Attitudes Toward Homosexuality: American and Canadian Patterns, 1981-2000

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Previous research has determined that Canadians often exhibit more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality than Americans, yet few studies have attempted to uncover why this pattern persists. Using World Values Surveys data, this study compares attitudes toward homosexuality between Canadians and Americans from 1981 to 2000. The study re-examines directly Reginald Bibby's (2004) assertion that divergent levels of religious commitment, rather than other socio-demographic, cultural and socio-structural factors, largely account for attitudinal differences between the two neighbouring nations. Consistent with previous research, the findings suggest that differences in gender, marital status, age, education, home language, community size, region, and many indicators of religious involvement and religiosity assist in predicting attitudes toward homosexuality. Overall, the findings support Bibby's theory that religious differences between Americans and Canadians largely explain more tolerant attitudes among Canadian citizens. Particular attention is also paid to factors outside of religion that may influence attitudes, but which are not directly observable in quantifiable data analysis.

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CHAPTER ONE

Research Problem and Review of the Literature

Although there have been dramatic increases in the popular acceptance of gays and lesbians and groundbreaking civil rights initiatives in both Canada and the United States in recent years, research suggests that there remain significant levels of antipathy toward these groups in North America, with considerable variability across social subgroups. Previous literature, mostly based upon convenience samples but also with some studies based on nationally representative samples and public opinion surveys, has established that attitudes toward homosexuality are often divided by lines of gender, age, community size, region, marital status, and religious involvement.

Previous research has consistently determined that less tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality are often found among "males, older respondents, blacks, married and widowed persons, those attending religious services more frequently, those affiliated with fundamentalist denominations, those with more conservative political views, and those living in rural areas" (Ohlander et al., 2005: 792; see also Marsiglio, 1993: 12). Previous literature has also repeatedly shown that lack of experience with homosexuals and the possession of traditional gender role attitudes are also often associated with negative or intolerant attitudes of gays and lesbians (Marsiglio, 1993: 12).

Despite these relatively consistent findings, only two studies have offered a comprehensive sociological treatment in comparing attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians and Americans (Bibby, 2004; Andersen and Fetner, 2005), while a handful of other studies have examined the issue to lesser a lesser degree (Nevitte, 1996;

Hoover, Martinez, Reimer and Wald, 2002; Adams, 2003; Grabb and Curtis, 2005; Smith, 2005; Elliot and Bonauto, 2005). Overall, these studies have regularly found Canadian attitudes toward homosexuality to be more tolerant and accepting than American attitudes, yet there currently exists little research to explain why this discrepancy exists. In addition, there appears to be recurring variation in attitudes toward homosexuality *within* both Canada and the United States, with considerable evidence of regional disparity among the distribution of attitudes (Grabb and Curtis, 2005).

In our current era, issues concerning homosexuality continue to dominate news headlines and political agendas. Only in the latter decades of the previous century did attitudes and social mores to accommodate homosexuality in North America begin to shift. An assessment of contemporary attitudes among Canadians and Americans will provide a clear snapshot of the current acceptance of gays and lesbians, and will provide insight into what the future might hold.

Critical to the subject of attitudes toward homosexuality is Reginald Bibby's 2004 study, *Ethos Versus Ethics: Canada, the U.S., and Homosexuality*. Bibby assessed a wide array of nationally representative social survey data, and generally asserted that religion is *the* definitive factor that delineates American and Canadian attitudes on the issue of homosexuality. Bibby's study is groundbreaking in several respects, but he does leave ample room for future research.

The purpose of this thesis project is to contribute to the existing body of literature regarding American and Canadian attitudes toward homosexuality. The key focus is to determine what factors account for differences in attitudes toward homosexuality among

Canadians and Americans and to re-examine directly Bibby's assertion that divergent levels of religious commitment, rather than other socio-demographic, cultural and socio-structural factors, largely account for attitudinal differences between the two neighbouring nations.

This study will begin with a review of the existing research on attitudes toward homosexuality from assorted social scientific studies based upon convenience samples. We then move to discuss other examples of cross-national studies, including those from countries outside of North America. Finally, we will review those studies involving Canadian and American cross-national comparisons regarding attitudes toward homosexuality, followed by a summary of findings and an introduction to this project's empirical analysis.

