresses that it is this ongoing interaction of global forces with local influences which combine to create the distinctive essence of Vancouver.

For Stephen, the "soul" of a city such as Vancouver is its essential part, that which makes Vancouver unique and different from all other cities. This "hidden meaning" is created by the conjunction of a variety of variables at a precise time in a specific place.

But the word "soul" has other meanings than that explored by A.M. Stephen. A "soul" is not only "the essential part," as Stephen uses the word, but is also "the part of the human being that thinks, feels, and

makes the body act; the spiritual part of a person" (Gage Canadian Dictionary 1973, 1054). If this latter definition of soul is adopted, then the quest for the "soul of a city" becomes more than just a search for the uniqueness of place, but also an exploration of the spiritual component of the city and its residents, thus requiring investigation of the religious beliefs, ideologies and value systems which residents hold.¹ The mandate undertaken by this research is to explore this spiritual "soul" of Vancouver. My purpose is to understand the religious beliefs and practices and motivational values of residents in three inner-city neighbourhoods (Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey), and to examine how the changing social character of these neighbourhoods is linked to changes in expression of religious beliefs.

There are three major themes inherent in this research. First, religious ideologies and beliefs are distributed differentially across space. Geographical studies of religious phenomena have sought to analyze the spatial variation of religions from methods as simple as mapping chapels to more sophisticated attempts to understand the diffusion of specific creeds.² Regardless of methodology, these studies all suggest that religions and values have a spatial component, that they vary between places, and thus warrant geographical analysis. One objective of this research is to investigate, empirically, the spatial distribution of religious belief.

¹ "Religion" will be more accurately defined and discussed in Chapter Two. At this point it is sufficient to arbitrarily define religions as belief systems which deal with the meaning of life and death, the definition of the sacred and profane, and the supernatural.

² See, for example, Jones 1976 and Hannemann 1975.

Second, some social scientists have long recognized that ideologies, not only vary over space, but influence decision making, and, hence, the organization of the landscape. This observation, that beliefs and value systems may shape the landscape is one of the fundamental tenets of humanistic approaches in geography (Tuan 1976, Samuels 1978). Literature on the geography of religion emphasizes that spiritual doctrines and values of religions can profoundly impact the landscape.³ But less explicitly religious ideologies and values can also significantly influence the shape of the environment.⁴ Even poorly defined values may motivate individuals to create, as they are able, an environment that reflects their lifestyle. One of the purposes of this research is to investigate the interaction between belief systems and the landscape.

Third, although religious beliefs have a spatial component and impact upon the landscape, they have been largely ignored in much cultural analysis, particularly in contemporary urban geography. Theorists from some philosophical traditions may discount religion as of no significance in shaping the city and thus irrelevant. For these theorists, other forces than religion are the primary sculptors of the landscape, and thus religion may be largely ignored. Critiques of such approaches abound and need not be discussed here (Tuan 1976, Samuels 1978). Even humanistic approaches, however, frequently ignore religious belief. An implicit assumption appears to be that traditional religions (such as Judeo-Christianity) have ceased to be influential in the western city and hence are unworthy of study. What has emerged, many assume, is a "secular" environment in which

³ See, for example, Isaac 1960, 1962, Hsu 1969, Wheatley 1971, Tanaka 1984, Patterson 1984.

⁴ See, for example, Graber 1976, Jackson 1979, Ley 1980, 1987a.

pragmatic individuals make ad hoc decisions "based on the needs and conditions of the moment" with no reference to overarching belief systems (Tuan 1976, 272). Such assumptions are important, and warrant serious investigation rather than uncritical acceptance, as Isaac (1960) and Tuan (1976) emphasize.⁵ This introduces the third, and perhaps most important theme of this research, namely an examination of religious belief in the city in light of recent literature from the sociology of religion and religious studies; to explore the realities of religious decline, persistence and growth in the post-industrial city. This inevitably involves both of the previous themes identified above - a consideration of the impact of belief on the landscape and the spatial patterns of belief - in a discussion of the "soul" of a contemporary city.

Such an endeavour inevitably requires considerable interdisciplinary research, an approach reminiscent of Max Weber. Weber was primarily concerned with understanding the dynamics of social change, but he understood religious values and beliefs to be vital components of social change and thus wrestled with the religious beliefs and values of individuals and societies (Luckmann 1977). In his work, Weber deliberately transgressed conventional academic boundaries to explore the relationships between apparently disparate fields, such as religion and economics, in a quest for new understandings of society.⁶ So too, this study, while

⁵ As will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter Two, the assumption that religion is no longer of significance in industrial and post-industrial study is widely accepted (developed from the largely theoretical work of early social scientists and several recent theorists, particularly Bryan Wilson). However most contemporary scholars acknowledge that this assumption is too simplistic for traditional religions continue to exist and a variety of alternative expressions of belief continue to emerge.

⁶ Isaac 1960, 1964 and Büttner 1974 advocate similar approaches, integrating studies of religion and social geography.

drawing primarily from geographical and sociological literature, will also make reference to popular literature, theology, marketing and other fields.

Because neighbourhoods are dynamic entities, composed of a constantly changing collection of individuals, the social nature, and the patterns of religious belief in any community are frequently in flux. Consequently an essential component of this analysis will be an examination of the changing social and spiritual character of selected neighbourhoods over time.

This research, therefore, will follow a clearly defined outline to grapple with the "soul" of three neighbourhoods in inner-city Vancouver. Following this preliminary introduction and discussion of general methodological issues, Chapter Two will introduce theoretical background relevant to neighbourhood transition and religious change which will form a framework for the empirical studies to follow. Because the neighbourhoods under study were initially settled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this theoretical discussion will focus upon both neighbourhood transition and also religious changes documented and theorized from this period until the present. Fruitful connections between these two fields may be made and the literature interwoven to provide some insights into a synoptic geography of neighbourhood and religious change.

This theoretical background will form the skeleton for comparison of three inner-city Vancouver neighbourhoods, Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey. Chapter Three will examine the social history of each of these neighbourhoods, placed in context by a preface briefly outlining the social history of Vancouver. This research will examine the neighbourhoods in the light of the neighbourhood transition literature examined in Chapter Two. Information will be gleaned from a variety of sources including statistical

data from the census, archival material, previous research and other sources including popular literature, newspapers and interviews.⁷

Chapter Four will examine the changing religious character of the neighbourhoods as they have experienced the social transitions outlined in Chapter Three. Again, this discussion will be placed in context by brief introductory comments on Vancouver in general. This discussion will examine religious trends in the community with reference to the literature on secularization, and will examine linkages between social changes and shifts in religious beliefs and values. As in Chapter Three, information from statistical sources will be integrated with previous research, literature, interviews and a "reading of the landscape."

Finally, Chapter Five will distill some general conclusions about the geography of religious belief, the influence of religious values on the landscape, and the relationships between neighbourhood transition and changes in religious belief. The case studies of Vancouver and the three inner-city neighbourhoods will be reconsidered to provide some general conclusions regarding the spatial distribution of belief, the impact of belief on the landscape, and the connections between the changing social character of the neighbourhoods and religious values.

Before beginning the literature review, however, several preliminary issues must be addressed. These are of two types; first, broad methodological issues related to data collection and use must be examined, followed, secondly, by specific issues related to the case studies in question.

⁷ Throughout both Chapters Three and Four quotations from residents which were gathered through informal interviews and discussions will be provided to highlight specific points.

A. Methodology

In order to document neighbourhood change, census data, which have been available at the community level since 1931, will be used to identify major demographic trends. This will be enhanced with material from the Vancouver Archives, newspapers and various books and studies written on the history of each community. Filling out these social biographies will be more subjective information from popular literature written about the community and from unstructured interviews with residents. Clifford Geertz recognized that analyzing the cultural landscape "is not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (1973, 5). To accomplish this interpretation, material such as novels and poems are valuable, for "literary compositions provide the geographer with evidence of how persons ... perceive reality" (Tuan 1978a, 201). Echoing similar sentiments, Margaret Atwood argues that in literature, "The reader looks at the mirror and sees not the writer, but himself; and behind his own image in the foreground, a reflection of the world he lives in" (1972, 15-16), while Carole Gerson, introducing a centennial anthology of short stories about Vancouver, contends that "our fiction writers present insightful versions of our social landscape" (1985, xiv). The canvasses painted by literary artists will help complete the collage of neighbourhood change in Vancouver and its neighbourhoods.

Documenting religious change is more problematic than charting social change. Much of the literature on religion, religious change and religion in society, is largely theoretical, because religious belief is notoriously difficult to quantify and measure empirically. Several early studies of

religious phenomena by geographers attempted to map religious belief using an approach which involved little more than counting churches⁸, but these have been criticised because they assume, too simplistically, that churches imply the presence of faith and that a lack of churches represents an absence of belief.⁹ However it is easier to challenge methodologies others have employed than propose more useful approaches. Religious change theorists from Durkheim to the present have wrestled with the difficulties inherent in adequately measuring religiosity. Many researchers have limited their studies to traditional religions; an approach that allows observation, measurement and quantification through the analysis of church membership records. Bryan Wilson argues that "religion may be many things, but it is amenable to scientific analysis only to the extent that it becomes organized and institutionalized" (Wilson in Quek 1987b, 30).

But even the advocates of this approach acknowledge that it does not offer an adequate, thorough study of religious belief in society. As will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two, churches do not monopolize religion. Bryan Wilson reluctantly admits that religion in fact "transcends the traditional churches" (1976, 4), although he argues that nontraditional religious belief is irrelevant to the functioning of society and thus unworthy of scholarly study. David Martin appreciates that an institutional approach to religion focuses on religious structure while "religion is a creature of the realm of symbol, feeling, and meaning" (1978, 13). Hoge et al (1987), Bibby (1987) and numerous Gallup polls note that belief in religious phenomena, such as a divine being, continue to

⁸ See, for example, Johnson 1967 and Jones 1976.

⁹ See, for example, Tuan 1978b, Sopher 1981.

persist, and may in fact be growing, although church attendance has plummeted, thereby challenging any simplistic equation of religion with churches. Because religious belief seems to thrive outside traditional churches an approach which also examines "the newly significant religious and cultural symbols of our day," these alternative expressions of belief outside churches, must be employed (Lyon 1985a, 143).

In order to discuss both traditional religion (such as Christianity) and these "newly significant religious and cultural symbols" (such as the New Age Movement in Vancouver) as neighbourhoods have changed several data sources will be employed. First, the national census has, since its inception, included questions on traditional religious affiliation in each full census (every ten years).¹⁰ This information is available at the community level from 1931 through 1981, and provides information regarding the nominal affiliation of residents to the major religions and religious denominations. However the census data, used in isolation, may lead to spurious conclusions. For example, although in 1981 approximately 70% of Fairview residents still claimed to be affiliated with religious groups, only a very small proportion of these persons were actually involved with local churches or other organized religious bodies. The danger of equating nominal affiliation with belief must be avoided; individuals may identify with a denomination for social reasons (Campbell 1971), for the provision of rites of passage such as weddings or funerals (Bibby 1987), or for reasons associated with ethnicity, and yet not believe in the doctrines of

¹⁰ Throughout the course of this thesis, "affiliation" refers to an individual's identification with a particular religion or denomination, as in the census. It does not necessarily imply belief in its doctrines or participation in its rites, but merely is the "religious label" which an individual chooses to associate with himself.

the religion with which they affiliate. Another difficulty with the census is that it only contains useful information for large, organized religious groups. In the study neighbourhoods, a figure of one percent represents 100-300 persons; therefore small groups are not recorded. Forms of personal belief not associated with the major religions and denominations, including environmentalism and aestheticism, as discussed in Chapter Two, are not recorded in the census. Although the absolute numbers of religious adherents recorded in the census may not accurately reflect actual belief, the census material is useful. The data indicate long term, relative trends within traditional religions which help highlight the social prominence and ongoing health of specific groups over time.

The second source of useful information is the city directory. City directories provide the locations of religious meeting places, both traditional and nontraditional. Thus, while the census records the nominal religious affiliation of residents, the directories are starting points for the biographies of specific churches or religious groups within a neighbourhood. As will be seen below, directories often reveal trends obscured in the census. For although the directories do not reveal the relative strength of affiliation within specific denominations as does the census, they do reveal a plethora of new expressions of belief which have blossomed in recent years as the social milieux of the neighbourhoods have altered. The limitation of directories, however, is both that they fail to record the relative size of specific groups (which, in part, comes through the census), and they fail to list any groups which do not have independent buildings. Thus Dayspring Fellowship, a strongly evangelical group which operated for twenty years out of the Kitsilano Neighbourhood House before

moving to share facilities with Holy Trinity Anglican Church, is not represented in the directory.

Third, individual denominations or religious groups usually keep records of attendance and membership. These records, examined over time, supplement both the census and directory information to provide a more accurate and detailed history of actual adherence to the established religious institutions in the community. Although membership in a given institution does not necessarily imply belief nor lack of membership unbelief, such statistics provide a more realistic and accurate gauge of religious commitment and involvement than the census and measure the relative importance of the specific institutions identified by the directories.¹¹ In this thesis, data from four major Protestant denominations (Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian and United) have been provided. These were selected for several reasons. First, churches from these denominations have been present in each community since each was settled and thus provide a continuing record for comparison. Second, these denominations have been the dominant religious groups in terms of both nominal affiliation and actual involvement over the period of the study. Third, the membership records of these churches all reflect quite accurately the active adherents, whereas other groups (for instance Jewish, Roman Catholic and Orthodox groups) tend to include all affiliates, regardless of commitment, in their figures. Fourth, these are the

¹¹ Throughout this thesis "involvement in" or "commitment to" a church will refer to church membership. Membership in a local church represents nominal affiliation (as measured by the census) transposed to a higher level of involvement and commitment.

denominations for which data are most available; yearbooks list membership statistics for churches from early in the century to the present.

These data are, in themselves, not unproblematic. Different denominations record membership differently. The membership data in this study are from the United Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Baptist Church (where members are those who have, as older children, teens, or adults professed belief in Christ and been baptized or confirmed) and the Anglican Church, for which actual service attendance data are available.¹² The nature of these statistics makes inter-denominational comparison difficult. However change within any particular denomination is measurable. Another difficulty is that of movement. Not all adherents to a particular church originate from within its community, nor do all persons within a neighbourhood worship at local religious institutions. However by examining church directories in each study area, plus the directories of nearby churches to which local residents may commute, this factor may be incorporated into the analysis.

Finally, information from interviews with religious leaders and other individuals within the community, coupled with gleanings from popular literature will provide a complementary overview of the religious changes which have occurred and the present religious climate of each community. Over the course of this study religious leaders were interviewed from

¹² More specifically, United Church data represent "members on roll" (United Church of Canada, Yearbooks, 1927-1987); Baptist data represent "members" (Baptist Union of Western Canada, Yearbooks, 1927-1987); Presbyterian data represent "communicants on roll" (Acts and proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1927-1987); Anglican data represent "average Sunday attendance" for 1961 and 1971; other years based on total attendance in the diocese and per capita disbursements appointed by the diocese (Anglican Church of Canada, Annual report of the synod, 1927-1987).

Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, United and Roman Catholic Churches in an unstructured interview discussing their perceptions of social and religious changes in their neighbourhood. Also, several residents of each community were asked questions regarding their religious beliefs and their perception of the religious character of their neighbourhood. These informal interviews took place in a variety of social settings from neighbourhood pubs to car lots.¹³ These interviews, excerpts from literature, and local church histories will further sharpen the focus on the trends which are occurring in each community and may yield some helpful insights into the forces at work in specific situations.

B. Defining the study neighbourhoods

The three inner-city communities of Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey were chosen for this study for several reasons. First, they are geographically adjacent to one another on the south shore of Burrard Inlet and False Creek, and yet are recognizably distinct neighbourhoods. Second, all share certain common biographical characteristics, originating as predominantly middle class, family-oriented, British, streetcar suburbs settled within thirty years of each other. Third, the social history of each (examined in Chapter Three) illustrates that while the beginnings of each community were not dissimilar, each evolved uniquely, providing contrasting experiences of neighbourhood transition and religious change. These characteristics create a social laboratory in which to examine the

¹³ In the text, quotations arising from these interviews will be either introduced without comment, or identified as coming from individuals such as local residents or business people.

changing religious values of the residents of communities experiencing differential neighbourhood transitions.

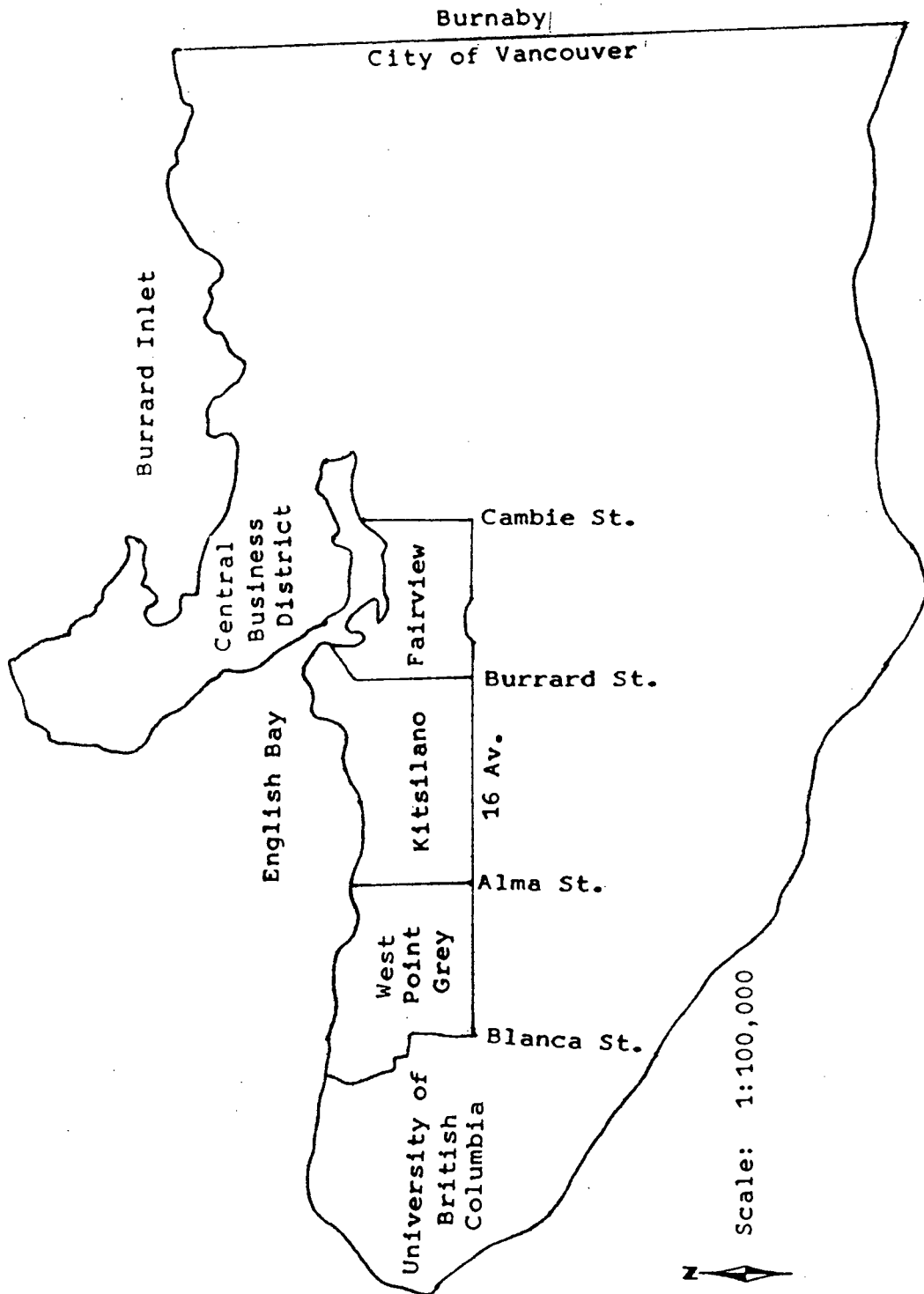
The exact boundaries of these three communities are identified in Figure 1. Fairview is defined as the neighbourhood between False Creek and West Sixteenth Avenue, between Burrard Street and Cambie Street; it includes Granville Island, Fairview Slopes, Fairview Heights and the Vancouver General Hospital area. Kitsilano extends west from Fairview, between Burrard Inlet and West Sixteenth Avenue, from Burrard Street to Alma Street; it includes major commercial strips along Fourth Avenue and Broadway. West Point Grey, west of Kitsilano, similarly lies between Burrard Inlet and West Sixteenth Avenue, but stretches from Alma Street to the University Endowment Lands; included in this community is a commercial strip along Tenth Avenue. These neighbourhood boundaries correspond with the local areas defined by the City of Vancouver (1985, 1989).

Related to the definition of boundaries is the difficulty of measuring religious attendance in a community. Within any neighbourhood some residents choose to attend churches outside the community, particularly in the "cathedral churches" in the downtown core.¹⁴ At the same time, some persons from outside the neighbourhood attend churches within the community, either because they once lived in the area, have family who attend, or simply enjoy the services. As this two-way movement of adherents may skew membership figures, this phenomenon must be addressed. Examination of church directories for one "cathedral church"

¹⁴ In Vancouver particularly Christ Church Cathedral (Anglican), Saint James Anglican, First Baptist, Holy Rosary Cathedral (Roman Catholic) and Saint Andrew's Wesley United.

Figure 1

Study neighbourhood boundaries



and one local church in each community over a fifty year period indicate that this is not a significant problem; over time, the number of persons leaving the community appears to approximate the number entering the neighbourhood. Directories from First Baptist (downtown), Fairview Baptist and West Point Grey Baptist from 1940 to 1988 indicate that the number of persons from each neighbourhood attending First Baptist is approximately equal to those coming into each community from outside. Leaders of other denominations agree that it is valid to assume that the number of persons leaving the neighbourhood to attend church is roughly equal to those entering.

The first stanza of Stephen's poem, quoted above, introduces his attempt to paint panoramas illustrating the soul of Vancouver. The words of his initial question (Who can snare the soul of a city in a butterfly net of words?) is a provocative challenge which the poet takes upon himself and seeks, through several vignettes, to answer. But in the pictures that follow, even the pen of the poet can only provide glimpses of the reality that is Vancouver. Stephen finds no simple summary of Vancouver's essence, but leaves the reader with pictures capturing different facets of the city.

In many ways, this research is similar in scope to Stephen's poem. It does not pretend to provide a comprehensive review of all the relevant literature, nor provide exhaustive social and spiritual documentaries of the neighbourhoods under analysis. But it does attempt to provide insightful glimpses into the social and spiritual development of the contemporary social and religious landscape of these neighbourhoods. The study examines the interaction between neighbourhood transition and

religious change through an analysis of inner-city Vancouver. It is an exploration of the "image behind the veil" of Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey, an attempt to understand the spiritual values underlying the social landscapes of these communities, and to understand how the changing social character is intertwined with changing religious beliefs.

Chapter Two

Neighbourhood transition and religious change

There is nothing permanent except change.

Heraclitus (540-475 B.C.)

The fact that communities, their landscapes, economies, social characteristics, beliefs and values do change over time is vitally important and often overlooked. All aspects of a neighbourhood, from the goods stocked by the businesses on the street to the ethical values of the residents are constantly in transition. For many neighbourhoods the process of change is painful; as the built environment changes, social, ethnic, and economic changes occur, and a new social milieu, with new values and lifestyles, emerges.

Initially this chapter will review geographical literature on neighbourhood transition. Neighbourhood change will first be explored at the macro level by discussing the changing nature of urbanization. Secondly, the processes of neighbourhood transition will be examined emphasizing the interaction of social, political, and economic actors. This discussion will be followed by an introduction to the literature on one of the social changes occurring in connection with neighbourhood transition, namely changing religious values. This literature will be examined historically emphasizing the interconnectedness of social and spiritual variations. Finally, these two bodies of theory will be interwoven in a discussion of the geography of religious change. This literature review will provide a framework for examining neighbourhood and religious transitions in Vancouver.

A. Neighbourhood transition

1. The changing nature of urbanization

Although a thorough history of urbanization is beyond the mandate of this thesis, an overview of the changing nature of the urbanization processes shaping cities is essential to understand many of the broader economic, political and cultural forces shaping neighbourhood change. Many of these processes are global forces, yet inevitably have effects at several scales, determining the changing morphology of urban systems, specific urban forms and local neighbourhoods. However, as noted by Stephen in his poem on Vancouver and many contemporary scholars, "'general processes' never work themselves out in pure form," but are affected by the specific nature of any given place (Massey 1984, 9). This section will highlight many of these general processes influencing changing urban neighbourhoods. Chapter Three will then examine Vancouver and its neighbourhoods as "individual responses" to the "general imperatives" discussed here (Johnston 1984, 458).

The Industrial Revolution dramatically changed both the urban system and the urban form which had developed over the previous centuries. So thoroughgoing were these changes in society that social scientists in the nineteenth century believed that nothing less than a whole new world order was emerging. Typically, in cities in which industrial production was dominant, employment was concentrated in blue-collar occupations related to the manufacturing process. Politically, business interests were frequently paramount as governments frequently adopted a laissez faire approach or

developed close alliances with entrepreneurs.¹ An ethic emphasizing work, growth and progress (both in terms of improving technology and improving the quality of society) was common among many.²

However at least since the Second World War, global economic and social systems developed during the Industrial Revolution have been altering. In conjunction with improved transportation and information technologies, a globalization of production processes and other changes, several important transitions appear to be occurring in many western cities. In many cities, white collar office employment has expanded rapidly, while blue collar employment has frequently declined (Thrift 1979), thriving in part in the form of "sweatshops" (Davis and Green 1979, Scott 1986). Those cities in which employment in manufacturing production has declined while employment in managerial, professional and service sectors has grown have been labelled "post-industrial" (Bell 1973, Ley 1980). These changing employment trends do not necessarily imply that manufacturing has ceased to be important to the economies of these post-industrial cities, but rather that employment within the urban core has shifted toward the provision of services, both tertiary and quaternary, while manufacturing has often relocated to peripheral areas. Many cities in Canada and throughout the West have experienced this change to a greater or lesser extent; blue-collar employment has tended to leave the urban core while white-collar employment has grown dramatically, particularly in the central areas of the larger cities (Ley and Hutton 1987, Coffey and Polèse

¹ There were, of course, notable exceptions including the anti-slavery reforms brought about by William Wilberforce.

² This is not to belittle the fact that industrial cities were usually strictly segregated societies with serious social problems, engendering the critiques of Marx and Engels among others.

1988). For example, while the total population of Vancouver increased 25% between 1951 and 1986, the number of persons employed in managerial and professional occupations increased 118%; during the same period the number of persons employed in blue-collar professions dropped by 27%.

The changing nature of employment in post-industrial cities has been paralleled by a changing role of the state. Many theories of the state have been advanced from a spectrum of philosophical backgrounds, but all have identified a steadily increasing role of government - national, regional, and local - in urban affairs, both in production and consumption processes. Although in recent years government expenditures have been curtailed in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada, the state remains one of the most important employers and investors in most cities. Government involvement in shaping urban development both through investment and decision-making has been identified in Britain (Cherry 1988), the United States (Soja 1986) and Canada (Simmons 1986, Stelter and Artibise 1986) as an important architect of the urban environment. While Simmons (1986) reviews the growing involvement of the state in Canadian cities in general, Vancouver's Granville Island and south shore of False Creek developments are fine empirical demonstrations of state directed urban change (Ley 1980, Hardwick 1988, Gourley 1988). The example of False Creek emphasizes that the criteria for state intervention is frequently multifaceted; economic, social, ecological, and even aesthetic concerns may influence state decision-making.

Associated with changes in employment and the role of the state in many western cities, is also a distinct shift in cultural values and ideologies. The industrial "culture of production" has been replaced by a

new "culture of consumption," which is both a response and stimulus to late twentieth century economic and political conditions. The facts that national prosperity and personal discretionary incomes have risen, that the welfare state provides more consumption items than ever before, that the state consumes more goods and services than at any time in history, and that improvements in transportation and technology have enabled better, cheaper, and more diverse production and locational alternatives for both economic and residential units have helped create a society where "consumption is the dominant public culture" (Ley 1983, 382). The roots of this consumption ethic certainly predate the Second World War, yet some researchers suggest that the contemporary emphasis on consumption appears to be more widespread among social classes and influential in both individual and business decision-making and state policy-making than previously (Campbell 1987, McCracken 1988).

This culture of consumption frequently involves a quest for amenity and quality of life foreign to the functionalism and sterner asceticism of the industrial era which were more dominant ideologies among much of the working and middle class earlier in the century. For increasing numbers of people in society, values of lifestyle, amenity, and aesthetics have begun to complement and even supercede economic considerations in decision-making. Ley (1983, 386) suggests that post-industrial society embraces this existential aesthetic, revealing itself in a "growing pursuit of sensuousness" in environmental concern, an emphasis upon leisure-time experience and self-actualization.³ So thoroughgoing is this ethic that

³ Lasch 1979 provides a complementary analysis of postindustrial society emphasizing similar themes.

Campbell describes postindustrial society as characterized by "a preoccupation with 'pleasure', envisaged as a potential quality of all experience" (1987, 203). Discussing the emergence of this society, Hardwick recognizes a new "leisure aristocracy":

There has been a shift away from exclusive purchases of food, shelter, clothing, and transportation to discretionary expenditures related to leisure, such as travel, sports (spectator and participatory), entertainment, avocational education, eating, and gardening. (Hardwick 1974, 197)

This "leisure aristocracy" Bernice Martin (1981) links to the counterculture movement of the 1960s in which established forms and rituals, including the economic rationalism and instrumentalism of industrial society, were challenged in an "expressive revolution" which drew on motifs of an earlier Romanticism. However in the process of rejecting established boundaries, norms and values, this subset of the middle class inevitably produced new forms and rituals. As this "new class" of "expressive professionals" established itself in society, many of these became incorporated into mainstream culture.⁴ Thus, formerly radical values of ecology, feminism, women's liberation, appropriate technology and sexual freedom became values accepted by many in society in general by the 1970s and 1980s as "the assumptions and habitual practices which form the cultural bedrock of the daily lives of ordinary people" have been at least partially transformed in recent decades (Martin 1981, 1).

Also emerging from this "expressive revolution" is a "new narcissism," an ethic of self-expression and self-actualization which exceeds that of the past. This growing fascination with the self identified by Martin is

⁴. According to Martin, "expressive professionals" are predominantly those in arts, education, media, and caring professions, all rapidly growing fields in post-industrial society.

described by Lasch (1979) as a belief in the "radical now," the "radical self," and the "radical right to happiness," and presented by Bellah et al (1985) as a fundamental element of contemporary American culture.

Colin Campbell (1987) provides a fascinating discussion of the roots of modern consumerism and self-actualization, arguing, like Martin, that consumerism, closely associated with hedonism, represents a return to earlier Romantic ideals, but Campbell recognizes that consumerism exists in tension with economic rationality. These twin ideologies of production and consumption, of rationality and passion (hedonism and sensuality), Campbell suggests, are both present as an essential dynamic in society (although one may periodically be preeminent). Particularly among the middle-class, Campbell perceives a fundamental tension between "puritan" and "romantic" ideals. During the "expressive revolution" of the 1960s and 1970s many young adults, deeply dissatisfied with bourgeois values and restrictive puritanism, challenged societal norms seeking "pleasure and self-expression through alcohol, drugs, sex and art, whilst an intense moral idealism went hand-in-hand with an unrestrained commercialism" (1987, 206). Beyond the counter culture, Campbell agrees with Martin that these values have been institutionalized in society and that this tension between economic rationality, required to avoid a life of deprivation and poverty, exists in awkward tension with a continuing romantic idealism. To accommodate these values, individuals frequently live an "imaginative double life" in which rational decision making may include the consumption of consumer goods

appealing to romantic, aesthetic sensibilities, and the pursuit of pleasure is carried on as a rational ideal.⁵

Thus, for Campbell, these "twin cultural traditions" of economic rationality and sensual hedonism dance "their cultural tango in time ... (as) the conflicting tensions which many individuals face in their daily lives" (227). Therefore,

in struggling to cope with the necessity of making trade-offs between need and pleasure, whilst seeking to reconcile their Bohemian and bourgeois selves, modern individuals inhabit not just an "iron cage" of economic necessity, but a castle of romantic dreams, striving through their conduct to turn one into the other (227).

These ethics of amenity, individualism and consumption, now incorporated in mainstream culture in tension with economic rationality, have had important implications for cities. For example, growing numbers of young middle-class and older middle-class persons with no children and high disposable incomes are choosing to move to older inner city residential neighbourhoods attracted initially by character housing, landscape amenities and proximity to the employment, cultural, and social heart of the city. Within Vancouver amenity emerges as a crucial determinant in inner city residential location, tempered with strong quality of life and aesthetic concerns, although economic considerations of access to work and investment value are still important (Vischer Skaburskis 1980, Fujii 1981).

⁵ Bellah et al (1985, 290) concur that a Puritan ascetic ethic is inextricably bound with modern hedonism: "Many Americans are devoted to serious, even ascetic cultivation of the self in the form of a number of disciplines, practices, and 'trainings,' often of great rigor." Similarly columnist Fotheringham (1989) describes the "new Puritans" who seek to improve themselves, particularly their physiques, with unrelenting fervour.

This tension which Campbell recognizes, between need and pleasure, between "the castle of romantic dreams" and "the 'iron cage' of economic necessity" is helpful for viewing the values and ideologies of contemporary society. In the late 1980s, following economic recessions earlier in the decade, the harsh reality of economics may be restricting the consumerism of a previous decade. Within inner-city Vancouver, for example, Ley (1987a) suggests that recent urban redevelopment represents a return to an earlier ethic emphasizing economic considerations over values of amenity and aesthetics, in contrast to development which occurred in the 1970s.

Post-industrial society appears to be in a state of creative tension between economic rationality and "sensuous hedonism." As discussed below, nowhere is this tension perhaps more graphically displayed than in the landscapes and lifestyles of gentrification.

2. The processes of neighbourhood transition

The relentlessness and inevitability of social change (involving social, economic, political and cultural forces) profoundly influences the city. But the transitions associated with these changes transform local communities within the larger urban matrix and consideration must be given to the local processes by which such changes occur. Shifting global, national, and local economic conditions, new patterns of immigration, government investment, social programs, and land speculation, among other factors, all alter neighbourhoods and influence the lives of individuals in communities in the city. This section reviews some of the approaches to understanding the processes of neighbourhood transition in specific communities.

The underlying assumption of neighbourhood transition is residential mobility. In the rapid and continuing growth of Western cities (both from immigration and the movement of residents within the city) the urban environment is constantly reorganized. Residential mobility, both the processes involved and the implications for the city, has been discussed in the literature (Adams and Gilder 1976, Quigley and Weinberg 1977). Moving is a frequent occurrence for many households; in Greater Vancouver, 54% of the population moved at least once in the five years between 1976 and 1981, 68% of those within the metropolitan area, 47% within the same municipality. Tenants move more often than owners, singles more often than families, and immigrant and minority groups more often than established natives (Ley 1983, 239). A Green Bay study shows a U-shaped curve in which mobility rates peak during the early twenties (nearly 70% of young singles had moved within the last year), are lowest during middle age (less than 5% of nuclear families had moved), and rise again toward old age (McCarthy 1976).

The reasons households move are many. Some moves are involuntary, caused by eviction, expropriation, or a change in income necessitating lower housing costs. However the vast majority of moves are discretionary, triggered by life cycle changes which require accommodation more compatible with household needs, or aesthetic issues such as neighbourhood quality, housing style, and tenure (Simmons 1968, McCarthy 1976, Dzus and Romsa 1977). A discussion of residential movement must recognize that any individual household has restricted access to aspects of the housing market. Income in particular, coupled with secondary factors of life cycle stage, ethnicity, and lifestyle, influence the residential choice of a

household and has led Rex (1968) and later writers to speak of housing classes and their respective housing submarkets (Palm 1978). Early studies emphasized the importance of economic factors, income and housing cost, as the fundamental determinants of housing choice (Rex 1968, Clark 1976). However other work has also pointed out the importance of lifestyle and attitudinal preferences (Couper and Brindley 1975). Recent studies of gentrifying neighbourhoods in Canada suggest that amenity, aesthetic and lifestyle values have been more important than economic factors in residential choice, clearly reflecting post-industrial values (Vischer Skaburskis 1980, Fujii 1981, Ley 1981). Others, however, maintain that even gentrification is determined by economic forces redefining housing submarkets (Smith 1986, 1987a).

The sum total of households changing residence, regardless of cause, is a reorganization of the urban population and a transition in the character of specific neighbourhoods. Several conceptualizations of residential movement and resultant neighbourhood change have been employed by geographers with varying degrees of complexity and utility. The first and simplest conceptual framework is that of the vacancy chain. Very simply, the vacancy chain concept implies that as one unit of new housing is constructed, or as one family moves from an existing unit, a vacancy is created. This vacancy permits another household to move, thus providing another vacant unit. The vacancy chain is terminated when a housing unit is either demolished, or a new household is formed as a result of marriage, divorce or separation, immigration, or the purchase of a second residence by one household.

In many North American cities the number of households is rising rapidly, although the total population is stable or declining. Smaller, one and two person households are becoming more frequent while families are frequently leaving the cities (Miron 1982). Illustrating this, the population of Vancouver increased only 1.4% between 1971 and 1986, yet the number of households grew 21.5%; during that period the number of single person households grew 74.5% from 42,000 to 73,000. This trend, coupled with a loss of affordable housing (Stobie 1979, Ley 1981), has resulted in a very short vacancy chain, resulting in what some consider to be a crisis of affordable housing in the city.

The concept of the vacancy chain, although a helpful method of viewing the housing market, is limited in its utility. The model gives a sense of the availability of housing units in quantitative terms, but ignores qualitative issues of quality of housing and affordability. Thus, for instance, in the Fairview Slopes of Vancouver where gentrification has resulted in a net increase in residential units, the high cost and non-family orientation of the development excludes many of the former residents. A concept that reflects the quality of housing stock is required to complement the vacancy chain concept.

Filtering attempts to capture elements of the changing quality of housing stock and neighbourhood. The concept arises from the human ecology tradition of the Chicago School which maintains that natural areas, regions of similar individuals segregated by their ability to cope with the ecological processes of economic competition, may undergo a process of invasion and succession producing a profound change in neighbourhood character (Hawley 1950, Chorley 1973). Filtering, in its usual form,

requires upper-income groups to leave their homes and have new ones built, typically because of the ageing and declining quality of their former homes, greater maintenance requirements, the introduction of undesirable groups or land uses into the neighbourhood, or the growing undesirability of the status of the neighbourhood. This movement of the affluent opens vacancies for less wealthy groups with the net effect that every group, down to the most deprived, increases the quality of its housing. An ageing housing stock thereby filters down the social hierarchy and social classes "filter up," improving their accommodation by moving into the former housing of higher social status groups. The filtering down of housing quality and occupant households, however, often results in large scale deterioration and disinvestment in inner city neighbourhoods (Lowry 1960, Birch 1971, Leven et al 1976, Bourne 1982).

At an empirical level, filtering appears to describe the experience of many North American cities. Hoyt (1972), in the Chicago School tradition, used this model to discuss the suburbanization of elites to high amenity sites in Chicago and subsequent in-migration of other social groups into former high status neighbourhoods. This process has been identified in many other cities, including Vancouver in which the movement of the elite from the West End to Shaughnessy in the early twentieth century precipitated a series of changes in the residential nature of the West End resulting in the present high rise community (McAfee 1973).

Filtering, has, however, been critiqued at some length (Smith 1971, Gray and Boddy 1979, Ley 1983). First, in the Canadian housing market over the past fifteen years, it is questionable whether the transfer of housing units actually does represent an improvement in the quality of

accommodation of all social groups, for the ageing housing stock has frequently deteriorated substantially. Second, the ability of filtering to produce enough units to keep up with demand has been questioned. Third, filtering is based on the assumption that only the wealthy have homes built for them, an unlikely assumption given the preference of many wealthy persons for older housing and the construction of new public housing and apartments for lower income groups. Fourth, it also assumes that the elite always respond to housing pressures from below by moving further afield; thus filtering theory ignores strict zoning bylaws and other protective measures often employed to resist invasion and succession, ably demonstrated in the history of Vancouver's Shaughnessy district. Sixth, the definition of filtering itself is unclear, whether it refers to the monthly cost of accommodation, property values, or improving welfare of households in general. Finally, the most serious problem with filtering theory is the assumption that all housing classes benefit from the process. Often a linear movement up the housing market fails to occur; new households may enter the market and shorten the vacancy chain, or, as in gentrification, new elite construction may displace poor households without providing adequate alternative housing. Despite these weaknesses, filtering nevertheless is a helpful concept for discussion of neighbourhood change, particularly in the inner city.

Variants to the standard filtering cycle of irreversible decline have arisen to account for particular empirical experiences. Particularly in the Canadian context, where inner city decline has never occurred to the same extent as the United States, redevelopment has often intercepted the process of neighbourhood decline (Goldberg and Mercer 1986). Bourne

(1967), examining private sector redevelopment in Toronto, notes concentrated areas of intense redevelopment clustering around the urban core, particularly high density apartment and office construction. Such redevelopment was site specific, however; apartment construction focussed in areas with good access to downtown and proximate to high income residential areas. Similarly, Maher (1974) identified an upward swing of real estate values in inner city Toronto resulting from middle class demands for inner city housing and speculation in the 1950s and 1960s. Also useful is McCann's work on Edmonton (McCann 1975, Smith and McCann 1981) which develops a three stage theory of neighbourhood change in the "zone of uncertainty" in the inner-city, progressing from a stable single family community to an area of multifamily conversions and culminating in the construction of apartments. Like Bourne, McCann found high correlations between redevelopment and high income residential areas. This pattern of redevelopment, favouring above average residents, is common in Canadian inner cities, particularly in neighbourhoods close to established high prestige areas (Stobie 1979, Ley 1981, 1988).

Thus, despite the conventional understanding of filtering as a decline in both the quality of the housing stock and in social status, the redevelopment and up-filtering of affluent groups in older inner city neighbourhoods is an important phenomenon in inner city neighbourhood change, particularly in Canadian experience. Widespread academic acknowledgement of up-filtering has occurred since the late 1970s with a plethora of case studies and theoretical studies emerging on the process of inner-city renewal or gentrification.

Gentrification refers to an up-filtering process whereby older, lower income inner city housing is renovated or redeveloped by homeowners, landlords, or developers for occupancy by residents of considerably higher socioeconomic status than previous residents (London 1980, Lang 1982, Smith 1982, 1987a, Ley 1985). The process involves economic changes, transforming neighbourhood land and housing markets, social changes, representing an invasion of higher socioeconomic status individuals into a former lower class community, and physical changes, either characterized by renovation of existing housing or massive redevelopment, replacing existing housing stock with apartments, townhouses or condominiums (Smith 1987a).

The neighbourhoods ripe for redevelopment or gentrification frequently share several widely recognized characteristics. Often such neighbourhoods are close to the central business district, the employment and recreational hub for residents (Bourne 1967), adjacent to areas of natural beauty or amenity in the form of views, parks, or beaches (Clay 1979, Ley 1981, Logan 1985, Mills 1986), have historical character or period architecture (Lang 1982, Holdsworth 1983), are close to established, stable elite areas (McCann 1975, Badcock and Urlich-Cloher 1981, Ley 1988), near institutions such as universities, hospitals, art and cultural centres (Cybriwsky 1978, Ley 1985, 1988) and removed from social housing (Clay 1979, Laska et al 1982) and industry (Ley 1985). These neighbourhoods, if gentrification occurs, often share a similar experience:

The usual pattern is for a neighbourhood with affordable housing and often appealing architectural or cultural ambience to be "discovered" by students, artist and musicians - persons who are either pre-professional or at the bottom of the professional hierarchy. They attract more affluent professionals with an adventurous bent, such as architects and media types, whose arrival makes it safer for the next wave, and so on, until

finally the accountants are standing in line to get in.
(Fitzgerald 1987)

This process, whereby "successive waves of increasingly wealthy and risk-averse newcomers," invade a neighbourhood with some or all of the characteristics described above is the quintessence of gentrification (Filion 1987, 224). A "not unlikely urban scenario" is this:

Struggling immigrant opens a tailor shop in the local ghetto. By working 18-hour days and eating nothing but rye bread, he manages to save enough to open a small dress factory. He rents a floor in a cast iron building and hires a few employees. He marries one of his stitchers, moves to a better neighborhood and sends both his children to city colleges. His son, an accountant, marries a schoolteacher, buys a house with a two-car garage and an acre of wooded property, and sends both of his children to private colleges. The son of the accountant, an investment banker, marries another investment banker and buys Grandpa's dress factory, which has been converted to a "loft living space" and is going for a quarter of a million (Piesman and Hartley 1984, 33)

Theoretical understanding of gentrification has proceeded from contrasting perspectives engendering a spirited debate beyond the scope of this study (Smith 1987a, Ley 1987b). However universally accepted factors fostering gentrification include demographic changes (baby boomers in the housing market, growing urban populations, declining household size, increasing female participation in the workforce, and declining fertility rates), changes in the housing market, lifestyle changes (pro-urban, emphasizing consumption and amenity), and the emergence of a service based, white collar post industrial economy. In the Canadian situation the latter two, representing both amenity and economic values, appear to be preeminently important (Ley 1985, 1988).

Essential to a discussion of gentrification must be consideration of the gentrifiers involved in the process. Resurgence in inner city neighbourhoods has been clearly linked to the growth of white-collar

service sector employment in urban core areas (Lipton 1977, Gale 1979, Ley 1983). Thus, gentrifying households are typically composed of white-collar workers. The households tend to be small, composed of one or two usually childless professionals employed in the urban core (Clay 1979, Gale 1979). Gentrifiers are frequently seasoned urbanites extending residence in the city from university years (Gale 1979, Fujii 1981, Spragge 1983, Filion 1987). They are well-educated, with above average incomes and high occupational status (Lipton 1977, Clay 1983, Gale 1984). Gentrifiers have frequently consciously rejected the perceived conformity and conservatism of suburban living for the diversity and stimulation of the inner city. Such persons value the central location, amenity, and built environment of gentrified neighbourhoods which accords well with aesthetic consumer values and concern for economic optimization.

Canadian data support these characteristics. Ley (1985, 1988), attempting to profile Canadian gentrifiers, concludes that high social status, transience, lack of religious adherence, singleness, small household size, childlessness and medium to high densities are typically characteristics of these persons and, thus, their neighbourhoods.

Although statistical analyses of gentrifiers are invaluable in profiling the residents of these communities, they are insufficient. The values and culture of gentrifiers must also be read from the landscape of the community. Mills (1986, 1988) interprets the residential landscape of inner-city Vancouver in terms of the lifestyles of conspicuous consumption and business acumen of its residents in terms reminiscent of Colin Campbell. The commercial landscapes of these neighbourhoods are mirrors of the consumer culture of leisure, entertainment, and disposable income and

the economic rationality to which they cater, replete with restaurants, neighbourhood pubs ("not dens of iniquity full of rowdy drunks, but pleasant and relaxed meeting places for the whole community" (Kennedy et al 1983, 8)), health clubs, and store windows displaying "running shoes, tiffany lamps, goose-down comforters, cowhide attaché cases, levelor blinds, Haagen-Daas ice cream, digital radio receivers, original pottery (unleaded glaze), East Indian throw rugs, posters promoting the Baja Peninsula" (Brunig 1984). Socializing in this environment, referred to as "networking" whereby business contacts are made in the process of leisure (Newsweek 1984), focusses on the ubiquitous restaurants, pubs, and night spots popularized in the TV series Cheers.⁶ It is a landscape appealing both to aesthetic values, emphasizing natural amenities and recreational opportunities, and economic values, permitting optimal working conditions (close to downtown and minimal residential upkeep). Even socializing, whether in eateries or health clubs, allows for both enjoyment and business "networking" (Piesman and Hartley 1984). The landscape of gentrification represents a fascinating attempt on behalf of residents, to use Campbell's phrase, "to reconcile their Bohemian and bourgeois selves."

Although most gentrifiers are young, a significant number are older persons, whose families have left home, but who have plenty of disposable income, enjoy the urban ethos, yet for life cycle reasons now prefer an apartment, condominium or townhouse over a single family home. This segment of society has become an important group in the marketplace:

⁶ Cheers' theme song captures the essence of community in the neighbourhood pub: "Sometimes you want to go / Where everybody knows your name / And they're always glad you came / You want to be where you can see / Your troubles are all the same / You want to go where everybody knows your name."

Canadians over 50 are among the heaviest consumers of expensive lifestyle products. They travel widely and are the leading purchasers of luxury condominiums, large cars and such convenience appliances as microwave ovens (Chisholm 1989, 24).

For these persons the amenity of gentrified communities, convenience to work and cultural facilities, social networks, and the freedom of minimal upkeep are attractive aspects of inner city living.

However the more commonly identified gentrifiers are young professionals. Marketing literature, responding to the vast array of popular literature on the young professionals normally associated with gentrification (ranging from a self-described "Yuppie Bible" (Piesman and Hartley 1984) to media features (Newsweek 1984)), has recognized the profitability of a new high income, consumption oriented market segment (Brunig 1984, Marketing News 1985). In an attempt to get beyond the mythic "yuppie" stereotype, a marketing survey of over 3000 urbanites attempted to discover distinctive features of young urban professionals, defined as urban residents with some university education, between 25 and 44, working in white-collar professional occupations with incomes over \$30,000 (Burnett and Bush 1986). In comparison to average Americans, these persons emerge from their statistical analysis as more confident, assertive, optimistic, adventuresome, less concerned with emotionalism and religion, and unlikely to be nostalgic or attend church. They tend to take advantage of labour saving devices from fast food restaurants and food processors to automatic tellers and toll-free information numbers. Their values frequently emphasize income management, investments, success, ownership of expensive cameras and Japanese or European sports cars, and a fetish for ice cream and chocolate, compared with values of the general population highlighting price consciousness, a traditional work ethic ("conscientious work

regardless of material reward") and sex roles, and a propensity to shop at lower priced stores and use discount coupons.

Regarding the alleged health consciousness of young urban professionals, results show that such persons "are not so much interested in personal health as they are in personal appearance or socializing in a health-facilitating environment" (Burnett and Bush 1986, 30), a sentiment echoed in Newsweek's interview with a young lawyer who meets his dates at health clubs because, "the clubs make your selection process easier, especially if one criteria (sic) is whether the women are coordinated, balanced. You can see what their aggression levels are like, their strength" (1984, 20).

What emerges from this study, as from Piesman and Hartley's (1984) more subjective work, is a portrait of the values and lifestyle of a segment of society dancing a cultural tango between dream and reality, pleasure and utility (Campbell 1987):

Yuppies can be characterized as individuals that tend to rely primarily on himself/herself, are secure, and do not necessarily exhibit or aspire to traditional American values. Furthermore, they are interested in satisfying their personal needs regardless of price. These needs tend to be materialistic, as reflected by their strong interest in entertainment, fine food, high-tech products, sporty cars, and a desire for convenience. Rather than relying on spiritualism or emotionalism for support they take care of themselves through wise investments and careful money management (Burnett and Bush 1986, 33)

As will be discussed below, gentrifiers tend to exhibit low levels of affiliation or commitment to traditional religions. Both Ley's (1988) and Burnett and Bush's (1986) research hint that low affiliation with religion may be associated with gentrifiers. Tongue-in-cheek, Piesman and Hartley go further, suggesting that there exist "yuppie ten commandments," a fitting introduction to a discussion of changing religious beliefs:

- I. Thou shalt have no other gods before thyself.
- II. Thou shalt take unto thee only designer labels.
- III. Thou shalt always speak the name of thy wine merchant and the name of thy cleaning person with reverence.
- IV. Thou shalt remember to have brunch on Sunday.
- V. Honor thy investment banker and thy real estate agent.
- VI. Thou shalt not kill whales or baby seals.
- VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery with thy boss.
- VIII. Thou shalt not steal. Your lawyer is a pro at it - that's why you have one.
- IX. Thou shalt not wear false materials, neither polyester nor vinyl; nor serve false consumables, neither Cool Whip nor Tang.
- X. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's southern exposure. (If you'd paid \$10,000 extra for the co-op, you could have had one too.) (1984, 71)

B. Religious Change

Matthew Arnold keenly noted that the social fabric of Victorian England, particularly religious belief, was experiencing profound changes. In "Dover Beach" the ebbing tide was a metaphor for the declining influence of Christianity in industrial society:

The sea of faith
 Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
 Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furled;
 But now I only hear
 Its melancholy, long, withdrawn roar,
 Retreating to the breath
 Of the naked night wind down the vast edges drear
 And naked shingles of the world.

With religion receding, Arnold foresaw only a "darkling plain," a spiritual quagmire bereft of joy, virtue, or hope. Sharing similar fears, an Italian sociologist has concluded that,

From the religious point of view, humanity has entered a long night that will become darker and darker with the passing of the generations, and of which no end can yet be seen. It is a night in which there seems to be no place for a conception of God, or for a sense of the sacred ... (Acquaviva 1979, 202).

A survey of Canadian religion has also determined that traditional beliefs "lie dismantled, in pieces" (Bibby 1987, 271).

Many scholars speak of this religious change as secularization, "a societal process in which an overarching and transcendent religious system is being reduced to a sub-system of society alongside other sub-systems, and the overarching claims of which have a shrinking relevance" (Dobbelaere 1984, 200). Secularization is believed to be as fundamental to industrial society as urbanization and industrial capitalism. For Peter Berger, The sacred canopy (1967) of the medieval "Age of Faith," when religious institutions dominated all aspects of society, has disappeared, leaving a bureaucratic world of "homeless minds."

But other voices emphasize that religion does persist in modern society, and even that society is experiencing a multifaceted "return to the sacred" (Bell 1977). Citing persistence and growth in traditional religions, a plethora of new religious movements, and the consecration of new idols by society, many theorists dispute the secularization thesis that religion is about to disappear, arguing that what is really occurring is "religious change and relocation" (Marty 1969). Although acknowledging the reality of secularization in many contexts, particularly in western Christianity, Lyon argues that:

it is misleading to say that secularization somehow severs our sense of symbols as a means of finding order and meaning for life. Understanding today's sacred symbols is arguably as important as documenting the local eclipse of Christian religious symbols (1985a, 13).

Society today, these theorists argue, is still "unsecular" despite the fact that some religious groups may have secularized; sacralization, the

reenchantment of the world along different lines, is a process which must be considered in concert with secularization.

Debate between secularization theorists and those who identify religious change has existed in the sociology of religion since the pioneer writings of Durkheim and Weber.⁷ Subsequent scholarship, until the late 1960s, largely accepted Weber's thesis of secularization, the demise of religion with the advent of modernity, uncritically. Recent writers, however, reemphasizing Durkheimian notions of religious change, have challenged secularization as the inevitable fate of society, noting that religion is thriving in post-industrial society. Because the recent literature builds upon early theorists a consideration of early social scientists and then contemporary theorists will be most useful.

Any discussion of religious change, however, must initially grapple with the nature of the phenomena under study. Geographers, although appreciating that religious values influence social geography and that there is a spatial component to religious phenomena, have conspicuously avoided defining what religion is: case studies and the occasional review abound, but with little or no theoretical discussion of the definition of the subject under discussion.⁸ Sociologists and anthropologists, however, have debated the definition of religion at length.⁹ Pickering, following

⁷ There are other theoretical traditions examining religion, including one that follows Marx, although this is predominantly a philosophical rather than empirical stream. In social science literature, most discussion has built upon the work of Weber and Durkheim, thus they will be examined more thoroughly in this work.

⁸ One interesting recent exception is Levine's (1986) attempt to define religion from a historical materialist perspective. Helpful reviews of geographical literature on religions are Büttner 1974, Sopher 1981 and Billinge 1986.

⁹ For example, Towler 1974, Demerath and Roof 1976, Barnhart 1977, Turner 1983 and O'Toole 1984.

Durkheim, concludes that social scientists can only develop "working definitions" of religion, leaving exhaustive definitions to philosophers (1984, 191).

Three working definitions of religion emerge from the literature. The boundaries between these categories are arbitrary and many groups, such as new religious movements, are difficult to categorize; nevertheless these definitions are helpful. First, religion is frequently equated with well established belief systems which, on the whole, address general issues of the meaning of life and death, the sacred and profane, and the supernatural.¹⁰ These would include, for example, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam and Judaism. These are commonly referred to as traditional religions and are frequently organized in local communities or churches. Religious change may thus be measured comparatively easily as change in church membership, influence, and social prestige.

However, secondly, religion is perceived to have a "common" or "folk" component, including such practices as magic, witchcraft, superstition, astrology, and belief in ghosts or spirits, which may or may not use motifs or symbols of conventional religion, but exists independently of traditional religions as a coherent belief system to those who follow it (Davies 1980, Wilson 1978, Towler 1974, 145-162). Common religion, like traditional religion, normally wrestles with issues such as the meaning of life and death, the sacred and profane, and the supernatural. Many new

¹⁰ This is essentially a phenomenological definition (although similar to that employed by Levine (1986) from a historical materialist perspective). Although this definition may be criticized on philosophical grounds, particularly by those from a functionalist or structuralist perspective, in terms of a working definition for field research it is a useful starting point (for a more thorough discussion of a variety of definitions of religion, see O'Toole 1984, chapter 1, and Levine 1986).

religious movements (including cults and the New Age) would come under this heading. Other examples of common religion, with generally less well-developed tenets than new religious movements, might include the wearing of a crucifix, St. Christopher medallion or the placing of a horseshoe over a door for good luck, christening as "holy insurance," saying "God bless you" after a sneeze, checking of a horoscope and other vague, unorthodox "subterranean theologies" (Martin 1978). In Britain (Lewis 1971, Martin 1978), the United States (Bellah 1970, Bellah et al 1985) and Canada (Bibby 1987) exists a widespread but vague belief in God and an attendant ethical code, often supplemented by superstition, but distinct from traditional religion. These common religions may or may not be altered by the decline of conventional churches.

Third, what some researchers call "invisible religions," which possess none of the creeds, customs, or supernatural referents of the previous concepts, but still employ symbols and rituals, give meaning to aspects of everyday life for many. Unlike the previous examples of religion, "invisible religions" generally have little reference to questions regarding the meaning of life and death, the sacred and profane, and the supernatural. Although interpreted by a few scholars as "religions" and discussed using religious terminology, these belief systems may better be termed ideologies or worldviews than religions for they lack the metaphysical referents of the previous categories. Belief in certain ideals ("freedom," "democracy," "the Royal Family"), in "the family," loyalty to a sports team, and commitment to "bettering one's self" all represent powerful yet often hidden forces shaping individual behaviour and society (Luckmann 1967, Sinclair-Paulkner 1977). Although these ideologies

may resemble religions in terms of their function (by providing motivation for individual decision making), they are, however, different in purpose and nature from both traditional and common religions.

For the purposes of this thesis, "religion" will be used to refer both to aspects of traditional and common religion, but not ideologies or worldviews which could be classified as invisible religion. Although this distinction is arbitrary, it recognizes that there is a difference between those belief or value systems which deal with metaphysical issues of life and death, sacred and profane, and the supernatural and those which do not.¹¹ This definition is problematic, including such poorly defined beliefs as superstition and yet excluding other well-developed ideologies, such as some expressions of nationalism (which may involve quasi-religious rites and myths), but will provide a working definition for the purposes of this research. Other theorists examined below, have varied in their definitions of religion (some, such as Max Weber, never even attempted a definition); these differences will be noted in the course of the discussion.

1. Religious change in classical sociology

The Industrial Revolution sparked profound changes in Western society. Changing production techniques and new technologies resulted in massive urbanization, new social relationships, new attitudes to work, labour

¹¹ A functionalist definition, which might see religion as a factor in creating social cohesion or as a motivator of action, would, clearly, involve different categories. In terms of empirical research, however, functionalist approaches are more difficult to operationalize. Similarly a structuralist definition, which might reduce religion to other social structures, is less helpful in empirical study than the phenomenological definition employed here.

unions, and a broader definition of democracy. These transformations were interlaced with the philosophical fruits of the Enlightenment, including the perceived triumph of "reason" and science over religious "faith." The Enlightenment abetted the decline of Christianity, providing an intellectual elite with new ideas, values and perspectives, which were often transmitted to the masses in the form of purposeful secularization.¹² In a world excited by the spread of scientific explanation and enlightened Reason, many intellectuals believed religious "myth" had to be exposed, and, ultimately, supplanted by science.

Early social scientists believed this philosophical milieu and rapidly changing social climate to be ushering in a radically new society. In attempts to discern the roots of this change, to create a taxonomy of present conditions, and to predict the future growth of civilization, early writers used religion as an essential component of analysis. Marx saw religion as a means whereby political and economic domination was reproduced, an illusory ideology of well-being anaesthetizing the masses from their woeful state, thus preventing revolution and liberation. Therefore for Marx, "the criticism of religion is the premise of all criticism":

The criticism of religion disillusions man so that he will think, act and fashion his reality as a man who has lost his illusions and regained his reason; so that he will revolve around himself as his own true sun. Religion is only the illusory sun around which he revolves so long as he does not revolve about himself (Marx in O'Toole 1984, 65-66).

In contrast, Durkheim perceived religion as essential glue holding societies together and believed that no society could function without the

¹² This thesis is advanced by Chadwick 1975. For a general discussion of the Enlightenment roots of secularization theory, see Lyon 1981, 39-42.

essentially religious ceremonies whereby societies reaffirm their collective sentiments (1961, 474-475). Weber considered religion to be "the key to a fascinating and fateful puzzle," namely the history of social change (Luckmann 1977, 11). Some, such as Marx and Weber, prophesied a future world where religion would cease to exist, the illusion replaced by knowledge and science. Others, Saint-Simon, Comte and Durkheim for instance, predicted the demise of traditional Christianity, yet believed that new social forms of religion would develop. Durkheim and Weber, the pioneers of the social scientific study of religion, laid the foundations for later secularization scholars and warrant specific discussion.

a. Emile Durkheim

Durkheim, acclaimed as the founder of the sociology of religion, has influenced social scientists studying religion profoundly, his themes resurfacing in the work of contemporary writers. His major work on religion, The elementary forms of the religious life, has sparked spirited debate and has been interpreted from a variety of perspectives.¹³ However the major themes of his work on religion may be summarized as follows.

For Durkheim,

A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices related to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden - beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them (Durkheim 1961, 62-63).

¹³ Emphasizing the variety of interpretations, O'Toole concludes, "Scholarly appraisal of his (Durkheim's) analysis of religion reveals, depending on the source, that Durkheim was both a materialist and an idealist, a determinist and a voluntarist, as well as a covert psychologist and an unrepentant and undiluted sociologist" (1984, 100).

This definition, Durkheim argued, "makes it clear that religion (is) an eminently collective thing" (1961, 63). Durkheim believed that religion was a socially constructed phenomenon, concerned with institutionalizing the ideals of society and thus able to bestow identity, unity, order and social control to a social group (Pickering 1984, 300-317). Any religion, then, Durkheim reasoned, could be understood by studying the society from which it had arisen.¹⁴

Although Durkheim believed that traditional religions, such as Christianity, "are mistaken in regard to the real nature of things: science has proved it" (1961, 83), he rebuked Herbert Spencer's claim that religion, as a tool of social cohesion, must disappear in modern society.¹⁵ "Religion will not disappear because it contains a germ of truth," serving a necessary social function by providing a sense of community and means of ordering society (Durkheim in Pickering 1975, 16). Individual religious systems might come and go, but religion, as a socially necessary construct, was eternal.

For so long as men live together they will hold some belief in common. What we cannot foresee and what only the future will be able to decide, is the particular form in which this faith will be symbolized (Durkheim in Lyon 1981, 42).

¹⁴ To support this statement, Durkheim studied what he perceived to be the most primitive of religions, the totemism of Australian Aborigines. He concluded that the bequeathing of "sacred" status on a totem (a respected plant or other object), around which rites were periodically performed, gave the Aboriginal clan a sense of identity and unity. The totem, thus, "is at once the symbol of the god and of the society, is that not because the god and the society are one?" (1961, 236).

¹⁵ Durkheim parts company with other social scientists influenced by the Enlightenment at this point. Edward Tylor, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx and Max Weber all predicted the demise of religion as a result of Reason and modernization.

The fact that the social functions of religion were eternal did not, however, imply that traditional Christianity was eternal. In fact, Durkheim believed quite the opposite, his time being one of "transition and moral mediocrity" when "the old gods are growing old or already dead, and others are not yet born" (1961, 474-475). Durkheim perceived the inevitable consequence of history and social change to be the progressive uncoupling of existing religious systems from society as they became archaic and irrelevant; new religions, however, would arise to provide social cohesion. Thus, for Durkheim, the entire saga of social history was one of new societies emerging and previous religious forms losing relevance and prominence, privatizing, and ultimately fading:

If there is one truth that history teaches us beyond doubt, it is that religion tends to embrace a smaller and smaller portion of social life. Originally, it pervades everything; everything social is religious; the two words are synonymous. Then little by little, political, economic, scientific functions free themselves from the religious function, constitute themselves apart and take on a more and more acknowledged temporal character (1933, 169).

Traditional Christianity, therefore, as the religion of a previous social order, appeared to be doomed as industrial society matured. However Durkheim argued the roots of Christianity's demise predated the Industrial Revolution; they were directly linked to the Renaissance, Reformation, and break-up of medievalism; a human-centred universe replaced a God-centred one and reformers replaced ecclesiastical authority with the authority of the Bible and individual conscience.¹⁶

Using France as his model, Durkheim demonstrated the empirical reality of the secularization of Christianity by noting the separation of church

¹⁶ These represented steps in the direction of individualism; the epitome of which, Durkheim believed, was industrial capitalism.

and state, the fact that religion had become the subject of scientific research rather than the broker of knowledge, the evidence that the church could no longer enforce rules of sacrilege, the inability of the church to control the lives of individuals, and his perception that science had replaced religion as the creed of intellectuals (Pickering 1984, 448-451). Christianity was indisputably and irreversibly secularizing, ultimately to disappear. But, "religion is, in a sense indispensable, it is no less certain that religions change, that yesterday's religion could not be that of tomorrow" (Durkheim in Pickering 1975, 66). The religion of tomorrow, Durkheim believed, was a new "cult of man" in which ideals of moral individualism would reintegrate a society fragmented by industrialism, with the academic as high priest.¹⁷

Durkheim's work on religion, variously interpreted as "brilliant, imaginative, almost poetical" and "seriously flawed and misconceived," represented the first major sociological attempt to understand religion. As such it stands as the necessary starting point for a discussion of religion in society. Several writers have built upon his functional definition of religion, discussing, for instance, the myths, rites and rituals of political ideologies as new "civil religions" providing social unity (Bellah 1975a, Luke 1987). Others have developed Durkheim's notion that new religions must develop as new societies and cultures emerge, arguing that traditional religions may linger into the late twentieth century, but will never flourish in contemporary society (Stark and Bainbridge 1985).

¹⁷ Thorough discussions are Westley 1978 and Pickering 1984, 476-499.

Reviewing Durkheim's work, however, several critical issues must be discussed.¹⁸ First, the principle of "methodological atheism," the assumption that unbiased research is possible, must be addressed. Berger (1967) argues that studies of religious phenomena can be undertaken neutrally, without reference to personal beliefs; however this assumption has been challenged, critics contending that Berger's methodological atheism often gives way to actual atheism and secularism.¹⁹ Certainly underlying Durkheim's writings was an animosity to Christianity, common in anticlerical Third Republic ("God is dead!") France, where governments and scholars actively promoted the replacement of Christendom with an utterly secular order (Marty 1969, Pickering 1984, 481-485). A vital element of Durkheim's critique of religion was an explicit attempt to usher in a neo-Kantian society, an atheistic cult of man; this desire for a new secular morality for France may help explain his hostility to and need to deny the doctrines of Christianity, and his functional approach to religion.²⁰

Second, Durkheim, like other social scientists of his era, frequently viewed social, and hence religious, change as part of an evolutionary process; "religion was thought to be retreating as the night-wind of

¹⁸ Because many of these issues appear in the work of other writers, they will be dealt with more fully here, with passing reference later on.

¹⁹ For more thorough critiques of methodological atheism see Martin 1969, Gill 1975, 31-34, Cavanaugh 1982, Lyon 1983a, 109-111. Poloma 1982 and Lyon 1983b, disputing the possibility of methodological atheism, suggest interesting principles for an explicitly Christian sociology as an alternative to an implicitly or explicitly secular sociology.

²⁰ Durkheim highlights that for some, secularism, a philosophy openly hostile to religion's influence and persistence in society, directs their discussion of secularization. The ideology of secularism, "a set of beliefs and practices committed to the abolition of religion in society" (Lyon 1985a, 31) which "is itself a religion, a religion of hostility to God" (Bonhoeffer 1955, 103), is helpfully distinguished from the process of secularization in Lyon 1985a, 30-32 and Bockmuehl 1986.

science, especially after Darwin, blew coldly on long-cherished belief" (Lyon 1985b, 229). In line with many contemporaries, Durkheim did, occasionally, borrow evolutionary principles as motifs which promised to explain transformations in a vast array of social, economic, and natural systems (Burrow 1966). Although Durkheim recognized that individuals could make decisions within the context of broader social processes, he did adopt aspects of social evolution which implied a one directional flow to history in which irreversible changes occurred. The danger of such a linear and mechanical evolutionary explanation was a tendency to denigrate human agency in influencing the systems which shape their lives. People, in many studies drawing on evolutionary models, appeared "pallid or plastic ... malleable and pliant before changing institutional and environmental forces" (Ley 1974, 71), pawns in a game of inexorable social forces. Evolutionary explanation elevated society and social forces to "superorganic" entities, somehow with wills and purposes of their own.²¹

Durkheim's more evolutionary aspects have, therefore, been critiqued. Durkheim's work suggests that every religion begins in a "golden age," when everything is inherently religious, but inevitably declines, and ultimately becomes extinct. However empirical evidence is more nuanced than Durkheim's theories seem to allow; preliterate societies, which ought to exhibit this pervasive religiosity, actually display different levels of religious commitment, some virtually secular by Durkheim's criteria (Douglas 1970), while modern societies often show evidence of religious

²¹ for a geographical critique, see Duncan 1980, Harrison and Livingstone 1980, Samuels 1978.

vitality and renewal.²² His use of the Arunta tribe of Aborigines as the archetypal society from which the functions of religion, in general, may be extrapolated is a weakness of his major work on religion (1961), while his linear theory of Christianity in decline struggles to cope with phenomena such as the Wesleyan revivals of the eighteenth century, the missionary movement of the nineteenth century, the social gospel movement of the early twentieth century, and the persistence and health of the church in many parts of the contemporary world.

Durkheim's functional concept that religion exists largely to provide social cohesion and harmony has also been challenged. He came to this conclusion by observing that a specific primitive tribe came together to perform religious rites, using a totem as their symbol, which provided unity and order for the tribe. Although one of the consequences of religion appears to be social cohesion, Durkheim's apparent assumption that the origin of religion may thus be essentially explained as a response to a social need, and that the doctrines of religions are thereby rendered irrelevant, is highly debatable. Durkheim documented one of the consequences of religion, even identified some of the ways religion may be

²² Crippen 1988 notes that a variety of religious revival movements from Iran to the United States are all "illustrations of the durability of old gods that are continuously transformed as their adherents find themselves participating in increasingly complex sociocultural settings" (333). Lemert 1985 provides a fascinating study of changes within Roman Catholicism in rural Brittany which occurred in concert with a variety of social transitions and maintained the strength of the church in the community. As will be discussed later, most modern sociologists (although some reluctantly) do acknowledge a persistence of traditional religion.

used²³, but may have overstepped his evidence in his conclusion that "all religious ideas are social in origin" (Durkheim in Pickering 1984, 450).

Third, Durkheim was somewhat selective in the data he chose. He perceived religion to be predominantly a conservative force, maintaining the status quo by providing social cohesion. However the political influence of the non-conformists in industrializing Europe, the social reforms of the likes of William Wilberforce, the Canadian social gospel movement, Martin Luther King, and Latin American liberation theology pose difficult questions for Durkheim's vision. Weber, unlike Durkheim, saw religion as a driving force in social change.

b. Max Weber

Like Durkheim, Weber has profoundly influenced modern theorists studying religion in society. Although his "far-ranging investigations of Ancient Judaism, Hinduism, Confucianism and modern Protestantism were not ends in themselves but means to one end: an understanding of what in modern parlance is called social change" (Luckmann 1977, 11), the study of religion was

a central component of his life's work and an absolutely indispensable element in his understanding of the nature of social order, historical change and the perplexities of human existence (O'Toole 1984, 113-114).²⁴

²³ For example, religion may be a means of behavioural and social control (Pickering 1984, 307-310), including helping to prevent suicide. Also, as in Marxist theory, religion may also be used as a political force for social control; an interesting case study is Harvey 1979.

²⁴ for a fuller discussion of the centrality of religion in Weber's sociology see Nelson 1965, Bosse 1970, Luckmann 1977, Kalberg 1979, and O'Toole 1984, 111-184.

Reviewers have pieced together Weber's apparent working definition of religion:

What is religion for Weber? ... a definition of religion in Weber's thought would run something like this: Religion is man's continuous effort to deal rationally with the irrationalities of life ... It formulates, in short, man's basic understanding, at any moment in history of himself, of the world in which he lives, and of how life should be lived (Steeman 1964, 56)

As man's attempt to "deal rationally with the irrationalities of life," Weber believed religion, including elements of traditional, common and invisible religion, was necessary in a world where knowledge was limited.

However Weber argued that as rationality, knowledge and science grew, religion would necessarily diminish in importance; "the fate of our times is intellectualization, rationalization and the disenchantment of the world," themes consonant with the intellectual climate of industrial society (Weber in Gerth and Mills 1958, 155). The Renaissance and the Enlightenment, fostering searches in new directions for answers to life's critical questions, challenged and supplanted traditional religious explanations of existence. Weber believed science had mortally wounded religion in societies dominated by rational thought; religion must ultimately wither before scientific explanation and rationalization which left no room for human spontaneity or divine intervention. In his darker moments, Weber foresaw a society where

we should expect disenchantment to become complete, bureaucracy and regulation universal, and secularization to displace all the meaning of faith and hope while administrative welfare eliminates charity (MacRae 1974, 87).

At the same time, Weber perceived changes within Christianity itself to foster decline. In The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, Weber argued that one of the unintended consequences of the Reformation was

support for the growth of industrial capitalism. The "inner-worldly asceticism of Protestantism;" emphasizing doctrines of predestination and calling, virtues of diligence and frugality, rejection of papal authority, emphasis on individualism in Bible study, and tolerance for pluralism in the form of denominationalism, ultimately laid the ground work for a self-centred capitalist ethic emphasizing wealth and personal gain (Weber 1964, 220). Thus, with the Reformation, Christianity became its own "gravedigger."²⁵

Although somewhat regretful of the decline of religion with growing rationalization, Weber little doubted its inevitable demise. Rationalization and intellectualization, taking the form of science and technology, would resolutely whittle away at and increasingly explain the unknown (the "sacred"). The Reformation ethics of an individual calling and reason, secularized into industrial capitalism, left no room for religious faith or ethics.²⁶ However this elevation of science, in Weber's mind, could only lead to a "polar night of icy darkness and hardness" of bureaucratic rationality.

Secularization gives rise to a science-dominated culture in which whatever is "scientific" is valued regardless of its social effects, and only what is science is accepted and esteemed as knowledge (Abrams 1982, 84).

Science, Weber recognized, set all the facts, figures, and options in neat formulae, but was incapable of prescribing action. The proliferation of

²⁵ Weber's graphic term has been popular with recent secularization writers, including Berger 1973, 132, Martin 1978a, 54 and Guinness 1983.

²⁶ By viewing work as a "calling" diligence and frugality became virtues and, ultimately, individualism, competition, and thrift arose as important. Also, by replacing the magical and superstitious aspects of medieval Catholicism with logical theological systems, rationality (later epitomized by technology and bureaucracy) became paramount.

fact and knowledge alone provided no moral guidelines for living, thus resigning society to a calculating, amoral competition of individual values. The consummation of history, the inevitable consequence of "demystification" and "disenchantment," was an "iron cage" of despair.

Like Durkheim, Weber has been challenged for certain evolutionary ideas, particularly for seeing western society as inevitably becoming increasingly rational and dominated by science while religion apparently must fade in response. As David Martin (1969) emphasizes, all levels of religion thrive even in technologically sophisticated societies.²⁷ Even those actively promoting scientism still acknowledge a "sea of opposition" to their scientific methodology late into the twentieth century,

The metaphoric waters I refer to are composed of credulity, gullibility, and high-energy ignorance and are manifested preeminently in three psycho-social phenomena. The first is old-time religion ... alas, modern, scientific, progressive America is witnessing a reactivation of biblical literalism, fundamentalism, and evangelicalism that almost defies belief ... it spells trouble for science, reason, intelligence, and the free mind (McKown 1981, 336).

The Wesleyan revivals of the eighteenth century and rapid growth of religious organizations such as Bible societies and missionary organizations in the nineteenth century, for example, challenged Weber's theory. More recently, the revival of Islam in Iran, the influence of religious factions in Israel, the explosive expansion of Christianity in some Latin American, African, and Asian countries, the growth of Baptist and Orthodox churches in the Soviet Union, the health of conservative churches in North America, and the rise of a plethora of new religious

²⁷ See also Haddon 1987 and Crippen 1988.

groups all are problematic for recent proponents of Weber's religion in decline theory.

A second point of critique focuses on Weber's contention that rationality, in the form of science and technology, negates religion. Certainly science has shed new light upon the nature of the universe, but Weber's view of western society, described by David Lyon as a "'cultural bathtub' - a picture of society which has science being poured in, while religion slops out over the sides" (1985a, 40), represents a fairly uncritical dismissal of the content of religion and a concomitant deification of science (scientism), a weakness of many contemporary secularization theorists. Bibby, strongly influenced by Weber, recognizes that social science is restricted to the social forms of faith, not doctrinal truth:

Science, for all it can do, is limited to the empirical realm, to that which can be perceived by the senses. Consequently, the question of the existence of God, for example, cannot be addressed - let alone answered - by science (Bibby 1987, 146).

Weber's thesis that the Protestant Reformation contributed significantly to the rise of industrial capitalism, has also been challenged. Weber, it is alleged, chose his data rather selectively to make generalizations about the linkages between Protestantism and secularization. In his attempt to link the two, Weber's analysis of the theology and popular beliefs of Protestantism was often incomplete. As Quek (1987b, 31) notes, "it is one thing to suggest that Calvinism informed the dogma of Protestantism and quite another to prove that this dogma changed the minds and behaviour of the populace." More scathingly, Stanford Reid, in a thorough review of Weber's understanding of Calvinism, argues that in his concern to create an ideal type to suite his model,

"Weber does not really make a thorough study of Calvin ... as a result he makes a good many theological mistakes" (1983, 23).

Despite the many problems with Weber's thesis, his theory has formed the foundation for secularization theorists in the twentieth century until the late 1960s when critical calls for reappraisal emerged. However, championed by Bryan Wilson and (less so recently) Peter Berger, Weber's influence on research on religion in society continues to be profound.

2. Contemporary secularization and religious change theorists

Since Durkheim and Weber literature on secularization and religious change has been vast. However many of the themes of early writers constantly resurface in recent theories. The major writers in contemporary secularization may be grouped in two categories. There are those, following Weber, who perceive religion to be essentially doomed to extinction in a technological society; prominent among these have been Bryan Wilson, Peter Berger and Canadian sociologist Reginald Bibby. Others, more in line with Durkheim, including Stark, Bainbridge and Lyon, have critiqued this approach, arguing that religion is still an essential component of society, yet its form has altered radically in recent years. As dominant themes in the literature, both the secularization thesis and religious change theories require discussion.

a. Secularization and modernization

Strongly influenced by Max Weber, Bryan Wilson perceives religious institutions, actions and consciousness to be losing social significance in a modern society where "religion is apparently of little direct consequence

to the functioning of the social order" (Wilson 1982, 47). "Religion," Wilson argues, "no longer explains the world, much less the cosmos, and its explanations of social phenomena are utterly ignored" (1982, 170).

Replacing religion, a rationalized, impersonal bureaucratic system akin to Weber's iron cage legislates society to the extent that even morality is largely dictated by technology:

the large-scale societal community does not rely ... on a moral order, but rather, whenever possible, on a technical order (Wilson 1982, 161).

For Wilson, mechanical techniques and bureaucratic legislation have become omnipotent in a world radically altered by industrial capitalism. Wilson sees western society having become legislated by alarm clocks, traffic lights, time-and-motion studies, credit ratings, electronic security systems and government forms filled out in triplicate, reminiscent of the portrait painted by Huxley in 1984 and by Jacques Ellul in The technological society. With Weber, Wilson laments that the rationalism of capitalism, science, and bureaucracy which have removed religion from social life, but emphasizes the inevitability and irreversibility of the process.

Berger, like Wilson, perceives religion's influence in society to have become marginalized, replaced by a rational bureaucratic order;

today the supernatural as a meaningful reality is absent or remote from the horizons of everyday life of large numbers, very probably the majority of people in modern societies, who seem to get along without it quite well (Berger 1969, 18).

Berger understands secularization to be a thorough process in society, resulting both in the removal of social institutions from religious control and the decline of religious influence on culture:

By secularization we mean the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols. When we speak of society and institutions in modern Western history, of course, secularization manifests itself in the evacuation by the Christian churches of areas previously under their control or influence ... When we speak of culture and symbols, however, we imply that secularization is more than a social-structural process. It affects the totality of cultural life and of ideation, and may be observed in the decline of religious contents in the arts, in philosophy, in literature and, most important of all, in the rise of science as an autonomous, thoroughly secular perspective on the world (1969, 107).

Like Durkheim, Berger notes the separation of religion from the social structures of industrial society. Education, medicine, social welfare, and politics are no longer under ecclesiastical control. Meanwhile modern science, technology, economics, bureaucracy, and the mass media and communication industries have been agents of the secularization of culture. Bibby (1983a) implicates similar agents in Canada, where churches are "out of touch with the reality of Canadian religion" (1987, 133).

However the roots of this technocratic morality must be examined. Like many secularization writers, Wilson and Berger link secularization with industrialization. Wilson uses the term "societalization" to refer to the destruction of close-knit, face-to-face clan or village communities by industrialization, which have fostered extensive, impersonal, highly rationalized state societies. Religion, which has its source in, and draws its strength from, the local community, is inevitably doomed in this transition. For these writers, the loss of community and loss of religion are closely linked to the alienation and rationalization of industrial capitalism.

Some evidence supports this secularization as community-lost hypothesis. Obelkevitch's (1976) study of nineteenth century rural

Lincolnshire does support Wilson's theory that the breakdown of agrarian society impacted the traditional churches in those areas, but Obelkevitch also highlights the strength of the eighteenth and nineteenth century renewal movement fostered by Wesley and Whitefield both in the countryside and, particularly, in urban areas.

Urbanization, the antithesis of rural community, emerges from Wilson's theory as consummately secular. Wilson argues that the closer people are to urban production centres, the more secular they become. Within the city those closest to the production process are the most secular; men are less religious than women, and working people than children and elderly persons. Even cults and new religious movements are examples of secularization, indicators of the inconsequential role of religion in a society which can tolerate any form of religious expression, yet allows such groups to have no influence on social structures (Wilson 1979, 96).

More in line with Weber, Berger argues that it is science which is responsible for "opening the floodgates of secularization." Berger, like Weber, emphasizes the importance of the Reformation, whose central proposition of the primacy of the Bible over ecclesiastical tradition ultimately led to the rise of modern science. Science in the Victorian age was popularly thought to have challenged and defeated scripture as the Truth, and thus "a sky empty of angels, becomes open to the intervention of the astronomer and, eventually, the astronaut" (1969, 112). Berger emphasizes the importance of science and scientific thinking in the secularization of individual consciousness.²⁸

²⁸ For a more thorough discussion of Berger's "secularization of consciousness" see Quek 1987a.

As there is a secularization of society and culture, so there is a secularization of consciousness. Put simply, this means that the modern West has produced an increasing number of individuals who look upon the world and their own lives without the benefit of religious interpretations (1969, 108).

In this "secularization of consciousness," modernity's belief in science and rationalism are the keys to the destruction of the "sacred cosmos" that was religion.²⁹ Scientific and technological problem solving, industrial capitalism, bureaucratic government and the mass media all contribute to a decline in the "sacred," and according to Berger, a proliferation of "homeless minds" in a sterile, impersonal, disenchanted world (1974). Berger speaks of "plausibility structures," worldviews and meaning systems that provide meaning and orientation for individuals, inevitably changing from religious to secular when exposed to industrialization.³⁰

Looking at Canada, Bibby clearly sees both the declining influence of community (1987, 4, also Goa 1978) and the rise of science and technology as crucial elements of secularization.

Modern industrialization and post-industrialization have tended to lead to a loss of significance for religion in Canada and other western nations (Bibby 1987, 21).

With other sociologists, Bibby argues that religion has been removed from the mainstream of social life, specializing, as have all aspects of

²⁹ Berger understands religion to be "the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established ... by sacred is meant here a quality of mysterious and awesome power other than man and yet related to him, which is believed to reside in certain objects of experience" (1969, 25). The classical task of religion, Berger argues, is that of "constructing a common world within which all of social life receives ultimate meaning binding on everybody" (1969, 133)

³⁰ Hugh MacLennan (1978, 17), for instance, describes a young student with "an unquestioning acceptance of the scientific attitude. If a point of view appeared to conflict with what his untutored mind assumed to be scientific procedure, he was prepared to believe immediately that such a point of view was wrong. Here, surely, was a new form of bigotry which the scientists themselves encourage."

society, on particular issues, namely personal fulfillment and the family. In a country where "the foremost personal concerns of late-twentieth-century Canadians are money, time, and health," religion is a marginal concern (1987, 145). Echoing Wilson and Berger, Bibby argues,

The industrialization of the country (Canada) has been accomplished by emphasis upon rationalism and materialism. With urbanization, an increase in formal education, an acceleration of work force participation, the burgeoning mass media, an exploding technology, and an expanding economy, Canadians have increasingly found themselves preoccupied with life itself (Bibby 1983a, 15).

In this "disenchanted" world, painted by all three of these writers as dominated by rational bureaucracy, science and technology in which humans are only "preoccupied with life itself," Lyon writes,

Little wonder, then, that people seek an escape from this kind of world in hedonistic mass consumerism - from spectator football to video rock music - and the burgeoning market for private leisure activities (1985a, 53-54).