Literature Review

i) Studies based on convenience samples

Found primarily within the disciplines of psychology/social psychology, and gender/sexuality research, small-scale studies have often addressed attitudes toward homosexuality within very specific settings. For instance, previous studies have focused upon gender-role variables and attitudes toward homosexuality (Whitley, 1988; 2001), attitudes within the American military (Estrada, 2002; 1999), among nurses (Scherer, 1991), social workers (Berkman, 1997), courtroom jurors (Sherrod and Nardi, 1998), within prison settings (Hensley, 2000; Eigenberg, 2000), and a plethora of studies have examined attitudes toward both HIV/AIDS and homosexuality together.

G.M. Herek, a major contributor to this field, has conducted various studies regarding attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. He has examined the effect of religion (1987), hate crimes (1989), and personal experience with gays and lesbians (1993) upon attitudes toward homosexuality. Herek has also studied black heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuality (1995), and conducted a nationally representative survey regarding attitudes toward bisexuals and bisexuality (2002).

As Britton observed, researchers have often relied upon convenience samples of college or university undergraduates to study the connection between a variety of social background factors and homophobic attitudes (1990: 426). These studies include research among Canadian university undergraduates (Mohipp and Morry, 2004; Altemeyer, 2001; Burn, 2000; Schellenberg, Hirt and Sears, 1999), American college students (Basow and Johnson, 2000; LaMar and Kite, 1998; Meston, Trapnell and Gorzalka, 1998; Fulton, 1997; Matchinsky, 1996; Pratte, 1993; Whitley, 1988; Kurdek, 1988; Herek, 1988; Lieblich and Friedman, 1985), British undergraduate students (Davies, 2004), and students from Singapore (Lim, 2002), Turkey (Sakalli, 2002), and Brazil (Proulx, 1997) among many other countries.

In these studies, a "wide range of well established and validated measures of tolerance of homosexual behavior" are utilized, mostly pertinent to the discipline of psychology (KelleFy, 2001: 15). In summarizing general trends in this body of research, Britton observed "that persons who hold negative attitudes toward homosexuals are most likely to be male, older, single, less educated, and more religious; they possess traditional gender role attitudes, lack personal experience with homosexuals, and live in rural

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communities" (Marsiglio, 1993: 12). In general, Britton observed that most of this research has determined that "gender role attitudes, and religious variables have been the strongest predictors of homophobic attitudes" (Marsiglio, 1993: 12).

Kite and Whitley's (1996) meta analysis also confirms that most studies have found that men generally hold more negative views toward homosexuality than do women (see also LaMar and Kite, 1998; Herek and Capitanio, 1995; Herek, 1986; Marsiglio, 1993). Similarly, Herek's 1999 survey concluded that female respondents are more generally accepting of homosexuality than male respondents (including greater support for civil rights such as equal employment, adoption rights, and same-sex partnership), and also that overall attitudes toward homosexuals are more favorable toward lesbians than gay men (2002a: 58). By and large, the results garnered from these studies do not allow for wide generalization, but are helpful for providing focus to the construction of hypotheses for this project.

ii) Studies based on nationally representative samples and public opinion surveys

Other researchers have used public opinion data and nationally representative samples to assess attitudes about homosexuality and gay rights in North America (Brewer, 2003; 2003a; 2002; Herek, 2002; Yang, 1997; Seltzer, 1993). Overall, "(n)ational surveys with probability samples have generally focused on opinions about civil liberties and civil rights" (Herek, 2002a: 41). Public opinion data generally indicate that American (and Canadian) adults have become increasingly supportive of "basic civil liberties for lesbians and gay men, but their attitudes toward homosexuality continue to

reflect moral condemnation and personal discomfort" (Herek, 2000; Sherrill and Yang, 2000; Yang, 1997) (Herek, 2000a: 255).

Surprisingly, there exist only a handful of studies that have conducted national or cross-national analyses of attitudes. Jeni Loftus' (2001) study assessed American attitudes toward homosexuality between 1973 and 1998 using the General Social Survey (GSS). Taking demographic, cultural, and ideological shifts into account, Loftus generally supported previous research that has found that American attitudes toward homosexuality have liberalized slightly over recent decades, and that willingness to restrict civil liberties for gays and lesbians also declined over this time period.

Jonathan Kelley's (2001) study examines attitudes toward homosexuality among Australians. Kelley used the 1984/1985 and 1999/2000 International Social Science Surveys (Australia) (IsssA) to compare Australian attitudes with those of citizens in twenty-eight other countries who participated in the Isss Program's 1998-1999 Religion II survey. The survey used the single-item question, "Do you think it is wrong or not wrong…sexual relations between two adults of the same sex?" (2001: 15). Kelley's study shows that attitudes toward homosexuality vary greatly throughout the world, and also that attitudes among Australians have become more tolerant in recent years. Kelley supported previous findings indicating that age, gender, education, church attendance, religious belief, economic development, and political climate all stand as good predictors of tolerance of homosexuality. He found these patterns to be generally consistent across all countries.

Melanie Steffens and Christof Wagner (2004) conducted a nationally representative survey comparing attitudes toward lesbians, gay men, and bisexual men and women in Germany in 2000 and 2001. They conducted a multistage, stratified, random-sample procedure, utilizing a computer assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) system, of Germans between 14 and 69 years of age. Respondents were asked to respond as to how "favorable" they rated male homosexuality, female sexuality and male and female bisexuality, with scores ranging from "very favorable" to "very unfavorable". The authors also asked specific attitude related questions relating to civil rights and discrimination. Steffens and Wagner used predictors such as sex, age, "educational level, income, urbanicity; political attitudes; and knowing a homosexual person" (2004: 139). Religion was not employed as an attitudinal predictor.

Steffens and Wagner found an overall growing acceptance of homosexuality in Germany, and determined that sex is a strong predictor of attitude toward homosexuality, where, once again, women exhibit more tolerant attitudes than men (2004: 138). They found that age serves as another important factor, citing a linear relationship where "the younger the participants, the more favorable the attitudes reported" (2004: 146). Additionally, they conclude that personal contact with homosexuals, educational attainment, and liberalized political party preference served as strong predictors of acceptance of homosexuality, meanwhile geographical location, and socioeconomic status served as less predictive factors.

Several other studies have specifically assessed the relationship between religion and attitudes toward homosexuality (Hayes, 1995; Fisher, Derison, Polley and Cadman,

1994). Generally, these studies conclude that religious affiliation and any religious involvement is typically associated with negative attitudes toward homosexuality. Fisher et al. determined that "Baptists, fundamentalists, and those who describe themselves only as 'Christians' report higher levels of antigay prejudice than do Catholics, Jews, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Episcopalians"(1994: 629). They also assert that frequency of worship is positively correlated to negative attitudes to homosexuality.

There are many studies that have discussed the relationship between Christianity and attitudes toward homosexuality. Some of the works that have been examined include analyses by Bibby (1993), Didi Herman (1994; 1997; 2000), Samuel Reimer (1995), Thomas Thurston (1996), John Green (2000), and Richard Zoll (2005). Overall, these studies have provided insight into the core values of different Christian denominations (evangelical or fundamentalist, Catholic, etc.), and varying responses to homosexuality in both Canada and the United States.

One such example is a study by Dennis Hoover, Michael Martinez, Samuel Reimer and Kenneth Wald (2002) who examined the impact of religious evangelicalism upon moral and economic conservatism in the United States and Canada. Using data collected from a 1996 Angus Reid Group Poll, the authors sought to determine evangelicalism's effects on attitudes regarding homosexual rights, abortion, governance and the welfare state. The authors found that "evangelicals are significantly more opposed to equal rights for homosexuals than are nonevangelicals in both countries", and that "Canadian and U.S. evangelicals are roughly similar in their opposition to gay rights" (2002: 361). The authors observed that there are very little data available to

compare Canadian and American evangelical preaching on social messages. However, they suspect that customary issues of moral conservatism such as family values, abortion and gay rights would be similar on both sides of the border (2002: 367).