This consumer society of postindustrial culture, Wilson claims, offers,

a supermarket of faiths, received, jazzed-up, homespun, restored, imported and exotic. But all of them coexist because wider society is so secular, because they are relatively unimportant consumer items (1976, 80)

Berger uses identical terminology, religion persisting in a world where faith has been eclipsed by science only as an item which consumers may choose as any other product. Bibby's Fragmented gods (1987) revolves around this commercial metaphor. With an elusive perception of what religion actually is³¹, Bibby looks at the "menu" of "dominant companies" "servicing religious consumers" in a country where he perceives religions

³¹ Bibby appears to define religion, regardless of specific doctrines, as a philosophical package dealing with "the numinous, the value of self, and the importance of relationships" (1987, 271). Like Durkheim, Bibby sees religion as a social product; culture creates religion. In Canada, "religion gives every indication of being something we create rather than something with a non-human dimension" (1987, 233).

to be "consumer items" in the supernatural "marketplace." Bibby contends that religion has become a specialized leisure-time product, "religion à la carte" to be drawn upon for certain rites of passage (baptisms, weddings, funerals), but "when reduced to consumer-oriented fragments ... it predictably has a significant influence on the values and concerns of relatively few Canadians" (1987, 175). At times Bibby's ability to twist the economic metaphor to describe almost every situation strains its plausibility, but the image highlights the role of religion as just another consumer item in the marketplace of society.

Wilson, Berger and Bibby all use evolutionary models of secularization reminiscent of Durkheim and Weber; an idealized era of Christian community and faith when "religious thinking, religious practices and religious institutions were once the very centre of life" (Wilson 1969, ix) which deteriorates into the present reality of alienation and irrelevant religion. For Wilson and Berger the baseline from which secularization began was the medieval "age of faith." But a decline from a medieval Christian "golden age" is historically highly suspect. In thirteenth century Italy, Humbert of Romans wrote that, "It must be noted that the poor rarely go to church, rarely to sermons; so that they know little of what pertains to their salvation" (in Goodridge 1975, 387). In Elizabethan England, "a substantial portion of the population regarded organized religion with an attitude which varied from cold indifference to frank hostility" (Thomas 1971, 171-172). LeBras argues that Christianity was "the religion of the French by virtue of the monarchical constitution," but it was never the religion of the French people (in Goodridge 1975, 385). Ladurie agrees that, in fact, "Christian piety was always the attribute of

an élite in the Middle Ages" (1980, 305). The religion of the masses, he argues, was not Christianity, but a variant of folk religion, a loose set of magic and superstitious beliefs, often couched in Christian phraseology. The medieval age of faith, Goodridge argues, is romance, not reality. Certainly the centuries between the Middle Ages and the Industrial Revolution were not highly religious, an era where, in France, "fairs provided feast days and pubs were the counter church" (LeBras 1955, 51).

Bibby, discussing Canada, argues, "the gods weren't always so fragmented" (1987, 3), but "today, in the twilight of the twentieth century, things have changed" (1987, 4). Although claiming that Canada was once a religious country, Bibby offers virtually no support for this observation. The assumption that early North America flourished as a Christian society is widespread, particularly in the United States.³² But according to Marsden's (1983) study of Puritan New England and Stark and Finke's (1988) analysis of the state of American religion in 1776 the existence of a "new Israel" of "Christian culture" in early North America is doubtful. Evidence in Canada is mixed. In early Quebec, Mitchell argues, "the physical and cultural isolation ... strengthened religion in the province and the church was able to develop its position as the major mechanism of social integration" (1982, 25), a role religion has continued to play into the late twentieth century (Rouleau and Zyllerberg 1984). But in 1824 Upper Canada, William Bell described a society where "irreligion" was the norm due to individualism and the failure of the church to become a strong socializing institution. Clark (1948) reemphasized the weakness of the church in the lives of many Canadians because churches (particularly

³² See for instance, Schaeffer 1976.

the Anglican church) refused to adapt to Canadian society and linked itself with the colonial upper class, ignoring and alienating rural populations and the urban working class. With Bell, Clark also argued that the "emphasis on individual enterprise in social and economic life" in early Canada, contributed to weak churches.

Only in the late nineteenth century did Canadian churches really become integrated components of society, and then predominantly among the middle and upper classes. In this era, Campbell (1971) notes, the general social context among these social groups was such that open profession of atheism or irreligion brought social ostracism, petty persecution, and accusations of immorality. Many in the working class, however, felt ostracized by churches with entrenched conservative values (Matthews 1899, Woodsworth 1972) and even the social gospel movement involved only a small minority of liberal Protestants (Quinley 1974). Thus, although many churches thrived numerically, both Martin (1967) and Lewis (1971) are suspicious of the true nature of the spirituality of the era, suggesting attendance was more a matter of propriety than genuine faith. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did see religion influencing Canadian society, as studies of both the social gospel movement and the Antigonish movement illustrate.³³ Throughout the twentieth century, religion has continued to be influential; two major political parties (the Social Credit Party and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, later New Democratic Party) were founded by concerned religious people, issues such

³³ Good introductions to the social gospel movement are Woodsworth 1972 and Allen 1971, 1975. The Antigonish movement has been variously interpreted as a Catholic revitalization movement (Mifflin 1974) and as a sacralization of corporate identity in the face of industrialization (MacInnes 1978), yet certainly includes elements of a religious revival.

as Sunday shopping have involved religious perspectives, and the recent abortion debate also highlight the continuing influence of religion in Canadian society (also Baum 1980). Bibby's religion in decline thesis requires more careful review in the Canadian context.

Another evolutionary element, most predominant in Wilson, is that society is inevitably and irreversibly evolving from communal relationships to associational relationships. The neighbourhood change literature reviewed earlier emphasizes that community does indeed exist in industrial and post industrial culture.

If the evolutionary schema proposed by these writers is frequently unconvincing, their diagnosis of contemporary society appears more acceptable. Even critics of secularization, such as David Lyon, acknowledge that the rationalistic, materialistic and bureaucratic society portrayed by these writers is largely accurate. Others, not explicitly concerned with religion, such as Bernice Martin (1981), perceive similar transformations in society. However particular aspects of this vision have been challenged. Wilson's argument that urbanism is by nature hostile to religion has been criticized both theoretically and empirically. Lyon (1985a) admits that urbanization may create problems for churches whose rural heritage is betrayed in liturgy tied to natural seasons and organization on local parish systems, which are inappropriate in an urban milieu largely insulated from nature and where loose associations not local proximity order social relationships. Yet the city, as such, in no way refutes the fundamental truth of the message of any religion. Conn (1987) not only asserts that community exists in the city, but disputes the adage that "any faith dies in the city" citing the health of many urban churches

that have adapted to the changing socio-economic collage of the city (93-124). Even Harvey Cox, who predicted the imminent and inevitable demise of religion in The secular city (1965), recognizes the resilience and indeed health of traditional Christianity, although now adapted to the urban environment, in Religion in the secular city (1984). An analysis of British urban areas concluded that "our cities are only secularised in the sense that we see a steady decline in religious attendance at church," but belief remains among people alienated by an insensitive church (in Ahern and Davie 1987, 11). Certainly if religions beyond Christianity are considered, Wilson's claims are difficult to sustain. A study of Muslims in Dearborn, Michigan (Wasfi 1964) emphasized the strength of Islam in cities, "the sole places in which a full and truly Muslim life may be lived" (Lapidus 1969, 47). As will be discussed below, Wilson's assertion that the city is more secular than rural areas is empirically suspect.

The objectivity of certain theorists has also been challenged. Berger explicitly attempts to discuss secularization objectively (1967) but, like Wilson, seems to reveal a hidden agenda. Both review statistics charting declining membership in European churches and persistence and even growth of church membership in the United States, and conclude that secularization is proceeding inexorably throughout the western world. With Wilson and Berger using statistics of religious growth and decline to support their theories, Quek asks, "what sort of evidence would be regarded as counter-secularization?" (1987b, 31). Gill (1975, 87) summarizes the problem:

A secularisation theory which is able to interpret evidence of both decline in individual religiosity in Europe and apparent increase, or at least persistence, in individual religiosity in

the States, as equally counting for a process of secularisation must be suspect at least on grounds of non-falsifiability.³⁴

Interestingly, each of the writers, to varying degrees, does allow for the possible persistence of a truncated form of religion. Wilson, diagnosing modern society, sees a litany of social ills including crime, mental breakdown, divorce, drug abuse, loneliness and suicide as symptoms of the failure of rational social organization; "indeed, not only does the system fail to cope with these disruptions, it appears that they arise partly as a consequence of its normal operation" (1982, 46).

It is clear that an increasing proportion of people are disturbed by the facelessness of modern bureaucracy, by the impersonality of relationships, and (despite elaborate entertainment and recreation industries) by the sense of boredom that is felt in the manning of the rational technical social system (1982, 46).

The consequence of this "may be such that the future of western civilization itself may be thrown into jeopardy" (1982, 88). In this bleak world, Wilson, reluctantly and apologetically, acknowledges a possible niche for religion:

it appears that some individuals periodically find themselves seeking answers or, perhaps more typically, seeking reassurances, which the system as such does not provide. The contingencies of human life occasionally force people to ask fundamental questions about meaning and purpose, and more often, to seek support, solace, and reinforcement for their goodwill and commitment. Here, then, might be a place for religion (1982, 49).

Unlike Wilson's grudging recognition of religion, Berger, in recent years, has revised his theory to speak not only of a "crisis of religion," but also a "crisis of secularity" (1982). Recognizing a "return of the sacred" (Bell 1977), the blossoming of religious movements in the Third

³⁴ Even Baum, indebted to Wilson's model in his discussion of alienation in society, concedes, "It is apparent that both Wilson and Berger engage here in faulty reasoning" (1975, 143).

World and resilience of traditional religions in western countries, Berger questions the validity of his own theory that modernization inevitably leads to a decline in religion. Counter-modernization and counter-secularization movements such as the Iranian revolution, the growth of Christianity in China and the Soviet Union, the counter culture rejection of industrial values in the 1960s and the rise of evangelical Protestantism in the 1970s, Berger argues, are reactions to the alienation of technological bureaucracy and raise critical doubts about secularization theories. He foresees a society where religion and secularity coexist, albeit uneasily, as competing perspectives in a pluralistic "market."

Similarly Bibby has backed away from early predictions of religion's demise in Canadian culture. In Fragmented gods he argues that religious institutions in Canada have made themselves irrelevant by either compromising their message and being indistinct from culture, or remaining aloof and insensitive to the changing world. However if Canadian churches adapt their message to address culture while remaining distinct from it, Bibby sees a role for religion in the future by providing meaning systems in a society where ultimate questions persist (1987, 63 and 233-271).

b. Religious change

The "strong secularization thesis" discussed above clearly grows from Weber's theory of religion in decline. But the approach, often little more than a simple equation of modernization with secularization, fails to account for the nuances of history or the realities of the present day. Warren Lewis, in an eloquent synopsis of contemporary American culture concludes, "Contrary to secularist interpreters, the American public hes

never been more religious than it is now" (1982, 202).³⁵ The questionable existence of a past religious "golden age," the health of evangelical Protestantism and the rise of alternate belief forms led Wade Clark Roof to suggest that secularization has had to be reevaluated as

it was becoming evident that modernity was not as antagonistic to religion as had once been thought. Secularization was neither as pervasive nor as irreversible as perhaps early theorists had presumed; modernization entailed no obvious necessary decline of religious belief and practice in contemporary society (1985, 77).

This has led to new attempts to account for both the persistence of traditional religion, particularly Christianity, in western society (Martin 1978b) and attempts to account for the plethora of new religious movements which have emerged in recent years (Stark and Bainbridge 1985).³⁶

David Martin launched the first attack on unsubstantiated assumptions of secularization theorists (1965). Rather than broadly linking secularization to modernization, Martin insisted that secularization must be understood on a more local basis, with particular reference to church-state relations (1978b, 1979). Martin argued that the break-up of medieval Christendom resulted in differential church-state relations and differential secularization in various contexts. Using economic metaphors he referred to countries like France and Russia as religious monopolies, where the state and the official church were inextricably bound; thus when revolutions overthrew the state they also often overthrew the church as

³⁵ Empirically, Gallup polls and Bibby's surveys (1987) reveal a strong latent belief in God and vague religious values, although declining adherence to traditional denominations and church attendance (Gallup and Poling 1980, Gallup and O'Connell 1986).

³⁶ In perhaps the most thorough critique of earlier secularization theory, Haddon (1987) argues for a "desacralization of secularization;" a critical reevaluation of secularization theory as a product and artifact of late nineteenth century social and cultural milieux, rather than an uncritical acceptance of its veracity.

well, replacing the sacred monopoly with a secular one. Other countries, however, displayed a laissez-faire religious economy. In a country like the United States, where church and state were officially separate, "free market religion" dominated, and people were free to believe anything at all, thus allowing an array of denominations, sects and cults to develop. One result, however, was that religion was inevitably privatized. Still other countries, like Canada, Britain, and Australia, had a mixed economy, in which religious groups could and did influence the political system.³⁷ Martin argues that secularization was greatest in those countries with a religious laissez-faire, where the state and religion were separate, religion was privatized, and all religious beliefs, including secularism, were tolerated and could compete for converts. But here the purest form of Christianity also existed for "the separation of Caesar and God, nation and religion, is paradoxically the end of religion, but the essence of Christianity" (1979, 12).

Martin's theory provides a more nuanced understanding of religious change in particular contexts. But his theory fails to go beyond a mere cataloguing of history. Even his understanding of secularization struggles to account for the political influence of religious movements in a free market country such as the United States. The "civil religion" in America documented by Bellah (1975) does not fit well into his schema.³⁸ Yet

³⁷ In Britain, the non-conformist roots of the Liberal party, and, in Canada, the religious foundations of both the Social Credit and New Democratic parties are examples of this.

³⁸ Bellah 1975 argues that, although church and state are officially separate in the United States, before 1960 biblical religion and utilitarian individualism were inextricably, albeit uncomfortably, yoked as foundations of American culture and civil religion. The counter-cultural revolution of the 1960's, rejecting the rising prestige of science, technology and bureaucratic organization of utilitarian individualism, also

Martin's emphasis upon the need to understand the particular historical and political context is a helpful corrective to the universal theories of secularization described above.

What the research of Martin demonstrates, in conjunction with the recent disclaimers of Berger and others about the thoroughgoing nature of secularization is the ambiguity inherent in secularization studies (Gill 1975). The weaknesses in secularization theory and early criticisms demonstrate the need for a religious change model which integrates ambiguity. Gill proposes an alternative to earlier theories, claiming "an alternating model of secularisation and de-secularisation might provide a more adequate way of coping with this ambiguity than would a single model of either secularisation or de-secularisation" (1975, 128). He contends that this theory would take into account such events as the Canadian experience of low religious attendance in the early nineteenth century, a peak through the early twentieth century, and contemporary decline.³⁹

More clearly theorized than Gill's approach is that of American sociologists Stark and Bainbridge (1985). Like Daniel Bell they refute the religionless future of Weber and Wilson. In fact, they develop a theory of secularization and religious persistence by studying both traditional

rejected the religion of many churches emphasizing similar individualistic values and reinforcing mainline norms (Wuthnow 1982). Not all Americans, however, did abandon this juxtaposition of nationalist, capitalist and Christian values; the 1980's seem to represent a revival of American civil religion with the Moral Majority and Ronald Reagan becoming prominent.

³⁹ In support of this alternating hypothesis, a study of students' values at two American universities concludes that personal moral values in 1984 closely reflect those held in 1952, although they were radically different in the 1960s and 1970s. Religious values including "belief in a Divine God, Creator of the Universe" approximate 1950s levels in 1984 (having plummeted in between); interestingly, however, church attendance has not rebounded with belief (Hoge et al 1987, Hastings and Hoge 1986).

religion and new religious movements including cults. Using a variety of surveys and case studies analyzing American religion, they conclude that secularization is endemic in society, religious groups becoming progressively integrated into society and losing their supernatural distinctiveness:

Through secularization, sects are tamed and transformed into churches. Their initial otherworldliness is reduced and worldliness accommodated. Secularization also inevitably leads to the collapse of religious organizations as their extreme worldliness - their weak and vague conceptions of the supernatural - leaves them without the means to satisfy even the universal dimension of religious commitment (429).

However, unlike Durkheim who argued that this inherent secularization led to new religions, Stark and Bainbridge contend secularization engenders both religious revival and innovation. By revival they cite the resurgence of evangelical Protestantism and charismatic Catholicism which represent returns to traditional faith, less tainted by secular society. However since the dominant faiths and revivals spawned are not "designed for our present culture," they are chronically vulnerable to secularization and lack long term staying power.⁴⁰ In contrast, religious innovations, new faiths "fully in harmony with culture" may be more enduring. Faiths, such as scientology which aim to engage science and are geared to modern values, will flourish in contemporary society. Arguing that, "the conventional religious organizations have been eroded by centuries of conflict with science" but that this has not "caused masses of people to lose their belief in the supernatural" (438), they conclude that cults and other new

⁴⁰ Science, Stark and Bainbridge argue, is a new and potent cultural force which early religions, such as Christianity, did not have to wrestle with theologically. Thus in modern, scientific society, Christianity can never be influential because they feel it cannot cope with science.

religious movements will abound where the conventional religions are the weakest. The same conclusion was reached by Bell who argues that, "where religions fail, cults appear" (1971, 474). Their empirical research reinforces that the west coast, where traditional churches are weakest, is also the region with strongest cult activity.

In an attempt to validate this cyclical model of history (whereby secularization leads to revival and innovation) beyond the United States, Stark and Bainbridge have applied the model to Canada as well. Unfortunately their discussion ignores religious revival in Canada, but does note that cults are inevitably strongest in regions, such as British Columbia, where traditional religions are weak. Wallis and Bruce (1984) and Bibby and Weaver (1985) have challenged Stark and Bainbridge's theoretical approach and findings, arguing that although traditional religions are struggling in Canada they are not being replaced by cults (in which few Canadians are actually involved), but people, "draw upon fragments of Christianity and other forms of a-science in addressing questions which seemingly are beyond the scope of science" (Bibby and Weaver 1985, 458). Bird and Reimer (1982) note that in Montreal, cults have a high participation rate, but fail to keep converts for long and have relatively little impact. Although Stark and Bainbridge's model is not perfect, it does appear to have some validity in the Canadian context. Certainly cults do appear to thrive as traditional religions weaken. Research from Quebec suggests that cults help to fill the gap left by the recent decline of the traditional Catholic church. Rouleau and Zyllerberg (1984) describe a multi-faceted "return to the sacred" in Quebec involving both revival movements in established institutions (charismatic

Catholicism), established groups moving into virgin territory (Jehovah's Witnesses) and new religious movements emphasizing a variety of ideologies.⁴¹ Many of these new religious groups appeal to the collective identity in Quebec once provided by the Roman Catholic church and later by nationalism, but now, Chagnon (1983, 1985) argues, without focus.⁴² This evidence from Quebec hints at both the revival and innovation theses of Stark and Bainbridge, providing further support for their model. Certainly criticisms of the model, highlighting that the numbers of persons involved in cults is far less than the numbers leaving traditional churches are valid, but what Stark and Bainbridge illustrate is that in rational modernism some people seek for symbolic authority if not in the traditional churches, then elsewhere.

In accord with Stark and Bainbridge's thesis, British sociologist David Lyon has argued that secularization, which he equates with the declining strength of traditional churches, is a reality in modern society. Thus Lyon declines to abandon secularization as a social reality whereby many religions and religious institutions lose their social influence. However he refuses to see inexorable evolutionary forces driving any particular form of religion, or religion as a whole, into decline; rather,

secularization is usable as a problematic, a concept which points up significant aspects of modern society. It has no explanatory power in itself... (1985a, 140).

⁴¹ Emphases include any combination of (1) the utopian myth of equality, participation, and democracy, (2) fulfillment of feminist aspirations, (3) the significance of the human body as a physical, feeling and sexual creation, (4) modern capitalist marketing of the sacred through the media, and (5) pseudoscience (such as scientology).

⁴² Social compass 31 (1984), 4 is devoted to examining Québécois religion and national identity; the issue includes several articles from various perspectives, plus a thorough bibliography.

Like an archaeologist's flag, indicating an important site worthy of investigation, Lyon argues that secularization, in the various forms of a lack of consensus on questions of virtue and truth, of changing relations between church and state and the redefinition of the "sacred," is a concept identifying social changes to be explained, not an explanation in itself.⁴³ Conn (1987) treats secularization in a similar fashion, arguing that evidence of church decline likely may not indicate a decline in religious belief as much as a failure of churches to reach their community.

Thus Lyon argues that "we have to move beyond secularization as a simple blanket description of what has happened to the religious life of industrial societies" (1985a, 136). Moving beyond, Lyon contends, implies that any discussion of secularization must also discuss sacralization, the process whereby other ideologies or belief systems replace traditional religions as worldviews in people's lives. Lyon argues that many people are unhappy living without some framework of purpose and meaning provided by religion, and thus are "chronically involved in a quest for meaning, as seen in (their) creating sets of symbols, and designating certain life-areas 'sacred'" (1985a, 98). This process of sacralization involves both the growth of new religious movements and the rise of alternative ideologies which shape individuals' lives, but are less clearly religious in that they have little or no metaphysical referents. Lyon implies that as traditional religion has waned, forms of both common religion and invisible religion have arisen in its stead.

⁴³ An understanding of secularization as description rather than explanation has also been championed by Dobbelaere (1981, 1984), Haddon (1987) and Crippen (1988).

Common religion, including new religious movements, has been discussed previously. But Lyon perceives other ideologies or worldviews which have less reference to issues of the meaning of life and death, also to be replacing traditional religion as the primary motivational forces in people's lives. Although not truly religions, as defined in this thesis, these ideologies or worldviews may provide similar functions for some individuals.⁴⁴ Because there does appear to be a link between the decline of traditional religions and the growth of these other values, these ideologies and beliefs must be identified in a discussion of religious change. Many writers, both in the sociology of religion and in popular literature, choose to use religious terminology to discuss these ideologies because in terms of their role they often function in much the same way as religions.

For some people, these ideologies are well articulated, providing a sense of purpose and social cohesion. Thus, such ideologies as excessive nationalism, in which the state is accorded semi-divine status (Bellah 1975a, Luke 1987), scientism, an uncritical trust in science and technology (Ellul 1975, Lemert 1979, Shallis 1984, Winner 1986), and even environmentalism, in which the natural environment is bestowed with a pantheistic status (Nicholson-Lord 1987), are commonly discussed as religions, particularly by those from more functionalist perspectives. For some people, these ideologies and others do provide a comprehensive

⁴⁴ As defined earlier, religions (both traditional and common), normally address issues including the meaning of life and death, the boundaries of the sacred and the profane, and the supernatural. This is essentially a phenomenological definition, and hence does not include ideologies which may serve similar functions to religions, but lack these characteristics.

worldview which guide actions and foster social cohesion similar to the role previously provided by traditional religions.

For most people who do not adhere to the tenets of a traditional or new religious movement, however, their beliefs or worldviews are usually not ordered into developed doctrines or myths expressed through well-defined rites. These persons may be motivated by a variety of ideologies from humanistic concerns for world peace to more personal aspirations for self-actualization, but these values do not provide a comprehensive framework which informs all areas of their lives. Rather most persons draw upon an eclectic assortment of values in their decision-making.

One ideology, in particular, which appears to have grown as traditional religion has waned has been described as "an informal cult of self-worship," in which the individual, the human body, and sex appear to be viewed as sacred (Vitz 1977, Lasch 1979). Bellah et al (1985) identify individualism as "the primary American language of self-understanding" noting that many Americans "are devoted to serious, even ascetic, cultivation of the self" with great rigour (290). This apparently growing quest for personal satisfaction and fulfillment is not considered religious, according to the phenomenological approach used in this thesis, except to the extent that these ideas involve more metaphysical elements, as in many facets of the current New Age Movement. But for writers who define religion functionally (as that which is the primary motivator in an individual's life) this self-actualization may be viewed as somewhat religious.

One aspect of this self-actualization ethic which a few writers perceive to be a secular manifestation of an attempt to capture religious

emotions emphasized in Protestant pietism, is a quest for satisfaction and pleasure, in modern culture often taking the forms of aestheticism and consumerism (Campbell 1987). Campbell suggests that consumerism and the quest for amenity represent a religious impulse for some persons, reflecting a need to believe in something "beyond the merely human," be it God, ecology, or consumer goods bestowed with special significance. Similarly Tuan (1978b, 96-97) argues that suburbs provide "a modest Eden" of "sacred space" where individuals can, to use Campbell's phrase, "be their own despots."

Nowhere is the "cult" of aesthetic and materialistic self-actualization more discussed than regarding the individualism and consumerism of contemporary culture where "Yuppie Commandment" number one is "thou shalt have no other gods before thyself" (Piesman and Hartley 1984) and fitness centres are "meccas" (Schmidt 1985) in which religious observances are held and ascetic disciplines practiced (Fotheringham 1989). Choosing religious terms, Newsweek (1984), claims that consumerism is a religion among some young professionals:

What Yuppies have discovered is nothing less than a new plane of consciousness, a state of Transcendental Acquisition, in which the perfection of their possessions enables them to rise above the messy turmoil of their emotional lives. They know that Beauty is Truth, and Truth is Beauty, which is why their most eloquent symbol is the Rolex watch, which has both. Of course some Yuppies prefer to worship money in more traditional ways. One place they can do so is at the Yuppie church of the Rev. Terry Cole-Whittaker, the beautiful 44-year-old author of "How to Have More in a Have-Not World." BMW's crowd the parking lot of the San Diego hall from which Cole-Whittaker's message, "You can have it all - now," is broadcast ... Her newsletter is sprinkled with testimonials from people who received miraculous intervention to help close a real-estate deal or pay off their American Express bills (19).

"Yuppies have their own form of organized religion," Piesman and Hartley suggest, "They invariably worship at the altar of self-improvement. And they're very organized about it," including such rituals as "weekly confessionals" at the psychotherapists, "religious education classes" at adult education centres, "daily sunrise devotionals" at the running track, and a "strict dietary code" (1984, 69). Using mischievous similes, Piesman and Hartley describe Sabbath observance ("a day devoted entirely to self-worship"), for "Orthodox Yuppies" beginning with a "ritual dinner party" Saturday night, wherein "the hosts lead the guests in paying homage to the gods and goddesses of New American cooking, estate-bottled wines and designer evening wear," followed Sunday morning by exercise more intense than usual (variously "observed" by casual "Reform" Yuppies by simply meeting with friends at a Yuppie restaurant Saturday night and sleeping late Sunday morning). But,

All branches of the faith reserve late Sunday morning for the reading of religious texts: real estate and business sections of the Sunday newspaper and articles on the three F's (food, fashion, furnishings) ... At noon Yuppies don their most casual and most flamboyant designer clothes (jogging suits, jeans, caftans, etc.) in preparation for Holy Communion. This involves partaking of the holy sacraments - champagne and brioche - during a ceremony called brunch ... Musical accompaniment is important. This can be a classical guitar, but high mass requires a string quartet. Reform services favour jazz combos ... Between brunches, good Yuppies try to schedule some shopping, perhaps a movie, a little self-improvement reading or anything else that will keep them on the fast track that leads to the wrought iron gates of Yuppie heaven (1984, 69-70).

Long weekends, "High Holy Days," often occasion "pilgrimages to the ski lodge or country house" (1984, 70).

Certainly Piesman and Hartley are guilty of great exaggeration. Yet their satire highlights that a self-actualization ethic is an important motivational force in the lives of many people. Although an ideology such

as the apparently increasing personal fulfillment ethic is not religious in the same sense as traditional or common religions, it does represent one of the ideologies which may be increasing in importance as religious beliefs change.

The concept of secularization is helpful in studying modern society. Certainly the problems with secularization - a dichotomous, before and after view of society, its roots in rationalism, a frequent crude evolutionary schema, a reductionism denying any validity to the content of religion - require a serious reappraisal of secularization theory. But the consequence of this critique is a broader perspective which acknowledges the realities of secularization, particularly within the established churches, but also takes seriously sacralization, the revival and innovation elements identified by Stark and Bainbridge, and less formalized belief systems wherein other elements are bestowed with sacred status and other, non-religious ideologies increase in importance.

In studying religion in modern society, Lyon's emphasis on a broad range of religious expression and ideology is helpful. In accordance with the Weberian tradition of Wilson and Berger, the reality of secularization, particularly within established churches, must be affirmed. But at the same time, other forms of religious expression and belief must be acknowledged. It is a society, as Berger acknowledges, caught between a "crisis of religiosity," dominated by rational bureaucracy and technology, and a "crisis of secularity," recognizing that "man does not live alone by bread and machinery" (MacLennan 1978, 25).

With an understanding of this dynamic interaction, modern society may be understood as a collage of secularization and sacralization. Certainly

secularization has occurred, but so has religious change and a redefinition of the sacred. Searches for meaning persist, both in traditional religions, and in elements of common and invisible religion.

C. Neighbourhood transition and religious change

The fact that social changes, whether they be neighbourhood transition or changes in religious affiliation and belief, do not occur equally in all locations is one of the realities which social scientists must take into account. In particular, in the context of this research, the linkages between neighbourhood transition and religious change will be discussed in the cultural complex of industrial and post-industrial North American society. Thus this discussion must draw from both neighbourhood and religious change literature previously discussed to examine the interconnections between them.

Frequently linkages between neighbourhood transition and religious change have been inferred from generalized theory rather than developed with sensitivity to the actual experiences of places in empirical research.⁴⁵ Thus, for example, theorists who link religious decline or secularization with industrialization, conclude that as a neighbourhood is increasingly influenced by industrialization, religious belief in the community must inevitably decline. Such an understanding arises naturally from the totalizing theories of Durkheim, Weber and Wilson. Even David

⁴⁵ This struggle between advocates of general theories and those demanding more local analysis pervades the social sciences. Social geographers have wrestled with the same question of "how to keep a grip on the generality of events ... without losing sight of the individuality of the form of their occurrence" (Short 1984, 9). See, for instance, Johnston (1984), Massey (1984, 1985), Smith (1987b), Cooke (1987).

Martin, critical of much in secularization theory, uncritically accepts this assumption as valid (1978, 2-3).

This hypothesis results in a hypothetical geographical relationship between neighbourhood transition and religious change. Those countries, regions, cities, and neighbourhoods which are most industrialized, the argument runs, ought also to be the most secularized, and will exhibit the highest levels of religious decline. Thus those cities progressing from a preindustrial to an industrial economy would be also progressing from high levels of religious belief to low levels. Unfortunately empirical research struggles to support this theory, exemplified by the statistical gymnastics Wilson and Berger find necessary to support their arguments.

However the philosophical foundations of this uncritical marriage of industrialization, urbanization and secularization have, as noted earlier, been challenged theoretically and empirically. Rather than producing a hypothetical geography of the interaction of neighbourhood transition and religious change, a more appropriate approach would incorporate empirical research. Like social geographers, sociologists of religion, while not denying the influence of general forces of industrialization and secularization, argue that general processes are refined by local particularities. Lyon (1985a) asserts that secularization "is not the blind, relentless and uniform force some would have us believe ... it is vital to get a feel for the nuances of secularization in different settings and circumstances" (64).⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Similarly Kavolis (1988) suggests that "a world-wide unitary theory of secularization and sacralization needs to be refined into civilization-specific models of these processes" (210), these, in turn, frequently need to be adapted to an even smaller scale.

In this empirically based discussion of neighbourhood transition and religious change, some common myths, such as the uncritical marriage of industrial urbanization and secularization, must be dispelled. Following this will be an analysis of empirical data which suggest that some generalizations between demographic variables and religious belief may be identified which are more useful. This data will provide a framework to help show possible linkages between demographic characteristics and religious affiliation. In the case studies that follow, these relationships will be examined with respect to their veracity in Vancouver.

The previous section discussing religious change noted that there have been many unexamined assumptions and myths associated with the concept of secularization (Glasner 1977, Lyon 1985a). Certainly these myths emerge in attempts to understand the spatial variation of religious experience and secularization; Wilson's equation of industrial urbanization and secularization is a fine example. Previous to considering the literature on neighbourhood transition and religious change, it is helpful to dispel some common myths.

First, religious change, particularly secularization within Christianity, is not restricted to the industrialized First World. Harvie Conn, surveying literature from Third World countries including Tanzania, Zaire, Brazil, Singapore, and China notes that secularization - the decline of religious institutions, diminishing influence of religious values and beliefs, loss of influence by religious institutions in society - can occur in any number of religions and societies. Likewise Kavolis acknowledges and probes the reality of secularization in a variety of cultures and

religions around the globe.⁴⁷ If civil or political religions are considered, then Luke's (1987) study of secularization and revival within Marxism demonstrates the pervasiveness of secularization in any number of organized belief systems.

Second, the popular idea that urbanization inevitably secularizes individuals while rural residents are religiously committed, the basis of the community-lost theory of secularization, is empirically unsubstantiated. Russell Hale, in a study of counties in the United States which exhibited the high levels of "unchurched" persons, concluded that,

contrary to popular opinion, the unchurched phenomenon in the United States may be primarily rural rather than urban ... ten of the fifteen largest cities in the United States have unchurched rates well below the national average, only the three largest Californian cities (Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego), New York and Indianapolis providing exceptions (1977, 6).

Indeed Hale suggests that the popular perception that small towns in America produce a religiosity that expresses itself in church membership is invalid; the truth seems to be that small town churches often resemble extended families, hostile and exclusive to outsiders (1977, 6). This conclusion is supported by Chaney (1982), who contends that many inner city black communities in the United States have much higher church attendance than white suburban neighbourhoods or rural areas. As Obelkevitch's research on Lincolnshire demonstrates, industrialization and urbanization sometimes strengthens religious movements such as Methodism. Studies of industrialization and urbanization in Brazil support this conclusion, for the percentage of practicing Protestants and Catholics is much higher in urban areas than in the periphery (Gates 1972). Canadian data confirm that

⁴⁷ A more thorough, specific case study is Madan's (1986) discussion of secularization within the Sikh religious tradition.

cities are not inherently more secular than rural communities. Veevers and Cousineau (1980), Mitchell (1982) and Bibby (1987) all conclude that differences between urban and rural areas are at most modest, but "the differences in commitment many people expect to find between big city and farm simply do not exist" (Bibby 1987, 92).⁴⁸ Other factors than simply industrialization and urbanization must account for religious change.

One useful starting point for a discussion of neighbourhood change and religious change is Russell Hale's (1977) study of the unchurched in the United States.⁴⁹ He identified six of the most unchurched counties in the United States, representing a variety of regions in the country, and carried out extensive interviews in each to determine a "taxonomy" of those who were not involved in Christian churches.⁵⁰ From interviews, he distilled twelve categories of those least likely to be involved in churches. "Anti-institutionalists" were disenchanted with church structures and leadership which were perceived to be archaic or irrelevant. The "boxed-in" felt constrained, thwarted, or robbed of individuality in churches which clung to ritual orthodoxy. The "burned-out" and the "cop-

⁴⁸ For instance, Mitchell (1982) notes levels of "no religion" response on the 1971 Canadian census to be higher in areas such as British Columbia's Sunshine Coast, Campbell River and Nanaimo than in the majority of urban areas in Canada. Within individual provinces, levels of "no religion" were rarely significantly higher in cities than the periphery.

Another indicator of note, in the November 21, 1988 Canadian federal election, of the thirty nine candidates representing the Christian Heritage Party, almost half ran in urban ridings. There was no significant difference in levels of support for urban and rural candidates.

⁴⁹ The "unchurched" are defined as "all those persons who are not on church rolls of any Christian denomination" (p.5). The unchurched represented 38.6% of the United States population in 1971.

⁵⁰ The six counties represented metropolitan Los Angeles (Orange County, 57.4% unchurched), suburban Salem, Oregon (72.3%), small town Maine (75%), coal mining West Virginia (76.5%), rural Alabama (56.9%), and resort Florida (50.4%).

outs" were respectively tired of being involved in religious organizations and apathetic drifters unwilling to commit themselves. "Happy hedonists," particularly common in southern California, had little time for church in a lifestyle emphasizing pleasure and self-fulfillment. The "locked-out" (the rejected and discriminated against - particularly the poor or those whose non-traditional lifestyle excluded them - and the neglected - especially the elderly) felt excluded from churches who ostracized or did not care about them. "Nomads," persons who moved frequently, often did not get involved in local institutions. "Pilgrims," true religious seekers, experimented with a variety of religious beliefs but did not commit themselves to one in particular. The "publicans" and the "scandalized" included those persons disenchanted by the hypocrisy and controversy surrounding the church and who refused to be involved. "True unbelievers" (the smallest category) were confirmed atheists/agnostics, deists/rationalists, and humanists/secularists. Finally there were the "uncertain;" "Legion were those who simply said, 'I don't know why I don't go to church. I really don't know'" (87). One of the fascinating conclusions of Hale's project was that representatives of these twelve "types" were found in every region and stratum of American society.

However regional variation in the numbers of unchurched does emerge from the study. High levels of unchurched persons were concentrated along the west coast; Washington and Oregon (60.9% each), California (57.0%), Hawaii (56.2%) and Alaska (56.1%) and the neighbouring states of Nevada (53.6%) and Colorado (51.4%) were seven of the eight states with unchurched

rates over 50%.⁵¹ Another concentration of the unchurched was, surprisingly, the Appalachian belt from the rugged interior of Maine (49.6%) and the White Mountains of New Hampshire (44.2%) through the Allegheny Plateau counties of New York (40.8%), Pennsylvania (30.5%), West Virginia (52.0%) and Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky (35.8%) and Tennessee (35.4) to northwestern Alabama (31.7%). Smaller concentrations of the unchurched were in the Ozark Mountains of Missouri (37.6%) and Arkansas (38.4%) and along the Florida Gulf Coast (44.5%). This distribution led Hale to speculate that regions with mountainous topography (isolation, difficult accessibility and dispersed populations), rapidly growing areas, and regions with high levels of transients and elderly persons were most likely to contain high levels of the unchurched.

Certain groups of the unchurched were concentrated in each region. The west coast and "Sun Belt" had a mobile and mushrooming population including many anti-institutionalists⁵², happy hedonists⁵³, retired persons "burned-out" of church involvement⁵⁴, nomads⁵⁵, pilgrims⁵⁶ and true

⁵¹ Within these states, high levels of unchurched were emphasized by further facts: 35 of Oregon's 36 counties and 47 of California's 58 counties had unchurched levels above 50%; Alpine County, CA had the highest rate of unchurched persons in America, 92.6%, closely rivalled by Park County, CO (Hale 1977, 4).

⁵² Southern California: "I think the churches have gotten like a lot of parts of society. They have to worry so much about paying the rent that they have forgotten the good news" (46).

⁵³ Orange County, CA: "Just finished surfing this morning in the Pacific. Got to go to the mountains now to ski ... The Churches can't compete with this!" (64).

⁵⁴ Venice, FL: "I used to be a deacon up in Michigan until we came down here ... (now) I might go to church ... (but) I'm not going to get involved like that again." (55)

⁵⁵ Huntington Beach, CA: "This is my 13th place of residence in 15 years ... we've discovered that to prevent the pain of saying 'good-by' we don't say 'hello' anymore" (71).

⁵⁶ Los Angeles, CA: "I'm examining a lot of things right now. I'm not sure what I believe ... I may have to live with that uncertainty ..." (77).

unbelievers.⁵⁷ The Appalachians and Ozarks, remote rural areas with well developed local cultures, tended to have high levels of "cop-outs"⁵⁸, "boxed-in"⁵⁹, and "locked-out."⁶⁰

Hale's research provides helpful insights into those regions where, if Christianity ever was the religion of the majority, it has now lost much of its influence. Churches themselves were implicated as one of the causes for low involvement by many. In the Appalachians unflinching ritualistic orthodoxy, poorly trained or uncaring clergy, strict dress and ethical codes, exclusiveness, and an irrelevant message alienated or provided rationalizations against church involvement for many. In urban areas of California and Florida, many elderly persons had retired from jobs and the church, wanting a break from involvement, while younger persons did not think the church had anything relevant or important to contribute to their lives. Other churches were unaware of the changing social context around them, becoming "strangers in a strange land." In all areas hypocrisy and scandal within the church turned many away. But as well as the churches, lifestyle issues were important causes of disinvolvement. For the "happy hedonists" of the Pacific Coast and the Sun Belt recreational opportunities simply made church attendance a marginal value. For pilgrims and true unbelievers, particularly in the west and south and in urban areas, where cultural mores were more accepting and affirming of alternative beliefs

⁵⁷ California: "Belief in a personal God is just not rational" (85).

⁵⁸ Belfast, ME: "I just don't care about going too much. There's no reason why. I just can't seem to get started." (59)

⁵⁹ Nellis, WV: "It's all 'don't do this, don't do that'" (51).

⁶⁰ Alabama: "We just ain't got clothes fitten to wear to church ... See, I got my feet all sore up and I'm wearin' some old pieces of shoes. They don't look on me kindly like" (68).

than mid-western states, church attendance was obviously not important.⁶¹ The fact that many older persons "opt-out" of the church is a phenomenon of particular interest in southern retirement centres.

Hale's observations and conclusions are based upon interviews with persons in various communities. But his case studies, although fascinating, do not wrestle with why certain communities develop with high levels of people with irreligious lifestyles and which have churches which are less able to reach their community than others. A very useful complement to Hale's research are more empirical Canadian studies by Veevers and Cousineau (1980), Mitchell (1982) and Heaton (1986).⁶² These researchers seek to identify correlates of irreligion, as measured by the "no religion" response on the census, and, in the case of Heaton, correlates of denominational affiliation and "no religion," with other social variables in order to profile those regions and neighbourhoods which have the lowest levels of religious involvement. These studies attempt to identify general relationships between the demographic characteristics of neighbourhoods and religious affiliation.

The patterns that emerge from their work resembled the results of Bibby's more extensive surveys of Canadian belief. At the national level, a clear east-west pattern in irreligion was evident, from very low levels of "no religion" response in the Atlantic region and Quebec, through moderate levels in Ontario and the Prairies to high levels in British

⁶¹ In contrast, Utah, dominated by Mormon culture, had the lowest rate of unchurched persons (10.7%) in the United States by a considerable margin. The next closest states were Louisiana (16.8%), North Dakota and Rhode Island (both 17.8%), District of Columbia (21.9%), Mississippi (22.3%), South Carolina (24.7%), South Dakota (25.4%) and Wisconsin (25.6%).

⁶² Veevers and Cousineau (1980) and Mitchell (1982) use 1971 Canadian census data. Heaton (1986) draws information from the 1981 Canadian census.

Columbia (Mitchell 1982, 44-83). As noted earlier, urban - rural differences were slight, more important, interestingly, being intraurban differences. In many cities, Quebec, Ottawa-Hull, Toronto, and Calgary, inner cities had higher levels of "no religion" than suburban communities.⁶³ Census tracts containing universities frequently had levels of "no religion" much higher than those around them. This occurred, for instance, in Sackville, NB (Mount Alison), Montreal (McGill), Kingston (Queen's), St. Catharines (Brock), London (Western Ontario), Kitchener (Waterloo), Hamilton (McMaster), Saskatoon (Saskatchewan) and Edmonton (Alberta).