Attitudes Toward Homosexuality Among Canadians and Americans

There have been only a few previous studies that have directly compared Canadian and American attitudes toward homosexuality. Neil Nevitte (1996) utilized Ronald Inglehart's World Values Surveys (WVS) from 1981 and 1990 to assess levels of "moral permissiveness" among advanced industrialized nations by examining attitudes toward euthanasia, divorce, and homosexuality (1996: 216-223). Nevitte used gender, nationality, postmodern values, age, education, and religion (church attendance, importance of God) as categories in his multivariate analysis, and found overall that there was increased "moral permissiveness" among all nations, with varying levels of acceptance to all three issues tested. Nevitte made distinctions between French Canadian, English Canadian and New Canadian attitudes in his ten-year analysis and also concluded that Canadian attitudes toward homosexuality were slightly more permissive than American attitudes.

Michael Adams' 2003 study utilized the Environics Research Group's annual surveys of representative samples in 1992, 1996 and 2000 to assess "the evolution of social values" among Canadians and Americans over 15 years old (2003: 149). Overall, Adams argues that "Canadians and Americans are actually becoming increasingly different from one another" (2003: 4). This is reflected by differences in areas such as "religion, patriarchal authority, views of women, family life, conformity, crime, violence,

and multicultural and multiracial diversity" (Bibby, 2004: 3). In regards to attitudes

toward homosexuality, Adams does not provide a very detailed analysis but claims that

"(i)n America, a father whose son comes out of the closet and declares his homosexuality

is more likely to say, 'You are no longer my son.'   In Canada such a father is more likely

to find a way to adapt" (Adams, 2003: 125).

In his 2004 study, *Ethos Versus Ethics: Canada, the U.S., and Homosexuality*,

Bibby presented recent data regarding attitudes toward homosexuality, same-sex

marriage, and various aspects of religious identification in Canada and the United States.

Using data from his "Project Canada Survey Series", the GSS, and Gallup, Ipsos, Angus

Reid, Pew, and Environics public opinion data, Bibby compared attitudes in Canada and

the United States from 1975 to the present day. Bibby established that in 2000, 32% of

Canadians maintained that same-sex relations were "always wrong", compared to 59% of

Americans who indicated as such (2004: 9). He demonstrated that there has been a

gradual acceptance of homosexuality and same-sex marriage in both Canada and the

United States, with Canadians always being slightly more tolerant. Bibby also

established that younger citizens are far more accepting of homosexuality, and also that

women in Canada are more tolerant than men. However, this finding was not duplicated

south of the border (2004: 9).

Overall, Bibby challenges Michael Adams' assertion that differences between

Canadian and American attitudes toward homosexuality are primarily explained by social

and cultural divergences. Bibby contends that religion is the primary distinguishing

factor among Canada and the United States on this issue, claiming that Canada's greater

acceptance of homosexuality reflects lower levels of religious participation and less adherence to evangelical Christianity among Canadians. Bibby notes that his "findings suggest that the stereotypes about religious opposition to homosexuality and same-sex marriages are, in fact, very consistent with the facts" (2004, 14). As for future trends, Bibby believes that changes in attitude are "going to take place primarily among the religiously uninvolved", as "deeply committed traditional Christians, for the most part, are going to continue to subscribe to the heterosexual ideal" (2004, 15).

Although Bibby may be entirely correct in asserting that 'the religious factor' accounts considerably for differences in attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians and Americans, he creates confusion by also raising the influence of cultural factors outside of religion without thoroughly discussing them. Bibby's study does not present a broad multivariate data analysis, as other potentially relevant variables such as such as region, political affiliation, community size, educational attainment, among others, do not appear to have been considered. Bibby does note that there are clear links between Christianity and opposition toward homosexuality. However, his insistence that differences in religious composition stand as the principal factor that distinguishes Canadian and American attitudes toward homosexuality deserves greater deliberation, because religion may be connected to, or only one of many, other factors.

Another study central to this proposed project is Edward Grabb and James Curtis' (2005) comparative analysis of values within English Canada, Quebec, the Northern United States, and the Southern United States. Using this "four regions" model, Grabb and Curtis utilized waves of the WVS from the early 1990s to evaluate differences and

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commonalities among Canadian and American societies. The authors briefly examined two WVS questions pertaining to attitudes toward homosexuality (how justifiable is homosexuality?, homosexual undesired as neighbor?). Although the authors provided only limited discussion and analysis with these specific questions, they clearly demonstrated distinct value differences regarding attitudes toward homosexuality among "four regions" of North America (2005: 146-153, 212-15).