Accounting for these patterns, researchers attempted to correlate religious affiliation and "no religion" responses with other demographic variables. Veevers and Cousineau, Mitchell, Heaton and several American studies all conclude that several demographic variables appear to be significantly linked to religious affiliation. One was age; "no religion" response peaked in those 20-29 years old and decreased steadily with age thereafter (Mol 1976, Veevers and Cousineau 1980, Gallup 1978, Roof and Hadaway 1979, Glenn 1987). Significant also was gender; women tend to be more likely to be involved in traditional religions than men.

Also important was ethnicity; census figures indicated that those of French and Italian descent were least likely to report "no religion," while those of Chinese, Japanese, Scandinavian, Dutch, German and British

⁶³ Again the recent federal election supports this observation. All of the Christian Heritage candidates running in urban ridings ran in suburban rather than inner city constituencies. In Greater Vancouver, Christian Heritage candidates ran in Delta, Richmond, Surrey North and Surrey-White Rock (plus several ridings on the urban fringe, including Mission-Coquitlam, Fraser Valley West and Fraser Valley South). No candidates, however, ran in Burnaby or City of Vancouver ridings.

backgrounds were most likely to indicate no religious preference (Mitchell 1982, 92). These data reveal that for French and Italian groups strong social networks intimately connected with the Catholic church have been important. Bibby (1987, 19-21) and Quebec researchers (Zyllerberg and Montminy 1980, Chagnon 1985) agree that these bonds are weakening among Quebec Catholics in the 1980s as the province has become less insular and more incorporated into mainstream Canadian society. In 1971, 44% of Chinese in Canada reported "no religion," the highest of any ethnic group, perhaps because Chinese belief is less focussed in recognized religions than European faiths, being more a lifestyle than a clearly defined set of doctrines which they would identify as a religion (Mitchell 1982, 96). High levels of no religion for persons of northern European and British descent may reflect that religion is relatively weak among these cultures (Wilson 1966). Correlations from Ley's analysis of 462 Canadian inner-city census tracts support these other studies (Table I). Certainly in Canadian inner cities areas with significant British influence also appear to be areas with high "no religion" response (Table I, variables 1, 2).

Education was another important variable, highlighted by high levels of "no religion" response in university neighbourhoods (Gallup 1978, Roof and Hadaway 1979, Mitchell 1982). In Quebec those with university education were seven times as likely to claim "no religion" as those without post secondary education; in Canada as a whole, university educated people were twice as likely to claim "no religion" as those without post secondary education (Mitchell 1982, 101).⁶⁴ Heaton's research concluded

⁶⁴ Why education is so critical is unclear. Secularization theorists, such as Berger, argue that religious plausibility structures crumble before objective intellectual analysis, reflecting the argument that science

Table I:

Independent variables correlated against "no religion" response,
in Canadian inner-cities, 1971 (n=462)

Variable	Correlation
1. Percentage speaking English only	0.61
2. Percentage claiming Anglican affiliation	0.50
3. Percentage born outside Canada	0.48
4. Percentage full-time students, aged over 16	0.32
5. Social status index (percentage in quaternary occupation plus percentage with university education)	0.41
6. Percentage employed in manufacturing and construction	-0.44
9. Mean monthly rent	0.45
7. Median household income	0.12
8. Median dwelling value	0.32
9. Distance to 1971 elite tracts	-0.17
10. Distance to central business district peak land value	-0.23
11. Mean distance to major hospital(s) and university(ies)	-0.10
12. Percentage units occupied less than one year	0.37
13. Percentage apartments	0.23
14. Persons per household	-0.33
15. Percentage population over 15 single	0.28
16. Percentage family households	-0.39
17. Children per family	-0.46
18. Female labour participation rate	0.51
19. Distance to nearest regional amenity	-0.18

Source: Census of Canada 1971 and Ley 1988

that, in 1981, Jews and those claiming "no religion" show the highest levels of educational attainment of all groups.⁶⁵ Anglican (41.4%), Lutheran (40.4%), United (40.7%) and Presbyterian (39.5%) affiliates were moderately above or at national levels of post secondary education (39%) while Roman Catholics (35.9%), Baptists (37.5%), Mennonites (31.8%), Pentecostals (32.1%) and other conservative groups were well below the

inevitably triumphs over religion. Religious change advocates, such as Lyon, however, argue that education is not neutral (also MacLennan 1978, Bloesch 1984, 32), but may in fact teach value systems of self-actualization and scientism which may be anti-religious.

⁶⁵ In 1981, 51% of those with no religion and 56% of Jews had post secondary education compared to a national average of 39%.

national average (1986, 60). Closely related to education is occupation and income. Heaton's study also showed that Jews and those claiming "no religion" were more likely to be professionals and enjoy higher incomes than the average Canadian and than those claiming affiliation with Christian denominations.⁶⁶ Ley's analysis further confirms these results in Canadian inner-cities, demonstrating a significant relationship between "no religion" response and education, occupation and income measures (Table I, 4-11). There appears, then, to be a link between religion and social class. In general, those from higher social classes appear to be less involved in traditional religions than those from lower classes.

Length of residence, as Hale noted earlier, was another critical factor. Persons who moved frequently were less likely to become involved in voluntary associations and community groups, such as churches, than longterm residents (Hadaway and Roof 1979, Mitchell 1982). In Canadian inner-cities, census tracts with high levels of transience also appear to exhibit high levels of "no religion" response (Table I, 12).

Also, family status was identified as important; persons with children, concerned with developing ethical and moral values, were more likely to be involved with religious organizations than singles or childless couples. Heaton's data provide helpful insights; in 1981, Canada's fertility ratio (children per 1000 women) was 2.493; among Mennonites, Mormons and reformed groups this rate swelled to over 3.000

⁶⁶ The same pattern emerges as for education: Anglicans, Presbyterians and United Church affiliates are more likely to be professionals and have higher incomes than Roman Catholics and members of conservative groups such as Baptists, Mennonites and Pentecostals (Heaton 1986, 61-63).

while most denominations approximated the national norm.⁶⁷ Among those claiming "no religion," however, the level of fertility was well below the national average and the average for affiliates of any religious group, at 1.845 (Heaton 1986, 59). Specifically in Canadian inner-cities, a variety of measures in Table I confirm this trend (14-18). Specifically, strong correlations appear linking high levels of "no religion" to areas with few family households, few children and a high female labour force participation rate. The corollary of this would imply that in areas with many families, children, and less women in the workforce, traditional religious affiliation would be expected to be higher.

Mitchell attempted to create a model to predict "no religion" responses in Canada using age, ethnicity (and place of birth), education, length of residence and family status variables. The variables he identified did seem to correlate both at the national, regional, and intraurban scales with actual levels of no religious preference recorded by the census throughout eastern Canada and much of the Prairies. The model did, however, fare poorly in Toronto and throughout British Columbia. In a lengthy discussion of the residuals of the analysis, Mitchell notes that other factors seem to be involved in these locations. A simple model using demographic variables alone could not account for several local variations evident. In Toronto the model underpredicted the "no religion" response, which Mitchell attributes to a localized "cosmopolitan effect" where young, mobile, affluent persons exhibit inordinately irreligious tendencies (217). The model fared worst in British Columbia, routinely underpredicting levels

⁶⁷ Roman Catholic 2.702, Anglican 2.330, Baptist 2.504, Lutheran 2.268, Pentecostal 2.799, Presbyterian 2.195, United 2.313 (1986, 59).

of "no religion" through the central interior, on Vancouver Island and the Sunshine Coast, and in Greater Vancouver. In these areas other factors than simply demographic variables appeared to be influential.

Although Mitchell and Veevers and Cousineau were reliant upon census information and could only describe patterns of nominal religious affiliation in Canada, the trends they identified have been borne out by Bibby's more detailed surveys of belief in Canada (1987, 86-91). He identified incidences of religious belief, practice, experience, knowledge, commitment and involvement to exhibit the same east - west continuum identified by Veevers and Cousineau (1980) and Mitchell (1982). The stereotype of the Prairie "Bible Belt," both Bibby (1987, 90) and Hiller (1976) concluded, was unsubstantiated by empirical research, rather an Atlantic "Bible Belt" might better represent the facts. Quebec, Ontario and the Prairies all exhibited moderate religiosity. British Columbia, however, was the lowest on every index of religious belief, involvement and commitment in Bibby's research:

British Columbia's greater secularity, like California's in the United States, seems to be tied to the province's tendency to attract many people who want a "different" way of life. Many of these Canadians, men and women who want to maximize life's enjoyment in a beautiful coastal setting, are less concerned about keeping the status quo. Surveys consistently show, for example, that B.C. residents hold more liberal moral views than residents of any other region of the country. The lifestyles of the permanent residents, combined with the aspirant lifestyles of the new arrivals, results in a less conventional, more hedonistic way of life (Bibby 1987, 90).

This picture of British Columbia as the locus of "a different way of life" is further supported by Stark and Bainbridge's study of cults in Canada (1985, 457-474). Building upon their thesis that cults thrive where traditional churches are weakest, they note that British Columbia, with

highest levels of "no religion," led the country on all indices of cultic activity.⁶⁸ Stark and Bainbridge link British Columbia's weak traditional religions and thus high cultic activity to high levels of transience and a vague "British Columbian religious subculture" (473). Unfortunately Bibby and Stark and Bainbridge do no analysis at the intraurban level; nevertheless at the national and regional level, their conclusions support those of Mitchell and Veevers and Cousineau.

Unfortunately few studies of Canadian cities discuss religious beliefs or values, perhaps reflecting the common belief that religion has become marginalized, and an uncritical acceptance of secularization theory's hypothesis that religion has become irrelevant in contemporary society.⁶⁹ Interestingly Ley (1985, 1988) did include "no religion" as a variable in studies seeking to correlate social and demographic variables with neighbourhood revitalization (as measured by an increase in social status between 1971 and 1981). He found that census tracts likely to undergo gentrification were not only close to elite neighbourhoods, educational and medical institutions, possessed natural or cultural amenities, had few blue collar residents and little industry, and were generally populated by unmarried persons or small households, but also exhibited high levels of no religious affiliation (1985, 95a). Indeed in five of the six cities studied in depth, the "no religion" variable had one of the highest correlations with Ley's revitalization index (1985, 99). By ranking Canadian cities according to both Ley's post-industrial index and percent

⁶⁸ The measures they used included Spiritual community guide listings, Fate magazine subscribers, Fate letter writers, telephone directory listings of cult centres, and Christian Science membership data.

⁶⁹ For instance, Goldberg and Mercer (1986) largely ignore religion.

"no religion" this relationship is further highlighted (Table II).⁷⁰

Overall, in the twenty-two cities in Ley's study, "no religion" had a strong correlation of 0.81 with the post-industrial index.

Table II:

The top eight Canadian cities
ranked by post-industrial index and "no religion" response, 1981

Rank	post-industrial Index	"no religion" response
1	Calgary	Vancouver
2	Victoria	Victoria
3	Vancouver	Calgary
4	Ottawa-Hull	Edmonton
5	Edmonton	Winnipeg
6	Toronto	Toronto
7	Regina	Saskatoon
8	Saskatoon	Ottawa-Hull

Source: Ley 1988 and Census of Canada 1981

Ley's findings in both Tables I and II suggest further support Mitchell's (1982) conclusions that education, ethnicity, transience and family status are connected with religiosity. Findings from this study may also indicate other factors which contribute to Mitchell's residuals in central and southwestern British Columbia, Bibby's "hedonistic way of life" on the west coast, and Stark and Bainbridge's distinct "religious subculture." Apparently, where post-industrial culture appears to dominate, "no religion" also appears to be widespread; both Vancouver and Victoria emerge among the top three both in terms of Ley's post-industrial index and "no

⁷⁰ This post-industrial index includes measures of age (percentage 20-35 years old), dwelling unit starts, dwelling value, prevalence of art galleries, objective social indicators, perceived environmental quality, inner city-CMA (census metropolitan area) income, and office space per capita for each CMA (for a fuller discussion see Ley 1986). "No religion" is available in the census for each CMA.

religion" response. Thus, in Vancouver and Victoria there may be a link between post-industrial emphases upon aestheticism, consumerism and self-actualization, high levels of "no religion" response, and proportionately lower levels of traditional religious affiliation.

Therefore, where post-industrial culture predominates, traditional religion may be weak. In a highly rational urban milieu, populated by those who appear to be least likely to adhere to traditional religions (young, mobile, well-educated, childless persons, products of the "expressive revolution"), it is not surprising that, as Bibby implies, persons with irreligious orientations (at least in the traditional sense), abound. Campbell (1987) suggests that for many, religious impulses are appealed to by a culture of consumption and a lifestyle packaged by marketing agencies and extolled by the media. In an environment where "there are so many activities that people don't want to spend a day or half a day in church" and "when it comes to priorities I come first" traditional religion frequently "loses out" to recreation (Hale 1977, 64, 65). Apparently as industrialization contributed to secularization and the decline of traditional religions, post-industrial culture has further encouraged this decline, at least among nominal affiliates. However other ideologies emphasizing amenity and self-actualization seem to be increasing in response to the decline of traditional religion.

American studies support these observations. Conoran and Tamney (1985) attempted to account for those with no religious preference using similar demographic variables as those identified by Mitchell. But studying those claiming no religion from 1957 to the present they noted that the reason persons opted for "no religion" in American surveys changed

radically after 1960. Before 1960 most persons who claimed no religion were generally from lower socio-economic classes and felt isolated from or excluded by religious institutions; unionized workers, for example, were alienated by churches who frequently espoused management values (Stark and Glock 1970). But after 1960 the cause of church "dropouts" changed. As the "expressive revolution" questioned established institutions including the church, church "dropouts" increasingly became college educated, middle class persons.⁷¹ These persons chose to leave traditional religions because of the traditionalism of the church and the promotion of new means of spiritual fulfillment including the pursuit of pleasure (Roozen 1980). Hoge et al (1987) provide further evidence that the 1960s represented a severe decline in attendance at traditional churches and rejection of their values. Initially, religious belief declined in concert with attendance, but an almost universal vague theism appears to be reemerging as an unfocussed belief in a god, divorced from any recognized religion. The "expressive revolution" appears to have destroyed an earlier ethic demanding at least nominal Christian adherence among the middle class (Campbell 1970), encouraging in its stead a new ethic of exploration for novel means of self-fulfillment and self-actualization (Campbell 1987). Perhaps theologian Donald Bloesch is correct, that the Enlightenment values which informed education "desacralized the heavens; now society and nature are becoming the new domains of the sacred" (1984, 38), as people seek to find religious meaning in themselves and the social and physical environment around them.

⁷¹ Canadian data support this (see, for example, Table I, 5-6).

Emerging from this discussion are possible starting points for a geographical discussion of neighbourhood demographic characteristics and religious belief which may form the basis for a discussion of neighbourhood transition and religious change. As the social characteristics of a community change over time, the religious affiliation of residents appears to change in many cases also. However generalizations must be tempered by local sensitivity to place. Certainly a geography of religious change and neighbourhood transition may be proposed on the basis of general principles - demographic and cultural characteristics - but attention to the local particularity of place - the specific combination of these elements at any particular juncture in time and space - is also critical. Similarly, the choices of individuals to affiliate or be involved in religions regardless of their social characteristics must be affirmed.

In summary, one vital element emerging from the literature appears to be age, both young adults (Veevers and Cousineau 1980) and older adults, particularly those retiring to retirement communities (Hale 1977) appear to be less likely to be involved in traditional religions than middle aged persons and families. Ethnicity is also important; communities with high levels of northern Europeans, British, and Oriental populations have high levels of disinvolvement in traditional religions (Mitchell 1982). Similarly, level of education appears to be directly related to religious involvement, implying that neighbourhoods with a high proportion of university educated persons will likely exhibit low levels of adherence to traditional religions (Mitchell 1982, Heaton 1986). Transience or migration is another critical factor, whether because persons who move frequently are unlikely to get involved in local religious institutions, or

because regions such as British Columbia with amenities encouraging migration attract persons with little propensity to be involved in traditional religious institutions. Regions with high levels of migration, then, are also likely to exhibit low levels of religious adherence (Veevers and Cousineau 1980, Mitchell 1982, Stark and Bainbridge 1985). Life stage is also critical; singles and childless couples tend to be less involved in traditional religious institutions than family persons; implying that in locations where small, childless households abound, traditional religion will be weak (Mitchell 1982, Heaton 1986). Finally, lifestyle, epitomized by post-industrial values of aestheticism and amenity, is also linked to religious commitment; in those regions where values of amenity and aesthetics are paramount, traditional religions appear to flounder, but alternative belief and ideologies may flourish (Hale 1977, Ley 1985). These general observations are largely supported by Ley's specific analyses of inner-cities in Canada (1986, 1988).

Unfortunately this discussion, because of the nature of the data, focusses on the geography of traditional religion, with little consideration of elements of common or invisible religion. With the exception of Stark and Bainbridge's discussion of cults in Canada, other theorists have largely ignored other manifestations of belief. The census provides an "other" category which hypothetically would include cultic and other adherents of new religious movements. But such an instrument is powerless to portray other elements of common and invisible religion discussed previously. The strong themes of self-actualization and consumerism undergirding the preceding analysis of contemporary post-industrial culture (Piesman and Hartley 1984, Newsweek 1984) hint that, in

accordance with Stark and Bainbridge, where traditional religions are weak, failing to provide adequate plausibility structures, alternate belief systems and ideologies flourish. These may not be explicitly religious, like cults, but, with the emergence of a new class of young professionals, subtler meaning systems incorporating expressive values of aestheticism, narcissism and consumerism as the framework for social boundaries may represent an institutionalization of new "sacred" values (Martin 1981, Lyon 1985a). Although not religions these worldviews may strongly influence the decisions and activities of individuals in society.

Armed with this information, as the changing character of the Vancouver neighbourhoods is discussed in Chapter Three, the religious changes may be discussed with reference to this literature. Chapter Four will examine the religious biographies of each neighbourhood seeking to integrate the observations of this section.

Chapter Three

Neighbourhood transition in Vancouver

About me the night moonless wimples the mountains
wraps ocean land air and mounting
sucks at the stars The city throbbing below
webs the peninsula Streaming the golden
strands overleap the seajet by bridge and buoy
vault the shears of the inlet climb the woods
toward me falter and halt Across to the firefly
haze of a ship on the gulf's erased horizon
roll the spokes of a restless lighthouse

from Earle Birney, "Vancouver lights" (1941)

A. Historical Overview of Vancouver

If Earle Birney had stood upon Grouse Mountain in 1841 instead of 1941 to set the scene before him into poetry, the finished product would have been very different from "Vancouver lights." Although European contact with Vancouver began with the initial discovery of the area in 1791 by the Spanish naval officer, Don José Maria Narvaez, the area remained an impenetrable forest of cedar, fir and spruce populated only by a few Salish Indians in scattered villages along the coast until the late nineteenth century. In 1858, Colonel R.C. Moody and his Royal Engineers arrived at New Westminster, pushed roads through the forests to access military reserves he had designated throughout the Fraser delta area, but no development followed. Few Europeans lived outside New Westminster.

Settlement west of New Westminster did not begin until 1863, when T.W. Graham established a sawmill on the north shore of Burrard Inlet. He quickly went broke but Sewell Prescott Moody eventually bought the property and developed a successful commercial operation and orderly town known as Moodyville. Shortly afterwards, in 1865, an unlucky Vancouver Island

businessman, Captain Edward Stamp, was granted a lease for land on the south shore of Burrard Inlet where he established a sawmill that would become the nucleus of Gastown, later renamed Granville, and, in 1886, Vancouver. By the end of the nineteenth century Vancouver had eclipsed Victoria as the hub of British Columbia industry, trade, and commerce, courtesy of the Canadian Pacific Railway (McCann 1976), and had become a major industrial centre.

From its earliest days, Vancouver attracted enterprising immigrants eager to begin again in a virgin environment. Like Captain Stamp who came from economic disaster on Vancouver Island, Vancouver offered immigrants new opportunities for success. In 1929 novelist George Godwin described Vancouver as

the land of the optimist, of the speculator, of the get-rich-quick merchant, of the booster ... young, raw, unsophisticated, arrogant, like a lad newly in long pants, conscious of departed childhood, deceived by budding virility into belief in its maturity (in Twigg 1986, 61).

Vancouver has always attracted persons seeking opportunities in a fresh environment, largely unfettered by convention and traditional expectations. Coming to Vancouver in 1947, Raymond Hull observed that,

a large part of the population ... consists of people who have pulled up stakes and moved here, looking for something better, freer, more exciting than what they knew at home. These are people bursting with ambition, buoyed up by hopes, spouting out ideas, plans, dreams, determined to make something, do something, be something different, new, daring, unconventional (in Twigg 1986, 55).

From early in the century the culture of the Lower Mainland fostered "a uniquely hedonistic existence, the renowned lotus life on the shores of the Gulf of Georgia" distinct from more ascetic values and traditional norms that may have prevailed elsewhere (George Woodcock in Twigg 1986, 53).

As Vancouver has grown during the twentieth century, the physical form of the city has changed dramatically, growing from a small town to the vast "quilt of lamps" described by Birney. From its genesis Vancouver was also a typical industrial city, economically dependent on sawmills and lumber processing. Through the first half of the twentieth century industrial production was the backbone of the Vancouver economy, located in inner-city sites along Burrard Inlet and around False Creek (Hardwick 1974, Gourley 1988).

But by the late twentieth century, the sawmills no longer exist in the central area, supplanted by office towers vying for domination of the downtown skyline. The urban region has sprawled far beyond Gastown, swallowing both Fort Langley and New Westminster, one time capitals of colonial British Columbia. Hardwick (1974) discusses at length the changing economic base of the city that has occurred in recent decades. He describes Vancouver's progression from a city with employment concentrated in primary industries such as forestry and fishing, to a post-industrial metropolis with employment increasingly centred on tertiary and quaternary services. Although primary industries remain important to the economic vitality of the city, these activities are increasingly located in the periphery, while employment in Vancouver has focussed on management and the provision of services.¹ This trend towards a growing service sector, particularly government and business services, and financial, insurance and real estate services (FIRE), has continued and accelerated to the present,

¹ For example, employment in occupations in managerial, administrative and related fields increased by over 300% between 1971 and 1986. In contrast, processing occupations, typical of primary and secondary occupations, increased by a meager 7% over the same period (Census of Canada 1971, 1986).

to make Vancouver, increasingly, a typical post-industrial city (Ley 1980, 1981). Hardwick recognized that as the employment base of Vancouver had changed so had the social characteristics and values of residents. Table III, a summary of census data for the city from 1931 (the first census in which neighbourhood data are available) to 1986, provides a comprehensive picture of the changing character of Vancouver's population during its transition from an industrial to a post industrial city. A similar table will be provided for each of the inner city communities in our case study.

Table III highlights important changes in the characteristics of Vancouver's population over the last half century. Since 1931, particularly since 1961, the proportion of children in the city has declined noticeably. In the larger metropolitan region this trend is less pronounced, for as suburban development boomed in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, higher incomes and improved transportation networks allowed many young families to leave the central city for the suburbs with their perceived familial amenities. Vancouver has retained, and indeed enhanced its young adult population (aged 15-44), including many students and working people who can not afford property or transportation to the suburbs, or who prefer a more urban lifestyle. The age group that has grown the most as a whole since 1931 are seniors, 65 years of age and over. Many people who bought homes in the city many years ago, whose families have now left home, continue to live in the city in mortgage-free homes or apartment buildings, while others, now with smaller housing needs, have moved back into the city.

Vancouver has a large proportion of singles; in 1986, 35% of adult residents (15 years and older) had never married compared to a national

Table III

Population characteristics of City of Vancouver, 1931-1986

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Population	246593	275353	344833	384522	426260	414280	432385
Family status (%)							
persons under 15	22.0	17.5	21.0	23.3	19.5	14.4	14.0
persons 15-24	17.4	16.6	12.1	12.6	18.3	17.3	15.5
persons 25-34	14.5	17.3	16.4	13.0	13.9	19.6	20.5
persons 35-44	16.8	13.5	15.3	14.0	11.3	11.5	14.5
persons 45-54	16.1	13.8	11.6	13.5	12.3	10.9	10.2
persons 55-64	7.9	12.6	10.8	9.7	11.3	10.9	10.3
persons over 65	5.0	8.7	12.8	13.8	13.4	15.2	15.1
15+ never married	34.5	32.1	24.0	25.2	29.5	33.3	34.8
15+ separated, divorced	0.4	0.7	1.3	n/a	7.5	9.0	10.1
15+ widowed	6.2	7.6	8.8	9.6	9.0	8.8	8.1
15+ married	57.6	57.8	65.9	63.6	53.9	48.9	47.0
childless families	n/a	n/a	43.3	41.4	44.6	48.7	47.4
average household size	n/a	n/a	3.3	3.1	2.7	2.3	2.3
Ethnicity (%)							
British	77.1	77.3	70.9	59.9	52.9	40.5	n/a
northern European	6.4	7.8	10.2	14.2	13.0	8.9	n/a
southern European	1.8	2.3	4.4	6.6	10.0	9.2	n/a
other European	1.5	2.0	9.1	9.6	8.7	8.1	n/a
Asian	8.7	5.7	3.0	5.2	9.9	21.9	n/a
other	4.5	4.9	2.8	4.5	5.5	11.4	n/a
Occupation/Education (%)							
class 1	n/a	n/a	18.4	21.1	17.4	26.8	32.0
class 2	n/a	n/a	40.5	43.3	46.0	47.2	49.2
class 3	n/a	n/a	37.6	35.4	36.6	26.0	18.8
median earnings (\$)	n/a	n/a	2079	3325	4479	11089	13595
labour force ratio (m/f)	n/a	n/a	2.31	2.35	1.48	1.23	1.07
university education	n/a	8.0	9.1	8.3	17.0	26.5	30.2
Dwellings (%)							
single detached	n/a	n/a	70.7	66.9	49.8	46.1	37.9
apartment, condominium	n/a	n/a	29.3	33.1	42.8	53.8	61.7
owned	n/a	n/a	63.0	60.8	46.8	44.9	42.2
rented	n/a	n/a	37.0	39.2	53.2	55.1	57.6
average rent (\$)	n/a	n/a	43	77	131	363	545

Source: Census of Canada, 1931-1986.

average of 27%. The 1980s resemble the 1930s and 1940s with over 30% of the adult population single. Although during the 1950s a substantially larger proportion of the population was married and Vancouver appears to have been a more family oriented city, with the suburbanization of many families in the past twenty or thirty years, many single family homes were subdivided into suites or redeveloped into apartments, condominiums, or townhouses enabling singles or childless couples to occupy former family housing. The families who left the city for the suburbs did so for perceived quality of life reasons, because of lower suburban property costs, and because the housing stock in many neighbourhoods in the city itself changed to discourage families through smaller, more expensive units and restrictions on children. Over time the number of divorced and separated individuals has also grown steadily to over 10% in 1986, three times the national average. Although the percentage of never married singles in Vancouver in 1986 approximates that of 1931, the number of divorced, separated and widowed persons brings the total "unattached" percentage much higher today than previously, exceeding 50% of the adult population. Of the less than half of Vancouverites who are married (compared with 65% of Canadians), fewer Vancouver residents have children, thus increasing the number of childless families and reducing the average household size.

Vancouverites are also becoming increasingly well educated, over 30% of those fifteen years of age and older now have some university education, 64% above the national average. This trend is not surprising in a city increasingly dominated by quaternary service industries which emphasize professional and managerial skills. This change is reflected in the

occupational division of residents. In order to permit comparison over time, only three occupational divisions have been used; class 1 may be described as a managerial/professional group², class 2 as a clerical white collar class³, and class 3 as blue collar workers⁴. By 1986 over 80% of employed Vancouverites were engaged in white collar professional and service activities (classes 1 and 2), a dramatic increase since 1951 and well above the national average. By 1981, 71% of employment in Vancouver was in trade, FIRE, community, business, and personal services, public administration and defence (Ley 1985, 87). FIRE, services, and the public sector contributed to 90% of the employment growth in the city from 1971 to 1981. This service sector growth is geographically specific, for eighty percent of metropolitan job growth in service industries has occurred in the downtown core (Ley and Hutton 1987), where office space has tripled between 1967 and 1984 (Ley 1985, 87). A planning department study comparing North American cities shows that Vancouver has 30% more downtown office space than might be expected in a metropolitan area of its size (City of Vancouver 1986, 9) with a downtown office space per capita metropolitan area resident ratio trailing only New York City and San Francisco in North America. Stated succinctly, in the 1980's Vancouver has become "a postindustrial west coast city where employment is dominated by service and administrative occupations" (Ley 1980, 239). Of course Vancouver's economy is still dependent to a large extent on primary

² including managerial, administrative, teaching, medicine and health, technological, social, religious, artistic, and related occupations.

³ including clerical, sales, service, and related occupations.

⁴ including primary occupations, processing, machining, fabricating, construction, and related occupations.

industries in the periphery, but the city itself has a strong post-industrial character.

Ethnically, Vancouver has changed from a predominantly British city to a pot pourri of ethnic groups. In the 1980s Vancouver's Asian population is growing rapidly while the historically dominant British population has been declining steadily proportionally. Unfortunately by 1986 the census included persons of mixed ancestry separately, making comparison with earlier years impossible. Nevertheless 1981 figures do document profound changes in Vancouver's ethnic composition. With more and more immigration from non-European countries, Vancouver's ethnic diversity will likely only increase.

Finally, the city has also changed considerably in terms of the dwellings where the citizens live. Increasingly residents live in apartments, condominiums or other multi-dwelling units rather than single family homes; the percentage of those living in multi-dwelling units has almost doubled since 1931. The percentage of units rented rather than owned has also increased sharply through the century to almost 60% of units in 1986. This trend is closely related to rising land costs in the city making the purchase of single family homes very difficult for most families, who frequently opt for locations in the suburbs. Because land values and property taxes are rising so quickly, in many areas of the city homes have been subdivided into suites, legal or illegal⁵, or have been removed to be replaced by apartments, condominiums or townhouses. This

⁵ The City of Vancouver estimates there are probably 21,000 to 26,000 illegal secondary suites in single-family zoned areas; one house in four having such a suite (City of Vancouver 1988). For a further discussion of illegal suites see Pratt 1988.

denser residential settlement has made living in the city more affordable for some, yet many new multi-unit dwellings are still high priced and restrict family access. Illegal suites, one of the most common forms of affordable housing, are in jeopardy, producing a growing concern for the future of affordable housing in the city.

The picture that emerges from this data is that of Vancouver as a post-industrial city, dominated by professional and other white-collar employment, both well and poorly-paid, and populated by increasingly well-educated, less family oriented residents. Although these trends are evident, it must be noted that many class 2 occupations are poorly paid, and that even with these changes such social problems as poverty persist in the city. However in general, the statistics reveal a city consistent with the characteristics of post-industrial culture and society posited earlier. The interconnectedness between these social, economic, and political values and variables affirming Vancouver's postindustrial character has been well discussed in several theses and papers on Vancouver's inner city.⁶ These studies have frequently attempted to "read" the landscape, to discuss both how underlying values have shaped the landscape (Ley 1980, 1987a) and how these values are, in turn, reflected in the community that has resulted (Mills 1988).⁷ This research will examine the changing social characteristics of specific inner city neighbourhoods, drawing on this literature, and other sources including magazines and newspapers.

⁶ Particularly useful are Hardwick 1974, Stobie 1979, Ley 1980, 1981, 1987a, Fujii 1981, Barman 1986, and Mills 1986, 1988.

⁷ The "reading of the landscape," an important tradition in geography, emphasizes that "the culture of any nation is unintentionally reflected in its landscape" (Lewis 1979, 15). See also Jackson 1970, Meinig 1979, Rose 1980, and Duncan and Duncan 1988.

The neighbourhoods under study, Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey, were identified in the introduction to this thesis. To briefly summarize, they were chosen because they are adjacent to each other in the inner-city, share commonalities in their beginnings, and yet have evolved uniquely over this century. Their boundaries are identified in Figure 1, on page 15. Along the south shore of Burrard Inlet, these communities were all settled within a period of twenty or thirty years as streetcar suburbs, predominantly for middle-income families. However as Vancouver evolved during the course of this century, each community experienced unique changes. These transitions, studied in concert with the religious changes in each community, will provide interesting opportunities to compare and contrast social and religious changes.

B. Historical Overview of the Study Neighbourhoods

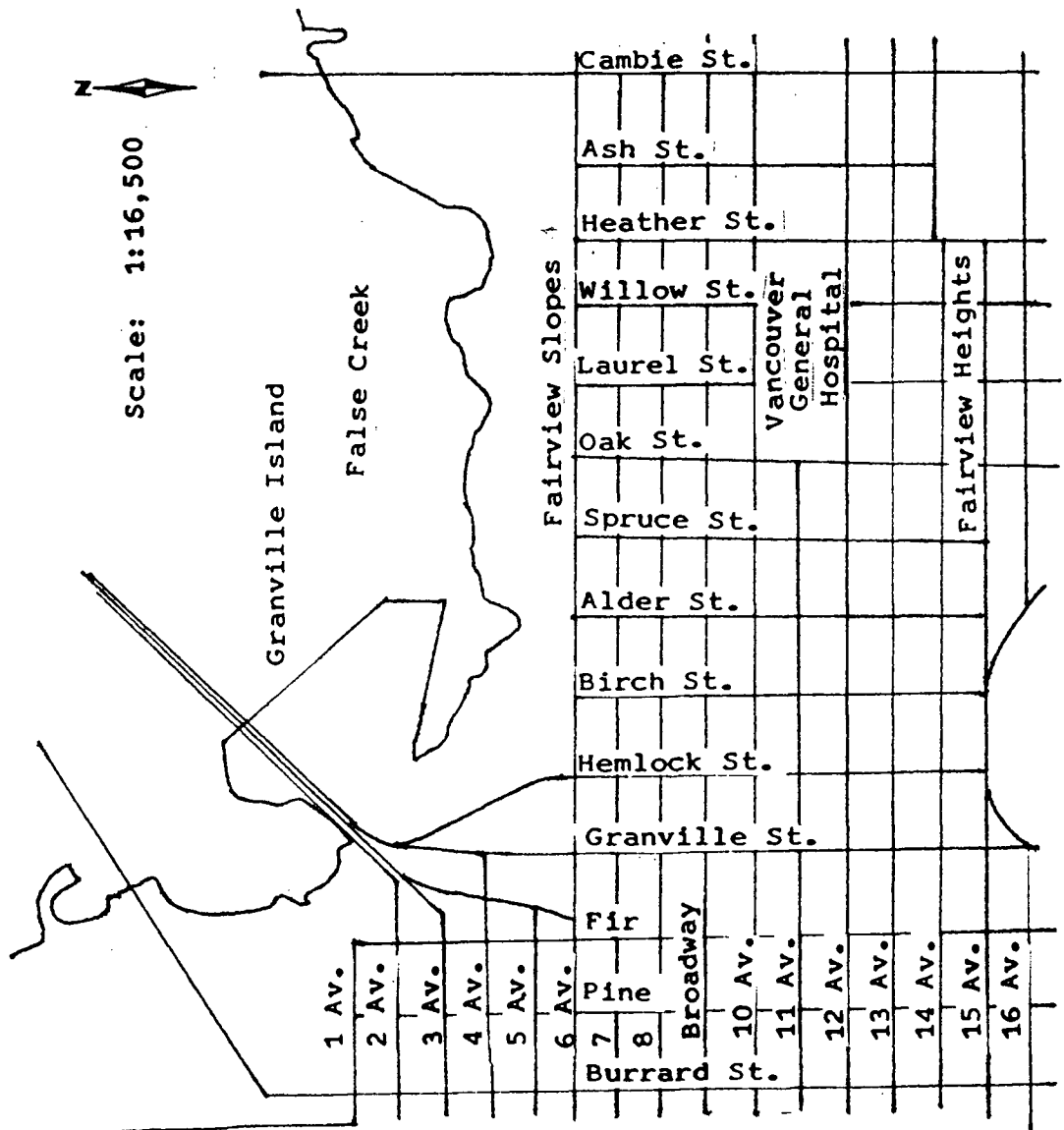
1. Fairview

Before settlement, the south shore of False Creek was largely a dense, uninhabited forest. Matthews (1932) recalls a small sawmill, Tait's Mill, built early in the 1880's, but that, with a logging trail along present day Seventh Avenue, constituted the development in the area until 1887 when Canadian Pacific Railway land commissioner Lachlan A. Hamilton completed the first survey of the south shore of Vancouver's False Creek in preparation for an auction of much of the property. Taken by the lovely view north across False Creek, the city, and toward the Coast Mountains, Hamilton named the district "Fairview."

In 1888 T.F. McGuigan, the city clerk, placed an advertisement in the Daily News-Advertiser for tenders for the construction of a drawbridge

Figure 2:

Fairview



across False Creek; by 1889 the bridge was built on the site of the present Granville Bridge. By 1890 a map was produced of the new area and lots were auctioned off for development by anxious land developers who emphasized the natural beauty of the area. At that time, Fairview became one of the first areas south of False Creek opened up for development and settlement.

The description of Fairview as "a gentle slope rising from the waters of English Bay" represented a salesman's fancy; few slopes were gentle and the neighbourhood had a better view of the False Creek industrial area than the English Bay beaches. Nevertheless a widely advertised auction sold 314 lots at an average price of \$378.93 each. (Roy 1980, 30)

Within a year twenty houses were built or under construction, the Connaught Bridge (on the site of the present Cambie Street Bridge) was completed and streetcars were servicing the area. Propelled by the housing needs of employees at the mill, the Fairview carline, and other factors, settlement proceeded quickly. Initially it clustered around Third Avenue and the Granville Bridge, then gradually spread, principally along Third Avenue (Matthews 1932, 2, 310). When Seventh Avenue was improved to connect Mount Pleasant with North Arm Road (Granville Street), development blossomed along that axis. The area was quickly settled.

Describing early Fairview, a journalist wrote,

One of the finest suburbs of Vancouver in the 1890's was that part of Fairview between Broadway and False Creek and Cambie to Pine Street ... back of Broadway was a forest of towering trees. Fairview had a beautiful view of the mountains and overlooked the waters of False Creek which gently lapped sandy shores. Imagine if you can a False Creek with no industry, except a boat building concern or two on Granville Island (Sun, March 25, 1948)

Although this writer may have made Fairview sound more utopian than it actually was, for modest industry such as Tait's Mill had existed on the shores of False Creek since the 1880s, early Fairview was a very desirable residential neighbourhood. Many large, attractive homes were built in the

area including that of Province publisher and Lieutenant-Governor W.C. Nichol, built in 1891. Fairview developed as a "streetcar suburb" where well-off citizens could dwell out of the centre of the city yet be able to commute easily into the core to transact business. Less fashionable than the West End, Fairview's land prices, taxes, and terms of payment made it accessible to respectable persons such as clerks and artisans. At the turn of the century, with streets still muddy, water supply poor, and sidewalks deplorable if in existence at all, Fairview was the fastest growing district in the city. By 1907, furnished with new, well-graded streets, sidewalks, and a water system the area was one of the most desirable residential neighbourhoods.

Meanwhile government authorities chose the area for the location for two important civic institutions. In 1902 two blocks were purchased for a hospital; in 1903 land was also purchased for a new Vancouver High School on Oak Street. Regarding the selection of Fairview as the site for the hospital, then Mayor T.F. Neelands recalled,

"We looked at two sites across False Creek; one in Mt. Pleasant, one in Fairview ... that was in 1901 ... At that time, of course, Mt. Pleasant and Fairview were leading residential districts. There were no such places as Kitsilano, Shaughnessy, Kerrisdale, Grandview, or Hastings as we know them today, and the West End was sparsely populated ... The Fairview site was more accessible on account of the bridges, and its position central to the density of population ... Then, again, remember, we had nothing to go on other than our idea of what a wilderness might grow into." (Matthews 1932, 5, 149).

However as residential development boomed on the Fairview slopes and, later also south of Broadway, industrial development along the shores of False Creek began to grow rapidly. Just as the lumber industry gave rise to Vancouver from its humble beginnings around Stamp's Mill, the sawmill and log booming industry were the enterprises first developed around False

Creek, later to be complemented by other heavy industries (Gourley 1988). And, "combined with the creek-cum-sewer outfall which drained at the foot of Ash Street, these smoke-belchers (the sawmills) quickly took the shine off the area" (Kluckner 1984, 149).

At the end of the last century there were shingle mills, shipbuilding facilities, steel construction plants and a plethora of smokestacks and beehive burners from the sawmills crowded around the inlet ... the section of False Creek below Fairview became an increasing tangle of factories, wharves, train sidings and squatters' shacks (Andrew and Stuart Stubbs 1976, 80).

Until World War Two, industry, including "sawmills, foundries, shipyards, engine manufacturers, concrete plants and a cooperage ... located alongside warehouses and rail yards," and adjacent workers' housing dominated False Creek and north Fairview, the Slopes (Hardwick 1988, 347). In the industrial city of Vancouver, the central location of these industries in close proximity to each other and labour, are natural. In south Fairview, the Fairview Heights area, conditions were less deteriorated, but apartments quickly replaced many of the original houses in the area.

However with the advent of this rampant industrial development and the opening up of new, particularly middle and high income, residential areas to the west in Shaughnessy, Kitsilano and Point Grey the upper and middle class residents began to move from Fairview. In the filtering process that ensued, the housing stock in Fairview began to decline. Several tenements providing the poorest of accommodation in tiny apartments were built along the slopes to house Japanese and other immigrant workers employed in the sawmills and shipyards. Other houses aged, property values dropped as the wealthy moved to Shaughnessy, to be succeeded by lower middle class residents. By 1934, "the only signs that it had once been an elite

neighborhood were the rambling old houses built with an impressive view of Vancouver city centre and the North Shore Mountains" (Burdett 1975, 8).

During and after the Second World War many of the larger homes still existing were converted to multi-household units; by 1951 almost 75% of the dwellings in the area were apartments, rooms or suites (Table IV). Many houses or buildings, owned by absentee landlords, began to deteriorate physically. Those families with the financial ability left the area, resulting in a declining proportion of children. Fairview had rates of singles and divorcees well above the city average and also contained a strong ethnic Asian component (mainly Japanese and East Indian) until the 1940s when the Japanese were removed and interned in the Interior.