Essentially, they found that respondents from Quebec were the most accepting of homosexuality, English Canadians were slightly more accepting than respondents from the Northern U.S., and the lowest level of acceptance was among respondents from the Southern U.S. (2005: 146-53, 212-15). The models and background material included in Grabb and Curtis' study provide a solid platform from which to do a more detailed analysis of levels of inclusiveness to "minorities and out-groups", namely, gays and lesbians (2005: 213).

Lastly, Robert Andersen and Tina Fetner (2005) have conducted a study that examines attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians and Americans, using data from the 1981/2, 1990 and 2000 WVS. Employing a set of Gamma models, the authors focused exclusively on the survey question pertaining to the "justifiability" of homosexuality, with particular emphasis on how age affects attitudes. The authors verified that Canadians consistently exhibited more tolerant attitudes than Americans between 1981 and 2000, and established that younger age cohorts are typically more tolerant of homosexuality than those from older cohorts. They were unable to substantiate concretely why Canadians exhibit more tolerant attitudes than Americans,

but speculated that more liberalized public policies in Canada have greatly contributed to this divergence. In turn, in delivering only the second comprehensive sociological examination of the reasons why Canadians are more tolerant than Americans regarding homosexuality, Andersen and Fetner have offered a credible alternative to Bibby's thesis.

Although their study mirrors the aims of this thesis project in some respects, they did not completely examine both the socio-demographic and religious indicators in extensive detail. Therefore, there still remain some unanswered questions regarding the socio-demographic and religious factors that affect attitudes toward homosexuality. Andersen and Fetner's study will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

A Growing and Continued Interest

Amidst continued controversy surrounding the issue of same-sex marriage and civil unions in Canada and the United States, several studies have recently surfaced that have compared the history of civil rights granted to gays and lesbians in Canada and the United States. Douglas Elliot and Mary Bonauto (2005) discussed how civil rights initiatives in Canada have become much more liberal over recent decades, while breakthroughs in the United States have been far less frequent. Canadian gays and lesbians now enjoy a variety of anti-discrimination protections and benefits for same-sex partners, including same-sex marriage which became legal across Canada in July, 2005 (Elliott and Bonauto, 2005: 99). Miriam Smith (2005) conducted a similar study and observed that in the United States, "(o)nly 11 U.S. states prohibit employment discrimination against lesbians and gay men at the state level" (2005: 225). Although there has been some positive movement in several states on the issue of 'civil

unions/same-sex marriage' (Hawaii, Vermont, California, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, and the District of Columbia), there remains tremendous opposition to such measures, especially in the Southern United States.

Overall, Elliot and Bonauto speculate that likely factors that may explain differences in rights for gay and lesbians between the two countries include "Canada's longer history of freedom from archaic and intrusive sodomy laws, its newer and broader equality guarantee, the widespread recognition of heterosexual common law relationships and the weaker influence of the religious right" (2005: 104). Smith concurs that "the question of criminalizing homosexual behavior is still a live issue in American politics, while questions about the legality of homosexual behavior are no longer mentioned in public opinion studies in Canada" (2005: 226). Overall, Smith observes that public policy and political debate regarding homosexuality in the United States is mired in discussion surrounding "moral values," while the debate in Canada is frequently treated as a "question of human rights" (2005: 226).

Several other studies have also recently emerged pertaining to attitudes toward homosexuality. Paul Brewer and Clyde Wilcox (2005) have examined American attitudes toward same-sex marriage and civil unions through an analysis of various sources of public opinion data. The authors determined that "a majority of Americans consistently report seeing same-sex marriage as undermining the traditional American family or clashing with their own religious beliefs" (2005: 600). However, they also found that a majority of Americans have consistently supported increased civil rights for gays and lesbians such as "inheritance rights, Social Security benefits, and health

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insurance benefits for gay spouses" (2005: 600). They established that there have been no tremendous surges of support among Americans for gay and lesbian relationships. However, they determined that the American public has generally shown more support for civil unions than same-sex marriage (2005: 600).

Turner, Villarroel, Chromy, Eggleston and Rogers (2005) analyzed questions pertaining to same-gender sex from General Social Survey data from 1988 to 2002. As part of their analysis, they examined the history of attitudes in the United States toward same-gender sex across birth cohorts and gender over the twentieth century. They generally found that attitudes have steadily become more tolerant throughout the last century and confirmed that women generally express more tolerant attitudes than men, and that younger age cohorts express more tolerant attitudes than older age cohorts (2005: 456-57). The authors also discovered that "reported tolerance of same-gender sex between 1988 and 2002 yielded the surprising finding of a dramatic increase during the 1990s" (2005: 458).