During the 1940s while private developers redeveloped the West End and government investment enhanced Strathcona, the industrial slums of northern Fairview became Vancouver's worst residential district (Stobie 1979). In 1972, a resident writes,

Along West Seventh Avenue, on the Fairview Slopes, the roadway is full of potholes, its unpaved shoulders littered with shabby vehicles. A tangle of utility wires obtrudes overhead. Windows of shabby houses are propped open with bottles, and front porches are often repositories for old gas stoves and worn-out furniture. Cats proliferate and hungry dogs ravage the garbage cans, leaving squalor on the sidewalks. (Sterne 1972)

Through the 1960s and 1970s as the housing stock declined, the proportion of children in the area continued to drop. Singles of diverse ethnic origins, often employed in lower paid white collar and blue collar jobs, earning substantially less than the city average, and living in old apartment blocks or subdivided houses characterized Fairview. Many seniors, often widowed, lived in the area also, generally in apartments in

Table IV:

Population characteristics of Fairview, 1931-1986

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Population	17,998	20,099	20,677	19,186	16,070	17,490	20,945
Family status (%)							
persons under 15	21.1	15.2	13.3	13.7	5.8	5.3	5.9
persons 15-24	19.8	17.5	15.5	15.7	23.1	14.5	13.0
persons 25-34	14.3	19.4	18.5	16.1	17.5	28.4	31.0
persons 35-44	15.4	12.9	14.7	13.2	8.2	11.2	17.0
persons 45-54	15.2	12.9	12.2	13.2	11.1	11.2	8.3
persons 55-64	8.0	12.1	10.8	11.0	12.9	10.3	8.0
persons over 65	3.2	10.1	14.9	16.5	21.4	21.8	16.6
15+ never married	37.2	35.7	31.5	33.6	37.7	38.9	41.1
15+ separated, divorced	0.3	2.9	2.0	n/a	9.8	12.9	15.7
15+ widowed	6.6	9.6	11.4	13.0	14.4	13.3	9.5
15+ married	55.7	51.8	55.1	50.1	38.2	34.9	33.4
childless families	n/a	n/a	55.6	56.4	78.3	78.4	75.5
average household size	n/a	n/a	2.9	2.8	1.7	1.5	1.6
Ethnicity (%)							
British	80.5	74.3	67.0	56.3	62.4	53.4	n/a
northern European	5.7	6.7	12.1	15.3	13.6	9.8	n/a
southern European	1.8	3.0	5.1	6.2	6.3	5.5	n/a
other European	2.1	3.4	12.2	17.2	8.3	12.2	n/a
Asian	6.7	7.8	1.9	3.9	4.8	8.4	n/a
other	3.2	4.8	1.7	1.1	4.6	10.7	n/a
Occupation (%)							
class 1	n/a	n/a	20.7	24.7	25.7	32.9	44.8
class 2	n/a	n/a	43.2	45.4	47.4	46.4	43.8
class 3	n/a	n/a	35.7	26.4	26.9	20.7	11.4
median earnings (\$)	n/a	n/a	1841	2860	3798	13307	18805
ratio (Fairview/Vanc)	n/a	n/a	0.88	0.86	0.85	1.20	1.38
labour force ratio (m/f)	n/a	n/a	1.25	0.97	0.85	0.84	0.79
university education	n/a	9.7	10.1	8.7	20.9	37.6	44.0
Dwellings (%)							
single detached	n/a	n/a	26.6	23.0	6.0	3.8	1.6
apartment, condominium	n/a	n/a	73.4	77.0	89.7	95.3	97.7
owned	n/a	n/a	26.4	14.5	6.8	16.6	18.5
rented	n/a	n/a	73.6	85.5	93.1	83.4	81.5
average rent (\$)	n/a	n/a	40	74	137	406	634
ratio (Fairview/Vanc)	n/a	n/a	0.93	0.96	1.04	1.12	1.18

Source: Census of Canada, 1931-1986.

the Fairview Heights area, between West Sixteenth and West Broadway, from Fir to Cambie Streets.

However during the late 1960s and 1970s the charm of the old houses, the view of the mountains, and the low rents attracted many new residents who chose to live in the area because of its amenities (MacRae 1973). Young people, students and artists moved into the community. These were followed by the "arty" or "in" people (Sterne 1972). At least one communal house at 954 West Seventh Avenue "was both famous and notorious for sheltering as many as six well-known Canadian writers and their ancillary lovers at the same time" including George Payerle and Susan Musgrave (Twigg 1986, 64). Exemplifying the changing social character of the neighbourhood, the population with some university education jumped from 8.7% to 20.9% between 1961 and 1971 in Fairview. In 1972 Fairview was characterized as "a slum with a view" whose social atmosphere was changing from "one of roughness, hopelessness, (and) delinquency to one of youthful optimism":

Who lives here? Blue-collar and white collar workers, welfare recipients, aged pensioners, a colorful percentage of "free youth," also students, artists, musicians, craftsmen, an anthropologist, a social worker, an architect, a professional engineer, a writer, a nutritionist, a UBC English teacher. (Sterne 1972)

However Sterne also anticipated the impending gentrification of the area prophesying that Fairview would eventually become "so fashionable that only the affluent could afford to live there;" a prophetic insight into the development that has occurred since then.

In 1970 the city planning department declared the area "an eyesore and detriment to the metropolitan area" (City of Vancouver 1970), incongruent with the "livable city" ideology of the civic administration. The False

Creek industrial area, Granville Island and the south shore waterfront, underused since 1960, were redeveloped in the largest inner city project in Canada. The remnants of industry which had either relocated to the suburbs or was archaic and uncompetitive were converted into commercial uses and medium density residential units replete with parkland, waterfront access, and "people places." Residential densities were kept low, mixed uses emphasized, social housing integrated with market units, and the natural amenities of the area enhanced in a dramatic transition of the False Creek waterfront from the city's sewer to the city's showpiece (Ley 1980, Gourley 1988).⁸

The slopes above the waterfront were similarly transformed, this time by private capital during the late 1970s and 1980s. In the mid 1970s the Fairview Slopes consisted of "about 145 houses (many converted to rooming houses) with a few old apartment buildings on the peripheries" and a population of "about 500 persons," but by 1986 the slopes were "dominated by approximately 80 completed new apartment and condominium developments, ranging in size from two to over 70 units each, with 10 more currently under construction ... the population is probably in the range of 1500 to 2000 persons" (Mills 1986, 21). These changes have been linked to changing city zoning policies, the redevelopment of False Creek, speculation by

⁸. While Hardwick (1988) contends that these changes are a consequence of land economics in an era of declining urban industry, Ley (1980), and more recently Barnes (1987) suggest a liberal ideology emphasizing aesthetic values and livability were more critical factors. Both economic and aesthetic ethics, Barnes (1988) argues, are involved, for "to understand the locale of False Creek one must take into account a number of different processes" including both economic rationality and the rise of a "new class" with changed consumption habits (349). This supports Campbell's (1987) thesis of changing modes of production and consumption in modern society, of rational puritanism and romanticism coexisting in post-industrial culture.

developers, proximity of the Fairview Slopes to downtown and the Broadway corridor, and the amenities of views, nearby parks, beaches, shopping, and entertainment which appear to be in increasing demand in post-industrial society (Fujii 1981, Lum 1984, Mills 1986, 1988). Surveys of residents determined that the overwhelming motivation for persons to live in the False Creek/Fairview Slopes areas were natural, social and cultural amenities and location, specifically views, access to downtown, the attractiveness of the development, proximity to work, the waterfront, recreation and cultural activities and the "special character" of the neighbourhood. These values typify those of post-industrial culture identified previously (Vischer Skaburskis 1980, 36, Fujii 1981, 136).

That the Fairview Slopes have changed physically is undeniable.

The old Fairview - with its trees, its yards and its houses - is gone. A new Fairview is emerging. Trees and yards are a rarity, houses have become "units" and the streets no longer talk to us in a familiar voice ... To some Fairview is a horror story unfolding in our midst. To others, it is an exciting review of the kinds of urban living Vancouver can offer as it grows and changes (Pettit 1983).

The "old, ramshackle houses" have been replaced by "luxury" apartments, condominiums and townhouses whose standard decor includes floor to ceiling, wall to wall windows, gazebos, decks, skylights, eight appliances and, ironically recalling the bulldozed past, many are equipped with "real wood burning fireplaces;" "there are even 9 different fireplace styles to choose from" in André Molnar's Galleria II (The West Ender 1986). Mills (1988) emphasizes the exclusive nature of the community and thoroughly discusses its flamboyant architecture in relation to advertising and marketing strategies in the area and the lifestyle of its residents. Similar changes

are occurring in the Fairview Heights area in south Fairview, suggesting that this area may soon resembles the Slopes.

That this change on the Slopes is for the better is less certain.

While a Vancouver historian writes,

Now Fairview Slopes may finally fulfil its name ... (it is) becoming, more permanently, one can hope, a residential area of distinction, encompassing condominiums, apartments, mews and some skillful conversions and adaptations of older buildings to contemporary residential and some office usage. Scattered throughout the area are the few survivors from the early days. They now have a new lease on life ... they bring an authentic quality and style that contrasts sharply with the pastiches of post-modern architecture (McCann 1983).

Others, including long time resident Netta Sterne quoted earlier, have lamented the unchecked demolition of older, character homes and blatant disregard for zoning by-laws (Ford 1980, O'Brien 1980). The main reasons that attracted residents to the area in the 1960s and 1970s were the low rents, the old heritage houses, mostly built between 1898 and 1904, and the panoramic views of the water, city, and mountains, arguably all destroyed by recent developments. Although complaints about the loss of affordable housing have been few and isolated (Smith 1976, Vancouver Sun 1974), the reality of the loss of affordable inner city rental accommodation certainly exists. The old houses have been largely demolished, less than fifty remaining on the Fairview Slopes by 1986 (Mills 1986), while the entire Fairview community consisted of 97.7% apartments, condominiums, townhouses or suites by 1986. Although one of the prerequisites for building beyond the 0.6 floor-space-ratio restriction in the area, theoretically, is an enhancement of amenity or provision of a view corridor, buildings are routinely approved up to 1.5 f-s-r, leading occupants of such oversize buildings, ironically, to complain of others of the same ilk being built

blocking their views; "if Arthur Erickson took away 20 percent of your view, would you be upset?" (Ballantyne 1987b, 3; also Ballantyne 1987a). With similar changes accelerating in the Heights, between Broadway and Sixteenth Avenue, similar issues are being faced and similar policies appear to dominate (City of Vancouver 1988a).

This new landscape has both responded to and fostered a new community in Fairview. The built environment and social world of the south shore of False Creek is the product of a liberal political ideology and consumption philosophy, which emphasizes refined architectural styles and luxury units (Ley 1980, 1987a, Mills 1986, 1988). "False Creek, and especially Granville Island, is a landscape for a lifestyle, the lifestyle of the new middle class" (Ley 1987a, 48). This new middle class of young urban professionals and "expressive professionals," as discussed earlier, has become part of late twentieth century mythology, and certainly a dominant culture of the Fairview Slopes. The veracity of the yuppie/empty nester stereotype has been amply demonstrated in Fairview through studies of population characteristics, revealing inordinate numbers of young, well-educated, professionally employed singles or childless couples with high disposable incomes, substantially higher than the city average, through studies of the marketing strategies of developers, explicitly appealing to the status consciousness and consumption characteristics of these young professionals (Mills 1986, 1988), and through general observations of the character of the neighbourhood.

Transience is high, in 1981 less than 15% of Fairview Slopes residents lived in the same residence they had lived five years previously (Mills 1986, 22). This corner of Fairview has experienced the greatest increase

in social status between 1971 and 1981 of any community in the city (Ley 1985, 91); in that decade those employed in class 1 occupations increased from 14% to 44% of the workforce, while by 1981 43% had some university education (Mills 1986, 23). The gentrifiers of the slopes have been described as "oriented towards a career of consumption rather than towards the family unit ... although some Fairview Slopes residents find their energies directed totally to building their careers, many exhibit characteristics of 'conspicuous consumption'" (Mills 1986, 23). It is a community where, "everybody works. There are few children to mind the streets and no grannies to mind the children" (Pettit 1983). "Many couples are of a dual-career type, both partners pursuing careers which require a high level of commitment" (Mills 1988, 181). This lifestyle is reinforced by a housing industry emphasizing career, success, and leisure (Mills 1988).

Although most studies to date have emphasized the Fairview Slopes neighbourhood, Fairview Heights, between Broadway and Sixteenth Avenues, is beginning to experience a similar transition. City planning guidelines for the area are similar to those for the Slopes (City of Vancouver 1988a), and condominium and townhouse construction is spreading throughout the neighbourhood. Consequently as Table IV illustrates, the entire Fairview community increasingly approximates the characteristics of the Slopes identified by Mills (1986, 1988). By 1986, 94% of Fairview's population were adults, almost 65% of whom were under 45 years of age, and only 33% of whom were married. Of married couples, over 75% were childless. Both median earnings and median rents now exceed the city average by considerable margins, dramatic reversals from fifty years earlier.

Occupationally, in the recent years the percentage of professionals has mushroomed from 26% in 1971 to 33% in 1981 and 45% in 1986, while the percentage of class 3 workers has plummeted. Figures for those with some university education have grown similarly, to 44% of the adult population in 1986.

On the 1986 census the area of post secondary qualification was included for the first time, providing further insight into the character of the community.

Table V

Areas of post secondary qualification, Fairview, 1986

Education, religion, counselling	8.1
Fine/applied arts	7.6
Humanities and related fields	9.8
Social sciences and related fields	12.4
Commerce, business management	23.0
Agriculture, biology and related fields	5.8
Engineering and applied sciences	13.3
Health	16.1
Mathematics and physical sciences	3.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1986.

In comparison with the city as a whole, Fairview has considerably higher levels of persons qualified in commerce and business management and health fields and lower proportions of persons trained in engineering and applied science. In a neighbourhood dominated by downtown white collar employment and employment focussed on Vancouver General Hospital and related health facilities, these results are not surprising.

Significantly, Fairview has a surprisingly small Asian population; according to a local real estate agent this is related to the preference of most Asians for residential locations in other neighbourhoods of the city.

In particular most Asians prefer residences in more southern neighbourhoods of the city for cultural reasons.

With dramatic shifts in the residential landscape of Fairview, the retail landscape has also changed. Between 1970 and 1988, the commercial district of West Broadway between Cambie and Oak Streets experienced a 90% turnover in businesses. In 1970 that strip had three restaurants, one pizza parlour and one coffee shop, by 1988 the same area boasted twenty restaurants, neighbourhood pubs serving food, and other eateries, at least nine serving ethnic food, plus three muffin or sandwich shops. On Sundays, brunch reservations are required at many venues and parking is at a premium. These characteristics and values mirror those of the post-industrial culture balancing between economic rationality and conspicuous consumption, attributes of gentrifiers identified earlier in Chapter Two, and caricatured by Piesman and Hartley (1984).

Bridges Pub, a former Arrow Transfer warehouse on Granville Island, now decorated with relics of vanished False Creek's industry and one of the hottest night spots in Fairview, parodies the transition of the community as a whole from its rough, industrial past to an exclusive, sophisticated and professional present.

The Bridges: Imaginatively designed, carefully built, spectacularly situated. A clear demonstration of what style and urbanity are all about. (Kennedy et al 1983, 23)

Fairview, particularly the south shore of False Creek and the Slopes, increasingly followed by the Heights, epitomize a gentrified neighbourhood. Close to the white collar employment centres of the downtown and the Broadway corridor, on the downtown side of the high status Shaughnessy district, possessing architecturally acclaimed residential units possessing

the amenities of views and water access, Fairview also exhibits population characteristics appropriate to a gentrifying community, large numbers of small households of young or older professionals with few children enjoying the amenities of inner city living.

2. Kitsilano

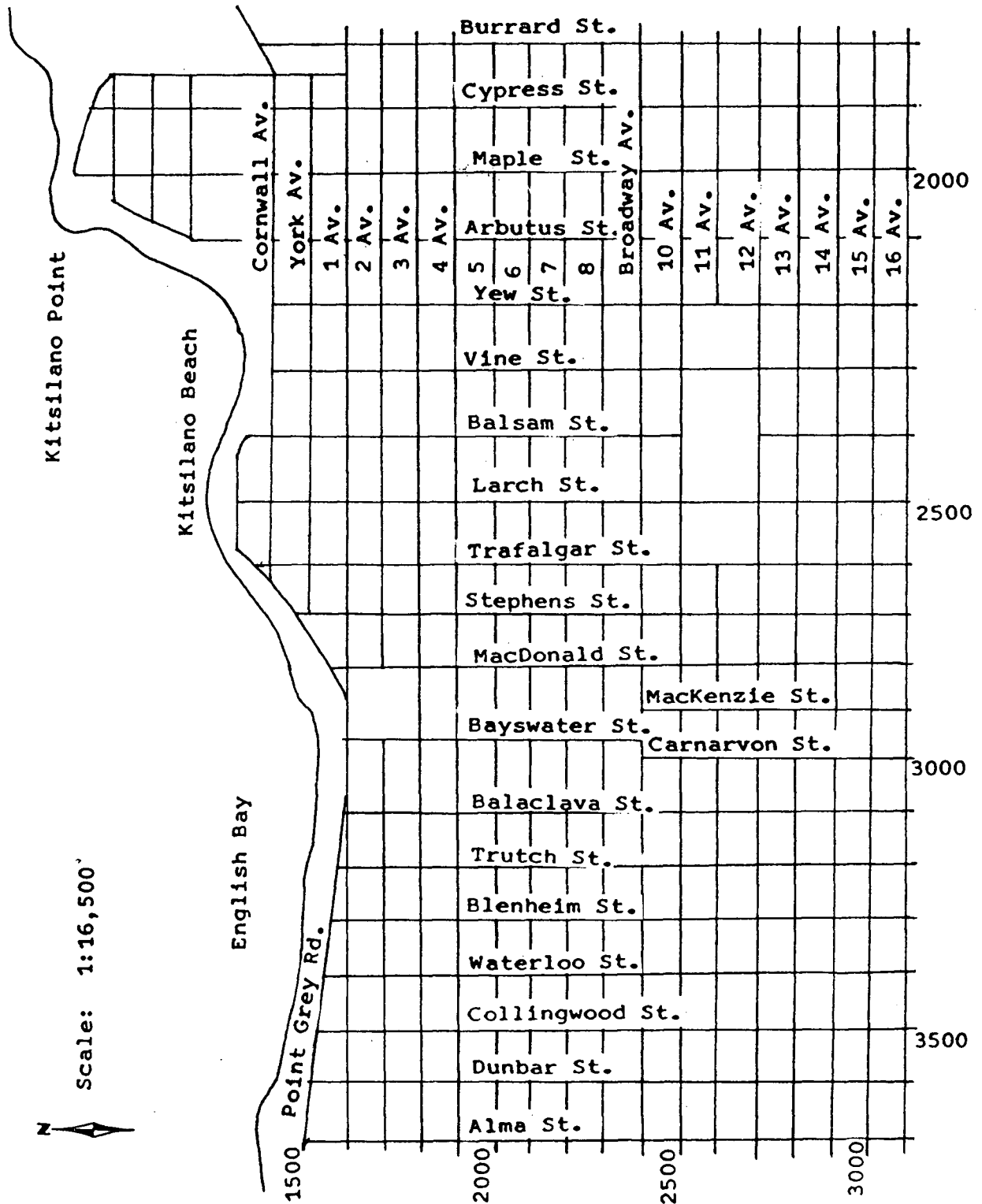
The first residents of the area now known as Kitsilano were Coast Salish Indians who lived in the village of Snauq on what is now Kitsilano Point. They prospered amid a plentiful supply of elk, beaver, deer, duck, salmon, and cedar (Matthews 1932, 2, 32). The area was virtually undisturbed by Europeans until 1861 when Colonel Moody's Royal Engineers constructed a road from New Westminster to the newly appropriated military reserve in Point Grey, opening the area for commercial logging.

European settlement began with Sam Greer who, in 1884, bought 320 acres from the local Indians (Light 1958). However in 1885 a Crown grant gave the Canadian Pacific Railway 6000 acres, including Greer's property; he was ordered to relinquish a third of each block to the railway. In defiance of the railway, Greer resisted authorities at shotgun point, was imprisoned, and lost his land.

Further development of the area, known as Greer's Beach, was limited by its isolation from the rest of the city. The Granville Bridge, opened in 1888, permitted a trickle of residents to cross False Creek and settle in the east end of Kitsilano close to the bridge (Matthews 1932, 2, 310). In 1905 the B.C. Electric Railway Company began a streetcar service from the West End to Kitsilano Beach at the foot of Balsam Street, which, combined with the new Kitsilano trestle, encouraged further development.

Figure 3:

Kitsilano



These early residents represented many social classes, including professionals, middle class and working class people (Table VI, Carr 1980, 26).

Table VI:

Social status of Kitsilano residents 1900-1980 (%)

Social Status	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Professionals	-	34	32	29	19	14	15	25	36
Middle class	13	19	30	15	15	16	16	20	31
Working class	87	47	32	41	43	43	39	35	20
Retired/widow	-	-	6	14	22	24	27	10	6
Student	-	-	-	1	1	3	3	10	7

(City Directory data from a six block sample throughout the area; from Carr 1980, 27, and directories)

Through the early twentieth century, Greer's Beach remained a popular recreation site. However in the early decades of the twentieth century the community also became more established and local institutions arose to service it. In 1906 the first school was built at Yew and West Fourth, followed shortly by several churches, clustering near the south end of the Burrard Bridge, which will be discussed in Chapter Four. Being a major landowner, the C.P.R. vigorously promoted development of the area, although under the new name "Kitsilano" (an anglicization of the name of Squamish Indian chief Khaatsa-lag-nough) as the name "Greer's Beach" had obvious unpleasant historical associations for the railway. Officially the new name was adopted first in 1905 by the new sub post office and the streetcar to the beach. With the rapid development of the community, local residents, perhaps following in the footsteps of Sam Greer, became active in community issues and established close community networks. By 1908 residents had successfully lobbied for a ban on summer tents on Kitsilano

Beach to quell the perceived negative effect of a growing number of transients flocking to the beach and to preserve and enhance a favourable family environment (Stewart 1956).

The period immediately preceding the First World War was a real estate boom as wealth from the Klondike Gold Rush, the opening of the Panama Canal, and federal government policies favouring immigration contributed to dramatic growth in the city (Nicolls 1954, Matthews 1932,1). Although the development of Kitsilano was initially restricted by accessibility, the extension of the Fourth Avenue Streetcar by 1909 as far as Alma encouraged settlement along this axis. But it was not until 1927 that most of the area was settled (Carr 1980, 40). Settlement, however, was not homogeneous throughout the area, for city zoning regulations provided for five different lot sizes within Kitsilano, the largest in the west, the smallest (hence the highest densities) in the east. These zoning bylaws permitted the first three-story apartment blocks in 1909; over fifty such residences were scattered throughout eastern Kitsilano by 1927 (Carr 1980, 41-42). The Burrard Bridge, opened in 1932, allowed better access to downtown and encouraged high densities near its southern terminus. City Hall encouraged dense settlement, as early as 1929 anticipating that Kitsilano would have "the most concentrated population of the metropolitan area" (Bartholomew 1929, 203).

By the 1940s fundamental changes were beginning to occur in Kitsilano. In eastern Kitsilano, in particular, densities increased rapidly as larger homes were subdivided or demolished to make way for walk-up apartments. Through the 1950s and 1960s the housing stock declined with many homes over fifty years old and in need of improvement and renovation (Ley 1981, 133).

In the mid 60's (Kitsilano) ... was an old, established, ramshackle neighbourhood of large single-family houses (mainly dating from 1910), gardens enclosed in walls of Cornwall stone, and a few three storey wood-and-stucco apartment buildings with high-ceilinged, spacious suites. (Persky 1980)

The earlier single family homes which had attracted a mixture of residents to Kitsilano, both professionals and working class were becoming increasingly subdivided into suites or replaced by apartments and lodging houses, and the population was becoming increasingly working class and middle class, including students and retirees, and fewer professionals (Table VI, VII). "Socially it (Kitsilano in the mid 1960s) was a mixed working- and lower middle-class district with a large student population, many elderly people, and a good proportion of the city's artists and writers" (Persky 1980). Persky goes on to describe an eclectic mixture of millworkers, accountants, nurses, teachers, and families who lived in the area, a diverse neighbourhood of traditional conservative values coexisting with the radical lifestyles of the hippies.

Particularly in east Kitsilano the proportion of single person households or couples without children grew rapidly from the early 1960s. These younger persons, without family responsibilities and usually occupying rental units have been much more transient than the previous residents of Kitsilano. By 1971, 60% of residential units in Kitsilano were apartments, 60% of Kitsilano families were childless, and one third singles, "the schools are half empty (and) the church congregations are dwindling" (Gutstein 1975, 102).

As the number of children in Kitsilano has declined as families moved to the suburbs, they have been replaced by increasing numbers of young adults in their twenties and early thirties. In the late 1960s and

Table VII:

Population characteristics of Kitsilano, 1931-1986

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Population	28,107	31,385	35,475	36,171	33,905	30,270	32,075
Family status (%)							
persons under 15	23.2	16.5	16.6	18.2	13.5	8.6	8.6
persons 15-24	18.3	17.9	12.6	13.7	23.2	17.0	14.8
persons 25-34	14.4	18.2	18.2	15.5	20.8	33.9	32.8
persons 35-44	16.2	12.8	15.0	13.4	9.5	12.2	18.0
persons 45-54	15.2	13.5	11.8	13.2	10.1	7.7	7.2
persons 55-64	7.6	12.1	11.9	9.8	10.2	8.3	7.4
persons over 65	5.1	8.9	13.9	16.3	12.7	12.3	10.9
15+ never married	31.6	32.0	24.4	26.7	34.8	41.9	43.0
15+ separated, divorced	0.2	2.1	1.6	2.2	8.9	11.7	14.2
15+ widowed	6.3	8.4	10.6	12.4	9.2	6.7	5.5
15+ married	60.4	57.5	63.4	58.8	47.1	39.8	37.3
childless families	n/a	n/a	51.2	48.1	57.7	68.1	66.9
average household size	n/a	n/a	3.1	2.9	2.3	1.8	1.8
Ethnicity (%)							
British	89.6	83.4	76.7	65.2	59.6	53.9	n/a
northern European	4.6	5.0	6.9	13.4	13.5	9.8	n/a
southern European	1.6	2.2	3.4	4.6	10.3	9.3	n/a
other European	1.2	2.4	8.2	12.7	8.0	9.0	n/a
Asian	1.5	3.7	1.2	2.2	3.2	4.2	n/a
other	1.5	3.3	3.5	1.8	5.4	12.8	n/a
Occupation (%)							
class 1	n/a	n/a	21.2	21.9	23.5	40.5	43.2
class 2	n/a	n/a	47.7	49.1	48.8	44.0	43.3
class 3	n/a	n/a	30.1	26.4	27.7	15.3	13.5
median earnings (\$)	n/a	n/a	2094	3235	4323	13269	16879
ratio (Kitsilano/Vanc)	n/a	n/a	1.01	0.98	0.97	1.20	1.24
labour force ratio (m/f)	n/a	n/a	1.68	1.33	1.10	0.95	0.95
university education	n/a	8.7	12.1	9.0	25.9	42.9	48.1
Dwellings (%)							
single detached	n/a	n/a	48.6	41.1	26.7	25.7	16.0
apartment, condominium	n/a	n/a	51.4	58.9	72.3	74.2	83.9
owned	n/a	n/a	41.2	36.5	27.8	29.4	30.2
rented	n/a	n/a	58.8	63.5	72.2	70.6	69.8
average rent (\$)	n/a	n/a	52	89	140	385	584
ratio (Kitsilano/Vanc)	n/a	n/a	1.21	1.16	1.07	1.07	1.07

Source: Census of Canada, 1931-1986.

1970s, many of these individuals were involved in the counter culture, centred in Kitsilano, which earned Vancouver the accolade, "San Francisco North." The relatively inexpensive housing in boarding houses in close proximity to downtown, amenities (beaches), and the University of British Columbia, made Kitsilano, particularly Fourth Avenue, the hub of the hippie community.

It was the Kitsilano of headbands, feathers, and light shows at the Russian Community Centre on Fourth Avenue, and the Original Night Train Revue at the Blues Palace on Alma. There was the Advanced Mattress coffee house ... there was a biker's communal house on Fourth between the Advanced Mattress and the Chinese grocery ... which was a good place to score dope before that scene moved to Gastown. (Rossiter 1981, 26)

But during the 1970s Kitsilano began to change dramatically. "Speculators couldn't understand why all that valuable beachfront property should be the preserve of the motley mix inhabiting the area" (Persky 1980) and "eviction notices (became) a fact of life" (Macrae 1975) as speculators and developers began to transform Kitsilano.⁹ By the mid-1970s the hippie era had passed:

For Bob ("an aging hippie if ever there was one"), the "real" community of Fourth has gone; the transients and runaways, the coffee house scenes of Harry Krishna's Last Chance Saloon and the Village Bistro, Sleazy Snooker and Billiards, the White Rabbit (the late Russian Community Centre turned dance hall). (MacRae 1975)

Both Stobie (1979) and Ley (1981) document the changes that occurred as Kitsilano gentrified under the hammers of renovation and bulldozers of massive redevelopment. Typically,

The large house bought for a hefty \$40,000 in 1970 was sold to the developer for \$150,000, demolished and replaced by three or four townhouse units selling for up to a quarter of a million

⁹ John Gray's novel Dazzled (1984) is a brilliant account of the decline of the counter culture in Kitsilano in the late 1970s.

dollars each. The halfway house next door, where the well-mannered "juvenile delinquents" had found a measure of stability in their turbulent lives, was gone, and agents from Block Brothers were trying to find suitable upper middle-class professionals prepared to pay the going rate for "luxurious living" near the beach. (Persky 1980)

The destruction of the original housing stock and displacement of the former lower income tenants to be replaced with new multiple household units and wealthier occupants has led Ley to comment that, "in Kitsilano the condominium represents the landscape face of up-filtering and the embourgeoisement of the inner city" (1981, 133).

Kitsilano, like Fairview, has experienced largescale up-filtering and gentrification since the mid 1970s, although sometimes this has taken the form of renovation of older housing rather than the massive redevelopment characteristic of Fairview (Stobie 1979, Ley 1981). Kitsilano, with the Fairview Slopes, has experienced the highest increase in social status over the 1971 to 1981 decade in the city (Ley 1985, 90). Clearly reflecting the growth of quaternary service sector employment in the city, the proportion of Kitsilano residents with some university education grew from 26% in 1971 to over 48% in 1986 and the proportion of workers employed in managerial and professional (class 1) occupations grew from 23% in 1971 to 43% in 1986. Total white collar employment has grown to 87% in 1986 while blue collar employment has shrunk to a mere 13% of the workforce. Similarly the average income for Kitsilano has jumped dramatically to exceed the city average. Women have become a majority in the Kitsilano labour force.

It is interesting to contrast the post secondary qualifications of Kitsilano residents with those from Fairview (Table VIII). Kitsilano, being further from Vancouver General Hospital, has fewer health specialists than Fairview. But what is more fascinating is that Kitsilano also has a

smaller percentage trained in business related fields than Fairview, and more educated in the arts. Perhaps this reflects a slightly different aesthetic values than Fairview, more appreciative of the historic character of the neighbourhood rather than preferring modern architectural designs, which is reflected in the landscapes of the two communities. It may also reflect a closer proximity to the University of British Columbia. While Fairview's experience has been one of almost universal demolition and condominium construction, Kitsilano has experienced both renovation and redevelopment of existing older character housing.

Table VIII:

Areas of post secondary qualification, Kitsilano, 1986 (%)

Education, religion, counselling	9.3
Fine/applied arts	8.1
Humanities and related fields	10.2
Social sciences and related fields	15.2
Commerce, business management	19.3
Agriculture, biology and related fields	5.8
Engineering and applied sciences	15.9
Health	11.9
Mathematics and physical sciences	4.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1986.

As in Fairview, many of the Kitsilano gentrifiers are single (never married, separated, divorced and widowed). Singles account for over 60% of the adult population in the neighbourhood. Those that are married are frequently childless as both persons pursue career goals; the proportion of children dropped by almost 40%, from 13.5% to 8.6%, between 1971 and the 1980s. However the proportion of young adults has exploded to the extent that 65% of the population is between the ages of 15 and 44. In 1982 a fourteen year resident recalled that "There's hardly any kids here now.

There's a lot of single people here now," while a man just finished a tennis game, sitting on a curb near the beach observes that Kitsilano is "a relaxed, young people's community" (Long 1982). The clientele of Darby D. Dawes, the "smooth, sociable, stylish" neighbourhood pub at Fourth and MacDonald, epitomizes Kitsilano of the 1980s:

Tidy, casually dressed patrons, predominantly in their twenties and thirties, with a smattering of older hobnobbers. Groups, singles, and unharried braces of unattached young ladies all enjoy this "licensed social centre" in the West Kitsilano area. (Kennedy et al 1983, 27)

The coffee houses of the 1960s, "the macramé and gumboots outlook," and the era in which the once perfected art of "hanging out" flourished have been replaced by purposeful shopping in frozen yogurt shops, exclusive clothing stores, and regular visits to fitness clubs, tanning salons, and the pastel umbrellas of designer burger and spirits emporia.

The thriving social institutions of this new Kitsilano are the health and fitness clubs, neighbourhood pubs, and other eateries. Wholesale changes in the commercial landscape of West Fourth Avenue between Burrard and MacDonald has seen the seven cafés and restaurants present in 1970 replaced by thirty one restaurants and other eating establishments in 1988 (at least eight ethnic groups represented), plus ten specialty food stores, four sports and outdoor equipment shops, three video stores, five fitness, beauty spa or massage centres, and even three specialty bedding and futon businesses. Rossiter (1981) claims that "the discovery of cappuccino west of Commercial Drive" marked the passing of the Kitsilano of the counter-culture and the emergence of a new Kitsilano, the Kitsilano of a new urban elite. Seven health clubs are located in Kitsilano, prompting one journalist to remark:

Something else arrived in Kitsilano with the latest invasion of those busy, upwardly-mobile and success-driven young urban professionals. Along with their Volvos, BMWs and love for all things trendy, they have brought with them their devotion to their bodies, manifested in the current fitness craze which has infected much of Kitsilano, and turning what was once described as a mellow Haight-Ashbury north into a Canadian fitness and health mecca. (Schmidt 1985)

For many Kitsilano residents, as suggested by Burnett and Bush (1986), physical fitness and recreation is an important part of their lifestyle. Physical appearance is important to the extent that, "if your winter skin isn't cooperating as much as you'd like, or if you just don't have time to lie out and absorb the rays, a session at Salon Yorkville could make you look like a sun worshipper without even setting foot on the beach" (West Ender 1987). Ron Zalko, owner of the largest fitness centre, describes his clientele, saying,

We have lots of Yuppies because it's more in style here - trendy. These people want to look good, feel good, "make it." To be more successful, more creative, the body has to get in shape too. (quoted in Schmidt 1985)

Supporting Burnett and Bush, Zalko proudly claims that fitness centres also provide a key social role in the community, crediting twelve marriages in six months to his club (Schmidt 1985).

However the commonly acknowledged social hubs of Kitsilano are the licensed restaurants, eateries, and neighbourhood pubs (of which there are five). Bimini's, described by reviewers as "modish; a single's meeting place ... where the accent is on encounter, and even the old seem young," (Kennedy et al 1983), while Jerry's Cove, in West Kitsilano,

is rarely quiet ...a few of the afternoon faithful are reminders of the long-haired sixties, but a dirt-under-the-fingernails crowd arrives later, weary from renovating the aging houses of Kitsilano. Aussie, Kiwi, British and homegrown nail bangers are joined by rugby and sailing lads. Girls' grass-hockey teams are a frequent sight. Women enjoy the change from the more aggressive

meeting places, students from the nearby University of British Columbia migrate upstairs to resolve the conflicts of the lecture hall, while the bar intellectuals hold forth in the corners. (Kennedy et al 1983, 28-29)

Bimini's, Darby D. Dawes and the other pubs and restaurants do a booming business with lineups most evenings and Sunday and holiday brunches and lunches.

Like Fairview, Kitsilano has become a gentrified neighbourhood. Although Kitsilano has a different biography progressing through the heyday of the 1960s counterculture, and has undergone less massive redevelopment than Fairview, maintaining more single family homes and period architecture, the neighbourhood has been altered profoundly. Residents are increasingly young, single or in small households, childless, and employed in white collar occupations. The changing retail landscape from the coffeehouses and macramé shops of the 1960s to the licensed restaurants, neighbourhood pubs, fitness clubs, and designer coffee bean shops of the 1980s attests to the prevalence of the culture of consumption in the community.

3. West Point Grey

Before the opening of the Fourth Avenue streetcar in 1909, West Point Grey was considered a remote wilderness and remained largely undeveloped with the exception of a few hardy pioneers. The area, initially named Langara by the Spanish explorers, was renamed Point Grey in 1793 by George Vancouver after a fellow Royal Navy captain and personal friend. Its dense forests and bogs were uninhabited by, and virtually unknown to white men until Jeremiah (Jerry) Rogers, a contemporary of Sewell Moody and Captain

Stamp, established a spar-camp in the area in the 1860s to supply timber for the Royal Navy and the newly established mills.

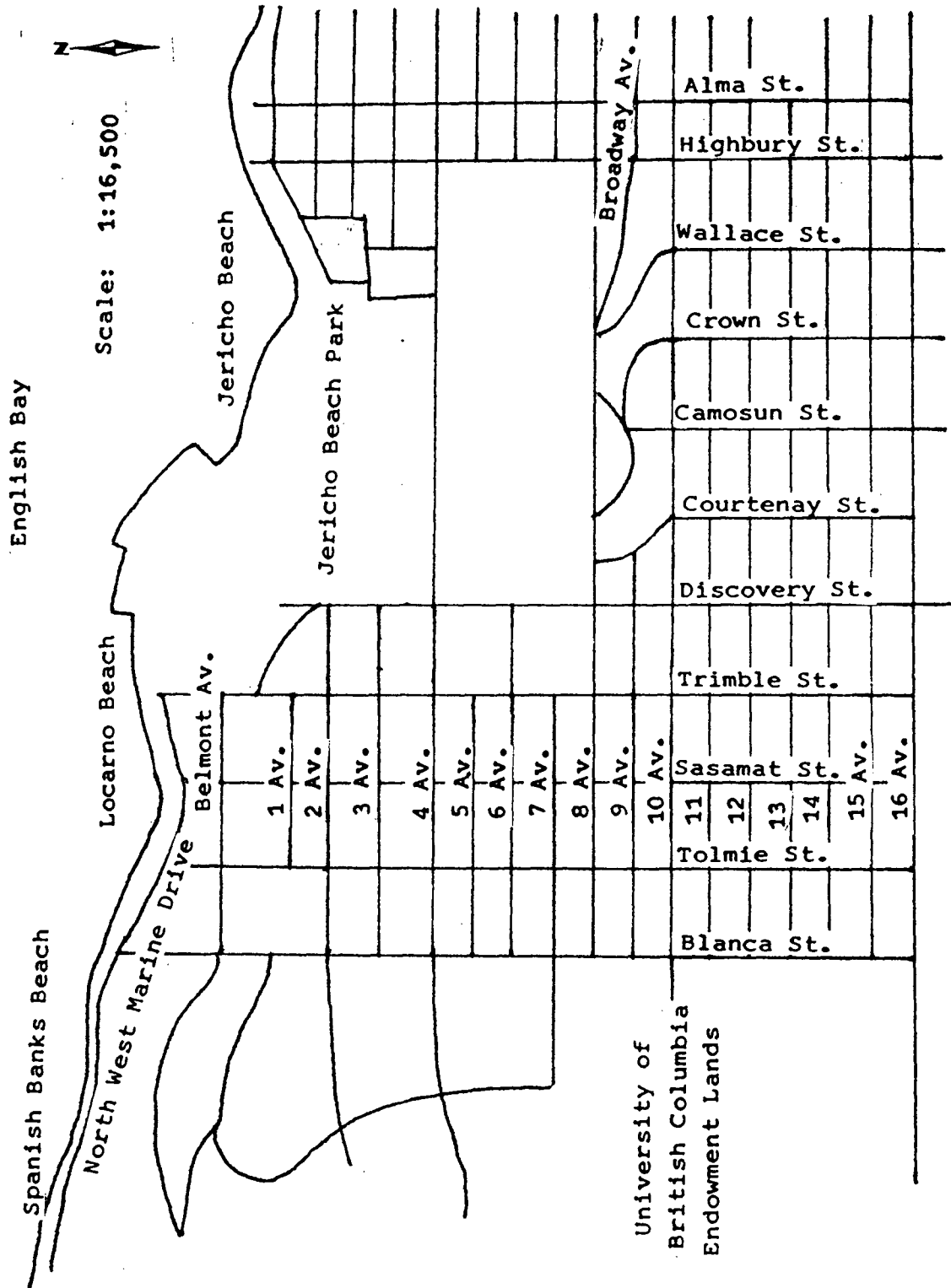
Rogers, born about 1820 in New Brunswick, came to the West Coast in 1858. His first business venture, with Captain Stamp on Vancouver Island, was a financial disaster. But when Stamp went bankrupt on the Alberni Canal and moved to the mainland, ultimately to found Hastings Mill and thereby Vancouver, Rogers followed and gained several contracts to supply spars. He chose Point Grey as his source of timber. Rogers' spars, legendary for their size, were in heavy demand by all the major navies of the world and even by the Emperor of China as beams for his palace. Jerry Rogers built a house near Colonel Moody's Admiralty Reserve, close to what is now "Jericho" (a corruption of "Jerry's Cove," commemorated in the name of the pub to the east, in Kitsilano). As an entrepreneur and innovator Rogers designed his own axe heads, decrying standard axes as woefully inadequate for the huge trees in Point Grey (Kluckner 1984, 176), built his own tug, and introduced steam tractors (initially imported for the Cariboo goldfields) into the woods as skidders (Morley 1961, 29). When Rogers died in 1879, and his partner Angus Fraser took over the operation, Point Grey was still largely uninhabited except for the small logging camp. It remained largely unsettled for several more years to come:

From 1893 to 1908 the slope of land that became West Point Grey was a logged over, practically uninhabited corner of South Vancouver ... West Point Grey was a backwater ... in 1897 all of Point Grey had only 54 registered voters (Wood 1976, 112).

In 1897 the English Bay Canning Company established a fish processing plant on Point Grey Road at Bayswater. A few homes were built around the cannery, but little other development occurred for another decade. In 1905 a feed and grain store was built at Belmont and Sasamat, which, in 1910,

Figure 4:

West Point Grey



was converted into a general store, a post office, and ultimately a coffee shop. On the bluff above the beach, John L. Stewart established a dairy farm, his cows grazing over the entire Point Grey area among the stumps left by Rogers and Fraser. In 1908 the Jericho Boys' Industrial School was built on Fourth Avenue (the present Jericho School for the Deaf and Blind) in what was considered a remote area where troublesome urchins would be far from temptation. In order to reach the rest of the city from the school one had to traverse a swamp on a narrow corduroy road, hike down a long, usually muddy, wagon trail (Point Grey Road) to the streetcar at Kitsilano Beach. The swamp and woods, home to bear and cougar, apparently helped keep the boys in line (Kluckner 1984, 177).

However 1908 was also a crucial year for the development of Point Grey. In that year the district seceded from the municipality of South Vancouver to become an independent municipality with a total population of 200 to 300 residents (Wood 1976, 112). That same year water service was provided to Point Grey, North-West Marine Drive was begun as a scenic route to the bluffs on the western tip of the point, and the nine-hole Jericho Golf and Country Club, the city's first golf course, was laid out on the site of Jerry Roger's first camp by the Admiralty Reserve. In 1909 a small wooden school was built on the bluff for the 10 boys and 14 girls in the area; the wooden building still stands in the grounds of Queen Mary Elementary School. Also in 1909, James Rear built Aberthau, a large house on West Second Avenue, which became the longtime home of Boer and First World War hero and department store magnate Colonel Victor Spencer; it is now the West Point Grey Cultural Centre. By 1914 several other large homes had been built, particularly near the beaches.

By 1911, Point Grey had forty kilometers of roads, sewers, parks, and a streetcar line along Fourth Avenue as far as Alma Street. The municipality, from the very beginning emphasized planned development; main streets were established at regular intervals (Fourth, Tenth, and Sixteenth Avenues), with equally spaced secondary streets between, and transecting them at right angles. Although West Point Grey was a city planner's dream,

what is amusing, however, is that although the streets were there, the houses weren't! There was roughly one family per hundred acres of beautifully laid-out blocks (Wood 1976, 112).

West Point Grey did not grow rapidly until the 1920s. Then, "Japanese, Chinese, and Hindu laborers cleared the land, developers set up rows of 33 foot lots, and European contractors hammered together \$3,500 homes with such alacrity that from the early '20's onward ... 200 a year were going up in West Point Grey" (Wood 1976, 112). The housing development, inevitably, spawned commercial investment, particularly on Tenth Avenue between Tolmie and Trimble Streets. By 1924 there were 40 businesses in those few blocks. In 1922, in light of this frantic construction activity, the municipal council passed Canada's first zoning by-law prohibiting further construction of any buildings except single-family homes in the community. Between 1908 and 1925 the population swelled from a couple of hundred to over 4,000 and taxes jumped from \$27,000 to \$810,000 (Wood 1976, 113).

Point Grey municipality joined the City of Vancouver in 1929. By that time the area was virtually entirely developed with little room for further growth. Since then the area has remained stable throughout the subsequent decades. With strict zoning regulations further commercial and any industrial development has been curtailed, the residential nature of the neighbourhood has been doggedly maintained. Single family zoning

regulations have further prohibited most attempts to create apartment or other high density development. The district has been, from its inception, an enclave of fairly well-off, predominantly British residents, and although these distinctive features have been gradually weakening, West Point Grey has been able to maintain its elite, segregated, single family nature better than either Fairview or Kitsilano. Table IX summarizes recent demographic trends in West Point Grey.

Like the rest of the city, West Point Grey has become less family oriented, despite efforts to protect the single family home nature of the community. A few apartments have been constructed, most recently in the area between Alma and Highbury and between Sixth and Eight Avenues which has been rezoned high density from single family. However unlike the orientation of developments in Fairview and Kitsilano toward young people, this project is explicitly designed "to attract seniors in the Point Grey region" (MacNeill 1987). This development reflects the aging population of the community, over 15% being seniors. Many homes have added basement suites which are generally occupied by students attending the nearby University of British Columbia, or young working people. These suites, although officially illegal, are ubiquitous. A 1987 survey by the North Point Grey Homeowners Association revealed that although 58% of homeowners supported the present city bylaws prohibiting secondary suites, 91% favoured exemptions for suites housing in-laws and students provided those suites were identified and taxed (Western news 1987). In the exclusive district west of Blanca between Sixth Avenue and North West Marine Drive where the average lot size is between one and three acres, a survey of residents regarding potential subdivision of the larger lots revealed

Table IX:

Population characteristics of West Point Grey, 1931-1986

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Population	8,997	10,046	12,170	12,162	11,865	11,255	11,540
Family status (%)							
persons under 15	24.5	17.6	20.1	24.5	20.3	15.3	15.3
persons 15-24	16.3	18.3	13.4	13.0	20.0	16.3	15.5
persons 25-34	14.7	14.6	14.5	10.7	12.5	17.9	16.8
persons 35-44	18.0	13.3	14.4	13.8	11.1	13.2	17.2
persons 45-54	15.1	15.8	12.2	13.7	12.2	11.0	10.3
persons 55-64	6.7	12.9	12.4	9.8	11.1	10.5	9.7
persons over 65	4.6	7.4	13.1	14.5	14.0	15.9	15.4
15+ never married	29.6	31.7	24.8	25.6	31.3	32.1	33.7
15+ separated, divorced	0.2	1.0	0.8	1.1	4.6	7.6	8.1
15+ widowed	6.0	6.8	9.5	9.8	8.4	7.7	8.7
15+ married	64.0	57.8	64.9	63.5	55.7	52.5	49.5
childless families	n/a	n/a	44.1	40.3	41.1	46.6	45.1
average household size	n/a	n/a	3.3	3.4	3.0	2.5	2.5
Ethnicity (%)							
British	91.9	89.9	84.2	77.5	70.7	57.7	n/a
northern European	4.0	4.4	5.0	7.2	9.1	8.0	n/a
southern European	1.9	2.2	2.7	3.4	5.2	5.3	n/a
other European	0.6	0.9	4.3	7.5	5.3	5.3	n/a
Asian	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.9	4.7	5.6	n/a
other	1.2	2.1	3.3	3.5	5.0	18.1	n/a
Occupation (%)							
class 1	n/a	n/a	35.7	40.5	33.2	50.9	52.6
class 2	n/a	n/a	44.6	41.9	43.9	36.6	36.1
class 3	n/a	n/a	19.4	15.5	20.5	12.5	11.8
median earnings (\$)	n/a	n/a	2367	4216	4808	15565	19431
ratio (W.P.G./Vanc)	n/a	n/a	1.14	1.27	1.07	1.40	1.43
labour force ratio (m/f)	n/a	n/a	2.34	2.00	1.44	1.16	1.16
university education	n/a	19.2	18.9	17.3	39.4	51.1	57.2
Dwellings (%)							
single detached	n/a	n/a	81.5	87.6	75.5	68.0	59.6
apartment, condominium	n/a	n/a	18.5	12.4	20.2	32.2	40.4
owned	n/a	n/a	77.8	80.1	66.5	61.3	58.9
rented	n/a	n/a	22.2	19.9	33.5	38.6	40.1
average rent (\$)	n/a	n/a	52	92	153	462	661
ratio (W.P.G./Vanc)	n/a	n/a	1.21	1.19	1.17	1.27	1.21

Source: Census of Canada, 1931-1986.

strong opposition, although one resident who favoured limited subdivision did so because, "'It's not always easy to get servants who live out,'" and, therefore, the construction of servants' houses ought to be permitted (Glover 1975). Planning policies and community pressure have helped West Point Grey remain much more family oriented than either Kitsilano or Fairview. Although the number of children in the community has decreased over time, a higher percentage of persons in West Point Grey are married and have children than in the other study neighbourhoods. Indeed West Point Grey approximates the city average in this regard much more clearly than either Fairview or Kitsilano. Many seniors remain in the community, often people who moved to the area many years earlier, raised their children, and now, although their children have left home, remain in the district.

Being close to the University of British Columbia, and also as a relatively exclusive area, West Point Grey has always had a higher percentage of residents with post secondary education than the city average; indeed in 1986 over 57% of the population had some post secondary education, a proportion only equalled in the city by the elite Shaughnessy

Table X:

Areas of post secondary qualification, West Point Grey, 1986 (%)

Education, religion, counselling	11.7
Fine/applied arts	5.5
Humanities and related fields	13.1
Social sciences and related fields	13.1
Commerce, business management	14.8
Agriculture, biology and related fields	7.1
Engineering and applied sciences	13.0
Health	15.7
Mathematics and physical sciences	5.7

Source: Census of Canada, 1986.

district. The distribution of those with post secondary qualifications reflects both the neighbourhood's proximity to the University of British Columbia, and the more traditional nature of the community. High levels of individuals trained in education, the arts and the sciences, as opposed to the more applied disciplines of commerce, business, engineering and the applied arts and sciences, reflect a different ethos than either Fairview or Kitsilano.

The middle and upper middle class nature of West Point Grey is also reflected in the income levels of residents, in the 1980s being 1.4 times the city average. Complementing the stable, traditional nature of the community, women form a substantially smaller percentage of the workforce than in the city as whole, although this distinction, too, appears to be decreasing over time. West Point Grey, initially an almost exclusively British enclave, has become increasingly ethnically diverse, although still retaining a British majority. The community remains almost exclusively Caucasian; British, European or multiple origins, generally combinations of British and European ancestry, predominate. As in both Fairview and Kitsilano, Asians remain a small percentage of the population, reflecting their preference for other neighbourhoods in the city, particularly in South Vancouver.

Despite the gradual erosion of the established elite, British, family character of West Point Grey, zoning policies, residents associations, and the ambience of the community emphasize stability. The commercial strip along West Tenth Avenue between Discovery and Trimble Streets experienced a turnover of less than fifty percent of its businesses between 1970 and

1988, a figure much lower than almost any other commercial district in the city. The most significant addition during that period were two new medical and dental office complexes, appropriate in an aging neighbourhood. In 1988, in the one block between Discovery and Trimble Streets, the city directory listed 33 businesses, fully one third of those were offices of either physicians or dentists, some with as many six practitioners in each office. Other businesses include bookstores, jewellers, several specialty clothing stores and cleaners, catering both to the middle class residents and university students living in the area.

While commercial changes in the gentrifying communities of Fairview and Kitsilano have emphasized business and leisure, particularly eating establishments where both socializing and business networking can occur, it is significant that West Point Grey has witnessed little growth in terms of eating establishments. But in West Point Grey, largely populated by families and a strong cohort of seniors, the increasing presence of health professionals may suggest that a different neighbourhood preoccupation prevails.

Emerging from these three portraits of Vancouver neighbourhoods are distinct local neighbourhood biographies. In each the process of neighbourhood change has occurred uniquely. Although Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey each began during a similar period in Vancouver's history as initially largely family oriented, predominantly British streetcar suburbs, each evolved uniquely in subsequent decades. Shortly after settlement, Fairview became a rooming house and apartment neighbourhood, populated by a socially mixed population. Much of the

neighbourhood deteriorated until massive redevelopment began in the mid 1970s throughout northern Fairview, and, increasingly in southern Fairview. The result has been largescale gentrification. In many ways, Kitsilano in the late 1980s resembles Fairview. Gentrification has occurred extensively in both, although more often taking the form of renovation in Kitsilano than in Fairview. However Kitsilano progressed through different stages, becoming the centre of Vancouver counter culture activities during the 1960s. West Point Grey is remarkably different from both of the other neighbourhoods. West Point Grey has changed comparatively little over the years, maintain its predominantly middle class, family-oriented, ethnically British complexion into the 1980s. While both residential forms, social characteristics and commercial enterprises in both Fairview and Kitsilano have changed considerably, West Point Grey has remained quite consistent and stable.

Chapter Four

Secularization and religious change in Vancouver

Their gold is their god,
They are blind with its glare.

A. Rippon, "The Indian's prayer" (1920s)

"How can you say there is no faith in these recent generations? There are more churches built now, ten times over, than in any former period in our history ..."

"Churches, yes ... but faith - I'm not so sure. Just because there's a church standing somewhere doesn't necessarily mean there's faith inside its walls."

George MacDonald, Thomas Wingfold, curate (1876)

In MacDonald's novel, Cambridge scholar George Bascombe "had persuaded himself, and without much difficulty, that he was one of the prophets of a new order of things," and thus set out to "enlighten" his acquaintances of the wretched state of Christianity in late nineteenth century Britain in accord with the intellectual ethos of his age. Although the churches were full every Sunday, Bascombe argued that "their so-called religion does them no good" for, although their recitations of the creed were certainly orthodox, their faith made no difference in their daily lives. Churchgoers did not believe what they heard from the pulpit; they feared death as much as unbelievers. Indeed, Bascombe argued,

I assert that the form of Christianity commonly practiced, not only by my aunt but by most of your congregation, comes nearer the views of the heathen poet Horace than those of your saint, the old Jew, Saul of Tarsus (23).

Bascombe accuses even the local curate of becoming a minister simply as a means to earn a living while not believing a word of the liturgy ("I am confident you have a great deal more good sense than to believe it").

Bascombe's insights underscore the difficulty of measuring religious belief and commitment. Certainly simply studying the presence or lack of religious institutions in a neighbourhood is, in itself, not a sufficient gauge of the spiritual character of a neighbourhood. However, by using an array of research techniques, from statistical analyses to interviews with residents, as identified in Chapter One, an understanding of the nature of religious belief in a neighbourhood may be obtained.¹ The combination of a variety of information sources will create a composite picture of the "soul" of a community. As mentioned in Chapter Two, this study focusses on religions in Vancouver, those ideologies which make reference to the meaning of life and death, the sacred and profane, and the supernatural, including traditional religions (particularly Christianity) and common religions (including new religious movements such as the New Age).² However other value systems which appear to have replaced religions functionally, in terms of providing motivational forces in the lives of some persons, will also be discussed.³

The preceding chapter briefly outlined the social history of Vancouver and the three neighbourhoods which form the study area for this research, but the chapter made little explicit reference to religious institutions or

¹ Throughout the course of this chapter, quotes from residents and business people of each neighbourhood will be cited; unless these are otherwise identified, they were gathered in a variety of informal discussions in businesses (including neighbourhood pubs) and public places during 1988 and 1989.

² Although several traditional religious groups besides Christians have existed in Vancouver since early in its history (particularly Jewish and Sikh groups) the majority of religious groups have been Christian. Therefore in this chapter traditional religion and traditional Christianity may be equated for practical purposes.

³ These other value systems or worldviews will also be referred to as ideologies.

belief in each area. This chapter will focus specifically on the history of religious institutions and religious ideologies in the study areas. With this understanding of the nature of religious belief in Fairview, Kitsilano, and West Point Grey during this century, some comparative insights regarding neighbourhood transition and religious change may be distilled from the information presented.

A. Religious change and secularization in Vancouver

On September 14, 1876 Reverend Charles Tate and Reverend Thomas Derrick, Methodist missionaries, dedicated the first church in Granville, formerly Gastown, and now Vancouver. Known as the Indian Mission Church, it was a small wooden structure located on the waterfront on the current site of Gastown. However Fitch (1911, 231) claims that the first Christian presence on the present site of Vancouver may actually have been John Morton, a Baptist layman and Yorkshire potter who homesteaded on a claim of 550 acres on the current site of the central business district in 1863.⁴

Regardless of who came first, as Vancouver grew in the late nineteenth century several churches were established in the city. In 1881 Saint James Anglican was established near the Indian Church, and remains to the present at the corner of Cordova and Jackson. Five years later, on June 6, 1886 a Baptist Sunday School was formed in a hall at the back of the Blair Saloon, which evolved into First Baptist Church.⁵ First Baptist was officially

⁴ Although a layman, Morton was involved in the early Baptist work in Vancouver; in 1910 he laid the cornerstone for the present First Baptist Church at Nelson and Burrard; in his will he left \$100,000 to the British Columbia Baptist denomination (Cummings 1986, 8).

⁵ The next Sunday, June 13, Vancouver, including the Blair saloon, burned, jokingly described by some as an act of divine judgment.

founded March 16, 1887 with sixteen members. In August 1894, Christ Church Cathedral (Anglican) was established, followed, in 1899 by Holy Rosary Cathedral (Roman Catholic). Roy (1980, 43) remarks that "although Vancouver began as a largely masculine community, it rapidly became a settled one with homes, a variety of churches and schools, and a wide assortment of athletic and cultural activities."

By 1899 the Anglican, Baptist and Methodists each had three churches in Vancouver, the Presbyterians two churches, and the Congregationalists and Roman Catholics each had one church. In addition, there were four other churches and missions, plus a branch of the Salvation Army and a Christian Science dispensary (Henderson's British Columbia gazetteer and directory 1899). Roy claims that early Vancouver was a rival to Toronto for the accolade of the "City of Churches" (Roy 1980, 46), perhaps an exaggeration when the city had one church for every 1500 residents. Within ten years the city boasted seven Anglican churches, four Baptist churches, seven Presbyterian churches, fourteen other Protestant churches and missions, two Catholic churches, a Seventh Day Adventist Church, two Christian Science churches (and one reading room), a Masonic Temple, and a Spiritualist Society (Henderson's British Columbia gazetteer and directory 1910). But population growth outstripped this apparent rapid increase in churches; in 1911 there was only one religious institution for every 2200 Vancouverites. By 1930, Vancouver had fourteen Anglican churches and missions, nine Baptist churches, six Presbyterian churches, twelve United churches (in 1925 the Congregationalist, Methodist and many Presbyterian churches joined to form the United Church), 38 other Protestant churches (including many pentecostal gospel halls), five Roman Catholic churches,

two Greek Orthodox congregations, two Christian Science churches, two Christadelphian churches, a Seventh Day Adventist congregation, a Unitarian church, a Spiritualist Society, a Mormon church and a Sikh temple (Wrigley's British Columbia directory 1930).⁶ Again, however, population growth continued to outpace church construction and in 1931 there was one church for every 2600 residents of the city.

The visible presence in the community of these early churches was underscored by two visiting clergy. In 1886 Reverend J.W. Daniels visited from Seattle and reported, "I was pleased with the respect for sacred things and for the correct observance of the Sabbath in Canada. The people were more religious than many in the States" (Daniels in Cummings 1986, 12). In 1911, Reverend R.G. MacBeth was impressed by the "numerous, handsome and well attended (churches)" (MacBeth in Roy 1980, 82).

Nevertheless, although the churches were many and attendance apparently high, the influence of the churches on the city is uncertain. Roy, reviewing the early debate over liquor control and prostitution in the city, concludes that the churches had "only marginal influence in effecting moral reform" (1980, 46). The Social Gospel movement at the turn of the century attempted to address the moral and social problems of Canadian cities (Woodsworth 1972, Allen 1971, 1975) and Vancouver in particular (Roy 1980, 85), but its efficacy is questionable.

⁶ In 1988, The City of Vancouver had 24 Anglican churches, 28 Baptist churches, 12 Presbyterian churches, 28 United churches, 88 other Protestant churches, 27 Roman Catholic churches, 6 Orthodox churches, 5 Seventh Day Adventist churches, 4 Salvation Army branches, 6 Jehovah's Witness halls, 4 Christian Science churches, a Scientology church, a Unitarian congregation, a Mormon church and several other religious groups (B.C. Tel 1988; this source, however, does not list many new religious movements). In 1986 there was one religious institution for every 1840 Vancouverites.

Far from the Christian "golden age" alluded by Bibby, Woodsworth writes of the church in Canada in 1911 that,

the Church, as an organization, does not exercise the predominating influence in the lives of its members that once it did, and that it is not to-day coping successfully with the great social problems which, in their acutest form, are found in the city (1972 (originally published in 1911), 101).

Even in the early twentieth century, the poorer sections of Canadian cities, Woodsworth argues, were largely alienated by Protestant churches which catered almost exclusively to the middle class. Certainly in Vancouver, as Woodsworth noted in Toronto, several churches moved from the emerging slum of the downtown eastside to more elite neighbourhoods, while churches flourished in the middle class streetcar suburbs of Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey.⁷

In contrast to the glowing praise of visiting clerics, another visitor, in 1916, wrote that, "Vancouver is a city magnificently situated ... (but) everything has been made subservient to the almighty dollar" (in Geddes 1986, 17). As the last Indians were expelled from Stanley Park, "The Indian's prayer" (1920s) accuses white Vancouverites of idolatry and insensitivity to religious values of beauty or compassion: "Their gold is their god, they are blind with its glare ... there is no room in their souls for emotion ... They turn a deaf ear to an old Indian's prayer" (Rippon 1986, 23). Other literature from early Vancouver makes virtually no reference to churches or religion. The city is portrayed in these works as a collection of offices, stores, businesses, rooming houses and omnipresent saloons; its immorality and materialism invariably earning

⁷ First Baptist, initially located on Westminster Avenue (Main Street), in 1889 moved west to Dunsmuir and Hamilton, and in 1910 further west to Burrard and Nelson, its present site.

Vancouver the unflattering reputation of being "an unholy city ... an impious city" (Owen 1907).⁸

Malcolm Lowry, a resident of Vancouver from 1937 to 1954, described Vancouver during these decades as a city with virtually everything but a strong Christian presence; Vancouver was

composed of dilapidated half-skyscrapers ... moldy stock exchange buildings, new beer parlours crawling with verminous light even in mid-afternoon and resembling gigantic emerald-lit public lavatories for both sexes, masonries containing English tea-shoppes where your fortune could be told by a female relative of Maximilian of Mexico, totem pole factories, drapers' shops with the best Scotch tweed and opium dens in the basement ... at infrequent intervals, beyond a melancholy never-striking black and white clock that said three, dwarfed spires belonging to frame facades with blackened rose windows, queer grimed onion-shaped domes, and even Chinese pagodas, so that first you thought you were in the Orient, then Turkey or Russia, though finally, but for the fact that some of these were churches, you would be sure you were in hell... (1985, 53-54)

Novelist Robert Harlow argues that Vancouver has, since its inception, been a "self-centred, self-satisfied and self-important" city obsessed with the accumulation of wealth and the pursuit of pleasure; its materialism and hedonism even disenchanted many early settlers (in Twigg 1986, 141).

Despite Roy's claims that Vancouver had many churches, these other voices suggest that for many residents traditional religion was not important in their lives.

Since Vancouver was founded during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the new possibilities of science and technology were being championed in World's Fairs, and when intellectuals such as Durkheim, Weber, and Tylor predicted the imminent demise of Christianity such values are hardly surprising. An industrial ethos emphasizing

⁸ Fine collections of early literature about Vancouver are Gerson 1985, Watmough 1985, Safarik 1986 and Geddes 1986.

rationalism and the limitless possibilities of technology, innovation and invention, appears to have successfully challenged the moral authority of the church in early Vancouver.

In part the weakness of the churches in Vancouver may be tied to the intellectual climate of the time, plus the fact that Vancouver was populated by those least likely to adhere to traditional religion. Captain Stamp, the other entrepreneurs who established Gastown and many of the men working for them were mavericks, consciously rejecting the stifling traditionalism and control of Europe - including traditional religion - and sought to begin anew in western Canada. Early immigrants were predominantly from the British working class, one of the least likely social groups to be involved in traditional religion (Wilson 1966). The industrial base and working class population of Vancouver was already well established by the time the first churches arrived; even then the first church was explicitly a mission to the Indians and not oriented towards the European community. Values of industrial capitalism, emphasizing material success and self gratification were well entrenched in the saloons and brothels of early Vancouver. The churches had to compete with innumerable other institutions and ideologies in a population largely unlikely to be involved in traditional religion. The churches may have suffered the fate which Wilson claims is inevitable for religion in such a society:

Religion becomes privatized. In a consumer society it becomes just another consumer good, a leisure-time commodity no longer affecting the centres of power or the operation of the system (Wilson 1979, 277).

From Vancouver's beginnings, despite the many Christian churches built in the city, Vancouver's Christians were challenged by alternative forms of belief competing to be heard in the emerging city. At the same time as the

earliest Christian churches were organized, a variety of other religious groups, including Christian Scientists and Spiritualists, established themselves as part of the urban fabric. Significantly, in Lowry's description, fortune tellers were far more visible than Christian churches.⁹

Since the early part of the century, "there are more churches built now" indeed than any former time in the city's history. And yet, as census statistics emphasize, the continued existence and construction of new churches in the city does not necessarily imply a persistence of traditional religious observance (Table XI).

Table XI

Religious affiliation in Vancouver, 1931-1981 (%)

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Anglican	29.1	32.7	27.3	21.3	15.7	10.9
Baptist	4.3	4.6	4.2	3.7	3.1	2.8
Greek Orthodox	0.5	0.6	1.2	1.5	1.8	1.7
Jewish	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.6	1.6	2.1
Lutheran	3.6	3.7	4.5	6.5	5.1	3.4
Pentecostal	0.3	0.5	n/a	n/a	1.2	1.1
Presbyterian	14.3	14.4	10.2	7.0	5.4	3.4
Roman Catholic	9.6	10.9	12.5	17.8	20.6	22.3
United	24.8	25.1	29.5	27.8	18.9	13.9
no religion	0.7	n/a	n/a	n/a	17.0	27.0
other	11.2	6.5	9.1	12.8	9.6	11.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1931-1981

Since the 1940s and 1950s the major Protestant denominations in Vancouver

⁹ This situation does not appear to have changed. Over the first four months of 1989, direct mailings from two "psychics, card readers and palm readers" were made to a household in the Fairview Heights area; no Christian group did any mailings or other community awareness campaigns during this period.

have experienced declining levels of affiliation.¹⁰ Some denominations, particularly those linked to the immigration of specific ethnic groups, such as the Lutherans and Catholics, have fared comparatively well, but affiliation among the mainline Protestant denominations has plummeted. Most dramatic has been the rise in those claiming "no religion"; by 1981, 27% of Vancouverites claimed to have no religious affiliation, four times the national rate of 7.4%. Further, it must be emphasized that nominal affiliation does not necessarily imply religious belief. Indeed in 1931, of the 61,000 Vancouverites who claimed to be United church affiliates, less than only 11,000 were actually members of a United church (United Church of Canada 1932).

Similarly, although most Canadians claimed nominal religious affiliation in the post-World War Two period, Hugh MacLennan wrote that "it would be a travesty on the meaning of the word to claim that Protestant Canada is still a religious community" (1978, 18). Although many Canadians and Vancouverites claimed to be affiliated with religious groups, MacLennan observed, in accordance with Woodsworth and Roy, that religiosity was primarily a middle class phenomenon linked to social propriety rather than genuine conviction.¹¹ Bibby's (1987) discussion of Christianity in Canada, Fragmented gods, arrives at the same conclusion; in general Canadians exhibit low levels of commitment to Christianity, yet often maintain nominal affiliation to take advantage of rites of passage services such as weddings and funerals.

¹⁰ As mentioned previously, in this research, religious "affiliation" is defined as the religion or denomination with which individuals identify on the census; "commitment" or "involvement" refers to being a member of, or actively involved in a church of a particular religion or denomination.

¹¹ See also Campbell 1971, Lewis 1971.

As noted above, however, the west coast has a recognizably unique religious subculture. Early Vancouver, founded by those generally unlikely to be involved in traditional religion appears not to have been a strongly Christian city, but rather a city espousing the values of the "enlightened" industrial age. For Vancouverites, "their gold is their god," even to the extent of obliterating the natural beauty of the city. As a typical industrial city ruled by industrial capital and a pro-business civic administration, economic rationality was paramount (Hardwick 1974). For Lowry, "anyone who had ever really been in hell" would have felt at home amid Vancouver's "numerous sawmills relentlessly smoking and champing away like demons, Molochs fed by whole mountainsides of forests that never grew again" (1985, 54). Jan Drabek writes of a "clash between God and man-made scenery" in which the beauties of nature "had been dramatically subdued by a cover of black asphalt and cracked concrete" (1977, 92). In a city populated by recent immigrants, many British, and many single or childless, low levels of traditional religious involvement are not surprising. In early industrial Vancouver, if, as Conoran and Tamney (1985) and Woodsworth (1972) argue, the churches failed particularly to reach the working class, then low levels of traditional religiosity are also understandable.

However the natural beauty, moderate climate, and youthful vigour of Vancouver has, for some, a pantheistic quality. Some have found in Vancouver spiritual comfort in the natural environment. From its beginnings, Vancouver was for many a city "whose mountains and ocean suggest a potential expansion of the human spirit beyond the petty materialism of common urban life" (Gerson 1985, xiv). Any number of persons migrated for and found spiritual renewal in the city, not in

traditional churches, but in the redemptive, aesthetic beauty of the surroundings. In at least four Margaret Laurence novels, "Vancouver ... was the paradise that prairie people ultimately went to" (Laurence in Twigg 1986, 34). Saskatchewan poet Elizabeth Brewster writes of her "resurrection" in Vancouver: "I might have died after all / on the train from the prairies / and been raised up again / in a Pacific Eden" (1986, 162). Meanwhile Jan Drabek, Czech immigrant and novelist, notes, "Vancouver is the answer to my quest. Here it is - the Promised Land. After Prague, New York, Washington, Vienna, Munich and Mysore City, I finally found it" (in Twigg 1986, 12). D.M. Fraser (1985), describes Vancouverites as worshippers of beauty, seeking spiritual fulfillment in appreciation of nature.¹² Documenting the life of Vancouver, Sutherland et al (1986, 101) observe that here, "the pursuit of beauty is a serious business." Calling on metaphors from a spectrum of spiritual traditions present in Vancouver, Keith Fraser writes, "we are Lotus Land, Shangri-la, God's Country" (1985, 34). Pervading literature about Vancouver is this almost universal theme of spiritual experience in beauty and nature; even Malcolm Lowry found spiritual renewal amid the ethereal beauty of Stanley Park.¹³

This apparently two-faceted pulse of Vancouver, embodying both economic materialism and amenity, exemplifies Colin Campbell's thesis that in modern society the Protestant ethics of puritanism and pietism have been

¹² In a brief synopsis of this short story, Watmough emphasizes the truth of Fraser's observations: "... our citizenry is intriguingly and deliciously conceived of as a species which worships beauty. And surely we can all embarrassingly vouchsafe that we have been dutiful parrots of that ..." (Watmough 1985a, 14).

¹³ A recent two volume anthology celebrates a contemporary "West Coast Renaissance," in which Native Indian mythology, particularly pantheism and natural mysticism, is rediscovered in literature dominated by the beauty of British Columbia's landscape (Skelton and Lillard 1978).

secularized into an economic ethic, emphasizing material wealth, and a hedonistic ethic, seeking spiritual fulfillment in aesthetic beauty. These twin values coexist in a dynamic balance. As Lowry writes, the "mills that shook the very earth with their tumult, filling the windy air with their sound as of a wailing and gnashing of teeth" (now replaced by the icy walls of faceless skyscrapers) exist in tension with "a harbour more spectacular than Rio de Janeiro or San Francisco ... creating as we say 'the jewel of the Pacific'" (1985, 54). While in the early decades of this century the rationalism of industrial capitalism appeared to dominate, a romantic reaction rose against the "relentlessly smoking Molochs" during the 1960s as the employment base of the city shifted. Since the 1960s, environmentalism has been part of a broader ideology of liveability which aimed to supercede one-dimensional economic rationality, for example in the radical transformation of Granville Island and False Creek (Ley 1980). In the late 1980s these twin ethics appear to coexist in uneasy balance (Ley 1987a); Vancouver wrestles to combine "cosmopolitan energy and spectacular natural beauty" (Sutherland et al 1986), a struggle surfacing in issues from the conversion of fringe agricultural land to housing, to residential densities and green space in the inner city.

Vancouver does not appear to have ever been a strong Christian community; in the Vancouver of the past, writers describing the city mention nothing of its religious belief except for the materialism of its inhabitants. Yet early in the century traditional religion was stronger than more recently in terms of nominal affiliation; in the late 1980s over one quarter of the population claims to be unaffiliated with any major religion. In the Vancouver of the present, those writers trying to capture

the "soul of the city" likewise find little or no place for traditional religion. Several modern poets and novelists give impressionistic panoramas of the diversity of Vancouver and its residents; of the dozens of glimpses of Vancouver life they capture, traditional religious belief is virtually invisible, appearing only in passing glimpses of Lowry's "dwarfed spires," streetcorner "evangelists" wedged between "beer-waiters" and "newspaper boxes" (Newlove 1986, 101) or as unflattering footnotes in which "its raining all ovr the hookrs hudduld in church doorways (sic)" (bissett 1986, 120). A recent photographic exploration of the mosaic of Vancouver life designed to celebrate the city's centennial (Sutherland et al 1986), is replete with references to the social, economic and cultural life of the city, but makes no mention of religion and shows no picture of any church except for the Hare Krishna temple in Burnaby; apparently traditional religion has not been, and continues not to be, a significant aspect of Vancouver life.¹⁴

In contrast to the churches, other institutions appear to fill similar functions. Novelist George Payerle suggests that "in this society, bars serve the function of churches. People go (there) to pray, gossip and find communion" (in Twigg 1986, 13). Indeed, the earliest literary impressions of the city emphasize the bars, not the churches, as the cornerstones of the community. Perhaps not surprisingly a recent guide to neighbourhood pubs in Greater Vancouver is a bestseller (Kennedy et al 1983), while no guide to neighbourhood churches has ever been considered. Further

¹⁴ Vancouver's exotic dancers receive the same coverage in the book as Hare Krishna, the only religious reference. Indeed Sutherland et al record that there are 400 Vancouver based dancers, a total approximately equal to the number of ordained clergy in the city (1986, 100).

supporting Payerle's observation, a telephone survey of restaurants, neighbourhood pubs and other eateries in Kitsilano in April, 1989 determined that an estimated 5300 persons were served between 10 am and 2 pm each Sunday morning; attendance at Kitsilano churches of all denominations was less than 1500. Reminiscent of the theme song of Cheers, one patron remarked that, "Sunday brunch is special here (Fogg 'n Suds, Kitsilano); the same people come every week and you renew old friendships. That's what I like about it."

Yet, as Stark and Bainbridge (1985) and a plethora of writers demonstrate, belief is still evident in Vancouver despite the apparent weakness of the traditional church. New religious movements (including cults) flourish in British Columbia in general, and Vancouver in particular, among both young and old. Not only did Christian Scientists, Christadelphians, Unitarians, Mormons and others establish themselves in Vancouver at the same time, or shortly after the major Christian denominations, but they have been and continue to be influential in the spiritual life of the city.¹⁵ Lowry's observation that fortune tellers flourished in the 1940s and 1950s (and, according to the extent of their advertizing, appear to continue to do so in the late 1980s) emphasizes that informal religion still flourishes. Common ground, a quarterly "personal resource directory" is published in Kitsilano and claims a circulation of 71,500; it includes in its Summer 1989 issue over 100 advertisements for

¹⁵ Reverend Harry Robinson noted that Christian Science and Free Masonry were particularly popular early in the century in Vancouver. Christian Science congregations are now predominantly composed of seniors who became involved in the church in their youth. Disenchanted with Christian Science, some have recently been investigating Baha'i and other religious groups.

religious groups or philosophies from fortune tellers to more organized movements.¹⁶

Many of these groups and philosophies build on the self-actualization ethic discussed in Chapter Two, but add a distinctly religious flavour, promising "mastery over the physical, mental and spiritual states of your being" and "natural healing" which "purifies the spiritual body, allowing your Divine Nature to unfold." These philosophies emphasizing inherent human divinity and self fulfillment are often placed under the umbrella of the "New Age Movement." New World Network, Incorporated, one such group, publishes a twelve page leaflet bi-monthly entitled Points of Light. The cover of the May/June 1989 reads "Join us at Sunday Celebration" (at a site in Fairview), somewhat reminiscent of more traditional religious services:

a weekly event at the Masonic Hall, at 8th and Granville, where what takes place is a whole lot of hugging, singing, speaking, listening, sometimes some tears, a visualization or meditation, tithing, and also some more hugging. Celebration is on Sundays at 11:00 a.m. (1989, 4)

Besides New World's "Sunday service," the leaflet lists thirteen New World Practitioners, weekly activities and special seminars, testimonials and articles from a variety of those involved in the movement.¹⁷ Unfortunately

¹⁶ It must be recognized that many groups and philosophies are difficult to categorize using the phenomenological definition employed by this thesis. Philosophies such as Transcendental Meditation and Erhard Systems Training (EST) claim not to be religions, but able to complement an individuals' previous religious beliefs. Nevertheless, these belief systems often do include statements regarding metaphysical realities which do suggest a religious component (regarding EST, see Pelletier 1986).

¹⁷ "A New World Practitioner is a highly trained professional who is dedicated to teaching others what he/she has learned - that unconditional joy and love are our birthright" (2). One woman writes of her experience at celebration that "I felt like I had arrived home and knew this was where I was supposed to be. Everyone was open to giving and receiving hugs. My joy was bubbling over, my fear had dissipated and the God within had led me so quickly to the place where for the next four years I would be transforming my life in the presence of people dedicated to loving

it is difficult to gauge the numbers involved in these religious philosophies or movements, except to hypothesize that their sheer number and financial ability to advertize and rent space suggests that they have a substantial following. The longevity of institutions such as the Heart and Soul Psychic Centre and Banyen Books suggests that these philosophies maintain a considerable clientele. The "other" category of the census may include these persons (over 11% of the 1981 population), but no membership data is available. Of all the religious symbols Sutherland et al (1986) could have chosen to represent Vancouver in their centennial celebration, it perhaps not inappropriate that a cult, such as Hare Krishna, is, to journalists seeking the "soul of the city," the essence of religion in Vancouver.

Besides these overtly religious groups, the observations of many writers and Ley's (1980, 1981, 1987a) analyses illustrate that other, less religious ideologies and values representing competing forms of commitment, many emphasizing aesthetics and/or economic rationality, also permeate Vancouver society and help to shape the landscape by influencing decision making. The literature cited above demonstrates that economic and aesthetic values in Vancouver have a recognizable power, and, hence, impact on the landscape. Campbell's discussion of puritan and pietistic ethics, linked to contemporary rationalism and romanticism, helps illumine possible religious roots of these ethics, and hence the apparent spiritual fulfillment many Vancouverites appear to derive from them.

Although traditional religions appear to have floundered in Vancouver, belief still exists in a variety of forms, echoing Durkheim's prediction

unconditionally" (4).

that "There is then something eternal in religion which is destined to survive all particular symbols which have successively veiled religious thought" (Durkheim 1961, 427). This reality will be more closely examined in the three neighbourhoods under detailed study.

B. Religious change in the study neighbourhoods

1. Fairview

Fairview, in its initial period of settlement, was a socially mixed, family-oriented streetcar suburb: a "stucco heaven" for middle class residents (D.M. Fraser 1985, 139). However the community has radically changed over the course of this century. Well before the redevelopment of the 1970s Fairview was declining economically and the social status of its residents was dropping. It was becoming somewhat more diverse ethnically, while singles frequently replaced families as tenants. Recently, gentrification has occurred in much of the area, introducing young, well-educated, wealthy professionals into the community in crenelated condominiums and tiered apartments rising from the seawalled shores of False Creek and spreading south into the Heights, although a considerable elderly population remains in older apartments. With these changes in the nature of the community, the religious character of the community has also altered considerably.

From humble beginnings in Fairview (only two small congregations in 1901) religious institutions mirrored the rapid growth of the community as a whole in the early part of the century. For instance, First Baptist Church planted three churches in Fairview in five years: Fairview Baptist with twenty members in 1905, Central Fairview Baptist with forty members in

1908, and Fifth Avenue Baptist in 1909 (Poussett 1980, Cummings 1986).¹⁸ By 1911 the major Protestant denominations were all represented in the neighbourhood, in six churches clustered near the south ends of the Granville and Burrard Bridges, close to the hubs of development and the major transportation arteries.

In the social milieu of early Fairview, with over 80% of the population still of British descent by 1931, it was not surprising that Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian and United churches were established and, with few exceptions, apparently flourished.¹⁹ As a stable, middle class, family oriented community, rates of affiliation and membership would be expected to be comparatively high. Indeed in 1931, over 77% of Fairview residents claimed affiliation with the four major Protestant denominations represented in the community (Table XII), although only just over 15% of adults were actually involved with one of the five major Protestant churches in the neighbourhood (Table XIII). Despite the fact that most Fairview residents identified with one of the major denominations in early Fairview, nominal affiliation clearly was not translated into commitment to a local church among the majority of early Fairview residents. However, during this period more of those who identified Anglican, Baptist and United churches were actually involved in churches in the community than in subsequent years (Table XIV).

¹⁸ In 1922 the three Baptist churches amalgamated with a combined membership of over four hundred. Poussett (1980, 128-9) notes that while the congregations of most Fairview churches grew rapidly during the early part of the century, the Baptist churches declined sharply because of the liberal theology and social gospel emphasis of the leadership of the churches; with declining attendance, the churches united in 1922.

¹⁹ Fairview Methodist had a membership of 115 in 1905; Chalmers Presbyterian's membership grew from 131 in 1904 to 748 by 1914 and 980 by 1924; Fairview Baptist had a membership of 498 in 1926.

Table XII

Religious affiliation in Fairview, 1931-1981 (%)

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Anglican	28.6	25.0	22.9	17.6	15.5	12.2
Baptist	4.8	4.3	4.2	3.1	3.0	2.0
Greek Orthodox	0.3	0.5	1.5	2.2	1.8	1.5
Jewish	1.9	2.4	2.8	3.5	2.8	3.6
Lutheran	2.0	3.1	4.1	7.1	4.4	3.5
Pentecostal	0.2	0.8	n/a	n/a	2.0	1.4
Presbyterian	12.9	14.2	10.3	8.2	6.8	3.8
Roman Catholic	7.9	11.9	15.1	20.0	17.4	19.8
United	30.9	27.5	28.2	24.6	17.0	14.9
no religion	0.4	n/a	n/a	n/a	17.2	27.6
other	10.1	10.3	10.9	13.7	11.9	9.7

Source: Census of Canada, 1931-1981

Table XIII

Church Membership in Fairview, 1926-1986

	1926	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Chalmers United	906	973	680	655	692	406	190	155
Percent of adult population	-	6.9	4.0	3.7	4.2	2.7	1.1	0.8
Fairview Baptist	498	316	264	285	229	182	89	79
Percent of adult population	-	2.2	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.2	0.5	0.4
Fairview Presbyterian	172	282	247	167	211	310	165	157
Percent of adult population	-	2.0	1.4	0.9	1.3	2.1	1.0	0.8
Holy Trinity Anglican	-	280	294	167	96	90	90	87
St. George's Anglican	-	306	111	125	84	79	80	70
Total Anglican	-	586	405	292	180	169	170	157
Percent of adult population	-	4.1	2.4	1.6	1.1	1.1	1.0	0.8
Total membership	-	2157	1596	1399	1312	1067	614	548
Percent of adult population	-	15.2	9.4	7.8	7.9	7.1	3.7	2.8

Table XIV

Church affiliates who are church members, Fairview, 1931-1981 (%)

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Anglicans	11.4	8.1	6.2	5.3	6.8	7.9
Baptists	36.6	30.5	32.8	38.5	37.8	25.4
Presbyterians	12.1	8.7	7.8	13.4	28.4	24.8
United	17.5	12.3	11.2	14.7	14.9	7.3

By 1931 residential units had been constructed on the last vacant areas in Fairview. As the neighbourhood was settled more densely and houses began to be converted into multiple units, and as the social character of the neighbourhood became more ethnically mixed and more bluecollar, the total number of religious institutions was seventeen (Table XV). Fairview contained two Anglican churches, a Baptist church, a Presbyterian church, a United church, a Lutheran church, a Russian Greek Orthodox church, five Pentecostal congregations²⁰, two Japanese missions, an East Indian mission, the Cambie Street Mission, and a Unitarian church.²¹

As Fairview developed, grew and changed through the middle of the century, the religious institutions in the community reflected these changes. Religious institutions were established to serve the religious needs of an increasingly diverse group of residents; religious groups targeting specific ethnic groups (Japanese, East Indian, German, Russian) and specific socio-economic and social groups (Pentecostals, Salvation Army). Significantly, even by 1941 Fairview contained several major non-Christian organizations including a Unitarian church, Jehovah's Witness congregation, Christian Science Reading Room and the Aryan Astrological

²⁰ The pentecostal movement, characterised by speaking in tongues and healing, arguably began in either Topeka, Kansas (1901) or at a prayer meeting in Azusa Street, Los Angeles (April 1906) and quickly spread throughout North America and Europe during the early decades of this century (see Orr 1973). It was particularly successful among working class persons of whom mid-century Fairview had many (see also Heaton 1986).

²¹ Unitarians began meeting in Vancouver in 1909, one of the first Unitarian churches in Canada. By 1913, when their first building was built, there were 40 founding members, but over 140 came to the dedication service for the building (Hewitt 1978, 148-149).

Occult Church of Christ; the first three still exist although the Unitarian church has moved from Fairview to Oakridge.

Table XV

Religious Groups in Fairview, 1901-1986²²

Group	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Chalmers Presbyterian (Hemlock & W.12th)	²³	x	²⁴	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fairview (6th Ave) Methodist (1598 W.6th)	x	x	²⁵	-	-	-	-	-	-
Holy Trinity Anglican (1700 W.8th)	-	x	²⁶	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fairview Baptist (2008 W.4th)	-	x	²⁷	x	x	²⁸	x	x	x
Central Fairview Baptist (Laurel & W.10th)	-	x	²⁹	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fifth Avenue Baptist (Arbutus and W.5th)	-	x	³⁰	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chapel of the Monastery (RC) (Heather & W.14th)	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
St. George's Anglican (Laurel & W.14th)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Holy Trinity Japanese Mission (1701 W.3rd)	-	-	x	³¹	³²	-	-	-	-

²² In most cases, the city directory for 1921 did not include churches, therefore 1921 has been omitted.

²³ originally formed in 1893 as a mission Sunday School, first building constructed on W.7th in 1899, and known as Fairview Presbyterian, moved to Hemlock and W.12th in 1910 and became Chalmers Presbyterian.

²⁴ by 1931, renamed Chalmers United.

²⁵ in 1923, Fairview (6th Avenue) Methodist moved to Burrard and W.16th Avenue as the Canadian Memorial Chapel, later Canadian Memorial United Church (see Kitsilano).

²⁶ by 1931, Holy Trinity Anglican moved to 1706 W.10th (at Pine).

²⁷ by 1931, Fairview Baptist had moved to 1605 W.12th, and represented the 1921 amalgam of the original Fairview Baptist, Fifth Avenue Baptist, Kitsilano Baptist, and Central Fairview Baptist.

²⁸ by 1961, Fairview Baptist had moved to 1708 W.16th (at Pine); building occupied by Unity Centre.

²⁹ in 1921, Central Fairview joined Fairview Baptist.

³⁰ in 1921, Fifth Avenue Baptist Church joined Fairview Baptist.

³¹ By 1941, renamed the Japanese Church of the Ascension.

³² by 1951, premises occupied by Hollywood Furniture Manufacturing; by 1988, Duthie's Commercial Books.

Group	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Japanese Mission (715 W.7th)	-	-	x	33	34	-	-	-	-
Cambie Street Baptist Mission (2301 Cambie)	-	-	x	35	36	-	-	-	-
Fairview Presbyterian (1620 W.11th)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Fairview Gospel Hall (1666 W.10th)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Russian Greek Orthodox (1570 W.7th)	-	-	x	x	x	37	-	-	-
Trinity Lutheran (1655 W. Broadway)	-	-	x	38	-	-	-	-	-
East India Mission (United) (1717 W.2nd)	-	-	x	x	39	40	-	-	-
Grace Gospel Hall (1519 W.8th)	-	-	x	41	-	-	-	-	-
6th Ave Pentecostal (1600 W.6th)	-	-	x	x	42	-	-	-	-
Salem Pentecostal Tabernacle (895 W. Broadway)	-	-	x	x	43	-	-	-	-
Shelton Memorial Christian Ch (Cambie & W.13th)	-	-	x	x	44	45	46	-	-

³³ by 1941, the Fairview Buddhist Kindergarten and Mission.

³⁴ by 1951, congregation ceases to exist, site occupied by Grange Mattress Company; in 1988, the Fountains, "40 luxury townhouses and condominiums."

³⁵ By 1941, the Metropolitan Tabernacle Cambie Street Mission had moved to 2215 Cambie Street.

³⁶ by 1951, ceases to exist, site occupied by apartments.

³⁷ by 1961, church moved to 75 E.43rd; in 1988, site occupied by Seymour Medical Clinic.

³⁸ by 1941, building becomes Harmony Hall; by 1988, site occupied by an office complex, with tenants including the Vocational Consulting Group.

³⁹ by 1951, the Second Avenue Union Gospel Mission.

⁴⁰ by 1961, vacant; by 1988, Robert and Christie Sports and Fashions.

⁴¹ by 1941, vacant.

⁴² by 1951, church ceases to exist, site occupied by various businesses; currently an office block including the office of televangelist Terry Winter.

⁴³ by 1951, church ceases to exist, site occupied by Northern Tile, Diamond Kitchen Equipment, and a building contractor; by 1988, Tiki House Ladies Fashions.

⁴⁴ by 1951, renamed Central Christian Church.

⁴⁵ by 1961, renamed Community Christian Church.

⁴⁶ by 1971, church ceases to exist, site occupied by BC. government offices; by 1988, occupied by the Sheraton Plaza 500 Hotel.

Group	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
First Unitarian Church (1550 W.10th)	-	-	x	x	x	x	47	-	-
Salvation Army Rescue Home (1286 W.5th)	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Kitsilano Buddhist Church (1684 W.1st)	-	-	-	x	48	-	-	-	-
Jehovah's Witnesses (1615 W.4th)	-	-	-	x	49	50	x	x	x
Aryan Astrological Occult Church of Christ (947 W. Broadway)	-	-	-	x	51	-	-	-	-
Jewish Administration Council (2675 Oak Street)	-	-	-	x	x	52	53	-	-
Christian Science Reading Rm (1482 W. Broadway)	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x
Vancouver Bible School (Fir & W.10th)	-	-	-	x	x	x	54	-	-
Blessed Sacrament (RC-French) (3050 Heather)	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x
Broadway Pentecostal Tab. (1363 W. Broadway)	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	55	-
Shantyman's Mission (1575 W.11th)	-	-	-	-	x	x	56	-	-
Theosophical Society (1786 W. Broadway)	-	-	-	-	x	57	x	x	58

47 by 1971, church moved to 949 W.49th, site occupied by apartments.

48 by 1951, church ceases to exist, site a private home; in 1988, a vacant lot used for parking.

49 by 1951 moved to 1015 W.8th.

50 new congregation (the Marine Unit) formed at 1696 W.7th in addition to that at 1015 W.8th.

51 by 1951, church ceases to exist, site occupied by a food store; by 1988 occupied by Broadway Medical Building.

52 Jewish Community Centre, including the Jewish Administration Council, the Western Bulletin, the Zionist Organization of B.C., and the Canadian Jewish Congress.

53 by 1971, relocated to 950 W.41st, site occupied by Amalgamated Construction Association of B.C.

54 by 1971, Columbia College; later, the Church of Divine Man; by 1989 luxury condominiums.

55 by 1981 moved to 2677 E. Broadway; site occupied by Mercedes Benz dealership.

56 by 1971, site occupied by an apartment block.

57 by 1961, moved to 2050 Cypress.

58 by 1986, moved to MacDonald and W.16th Avenue.

Group	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
1st United Spiritualist Ch (2380 Pine)	-	-	-	-	x	x	59	-	-
Unity Centre of Practical Christianity (1605 W.12th)	-	-	-	-	-	x	60	-	-
Mormon Church (1800 Vine)	-	-	-	-	-	61	62	-	-
St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic (550 W.14th)	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x
Jesus People Army (855 W.8th)	-	-	-	-	-	-	63	-	-
North American Indian Mission (111-2205 Fir)	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	64	-
The Church of Divine Man (1601 W.10th)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	65
TOTAL	2	6	17	22	19	19	14	11	12

Source: Vancouver city directories, 1901-1988.

After World War Two, Fairview continued to evolve from a middle class family neighbourhood to a somewhat lower status community with more singles and childless couples and, hence, fewer children. During these decades several religious institutions, generally small Pentecostal groups or those with a specific ethnic orientation, either disbanded or left the area. These ethnic churches moved as the original ethnic flavour of the neighbourhood was altered. Many European groups assimilated and dispersed into the city at large; others, such as the Japanese or Sikh communities, were removed altogether or forced to move and their churches either ceased

⁵⁹ by 1971, ceases to exist, site the Alexandra Neighbourhood House.

⁶⁰ relocated to 5840 Oak Street by 1971; site occupied by Claire Manor apartments.

⁶¹ Originally located at Main & E.7th.

⁶² by 1971, moved to W.41st.

⁶³ this group existed only briefly; in 1988 the site is occupied by Willow Reach luxury townhouses.

⁶⁴ by 1981, ceases to exist.

⁶⁵ by fall, 1988, the church had moved to Burnaby; site being developed.

to exist or relocated with their community. Thus by 1951, four of the Pentecostal churches existing in 1931 had disappeared, both Japanese missions were gone, as were the Buddhist church, East India Mission and the Sikh Temple in nearby Kitsilano (Table XIV). Within another ten years the Russian Greek Orthodox church had also moved.

Others have moved for other reasons. Vancouver Unitarian Church, founded in 1909, grew from 40 members in 1913 to 100 by 1950 and 400 by 1960. The church, emphasizing speculative theology and free thought, appealing particularly to well-educated middle class persons, outgrew its Fairview site. In 1963 church leaders decided not to enlarge the Fairview building, but to relocate at Oak Street and West 49th Avenue, the new population centre of the city, in the midst of the young, professional and business families which dominated their membership (Hewitt 1978, 243).

As the Fairview neighbourhood changed from being a single family community to being a neighbourhood of apartments and rooming houses, as the family nature and social status of the community decreased, and as the proportion of renters (and hence the transience) grew, the affiliation of residents to traditional denominations and membership in churches began to drop. For instance, between 1931 and 1941 the percentage of the adult population involved in the major Protestant churches dropped sharply from 15.2% to 9.4%; this figure dropped further by 1951 to below 8% where it remained constant until the 1970s. In twenty years of social change the level of membership of local churches decreased by almost 50% while the population remained relatively constant. Although nominal religious affiliation, as measured by the census, did not begin to decline rapidly until the 1960s and 1970s in Fairview, actual declining involvement in

churches appears to have begun much earlier with the changing character of the neighbourhood.

The drop in religious affiliation and attendance between 1931 and 1941 appears to be linked to several aspects of the demographic changes occurring in Fairview. Certainly ethnic change was likely a component in the decline in religious attendance and affiliation; as the British character of Fairview was replaced by a more ethnically mixed community, the traditionally British membership of the four major Protestant denominations might be expected to decline. Yet the membership declined much more quickly than ethnic changes occurred. Similarly, as other ethnic groups arrived in the community, the rise of ethnically oriented religious groups is understandable. Yet despite the continuing presence of many ethnic groups, ethnic churches have closed or moved. Other demographic factors including the presence of fewer families, greater transience, and increasing numbers of blue-collar workers (whom, as noted, the major Protestant denominations found difficult to reach) likely contributed to the decline in church membership.⁶⁶ The Depression and advent of the Second World War likely enhanced the lower social status nature of Fairview and contributed to this decline.

Since the Second World War some new institutions have emerged in Fairview. Many of these continue to exist into the 1980s, including a French Roman Catholic church on Heather Street and a large Ukrainian Catholic complex near Cambie and West 14th Avenue, both of which serve ethnic groups spread throughout the city, but not specifically concentrated

⁶⁶ Reflecting the changing family nature of the neighbourhood Sunday School enrollment in the Presbyterian and United Churches dropped from 603 in 1931 to 305 in 1941.

in Fairview. Most new groups, however, have come and gone. Some, such as Broadway Tabernacle, the Mormons, and the Unity Centre (located in the former Fairview Baptist premises) moved to other locations in the city (the latter two joining the Unitarian church and Jewish Community Centre in Oakridge) while others, like the Jesus People Army, have ceased to exist altogether.

In the late 1970s and through the 1980s, working class Fairview has been transformed by massive redevelopment and gentrification. The gentrifiers of Fairview are predominantly mobile singles or childless couples, predominantly young, well-off, university educated, and employed in white collar (frequently professional) occupations.⁶⁷ At the same time as redevelopment introduced a new population into the community, both the percentage of those claiming some religious affiliation and the percentage of those involved in local churches has plummeted, most dramatically between 1971 and 1981, but more slowly between 1981 and 1986. As the percentage of Fairview residents involved in local churches was halved during the social changes of the 1930s and 1940s, so that percentage has halved again during the redevelopment of the 1970s and 1980s, dropping from a stable 7%-8% to approximately 3% (Table XIII).

In contemporary Fairview, several new religious groups have arisen, although the directories only list the Church of Divine Man (located in the former Vancouver Bible School).⁶⁸ New World Network, Incorporated, mentioned previously, meets at Granville Street and West Eighth. Common

⁶⁷ Sunday School enrollment in the Presbyterian and United Churches further illustrate the presence of fewer families in the area; by 1981 only 21 students were enrolled in Sunday Schools.

⁶⁸ Its tenure in the community was short lived, however, and it has relocated to North Burnaby.

ground lists several organizations based in Fairview including Dharmadhatu (a Tibetan buddhist meditation center), Voice of Light ("a spirit source which lovingly offers guidance toward the full expression of each person's inner light"), Past Life Healing and the Vancouver Psychic Society. In total, the number of religious institutions listed in the directories in Fairview has declined in recent years. In 1986 only twelve existed; in 1988, only eleven. Of the eleven major groups still existing, only eight remain of the twenty-two present in 1941, the year when the highest number of religious institutions existed in Fairview. Other religious groups, often without church buildings, however, appear to be increasing.

Those churches which have endured have invariably been the established denominations. Chalmers United has existed since before the turn of the century; Fairview Baptist and Holy Trinity Anglican have existed since before 1911; and St. George's Anglican, Fairview Presbyterian, and the Fairview Gospel Hall have remained for more than fifty years. But the longevity of the established denominations does not necessarily imply vitality. Statistics reveal dramatic declines among those claiming adherence to and those actually attending the churches of the major denominations. Only half of the proportion of those affiliating with the United Church in 1931 did so in 1981, fifty years later (Table XII). At the same time, even among those who identify with the United church, fewer and fewer are actually members of the local church, only 7% in 1981 (Table XIV); membership in Chalmers United has dropped from 7% of the community in 1971 to less than 1% in 1986; the church's 1986 membership represents only 16% of its membership in 1931 (Table XIII). The present congregation is largely composed of seniors; as the Fairview Heights neighbourhood

gentrifies and the percentage of seniors declines, the congregation appears likely to continue to decline.⁶⁹

By 1981, the Anglican and Baptist churches retained only 40% of the proportion of their affiliates in 1931 (Table XII) and experienced similar declines to the United church in terms of the percent of affiliates who are actually involved in churches (Table XIV). The Anglicans, like Chalmers United, are reaching less than 1% of Fairview while Fairview Baptist's membership is 0.4% of the population of the community and represents only 16% of its 1931 membership (Table XIII). The Anglican and Baptist churches are also largely attended by seniors, declining as the senior population drops.⁷⁰

In terms of nominal affiliation, the Presbyterians have declined most dramatically of all, in the 1980s retaining less than 30% of their share of the population in 1931 (Table XII). However since the 1950s those who claim to be Presbyterian have increasingly been involved in the local church, which, compared to the churches of other denominations, has experienced comparatively slow decline (Table XIII, XIV). The Presbyterians have done better, retaining 56% of their 1931 membership in 1986.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Chalmers' Sunday School peaked at 522 in 1931; no Sunday School has run in the church since 1971.

⁷⁰ In 1987 Dayspring, an independent evangelical group with approximately 200 members moved from Kitsilano Community Centre to Holy Trinity Anglican as a largely autonomous, second congregation. A minority of those involved in Dayspring, however, do actually live in Fairview.

⁷¹ Indeed, not only has Fairview Presbyterian's membership remained high, but it is increasingly drawing members from the local community. In 1978, an estimated 15% of the membership came from the Fairview area; by 1989, 45% of the membership came from Fairview (interview with Reverend J. Mills, March 1989).

In total, the major Protestant churches have shrunk from claiming over 15% of the adult population as members, to claiming less than 3% in less than sixty years. One young clerk, a resident of Fairview, when asked about religion replied, "No, I don't go church, why should I? I've got better things to do." Other residents added, "I went when I was a kid and then I left; I don't really know why"; "The churches are for dead people, or older people who are nearly dead," and, "It's all lies anyway."

The sector which has exploded during the last twenty years, particularly as gentrification has progressed, has been those claiming "no religion," in 1981 representing 27% of Fairview residents. This group of individuals who do not identify with any religion, either traditional or more recent movements, has grown from a minuscule 0.4% of the population in 1931 to over one quarter of all residents in the 1980s. "Religions," remarked one resident, "are for those who don't have self-confidence to make it on their own; people who live here are successful people - they don't need something to lean on."

However among some of those who nominally relate to the major denominations, plus among those who claim "no religion" other ideologies appear to function like religions, providing motivation and worldviews. Vaguely defined searches for fulfillment persist in Fairview. As a product of the late 1960s and 1970s "sometimes euphoric sense of a new beginning in society, politics and, not least, lifestyle" (Ley 1987a, 45), Fairview has strong undercurrents of an ethic articulated in a culture of conspicuous consumption and self-actualization. Fairview, Ley suggests, represents a "landscape for a lifestyle," a lifestyle with "tendencies towards both elitism and indulgence" (Ley 1987a, 48). In this society churches are

largely irrelevant and traditional religion is virtually ignored.

Motivation and meaning in life for many Fairview residents appears to be at least partially found in consumption and lifestyle; "the most important things in my life right now are my job (as a chartered accountant), my car (a red 1987 BMW sedan), and my weekends at Whistler."

Three brief vignettes of the physical changes that have occurred in Fairview capture the essence of the changing values in the community. The now defunct Trinity Lutheran Church site has been developed as an office tower, one of the tenants being the Vocational Consulting Group. This company provides vocational assessments and career counselling for professionals (particularly in law and business) anxious to succeed and advance in the competitive postindustrial marketplace.⁷² Meanwhile, in the mid-1970s, Broadway Pentecostal Tabernacle moved from gentrifying Fairview to a stable working class neighbourhood in East Vancouver. The church's former site on West Broadway was redeveloped as Vancouver's Mercedes-Benz dealership, selling an exclusive product "engineered like no other car in the world," to financially secure, status conscious consumers concerned with quality and prestige rather than price.⁷³ Finally, the

⁷² In 1988, 15 vocational consultant firms were located in Vancouver; the largest concentration of these was in the downtown core (9); the others were all in Fairview (4) and Kitsilano (2)(B.C. Tel 1988, 1795).

⁷³ A salesman at the dealership mentioned that although their clients have always come from throughout the metropolitan area, the number of local customers has increased sharply in the last five years. Several other exclusive car dealerships service the Fairview-Kitsilano area including Acura, BMW, Ferrari, Jaguar, Porsche, Rolls Royce and Saab dealerships. While representatives of each dealership were unable or unwilling to specify the exact proportion of their customers from the local community, Acura, BMW and Porsche salespeople all recognized that a "large percentage" of their business came from the local communities of Fairview and Kitsilano. According to a BMW salesman, the typical buyer is attracted to the reliability and quality of the car, but is primarily interested in "the social statement he is making by owning the product. The student whose

United Church East India Mission site has become the location of a recently established sporting goods wholesaler and manufacturer.⁷⁴

These three examples typify the changes in status and values in Fairview. The data suggest that traditional churches, were much stronger in the past than presently. New religious movements and alternative ideologies emphasizing self-actualization, consumption and pleasure appear to be increasing as traditional religion declines. Echoing similar values, mass mailings from one of the five dating services headquartered in Fairview use hooks like, "In a time when commitment is more important than ever, your commitment to improving your life is more important than ever. You owe it to yourself."⁷⁵ Omnipresent tiny bistros appealing to the bourgeois tastes of residents advertise cappuccino and espresso bars which serve only "specialty cafés" and sweets made with "no sugar, no salt, no cholesterol, no guilt" where "only the taste is sinful."

Numerous other exclusive eating establishments serve Fairview; telephone interviews determined that Sundays from 10 am until 2 pm these

first car was an old Honda Civic, now that he has a good job wants a good car to go with it. He has the money to enjoy the finer things in life so why shouldn't he? Owning a BMW says, 'Hey, I've made it; you want to know me.' Besides, they're fun to drive!"

⁷⁴ In the words of one Fairview resident, "I want the best things I can afford; so what if my bathing suit cost me \$115. I don't want to go to the pool or the beach and say, 'Ooh yuck, look at her;' I want to look good. How I look is important to me; it says who you are. My \$115 bathing suit says 'I'm M. and I'm proud of it!'" In Sutherland et al's (1986) photographic celebration of Vancouver, of approximately 190 images of the city, at least 50 pictured sports or recreation activities from the annual polar bear swim to professional football.

⁷⁵ Quoted from mass mailing by First Impression ("where quality singles meet"), March 1989. Another agency describes itself as "a company whose time has come," aimed at "single people who want results ... active people like yourself, too busy to meet other single people who want the most out of life now and understand the value of using a professional service" (Friends mass mailing, April 1989)

establishments served between 2500 and 3000 persons; less than 1000 attend all local churches during the same period. The Sunday brunch clientele of the Fogg n' Sudds exceeds the 11 am congregations of both Anglican, Chalmers United and Fairview Baptist churches combined.⁷⁶ In accordance with the tenets of organized religion provided by Piesman and Hartley, in Fairview only the taste of certain foods is "sinful," sin being defined as inhibited self-fulfillment - eating the wrong foods and denying oneself the possible pleasures of success and self-actualization.

Besides the self-actualization ethic permeating Fairview, aesthetic values are commonplace, from a plethora of architectural award winning condominium complexes (Mills 1988) to posters plastered on plywood fences surrounding building sites on West Broadway advertizing club acts, classical presentations including ballet, Shakespeare's Hamlet, a Sunday coffee concert series, opera (Aïda) and the symphony. The Vancouver Symphony, recognizing in the aesthetic sensibilities and ample wealth of young professionals a potentially lucrative new market, has geared its advertisements specifically at the typical Fairview resident ("Verde," the poster is quick to point out, is not a brand of racing bike but the composer's name).

But aestheticism in Fairview is tempered with economic rationalism. Beside the posters for Aïda and Hamlet on the construction site wall have been posted promotional posters for Simon Fraser University's new downtown campus' summer courses. At the top of the list of course offerings is Business Administration (the department which is also offering the most

⁷⁶ In jest one resident mentioned that "The only priest I know is Monk McQueen's," a licensed restaurant on False Creek, but "I don't do much confessing there, if you know what I mean."

courses). Even departments such as communication, computer science and math are explicitly geared towards business applications. Many traditional disciplines, such as fine art and philosophy, are not offered. Several Fairview residents echoed these sentiments: "It's hard to know how to find the balance; my career is important, probably most important, but you gotta have fun too; all work and no play, you know!" "I like going to Whistler - the skiing's great, the girls are great and you can meet some bigwigs there; I got my present job (in a downtown legal firm) at a nightclub there, we were just talking ... and he (a partner) offered me a job."

Fairview has changed profoundly over the years, from a dominantly British, middle class family neighbourhood, early in the century, through a period of being a rooming-house neighbourhood housing an eclectic, racially mixed assortment of comparatively low income, working class and lower middle class singles and families. Yet membership statistics indicate that the majority of Fairview residents never have been involved in traditional religions; in 1931 only 20% of those who identified with one of the major Protestant denominations in the area were actually involved in a local church. Now, however, less than 3% are involved in the major Protestant churches. Likely the ethnic mix of the community - British, northern European and Asian - combined with increasing transience, more singles and childless families, and the earlier working class character of the neighbourhood all contributed to low levels of traditional religiosity in Fairview.

Recently, in the present gentrified landscape of luxury condominiums occupied by an increasingly wealthy, well-educated, young, professional households, sometimes with two incomes and rarely with children, religious

affiliation and attendance has declined even more rapidly. The population living in Fairview increasingly displays all the characteristics of those least likely to be involved in traditional religions in modern society - young, single, or if married, childless, of British, northern European or Asian descent, well-educated, and employed in professional fields.

Fairview appears to be a community in which the dominant values seem to be self-improvement and self-actualization, whether through pleasure and enjoyment of consumer goods and the cultivation of experiences, or through material gain and professional advancement. Although traditional religion appears never to have been strong in Fairview, it appears to be withering almost to nonexistence as gentrification continues.

2. Kitsilano

Like Fairview, Kitsilano has experienced dramatic changes in both the nature of the community and the religious affiliation of its residents since it was first settled at the beginning of this century. As the community has experienced apartment growth, the loss of many families, the challenges of the counter culture, and, more recently, gentrification, the spiritual values of the community have changed profoundly.

In 1906, Kitsilano's first school was built at Yew and W.4th Avenue. In the same year Kitsilano Presbyterian Church was begun, although a building was not constructed for another four years. Also in 1906, a handful of people meeting in a store on Cornwall near Yew Street began Kitsilano Methodist Church, which after 1910 moved to Second Avenue and Larch Street and later became Crosby United Church and later again Kitsilano United Church. In 1908 St. Mark's Anglican Church was organised

in the community, followed seven years later by Broadway West Baptist Church, another offspring of First Baptist. In early Kitsilano, predominantly middle class, British, family oriented and stable, the early establishment of these denominations was easily understandable. The first churches were clustered in the eastern part of the area, near Fairview, around the nucleus of early development. At this time much of the land west of Kitsilano Beach was still sparsely, if at all, developed; when Broadway West Baptist was established in 1915 the church was at the western fringe of development. The churches in the community were vital neighbourhood organizations, both well attended and supported throughout the first half of the century, and served as community centres for residents, particularly young people (Kitsilano Times, general survey, Vancouver Sun October 25, 1955).⁷⁷ The churches of Kitsilano, as well as performing explicitly religious functions, provided gathering points for residents, social networks, and recreational opportunities for the neighbourhood. Canadian Memorial Chapel (now Canadian Memorial United Church) began in 1923 as an outgrowth of Fairview's Sixth Avenue Methodist Church specifically to meet the social needs of the community.

In addition to the church or chapel, and to provide for a practical expression of the thing memorialized - namely service and sacrifice - it was conceived that connected with the Church there should be a Community Hall in which continuous service, seven days in the week, might be carried on for the citizens of Vancouver needing the service (Davis 1925, 343-345).

Canadian Memorial built its community hall first, before the church sanctuary, expressly to provide community service. Churches had Sunday

⁷⁷ For example, Kitsilano Presbyterian had a membership of 178 by 1909, three years after being established; by 1914 membership reached 736, and by 1919, 850.

Table XIV

Religious Groups in Kitsilano, 1901-1986⁷⁸

Group	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Kitsilano Methodist (2490 W.2nd)	-	x	79	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crosby United (2490 W.2nd)	-	-	x	x	x	80	-	-	-
St Stephen's United (2300 W.4th)	-	-	x	x	x	81	-	-	-
Kitsilano United (2490 W.2nd)	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x
Kitsilano Presbyterian (2250 W.4th)	-	x	82	83	-	-	-	-	-
St Marks Anglican (2000 W.1st)	-	x	84	x	x	x	x	x	x
Broadway West Baptist (3500 W.7th)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
St James United (2627 Trutch)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
St Augustine's Catholic (2301 Arbutus)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
St Nicholas Russ Orthodox (1990 W.7th)	-	-	x	x	85	-	-	-	-
Bethany Mission (3652 W.4th)	-	-	x	86	87	-	-	-	-
Hebron Hall (2029 Arbutus)	-	-	x	x	88	89	-	-	-

⁷⁸ The city directory for 1921 did not include churches in most cases, therefore 1921 has been omitted.

⁷⁹ by 1931, renamed Crosby United Church.

⁸⁰ in 1952, Crosby and St Stephen's United joined to become Kitsilano United.

⁸¹ see footnote 3; site now occupied by Shopper's Drug Mart.

⁸² by 1931, moved to 2946 W. Broadway; by 1988, site occupied by A Touch of Class Beauty Salon and the Kitsilano Massage Therapy Clinic.

⁸³ by 1941, disbanded; by 1988, site occupied by the Acropol Restaurant.

⁸⁴ by 1931, St Marks Anglican had moved to 1805 Larch.

⁸⁵ by 1951, church ceases to exist, site now an apartment block.

⁸⁶ by 1941, Bethany Full Gospel Hall, located at 2625 W.4th; original site now City Suds Laundromat.

⁸⁷ by 1951, church no longer in existence, building occupied by Royal Canadian Legion.

⁸⁸ by 1951, renamed Kitsilano Gospel Hall.

⁸⁹ by 1971, church ceases to exist; site now occupied by The Magic Flute record store and On 4th Audio/Video.

Group	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Gospel Hall (2500 W.5th)	-	-	x	⁹⁰	-	-	-	-	-
2nd Church Christ Scientist (1900 W.12th)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sikh Temple (1866 W.2nd)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	⁹¹	-
Canadian Memorial United (1811 W.16th)	-	-	⁹²	x	x	x	x	x	x
St George Greek Orthodox (2305 W.7th)	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	⁹³	-
Salvation Army (2016 Yew)	-	-	-	x	x	⁹⁴	x	x	x
Plymouth Brethren Church (2496 W.6th)	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	⁹⁵	-
Kitsilano Tabernacle (1415 Maple)	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	⁹⁶	x
Evangelical Mission Covenant Church (2309 W.10th)	-	-	-	-	x	⁹⁷	-	-	-
Kitsilano Lutheran (2715 W.12th)	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x
16th Avenue Gospel Hall (2756 W.16th)	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x
I AM Religious Temple (1895 W.7th)	-	-	-	-	x	⁹⁸	x	x	x
Church of the Radiant Flame (2825 W. Broadway)	-	-	-	-	-	x	⁹⁹	-	-
Institute of Hypnotism (3468 W. Broadway)	-	-	-	-	-	x	¹⁰⁰	-	-
Psychic Study Centre (3480 W. Broadway)	-	-	-	-	-	x	¹⁰¹	x	x

⁹⁰ by 1941, vacant; site now occupied by apartments.

⁹¹ by 1981, moved to South Vancouver, site now occupied by Wishing Well Apartments.

⁹² formerly Fairview Methodist and Canadian Memorial Chapel.

⁹³ by 1981, moved to Arbutus and W.29th; original building now Kitsilano Neighborhood House.

⁹⁴ by 1961 site occupied by Kitsilano Furniture and Auction, Salvation Army (Kits Corps) operating out of 2309 W.10th.

⁹⁵ by 1981, renamed Larch Street Gospel Meeting Hall; by 1986 a private residence.

⁹⁶ by 1981, renamed Kitsilano Bible Church.

⁹⁷ by 1961, church no longer in existence, premises occupied by the Salvation Army, the Kits Corps (footnote 16).

⁹⁸ by 1961 moved to 1949 W.10th.

⁹⁹ by 1971, church ceases to exist, site vacant; now occupied by Yours Cards & Gifts.

¹⁰⁰ by 1971, private dwelling, now apartments.

¹⁰¹ by 1971, moved to MacDonald and W.4th Avenue; premises now Leo's Plumbing and Heating.

Group	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Bethany Tabernacle (2802 W.4th)	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	102	-
Ontological Society of Vanc (2506 Cornwall)	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	103	-
Centre of Christian Philosophy (2965 W. Broadway)	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	104	-
Estonian Evangelical Alliance (2396 W.8th)	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	105
TOTAL	0	3	13	15	18	19	19	15	14

Source: Vancouver city directories, 1901-1986.

Schools, boy scouts, cub scouts, CGIT groups (Christian Girls in Training, equivalent to scouts), young peoples' organizations, young marrieds' groups, womens' associations, womens' missionary societies, and, during the Second World War, Red Cross branches.¹⁰⁶

Before 1939 in Kitsilano affiliation with the major Protestant denominations was high; almost 85% of residents identified with one of the major Protestant denominations (Table XVIII). Yet, like Fairview, actual membership and attendance figures were much lower (Table XVIII).¹⁰⁷ Like

¹⁰² bulldozed by 1981, replaced by Darby D Dawes Pub.

¹⁰³ by 1981, group no longer organized, site a private residence.

¹⁰⁴ by 1981, group no longer organized, site vacant; now the Honfleur Bistro.

¹⁰⁵ by 1986, renamed the Chinese Christian Chapel Church.

¹⁰⁶ The branch at Crosby United made 14,853 garments between 1939 and 1945 (*Kitsilano times*, February 5, 1946).

¹⁰⁷ In Kitsilano, only United and Anglican data are available. Broadway West Baptist Church left the Baptist Union of Western Canada in 1927 during a denominational controversy (see Poussett 1980). However the church has remained small, never completing its building, and currently with a membership of less than 50. There has never been a continuing Presbyterian presence in Kitsilano; Kitsilano Presbyterian disbanded by 1941, its membership declining after church union in 1925. Fairview Presbyterian, however, is close to Kitsilano and serves both communities.

Table XVII

Religious affiliation in Kitsilano, 1931-1986 (%)

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Anglican	35.2	34.8	29.9	23.5	18.0	14.0
Baptist	4.7	4.4	3.6	2.8	2.0	2.0
Greek Orthodox	0.4	0.6	1.3	2.3	5.0	4.3
Jewish	1.0	1.8	2.2	1.9	1.1	1.0
Lutheran	1.3	1.7	3.0	7.2	4.0	3.0
Pentecostal	0.3	0.5	n/a	n/a	0.3	0.5
Presbyterian	11.2	12.9	9.3	6.9	3.4	3.0
Roman Catholic	7.1	9.6	12.3	17.2	17.0	18.0
United	33.2	27.1	30.8	28.7	18.0	16.0
no religion	0.4	n/a	n/a	n/a	22.0	32.0
other	10.1	10.3	10.9	13.7	9.1	6.1

Source: Census of Canada, 1931-1986

Table XVIII

Church Membership in Kitsilano, 1926-1986

	1926	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
Crosby United	498	496	381	430	see Kitsilano United			
St. Stephens United	599	413	423	282	see Kitsilano United			
Kitsilano United					390	349	142	146
St. James United	n/a	140	72	157	724	538	200	200
Canadian Memorial United	673	839	793	1161	1325	660	777	710
Total United Membership	1770	1888	1669	2030	2439	1547	1119	1056
Percent of adult population	-	8.7	6.4	6.9	8.1	5.3	4.0	3.6
St. Mark's Anglican	-	208	210	180	60	153	130	107
Percent of adult population	-	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.4
Total membership	1770	2096	1879	2210	2499	1700	1249	1163
Percent of adult population	-	9.7	7.2	7.5	8.3	5.8	4.5	4.0

Table XIX

Church affiliates who are church members,
Kitsilano, 1931-1981 (%)

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Anglican	2.7	1.9	1.7	0.8	2.9	2.5
United	20.2	19.6	18.6	23.5	25.3	23.1

Fairview, church membership appears to have been higher in 1931 than subsequently, perhaps reflecting the relatively stable, middle class family character of the community at that time.¹⁰⁸ And like Fairview, alternative religions were established early in Kitsilano; a Christian Science church was established in the 1920s.

Between the wars and through the 1960s, religious groups flourished in Kitsilano. From the three original churches existing in 1911, up to 19 groups existed at one time in the neighbourhood. Particularly during this period a variety of independent pentecostal gospel halls, which have traditionally thrived among working class people, of whom Kitsilano had many during this period, and ethnic churches (for example, Orthodox churches) were established. These were located particularly in eastern Kitsilano where smaller lot sizes, more apartments, higher densities, lower housing costs, and closer proximity to the False Creek industrial area were attractive to many immigrants from eastern Europe and Asia and others working in the sawmills and plants of the Creek.

However as the social character of Kitsilano became more diverse, the new apartment buildings occupied by mobile singles and childless couples, the strong British flavour of the community tempered with other immigrant groups, so the level of adherence to traditional churches, both in affiliation and actual membership, began to decline.

During the 1950s, St. Stephens United Church closed, amalgamating with Crosby United to become Kitsilano United Church in 1952. Although both churches were doing well (Table XVIII), their close proximity prompted

¹⁰⁸ Sunday School figures for the United Churches support this. In 1931, 2511 children were enrolled in Sunday School; by 1951 only 1447 children were enrolled.

leaders to approve the union. This merger resulted in considerable friction and division which, according to one former member, still exists among senior members of the congregation and contributed to a precipitous decline in attendance. This was further enhanced by a major split within the church leadership during the early 1970s. St. James United was a beneficiary of many of these disenchanted persons.

Novelist Jan Drabek provides a helpful insight into the religious climate of Kitsilano during the 1950s and 1960s. Symptomatic of the vast majority of Kitsilano residents who identified with one of the major denominations but were not involved in any church¹⁰⁹, Vivian, one of the central character's in Drabek's Report on the death of Rasenkavalier (1977), was an adamant member of the political left who risked jail for her political beliefs; yet she never attended any church. However she identified with, and insisted on being married in the local United church even though she was not a member and had rarely attended. Vivian had "mild schizophrenia in matters concerning religion":

She wanted to be married in a church because she recognized the sanctity of the ceremony. At the same time she was at best an agnostic who frequently complained about the nefarious aspects of Christianity (1977, 113).

Vivian's faith illustrates Bibby's thesis that many Canadians, although not choosing to commit themselves to any church, still cling to religious fragments - they have no desire to be involved in an ongoing involvement in a church, but still respect and desire the rites of passage the church provides.

¹⁰⁹ From the 1940s through the 1960s, less than 2% of those who identified with the Anglican church, actually went to the local church; the United churches did much better, approximately 20% of their affiliates actually being members of a local church (Table XVIII).

Meanwhile Vivian's husband, Ton, a Czech immigrant who ultimately returned to Czechoslovakia and execution for his political beliefs, when asked about his religion replied,

Well I...I am a believer ... Yes, I guess I am (a Christian). Certainly I find the New Testament easier to take than the old one, with the vengeful God - ... Let's say I'm a religious realist. I recognize one type of behaviour for gods, another for mortals ... The plural (gods) is intended for other religions. See how tolerant I am? (Drabek 1977, 88-89)

His views complement Vivian's. While she has no real interest in religion other than a vague respect for its traditions, Ton recognizes that Christianity need not be the only valid belief system.

A spirituality such as Vivian and Ton's provided a logical transition to the counter culture of the 1960s and 1970s, of which Kitsilano was the focus. In the newly dawned "Age of Aquarius," humanism, brotherhood and ethical freedom were proclaimed by many as a new religion. Acceptance of others regardless of creed, pluralism, love and peace were the tenets of an informal theology developed in the hippie culture. Like Drabek's Ton, acceptance of all beliefs, and experimentation with all beliefs, was paramount. Concomitantly, ethical freedom permitted sensual gratification in "pleasure and self-expression through alcohol, drugs, sex and art" (Campbell 1987, 206). In his novel Dazzled, John Gray describes counter cultural Kitsilano as totally removed from anything traditional, including the church. Indeed on the very first page of the novel he emphasizes that everything but the traditional church contributed to his "salvation" from the excesses of the counter culture:

For my redemption I owe nothing to the Church, but I am indebted to the men's wear industry and to my ex-wife Wanda for opening my eyes to the truth; and to a relic of Edwardian romanticism and a deaf hippie for putting me on the path of action (1984, 2).

For Gray, the official religion of the counter culture was Transcendental Meditation, its spiritual leaders various eastern mystics (Gray 1984, 94, 115), although informally the "spiritual needs" of its residents were ministered to by any number of small time drug dealers (103).

Riding the wake of this counter cultural revolution into the late 1970s, Dennis Lee provides a passionate poetic "quest for intimations of the sacred, for what men once called 'gods'" in the new society which emerged from the counter culture's search for meaning. Lee sought to find the essence of spiritual insight which developed in and continues from that age. For spiritual truth he found true spirituality to be articulated in a new humanism, particularly taking the form of reverence for sexuality, "a carnal OM on a rumpled bed" (1979, 33). For Lee, sex was the transcendent god, the mysterious force with regenerative power: "Jesus will tire / America's empire / will buckle and fold: / The will of the body / does not grow old / ... I lie in your body. / The current goes on" (1979, 23).

The influence of the counter culture on the traditional religious institutions in the community was substantial. In this culture with its tolerance and vague belief systems including everything from Transcendental Meditation to a spiritualized sexuality, not surprisingly attendance at traditional churches, as indicated in Table XVIII, dropped markedly. United and Anglican church membership in Kitsilano dropped sharply from a 1961 high of over 8% of the neighbourhood to 5.3% by 1971 and 4% by 1981. During this period 22% of Kitsilano residents claimed to have no religion in 1971, a large increase from only a decade earlier.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ In 1961, "no religion" was lumped together with "other." Thus the 13.7% of residents who claimed "other" included those who claimed "no religion."

Interestingly nominal affiliation began to decline in Kitsilano earlier than in Fairview; by the 1950s the major Protestant denominations began to experience significant decline, a trend which accelerated through the 1960s and 1970s to the extent that the 84% of Kitsilano residents who claimed affiliation with one of the Protestant denominations in 1931 had plummeted to 35% in 1981. At the same time the number of self-confessed agnostics or atheists claiming to have no religion mushroomed from less than 1% to 32% of the population. Concurrently, as the attendance at traditional churches was declining, several religious groups arose, including both those geared towards the counter culture (eg. I AM Temple, Church of the Radiant Flame, Divine Light Mission, Institute of Hypnotism, Psychic Study Centre) and evangelistic attempts, particularly by pentecostal groups to convert the "hippies."¹¹¹

By the early 1970s, Kitsilano began to gentrify. Like Fairview, Kitsilano has become increasingly populated by young singles or childless couples, with medium to high incomes, frequently with university educations, usually employed in professional or other white collar employment, and very mobile. In this milieu the mainline churches in the community (Baptist, United, Anglican, Catholic) have experienced little or no growth or outright decline; indeed several churches have relocated or closed. United Church membership has plummeted from over 8% of the community as recently as 1961 to less than 4% of the neighbourhood in

¹¹¹ One of these, Dayspring, never occupied its own building, but met in the Kitsilano Neighbourhood House, the former St George Greek Orthodox Church. Dayspring was an attempt by evangelical Christians to reach the counter culture of Kitsilano through drama, music and nontraditional worship (including street and beach theatre). In recent years the congregation has become increasingly family oriented and suburban; in 1987 they moved to Holy Trinity Anglican Church in Fairview.

1981.¹¹² The largest drop, interestingly, was during the counter culture of the 1960s, unlike the situation in Fairview. Although membership has continued to decline, it has done so at a much slower rate than during the 1960s. Perhaps, as Martin (1981) suggests, if the "expressive revolutionaries" of the counter culture represent the "expressive professionals" of the 1980s, then this is understandable.

The changes in traditional religious affiliation and commitment of Kitsilano residents associated with the counter culture have continued, at a slower rate, into the 1970s and 1980s. Nominal affiliation has continued to decline; while 85% identified with the four major Protestant denominations in 1931, only 25% did so in 1981; the Anglican, Baptist, and United churches had dropped to levels of affiliation one half of those in 1931 while the Presbyterians fared the worst, dropping to almost one quarter of their 1931 share of the population by 1981 (Table XVII). At the same time, as noted earlier, church membership has continued to decline (Table XVIII). Within the last year, however, two new attempts by traditional groups to reach the community have begun. Both Kitsilano Christian Community, started by First Baptist Church, and Point Grey Community Church, begun by the downtown pentecostal Vancouver Christian Life Centre, are attempting to bring Christianity into the community in a culturally relevant form.

Although the spiritual complexion of Kitsilano has changed from the early part of the century, through the counter culture and continuing into the gentrifying neighbourhood of the late twentieth century, novelist D.M.

¹¹² United Church Sunday School data reinforce this; from 1961 to 1981 enrollment dropped from 1320 to 101.

Fraser believes that "the meaning of life" could still be found in Kitsilano, somehow tied up in a modern culture obsessed with art, relationships and health (1985, 141). This trio of concerns, Fraser believes, are the prime motivators of Kitsilano residents, their most precious "spiritual" values. Fraser's observation that concerns with aesthetics, relationships and personal well-being are paramount appears to be institutionalized in the galleries and print shops, neighbourhood pubs and licensed restaurants, and fitness clubs and massage parlours present throughout the community.¹¹³

For some this quest assumes an overtly religious form, represented by the variety of new religious groups operating in the community. Religious groups representing many beliefs including a Wiccan Summer Intensive ("an opportunity to study feminist ritual, magic and political change") and self-actualization organizations like Uncommon Sense ("skills for creating what you most want in your life") advertize in the community. Common ground provides the venue for many of these articulations of "New Age" philosophies (from crystal healing to other spiritual development techniques) to advertize.

For others, however, meaning in life is found in less religious expressions of beauty and relationships. Ideologies emphasizing these attitudes in a much less spiritual manner are common in Kitsilano. For instance, the fitness centres in the community appeal to both the sensitivity to beauty and ethic of self-actualization in Kitsilano. Thus,

¹¹³ Watmough (1985b) describes Kitsilano residents Richard, a UBC geneticist, and Anna Cobham, an ex-kindergarten teacher, a childless couple in their early thirties, "lovers of humanity," who experience spiritual "bliss" in a peace march.

choosing to use religious terms, a journalist describes Ron Zalko's centre as a "mecca" for pilgrims to display their "devotion" to their bodies, striving to become potential Junos and Atlases. As one client said, "why do I work out? To look good, to feel good; if my body's in shape, so's my brain, you know what I mean?"¹¹⁴ Allan Fotheringham describes the wave of health consciousness among young professionals such as those in Kitsilano as

having a religiosity to it, a superiority now enjoyed by the aerobic crowd who prance down the sidewalk in their skintight jogging spandex ... controlled by the aerobic icon, Jane Fonda, the god, Arnold Schwarzenegger - the Moses who will lead the flock into the land of pecs and deltoids (1989).

A University of British Columbia Physical Education professor, discussing the blossoming fitness movement in Kitsilano, observed that, "it's a new spirituality of the body instead of the mind" (Gruneau in Schmidt 1985). Reflecting some of the changes in Kitsilano, the long defunct Kitsilano Presbyterian Church site on Fourth Avenue is currently occupied by A Touch of Class Beauty Salon and the Kitsilano Massage Therapy Clinic (one of four massage therapy clinics in the neighbourhood). Although the fitness and health ethic is not religious in the sense of addressing metaphysical issues, for some persons it may function as a powerful motivational force.

Symptomatic of the changing spiritual climate of Kitsilano, also, is Bethany Mission, later Bethany Tabernacle, an independent gospel hall begun in the late 1920s. By 1951 Bethany had sold its original site, had been renamed Bethany Tabernacle, and opened at the strategic corner of MacDonald

¹¹⁴ Similarly, "When I quit smoking some counselor told me my body is a temple. That's what did it for me; if this body is a temple then it's precious, sacred I suppose. I don't believe in God or nothing like that, but my body's still sacred to me and I need to treat it that way."

and West Fourth Avenue. The original Bethany Mission building was transformed into a Royal Canadian Legion Hall. By 1981 Bethany Tabernacle had disbanded, and the site was redeveloped as Darby D. Dawes neighbourhood pub. The legacy of a pentecostal church, twice turned pub, is support for George Payerle's observation that religious beliefs are unimportant, and that the social hub of the community appears to have moved from the church to the bars and burgeoning neighbourhood pubs (in Twigg 1986, 13). These pubs serve both as places of fellowship and communion, and as the hubs of "networking," in which business opportunities multiply through carefully cultivated contacts (Newsweek 1984).¹¹⁵

Relationships with other people, D.M. Fraser observes, provide metaphysical fulfillment to Vancouverites much as communion with God does for Christians: "'I love you' ... is a kind of prayer the Vancouverites make a point of saying at least once a day, as other peoples, more primitive and less desperate, mumble incantations over their potato salad." While Christians find comfort in a personal, eternal saviour, some Vancouverites, Fraser notes, seek the same divine qualities from those they love: "I need you all the time, don't leave me, don't change, don't die. Such humble requests are put in writing frequently hereabouts ..." (1985, 138). These ethics are institutionalized in Kitsilano. CFUN radio, located on West Fourth Avenue, once the mouthpiece for the counter culture, and now appealing to young professionals with at best vestigial memories of the radical past, devotes five hours, six evenings every week exclusively to love songs "from the 60s, 70s and 80s." Capturing the theme of many of

¹¹⁵ As noted earlier, on an average Sunday morning, local restaurants serve 5400 while local churches have a combined congregation of 1500.

these songs, a recent top twenty hit, "My commitment" by One Nation, begins with a young man describing his "situation" to his lover using three criteria; he is young, single and has no religion.¹¹⁶ He continues, parroting the Anglican wedding service and promising to love her "for richer, for poorer, for better, for worse," punctuated with a rapturous chorus emphasizing that, "I worship your body, I worship your soul."

However like Fairview the pleasure-oriented values present in Kitsilano are also tempered with economic considerations. Reflecting on the burgeoning fitness centres in Kitsilano, Ron Zalko emphasizes that there is economic, as well as aesthetic advantage to fitness; "To be more successful, more creative, the body has to get in shape too." Similarly Professor Gruneau notes that a significant factor in the "current fitness craze" is a need to "market" oneself; apparently even relationships are equated with business transactions among some Kitsilano residents. Another resident, an insurance salesperson, noted, "Sure I come here (Bimini's) to have a good time, but I also come to meet people; in my business it's all personal contacts - this is where you make 'em."

Another ethic apparently influential in Kitsilano may be loosely defined as a "humanism" seeking both social and environmental improvements. Groups such as Amnesty International and Greenpeace, according to local shopkeepers, have a substantial following in Kitsilano. Both the environmental group Greenpeace and Canada's Green Party originated in Kitsilano, and environmental interest remains high. One employee of Banyen Books, located on Broadway, noted that the few books they stock on

¹¹⁶ A young woman in Kitsilano said, "Being religious is a definite dating liability; it means you can't make it on your own ... I'd never go out with a guy who's religious; he must be a wimp or something."

environmental issues are among their bestsellers. Actual membership information for these groups is not available, but the prevalence of posters advertizing events related to both social and environmental concerns hint that these are important ethics in Kitsilano.

The present state of religion in Kitsilano closely resembles that of Fairview; in both communities considerably less than 5% of the population is involved in mainline Protestant churches. As these traditional religions have declined, new ideologies, both taking the form of new religious groups and ideologies which appear to have increased as older religious forms have waned, have arisen. Since both neighbourhoods are the products of recent gentrification, their contemporary similarity is not unexpected.

However the neighbourhood changes that occurred to precipitate the current state of religion in these areas differ. Fairview changed slowly, gradually declining socially until the bulldozers of massive redevelopment transformed the area: religious commitment declined initially as families left the area, then remained constant until the wrecking ball of redevelopment, when large scale decline occurred again. In Kitsilano, the single families and apartments persisted until the counter culture of the 1960s and 1970s, followed by gentrification involving renovation and redevelopment. In Kitsilano religious commitment approximated Fairview through the 1950s, but the counterculture precipitated a massive decline in traditional religion and rise in alternate belief. Gentrification has further challenged traditional religion.

3. West Point Grey

Although West Point Grey has changed to some degree over the course of this century, the social changes have been much less profound than those in either Kitsilano or Fairview. From the first large scale settlement of the community in the 1920's until the present, West Point Grey has maintained a fairly consistent middle class, well-educated, family population, spiced with university students and young graduates living in secondary suites. A timeless glimpse of West Point Grey life is captured by Audrey Thomas in "Trash," in which she describes her West Point Grey home in "an old house, just south of Broadway, near Alma, in a shabby genteel district" (1985, 145). On the main floor lived the owners (a husband, a university graduate with a secure job in the downtown core and his wife, a graduate student and teaching assistant at UBC, and two young children), while both basement and second floor suites were rented to students. The story has a timeless quality; it is as appropriate to the 1940s as the 1960s as the 1980s.

The stability of the social character of West Point Grey is mirrored in the history of the religious groups in the community. In dramatic contrast to the litany of small transient groups in both Fairview and Kitsilano, West Point Grey is starkly simple. Since the establishment of the major denominations early in the century, virtually no new religious groups have arisen, and none of the existing churches have disappeared. Interestingly, no cults have ever established themselves in West Point Grey, perhaps reflecting the conservative flavour of the neighbourhood. When asked about this, one older resident responded, "If any cult were to open up here we'd kick them out in no time; this is a respectable neighbourhood!"

Table XX

Religious Groups in West Point Grey, 1901-1986¹¹⁷

Group	1901	1911	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
St Helen's Anglican (Trimble & W.8th)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
West Point Grey Baptist (4450 W.4th)	-	-	-	x	118	x	x	x	xx
West Point Grey Presbyterian (4397 W.12th)	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	xxx
Our Lady of Perpetual Help RC (4093 W.10th)	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	xxx
West Point Grey United (4595 W.8th)	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Jehovah's Witnesses (3730 W.10th)	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
Temple Sholom-Reform (4426 W.10th)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	119
TOTAL	0	0	5	5	5	6	5	5	6

Source: Vancouver city directories, 1901-1986.

West Point Grey has had virtually no history of changes in the religious institutions in the neighbourhood. The major Christian denominations all established churches in the 1920s, when settlement began in earnest in the neighbourhood, which remain until the present. Most of these (with the exception of the Roman Catholics) have a decidedly British membership, reflecting the ethnicity of most of the early residents. Unlike the other neighbourhoods, other religious groups, ethnic churches, pentecostal groups and alternative religions never established themselves in West Point Grey. The Jehovah's Witnesses were in the community for only two years. The Jewish Temple Sholom-Reform occupied a temporary site in West Point Grey

¹¹⁷ The city directory for 1921 did not include churches in most cases, therefore 1921 has been omitted.

¹¹⁸ by 1941, moved to Sasamat and W.11th.

¹¹⁹ located here only briefly, since moved to 7190 Oak Street.

before moving to South Oak Street closer to other Jewish institutions and the Jewish population centre of the city.

In part the failure of new congregations to organize in West Point Grey is linked to the demographic character of the neighbourhood. West Point Grey has remained quite firmly British in origin, and middle class, a combination which supports the major Protestant denominations. Political factors also reinforce the stability of the religious institutions in the community. Tough zoning laws, originally passed in the municipality of Point Grey and maintained to the present, have prohibited the formation of churches in retail space, the typical location of many small groups including Pentecostal and cult churches. In West Point Grey, unless a group had the money to buy residential land and could convince residents and council to allow them to locate, a new church could not begin. Hence, since the 1920s, with occasional very short lived exceptions, no new religious groups have located in the community.

Despite the comparative social stability of West Point Grey, nominal religious affiliation has plummeted in this neighbourhood much as it has in Fairview and Kitsilano. Census data for West Point Grey reveals dramatic decline in the affiliation of local residents with the major Protestant denominations, moderate growth among those with ethnic ties, and rapidly increasing numbers of those claiming to have no religious affiliation; indeed a higher percentage of West Point Grey residents claim no religious affiliation than Fairview residents (Table XXI). As in the other study neighbourhoods, the Anglicans, Presbyterians, and United Church have declined dramatically. In fact census data for West Point Grey is almost identical to that for Kitsilano; between 1931 and 1981 Anglican and United

Table XXI

Religious affiliation in West Point Grey, 1931-1986 (%)

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Anglican	36.1	34.7	35.3	30.7	24.5	18.0
Baptist	4.9	4.8	4.0	4.4	4.6	4.5
Greek Orthodox	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.7
Jewish	0.5	0.6	1.3	1.0	0.9	2.2
Lutheran	1.1	1.3	3.0	2.3	2.4	2.7
Pentecostal	0.2	0.2	n/a	n/a	0.4	0.0
Presbyterian	13.8	14.2	10.2	7.6	4.9	3.8
Roman Catholic	7.6	9.4	10.3	15.1	16.7	14.9
United	31.2	29.7	32.3	29.2	18.6	16.6
no religion	0.2	n/a	n/a	n/a	19.8	28.4
other	4.1	4.7	3.0	8.8	6.1	7.2

Source: Census of Canada, 1931-1986

affiliates dropped by over 50% (Anglicans from 35%-36% to 14%-18%, United from 31%-33% to 16%-17%) and the Presbyterians over 75% (from 11%-14% to 3%-4%). Similarly religious groups generally linked to ethnic immigration, such as Roman Catholics, have grown, although more moderately in West Point Grey than elsewhere because of the lingering British character of the neighbourhood. Pentecostals, never strong among middle and upper-middle class groups, have been and continue to be weak in West Point Grey; unlike either Fairview or Kitsilano, no Pentecostal congregation has ever been established in West Point Grey. One interesting characteristic of West Point Grey is a continuing strong Baptist affiliation, remaining virtually unchanged since 1931 (in contrast with both Kitsilano and Fairview where Baptists have declined over 50%).

Church membership and attendance figures, however, contrast markedly with the nominal affiliation data from the census. Despite plummeting nominal religious affiliation in West Point Grey, church figures suggest a

continuing vibrancy of traditional religion in the neighbourhood (Table XXII).

Table XXII

Church Membership in West Point Grey, 1926-1986

	1926	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1986
West Point Grey United	151	345	672	718	817	682	434	298
Percent of adult population	-	5.1	8.1	7.4	8.9	7.2	4.6	3.0
West Point Grey Baptist	48	104	138	248	280	253	254	235
Percent of adult population	-	1.5	1.7	2.6	3.0	2.7	2.7	2.4
West Point Grey Presbyterian	-	138	233	423	342	204	155	125
Percent of adult population	-	2.0	2.8	4.4	3.7	2.2	1.6	1.3
St. Helen's Anglican	-	215	350	380	303	358	300	256
Percent of adult population	-	3.2	4.2	3.9	3.3	3.8	3.1	2.6
Total membership	199	802	1393	1769	1742	1497	1143	914
Percent of adult population	-	11.8	16.8	18.2	18.9	15.8	12.0	9.4

Table XXIII

Church affiliates who are church members,
West Point Grey, 1931-1981 (%)

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981
Anglicans	6.6	10.0	8.8	8.1	12.3	14.8
Baptists	23.6	28.6	50.9	52.3	46.3	50.2
Presbyterians	11.1	16.3	34.1	37.0	35.1	36.3
United	12.3	22.5	18.3	23.0	29.8	23.2

In contrast to both Fairview and Kitsilano, West Point Grey again demonstrates stability: church membership statistics reveal a consistency in religious affiliation in the community. Although the percentage of the population involved in churches peaked in 1961 at nearly 19%, the current level of 9.4%, while down 50% from 1961, is still much higher than either of the other communities. Indeed while the United and Presbyterian churches have lost considerable ground, the Anglicans and Baptists have experienced little large scale decline.

Table XXIII further illuminates these statistics. Although nominal affiliations among most of the major Protestant denominations have declined, unlike Fairview and Kitsilano all of the churches in West Point Grey have maintained a constant or increasing percentage of affiliates in membership. The Anglicans have increased steadily to a level substantially higher than either of the other study communities. The Presbyterians, similarly, have increased, largely due to the massive decline in nominal affiliation. The United church has held constant, including between 20% and 30% of affiliates in membership, while the Baptist church currently includes an astounding 50% of Baptist affiliates in membership. Indeed, with the exception of the United Church, most of the major denominations appear to be maintaining a large proportion of their affiliates as members.

Although West Point Grey is a relatively stable community, it is also diverse, including many professionals, students, and university persons. Perhaps the most significant social changes in recent decades have been the increasing embourgeoisement of the population (increasing professional employment, income and university education) and increasing ethnic diversity (although West Point Grey is still dominantly British). For the churches these changes have resulted in several difficulties. Because the major Protestant churches have strong British roots, the ethnic changes in the area, particularly the arrival of Asians and southern Europeans has, in many cases, been problematic. The Anglican and Presbyterian churches remain predominantly British in membership. The Baptist and United churches contain a few members of southern European or Asian descent.

The solid middle and upper middle class nature of the community also provides obstacles. As noted earlier, university educated professionals of

British, northern European, or Asian descent are among those increasingly least likely to be involved in traditional churches.

The comparative strength of West Point Grey churches over Kitsilano and Fairview may result from the persistence of older persons, and the family orientation of younger residents in West Point Grey. The presence of children in a family appears to be a very important factor in church involvement; most of the West Point Grey churches have strong family programmes and offer daycare facilities during the week.¹²⁰ "The reason we moved to West Point Grey was because we liked the family nature of the neighbourhood; we used to live in Kits, but with the kids we just didn't like it anymore so we moved here ... we never went to church in Kits, but with A. and S. we thought it was important. So we've started going again."

Despite the resilience of the churches, the census data emphasize that the majority of West Point Grey residents are not involved in traditional churches. Indeed in 1981 over 28% claimed to have "no religion." While new religious movements embodying a variety of beliefs from human potential to the occult, such as are present in both Fairview and Kitsilano, are not evident in West Point Grey, other values and ideologies appear to be important. Like all "orthodox Vancouverites," Point Grey residents "pay homage" on the beaches and parks where the aesthetics of the natural environment surround them (D.M. Fraser 1985, 141). In the words of Point Grey residents themselves, "The tree lined streets are special to me; the spring blossoms are new birth ... new hope ..." "This is why I moved from

¹²⁰ In the United and Presbyterian Churches in West Point Grey Sunday School enrollment has declined much less than in Fairview or Kitsilano. In 1931, 530 were enrolled, in 1951, 783, and in 1981, 112. While decline has certainly taken place, it has been less dramatic than the other communities.

Saskatchewan; the prairies are dreary and lifeless, in Point Grey there is life everywhere and I like that."

Among many Point Grey residents, particularly those with university educations, Christianity is frequently an interesting anachronism, amenable to intellectual study as a cultural artifact, but certainly unworthy of belief. In a fascinating character study of a UBC English department "lecturer and scholar," Jane Rule captures the experience of traditional religion for many in West Point Grey (Rule 1985). For Rule's main character Martin, Christianity was "more a Sunday school nostalgia" than anything else, although in his academic work, "Martin had an international reputation among a limited number of scholars for his work on the nature of tragi-comedy, its important Christian underpinnings" (174). Martin's social explanation for his academic endeavors into a belief system he held in low esteem was that, "'It's still perfectly acceptable to write about Christianity as long as you aren't one'" (174). Yet despite his derision of Christianity, "Martin felt he had the best of both worlds, the here and the hereafter" because of his recently published The nature of grace, a study of tragi-comedy which assured him immortality in the libraries of his great-great-grandchildren. Ending up at a funeral of a colleague, "Martin found himself chanting, along with hundreds of other unbelievers, 'Christ have mercy upon us,'" from a vague memory of timeworn liturgy (181). For Martin, "who believed no more in hell than in heaven ... (and) believed not at all in redemption" he and the other pall bearers were his dead friend's "agents of grace" by bearing the coffin faultlessly to the graveside. Rule's short story captures the essence of traditional Christianity for many, particularly in West Point Grey, a childhood memory refreshed

occasionally by ritualized rites of passage, perhaps even studied as a cultural or historical phenomenon, but undergirded with no belief. Yet Martin himself is very conscious of religious issues, seeking by his accomplishments to achieve a form of eternal life and outlive the grave.

Interviews with West Point Grey residents emphasize similar values. Almost all of the younger people and several middle aged or older persons cited intellectual problems with belonging to a religion. "How can I believe in angels floating around on little clouds and harps while sinners burn in a lake of fire? - it's absurd!" "Christianity may be true. But Hinduism may also be true. Islam may be true. How do we know? ... Personally I don't believe in any of them We can't prove it, can we?" "With exams coming up who has time to think about religion? Can God help me pass calculus? If he can, great, I believe in him. If he can't, why should I bother with him? There, he has a chance to prove himself!"

Also present in West Point Grey is humanistic ethic similar to that noted in Kitsilano. Many West Point Grey residents are actively involved in causes seeking to improve the natural and social environment. It is impossible to gauge the strength of support for peace groups, environmental groups, and other agencies in West Point Grey, but the fact that local businesses routinely post posters promoting such activities as the Peace March and environmental campaigns ("Save the Stein") suggests some support for these groups in the community.

Although both Fairview and Kitsilano have experienced different biographies, both appear to be similar communities in the 1980s; West Point Grey, however, has changed comparatively little and remains a strong middle and upper class, predominantly British, conservative family neighbourhood.

In this milieu, few new groups have arisen, but the traditional Protestant churches have remained relatively strong influences in the community. Although nominal affiliation has declined as dramatically as elsewhere, actual attendance remains moderate. In the conclusion these contrasting experiences and trends will be distilled to provide some general observations on the interactions between neighbourhood transition and religious change.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Vancouver is truly a city of contrasts and surprises. Magnificent natural beauty and man-made structures complement one another. Diverse nationalities maintain their identities yet join together to create the city's clear sense of community. The sights, sounds, and rhythms of the city appeal to the soul and satisfy the senses. Walk around the city's streets long enough, and the impact of its variety, from residential dwellings to skyscrapers, parks to harbour, will fill you with wonder and delight.

Present in all quarters is the urge to strut for the world, to throw back the shoulders, pound the chest and say, "Look at this place, look at the potential ...

The downtown core bubbles with the vitality of someone on the verge of his prime. Vancouver is an up-and-comer with all the right moves, a brash young urban entity swaggering into international markets as diverse as pop music and venture capital ...

Part of the city's abundant energy is channeled into celebration and festival ...

There are few cities that can lay claim to the recreational boast of serving skier and sailor, tennis player and hang glider all in the same day, all within 30 minutes of City Hall ...

From the prime industries of forestry and fishing to the cultural attractions of dance and theatre, Vancouver provides all that anyone could desire in a place to live or visit.

Sutherland et al, Vancouver: a year in motion (1986)

A.M. Stephen, quoted in Chapter One, attempted to capture the soul of Vancouver in poetry. Likewise, in their centennial celebration of the city, Sutherland and his co-authors attempted the same task in a collage of text and photographs. The introductory vignettes from their book, quoted above, echo the portraits painted by Stephen's poem; Vancouver is a culturally diverse city dramatically set in a magnificent natural diorama. Both emphasize that one essential part of Vancouver is the bustling human city, while an equally integral component is the natural splendour of Vancouver's surroundings.

Yet the two celebrations of the city, separated by forty years, also have important differences. In Stephen's poem, Vancouver is a city of shopkeepers, laundrymen, dockworkers, millwrights and faceless streams of humanity coursing through office blocks. But the Vancouverites of Sutherland's book, in contrast, are celebrating innumerable cultural festivals, skiing, sailing, playing tennis and hang gliding.¹ Over the forty years between the two descriptions something had happened in Vancouver. Although there were still some similarities, the city of the 1940s was not the city of the 1980s. Through the course of this research it is apparent that during the post World War Two period, the Vancouver dominated by industrial employment became post-industrial Vancouver, with employment focussed more on the provision of business and personal services; although much of the economy is still tied to primary industries, the employment base of the city and its population had changed significantly.

The question left unanswered by these artistic portraits, given that the economic and social character of Vancouver has changed, is whether or not the spiritual "soul" of the city - the values and ideologies, particularly the religious beliefs, of residents within the city - has also

¹ Of the approximately 190 photographs in Sutherland et al (1986), over half depict leisure and recreation activities (50 celebrate sports and recreation (from suntanning to hockey), 24 depict festivals (from Sea Festival to Chinatown's new year's celebration), 16 show other forms of the arts, entertainment, and cuisine (from exotic dancers to the symphony), and 25 capture everyday life (from couples walking in the park to old men on benches)). A further 50 photographs revel in the natural and manmade beauty of the city (from panoramic views of the skyline to Fraser Valley farmlands). Only 32 pictures show Vancouverites at work.

In addition, the book has eight feature sections; five emphasize leisure (Chinatown, Expo 86, Sea Festival, Stanley Park, B.C. Lions), while only three discuss the city's economy (Fishing, Forestry, The Harbour).

changed. The fact that neither Stephen's poem nor Sutherland et al's book make explicit reference to traditional religion, is, in itself, revealing. In Stephen's poem, the dominant values of Vancouver were economic. In post-industrial Vancouver, examined by Sutherland et al, economic values still exist in downtown office towers "bubbling with vitality," but more dominant appears to be a celebration of amenity, leisure and the quest for new experiences.

This research has explicitly attempted to focus on the changing religious climate of Vancouver as the social nature of the city has changed, particularly in three inner city neighbourhoods. Emerging from the discussion of neighbourhood transition and religious change, some conclusions about Vancouver, and regarding the interaction between neighbourhood transition and religious change, more generally, may be drawn.

In the first chapter, three underlying themes were identified. First, the fact that religious beliefs have a geographic component, that different communities exhibit different patterns of belief, was discussed. Thus, as neighbourhoods changed, religious beliefs would likely change in concert. Within the Vancouver context, this observation appears to be supported; the religious character of each neighbourhood appears to have changed as the character of the neighbourhood has transformed. To some extent these variations appear to reflect the social milieu in the community. General linkages appear to exist between certain demographic characteristics and religious belief. These correlations are complex, yet do suggest that religious belief and affiliation are often related to the social characteristics of a neighbourhood. Consistent with the findings of

Veevers and Cousineau (1980), Mitchell (1982), Heaton (1986) and several American studies, particular demographic characteristics within the changing social fabric of the Vancouver communities appear to be generally linked to specific religious values.

As noted in Chapter Two, age was identified by all researchers as a critical factor involved in religious belief; in particular, young adults emerge from studies as less likely to be involved in traditional religions than older persons. The evidence from inner city Vancouver communities supports this observation. Although all areas, regardless of social change, experienced declining nominal religious affiliation, changes in age appear to be closely linked to religious belief. Certainly in Kitsilano, where the population of young adults (15-34) mushroomed from 29% of the population in 1961 to 44% of the population by 1971, church membership figures exhibit a concomitant decline (from 8.3% in 1961 to 5.8% in 1971). Similarly within Fairview the dramatic decline in church attendance through the 1970s (from a stable level of over 7% from 1951 through 1971 to 3.7% by 1981 and 2.8% by 1986) occurred in concert with a sharp increase in the population of young adults (particularly 25-34 years of age, which has grown from 17.5% in 1971 to 31% by 1986) in the community. It would appear that age is linked to traditional church involvement.

The membership profiles of churches such as Chalmers United, with a congregation almost exclusively composed of senior citizens in a community increasingly populated by younger adults supports the observation that few younger residents are expressing religious belief by being involved in local churches. However new attempts by traditional denominations, including Kitsilano Christian Community (Baptist) and Point Grey Community

Church (Pentecostal), may hint that in a community of "seekers" a culturally relevant form of traditional Christianity may be successful among young adults.

Age, is however, also linked to other forms of religious belief. Evidence from Quebec suggests that involvement in religious cults is particularly prevalent among young people (Chagnon 1985, Rouleau and Zyllerberg 1984). Alternate religions in Vancouver support this model. The Second Church of Christ Scientist in Kitsilano began early in the century with mostly young people, although the church has failed to attract many recently, continuing to service the same, now ageing, congregation. The Jehovah's Witnesses in Kitsilano claim to have a congregation "mostly of young people from the area." Certainly during the counter culture of the 1960s and early 1970s Transcendental Meditation and other groups thrived particularly among the young (Gray 1984). More recently a variety of new religious movements in both Fairview and Kitsilano have arisen in concert with the arrival of young adults. Many of these groups emphasize self-actualization and success ethics which appear to be particularly prominent among younger gentrifiers.

Other forms of belief also thrive in apparent conjunction with youth. In direct competition with churches on Sunday morning, the average age of Sunday brunch "congregations" at the Fogg n' Sudds restaurant in Fairview and PJ's Allstar Cafe in Kitsilano is respectively "anywhere from 20 to 45" and "twenties, early thirties." Young adults frequent such establishments because "we have fun here" and to find community; "Remember, you can't PJ (i.e. party at PJ's Allstar Cafe) alone!" A theme in Kennedy et al's guide

to neighbourhood pubs is that they are predominantly frequented by young adults seeking relaxation, friendship and fun.

Loosely defined ideologies of self-improvement also appear to be influential among younger adults. The average age of charter members signing up for the new Fitness World in Fairview is "mid to late twenties, a few older people too, interested in keeping fit." Ron Zalko's fitness centre in Kitsilano similarly is largely frequented by young adults. In the words of a Ron Zalko client,

I think we're more concerned about fitness than our parents were; it's more important to us how we look. Looking good says who you are.

A recent Maclean's poll of Canadians determined that "baby-boomers," adults now in their mid-twenties and thirties, are so overloaded with immediate concerns about family and finances that they have no time for religion; the survey suggested that people have become more selfish and less interested in altruistic causes or spiritual beliefs (1989, 36-37). Certainly in Fairview in particular, but also in Kitsilano, young adults echoed similar themes, citing career advancement, professional respect and enjoyment of the things money can buy. In the words of one resident, "my goal when I left college was to have a good job, a boat and a nice car - I've almost got the right job, I've got the car ... the boat will be ... another two or three years if that job comes along."

Researchers also implicated ethnicity as linked to involvement or disinvolvement in traditional religions. Neighbourhoods with high levels of British, northern European or Asian populations were identified as particularly unlikely to have high levels of affiliation to traditional religions. Each neighbourhood under study has, throughout this century,

been largely populated by these groups least likely to be involved in traditional religions. Thus, although nominal religious affiliation has often been high, actual membership and attendance figures have been much lower. Despite the fact that British and northern European groups have been the majority of the population in each community, never has 20% of the local population been involved in local Protestant churches. It would appear that, although historically many British and northern Europeans nominally identified with particular denominations, in the majority of cases that affiliation was not translated into actual commitment. The situation does appear to be changing. Particularly in Fairview and West Point Grey it is apparent that many of those who affiliate with particular denominations are increasingly involved in local churches. It may be hypothesized that many of those who claimed to be nominally religious in the past are now professing "no religion," thus contributing to the massive increase in that segment of the population. Identification with a particular church as a matter of social propriety has been replaced, since the counter culture, with a widespread acceptance of irreligion.

Another demographic variable apparently tied to religious involvement is education, closely linked to occupational status and income. According to the studies cited previously, high levels of education, particularly post secondary education, and high occupational status and income, correlate negatively with traditional religious affiliation. Certainly in terms of nominal affiliation, measured by the census, this observation is accurate in all three study neighbourhoods. As the percentage of residents with post secondary education has risen from 1941 levels of 9.7%, 8.7% and 19.2% respectively in Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey to 1986

levels of 44%, 48.1% and 57.2%, the percentage of those claiming "no religion" has increased from less than 1% to levels exceeding 27% in each neighbourhood. The most dramatic drops occurred during the 1960s, reflecting Roozen's (1980) and Conoran and Tamney's (1985) theses that after 1960, church "dropouts" were predominantly well-educated middle class persons; the "expressive revolution" removed the necessity of nominal affiliation for social respectability among the middle class. Thus individuals who once would have claimed religious affiliation, regardless of actual belief and practice, no longer felt obligated to do so. Reminiscent of this is Jane Rule's short story about Martin, a university English professor, discussed above; although not a believer in the tenets of any religion, Martin's intellectual interest in Christianity may have once led him to nominally affiliate with a denomination, although clearly in recent years to do so would be "unacademic" and to invite professional derision.

In contrast to plummeting nominal religious affiliation, actual membership statistics are more nuanced. In Fairview and Kitsilano where the social character of the neighbourhood has been radically transformed over recent decades, church statistics do show decline as the young adult population has risen and as education and occupation levels increased. However in West Point Grey, where wholesale population changes have not occurred on the same scale, church statistics show less decline. Indeed, although the percentage of Point Grey residents with university education trebled between 1941 and 1986, actual membership figures have declined much more slowly. In contemporary West Point Grey, with the highest percentage of university graduates, professional workers and the highest average

income of any of these neighbourhoods, actual involvement in traditional religious organizations is also at the highest levels.

Perhaps the nature of post secondary education is also significant. In Fairview, where business and engineering graduates predominate, traditional religion is weakest, yet various self-improvement values are evident, for instance in the form of several career-counselling and dating services. However in Kitsilano where more graduates have an arts background, both traditional religion and overtly new religious movements appear to be somewhat stronger. There may be some connection between these factors contributing to differences in religious values between Fairview and Kitsilano.

Although education and occupational status may be one factor intimately connected with disinvolvement in traditional religion, other factors must also be involved to account for the different experiences of Fairview, Kitsilano and West Point Grey.

One such complementary variable might be mobility or length of residence. Like the "nomads" of Hale's research, many persons, particularly in Fairview, but also in Kitsilano, either moved regularly, or were recent immigrants to the neighbourhood. These newcomers frequently did not become involved in local churches for several reasons. First, throughout the history of Fairview and Kitsilano, those leaving the communities as changes occurred were those most likely to be involved in churches; in the early part of the century these were typically middle class families, more recently seniors have joined families as social groups moving elsewhere. Second, those who have moved into these communities have typically been the least religious; initially young adults, singles and

frequently lower middle and working class. Recently, immigrants are frequently young and single (or at least childless) but also well educated, well paid, and professional. Third, as the neighbourhoods have changed rapidly, populated by those least likely to be involved in traditional churches, the churches have not always adapted to their new community. Fourth, the new residents of Fairview and Kitsilano move frequently; between 1981 and 1986 almost 75% of Fairview residents moved at least once, significantly above national and city averages.

With the combination of these factors, traditional churches have fared poorly. Individuals tend to become members of churches they have attended for a period of time; in a community where people move frequently, they simply do not join local institutions. As the Maclean's survey and Bibby emphasize, in a society dominated by immediate concerns, religion is often neglected. In contrast, in West Point Grey, where families have remained more rooted (less than 30% of residents moved between 1981 and 1986), churches have similarly remained vibrant institutions.

Another critical factor in religious involvement is family status. Typically singles and childless couples are less likely to be involved in traditional churches than families. This is apparent in inner-city Vancouver. In Fairview from 1931 to 1986, the percentage of children has dwindled from over 21% of the population to less than 6%, and the percentage of singles has escalated from 44% to 66%; from 1951 to 1986 the percentage of families with children dropped from 44% to 24% while the average household size dropped to less than two. Over the same period both nominal affiliation and church attendance fell in concert. Virtually identical patterns are evident in Kitsilano, although families do persist

to a greater extent, perhaps contributing to moderately higher church involvement in Kitsilano than Fairview. However in West Point Grey, where almost 50% of adults are married, 55% of families have children, the average household size is 2.5, and children account for over 15% of the population, religious attendance remains relatively stable. Family status, then, does appear to be a significant component of religious involvement.

Lastly, a variety of literary sources and analyses by David Ley hint that where post-industrial values of consumption and self-actualization are predominant, traditional religion will be weak, but alternative forms of common religion, and other ideologies which may fulfill some of the functions of religion might flourish. From the discussions of this research, it is apparent that post-industrial values are relatively strong among many young adults, particularly in Fairview and Kitsilano. Here new religious movements, such as the New Age, appear to be somewhat influential. Also, institutions catering to other ideologies from fitness to environmentalism, are evident. There appears to be strong link between the prevalence of values emphasizing the twin traditions of consumer materialism and aesthetic hedonism and the weakness of traditional religion; post-industrial values do in fact coincide with areas where traditional religions are weak.

These six variables suggest some interconnectedness between neighbourhood social characteristics and religious belief. Not only do they validate the research of others within a local intraurban context, but suggest a possible directions for a more general geography of religious belief. Clearly as the social characteristics of neighbourhoods undergo transition over time and space, religious belief often changes in concert.

Nevertheless, within local contexts the relative importance of these particular linkages may vary considerably. For instance, although traditional religions generally fare poorly among middle class, single (or childless) young adults, a church specifically targeting this group with relevant, creative approaches, may be successful. However in most instances, where traditional religions maintain traditional forms of worship, the general relationship is valid. Nevertheless, local nuances must constantly be acknowledged. Fairview, with its recent history of massive redevelopment and dramatic social transformations reveals very low levels of traditional religious involvement. Yet Kitsilano, although demographically similar, has higher levels of commitment perhaps reflecting a less dramatic physical and social transformation and subtle differences in values of the residents.

A second underlying theme of this research is that ideologies, beliefs and values not only vary over space, but influence decision making, and, hence, the organization of the landscape. Traditional religion appears to have always been relatively weak in Vancouver, and has had comparatively little impact on the ordering of the landscape. Certainly Vancouver has never been dominated by church structures as were medieval European cities. However the dominant values inherent within Vancouver's communities have influenced the development of the city. In early Vancouver, when Lowry's "Molochs" relentlessly chomped at forests and polluted the environment, values of economic optimization created a distinctive urban environment which ordered the landscape on largely economic terms with little consideration of aesthetics, leisure or other values. More recently, however, post-industrial values emphasizing aestheticism and amenity, in

conjunction with economic concerns, have recreated the urban form (Ley 1980, 1987a). The forces of a "liberal ideology," which for some may serve a religious function by providing a worldview which shapes beliefs and actions, may be new expressions of a search for beauty and meaning in what is for many a post-Christian world (Campbell 1987).

Within Vancouver the transforming power of these new ideologies is evident not only in the various planning policies and development ideologies identified by Ley (1980, 1987a). It is also evident in an evolving commercial landscape. In Fairview and Kitsilano the Pentecostal gospel halls, hardware stores, furniture stores and other businesses of the earlier decades of this century are being replaced by neighbourhood pubs, licensed restaurants, specialty eateries and lifestyle stores, and fitness centres.

The manifestations of ideologies, be they well articulated as religious dogma or informal belief systems involving ethics of amenity and self-actualization, in the urban environment warrant further investigation. In the words of an early pioneer of religion, ideology and landscape interactions, Erich Isaac:

Problematic though it be, the study of transformations of the landscape made upon ideological principles constitutes the major material for one who would study the religious motive at work in the cultural landscape of the present day (1960, 18).

The third theme identified initially is that, although religious beliefs have a spatial component and impact the landscape, they have been largely ignored in much cultural analysis, particularly in contemporary urban geography. Through the discussion of theory and case studies it is apparent that such a dismissal must be carefully evaluated. Many social scientists uncritically accept the Weberian hypothesis that, with the

advent of industrialism and post-industrialism, religion as a vital component of society is dead. In terms of traditional religion, in Vancouver that assumption might be construed as valid. From its beginnings, Vancouver does not appear to have been a strongly Christian city. However even traditional religion does persist in a limited form in the inner-city districts examined in this study, and for many is a motivator for social action.² Even more significantly, disenchantment with the materialist and technological paradise promised by some proponents of industrialism has awakened, in concert with the "expressive revolution," a new quest for answers and meaning beyond those of science, technology, and what were perceived to be irrelevant traditional churches. What emerged may be described as a loose body of ideologies emphasizing any number of values including environmentalism, aestheticism, consumerism and self-actualization. For some people these have been formed into religious-like ideologies emphasizing such ideas as the inherent divinity of the individual and mystical rites and practices.³ For others these ideologies are less formalized, yet still motivate their actions. By influencing individual decision making, these values may be critical in the shaping of the landscape.

As most scholars now acknowledge, secularization theory, stressing the triumph of science over religion, is not historically accurate. Rather, secularization, or the decline of one religious system, must be considered in conjunction with sacralization, the creation of new sacreds. The Industrial Revolution occurred in conjunction with the declining influence

² For example in the abortion debate.

³ For a thorough discussion of the literature on religious movements in Canada see Ralston 1988.

of traditional Christianity, apparently replacing it with scientism and faith in the redemptive power of invention and technology. The "expressive revolution" appears to have ushered in an age of the secularization, or decline, of unrestrained faith in science, perhaps sacralizing instead individual potential and aestheticism. Reflecting on these changes, theologian Donald Bloesch writes,

we are entering a post-Enlightenment period when a fascination with feeling and volition supplant confidence in reason, when the depths of the unconscious will figure more prominently than logic and science (1984, 77).

However, Bloesch, akin to Colin Campbell (1987) and David Nicholson-Lord (1987), notes that this return to romantic, Bohemian values is tempered with the fruits of industrialism, technology being the servant of new attempts to discover human potential and enhance the environment. Thus the quest for romantic fulfillment is carried on in a rational fashion, institutionalized in highly profitable motivational books, videos and seminars. There is, as Campbell emphasizes, a tension of economic rationality and romanticism in a culture which searches for the "right" technique for ecstatic sexual fulfillment, which seeks mystical communion with the divine in meticulously detailed programmes marketed by advertizing agencies, and business motivational groups emphasizing meditation.

Far from being a "secular" society without religious values, Bloesch emphasizes that the post-industrial era is characterized by a plethora of competing religious ideologies, among them "the gods of nation, race, class, military valour, nature, technique, sex" (1984, 79). Although not normally religious in the sense of addressing questions of the meaning of life and death, the definition of the sacred and profane, or the supernatural, these ideologies shape the activities of many individuals,

and thus, functionally, fulfill one historical role of religion. Particularly in post-industrial Vancouver the "gods" of technique (economic rationality), nature (aestheticism, environmentalism), and sex (human relationships and self-actualization) appear to be paramount. Indeed, particularly in the three neighbourhoods under study in this paper, these ethics appear to coexist in tension, competing for preeminence. In certain neighbourhoods, particularly Fairview, Kitsilano and the younger residents of West Point Grey these apparently disparate values, as Campbell suggests, "dance their cultural tango:"

What is the meaning to my life? Gee, that's a good one. Well, my job is probably first - you know; it means a lot to me ... but having fun is important too; I love coming here and partying Friday nights. I look forward to it all week. You never know when you're going to get lucky.

Is there, then, an "image behind the veil" of Vancouver? Is there a spiritual "soul of the city"? The answer is not simple, for the spiritual character of the city is as diverse as its many neighbourhoods. To some degree, the religious character of the city may be hypothesized by the demographic characteristics of its neighbourhoods. Certain social indicators, such as age, ethnicity, education (and occupation and income), mobility, family status, and a more elusive measure of aestheticism, appear to be linked to the values of many residents. This linkage is not, however, without local exceptions, where, for example, traditional religions adapt to be relevant to the new cultural context in which they are located.

However for most Vancouverites, their spiritual pilgrimages take them down innumerable avenues in search of meaning and coherence. Social scientists (Campbell, Lyon), theologians (Bloesch) and proponents of new

values (Nicholson-Lord) all see this quest for meaning, in an era in which the technological theologies of the industrial age have secularized and lost some influence, as a rediscovery of pre-Christian gods, particularly catering to aestheticism and self-fulfillment.⁴ Certainly the diversity of spiritual answers trumpeted in post-industrial Vancouver is not new; indeed the quest of modern society is reminiscent of the search of Solomon, the author of Ecclesiastes, who, several centuries before Christ, similarly explored the wealth of human experience to determine what ultimately brought meaning to life. Solomon devoted "himself to study and to explore by wisdom all that is done under heaven" (Ecclesiastes 1:13). Like many Vancouverites, he experimented with accumulating academic knowledge ("I have grown and increased in wisdom more than anyone"), cultivating pleasure ("I denied myself nothing my eyes desired; I refused my heart no pleasure"), undertaking great projects ("I made gardens, parks ..."), working diligently, amassing silver, gold and an array of other possessions including houses and gardens, and surrounding himself with stimulating people. Apparently Solomon's conclusion remains valid:

What has been will be again, what has been done will be done again; there is nothing new under the sun (1:9).

The "soul" of Vancouver, then, with its weak traditional religions and plethora of alternative options for spiritual fulfillment, whether overtly religious or covert manifestations of religious ethics, is nothing new. Yet it provides a challenging laboratory for the urban social scientist.

⁴ Significantly reenchantment of west coast literature with native indian mythology represents the contemporary "renaissance" of British Columbia literature (Skelton and Lillard 1978); a renewed emphasis on Shamanism is also one movement within the New Age Movement (see Common ground).

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