Julianne Ohlander, Jeanne Batalova, and Judith Treas (2005) conducted a study regarding the relationship between increased education and attitudes toward homosexual relations in the United States. Using U.S. General Social Survey data from 1984-1992, and controlling for a wide variety of socio-demographic and religious variables, the authors confirmed results found in previous literature, with disapproval of homosexuality often being found among "men, older respondents, blacks, married and widowed respondents, frequent church attendees, and those from rural communities, and fundamentalist denominations" (2005: 792).

Regarding the impact of education, the authors established that "better-educated Americans are more tolerant than their less-educated counterparts" (2005: 799). The authors provided a comprehensive evaluation of the impact of education on attitudes toward homosexuality, but generally summarized that

> the liberalizing effect of education on attitudes toward homosexual relations is due, in part, to education's association with support for civil liberties and, in part, to schooling's relationship with cognitive sophistication…Greater education depresses disapproval of same-sex relations even when civil liberties, cognitive sophistication, and other variables are controlled (2005: 794).

The authors also considered that college and university students "are more likely to have in a positive role someone who is homosexual, such as a professor or a fellow student, compared to those who have not attended college" (2005: 795). All in all, this study aids to understand the connection between education and attitudes toward homosexuality.

Literature Review Summary

Overall, the review of the literature demonstrates that there is good reason to expand the analysis of attitudes toward homosexuality within Canada and the United States. In essence, building a bridge between the detailed analysis of the small-scale studies based on convenience samples and those that have used nationally representative samples will enable a better understanding of the distribution of attitudes between countries. The literature review makes clear that socio-demographic variables such as gender, age, education, community size and indicators of religious affiliation and involvement are important variables to consider in any future analysis. Other variables such as income, ethnicity/language, political party affiliation, gender role, and personal experience with gays and lesbians have been utilized, but on a less significant basis.

To date, Nevitte (1996), Adams (2003), Bibby (2004) and Grabb and Curtis (2005), and Andersen and Fetner (2005) have conducted cross-national Canada-U.S. temporal analyses regarding this topic and three of these studies have used WVS data. A review of these studies reveals that there are still some unanswered questions regarding the effects of socio-demographic and religious factors on attitudes toward homosexuality. By and large, there exists no clear consensus to explain why Canadians are more accepting of homosexuality than Americans.

Research Questions

The goal of this project is to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the differences in attitudes toward homosexuality among Americans and Canadians?

2. What factors account for these differences among Americans and Canadians?

    (a) How do socio-demographic factors affect attitudes toward homosexuality?

    (b) As suggested by Bibby, 2004, do divergent levels of religious commitment or religious belief largely account for differences in attitudes toward homosexuality among Americans and Canadians or should other socio-demographic, cultural, and socio-structural factors also be considered, as proposed by Andersen and Fetner, 2005?

Hypotheses

Based on the above review of the literature, several potential outcomes are expected in the statistical analysis of attitudes toward homosexuality using the 1981/2, 1990, and 2000 WVS.

- It is expected that there will be a zero-order difference in overall attitudes toward homosexuality between survey respondents from Canada and from the United

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States. Previous research has shown that Canadians have held more tolerant attitudes than Americans over the past two decades, therefore it is expected that this trend will emerge in the statistical analysis.

- It is also expected that there will be differences in attitudes toward homosexuality among the "four regions". It is expected that respondents from Quebec will exhibit the most tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality, followed by English Canadians, and Northern Americans. Respondents from the Southern United States are expected to exhibit the least tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality.

i) Socio-demographic analysis

- For the socio-demographic variables, it is expected that their effects will be statistically significant and that there will be moderate to strong positive associations with survey questions pertaining to homosexuality as an unjustifiable behaviour, attitudes toward homosexuals as undesirable neighbours, and the role of the church in speaking out on homosexuality.

- It is expected that females, respondents with university degrees, and Caucasian respondents will exhibit more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality than their counterparts. It is also expected that married respondents, English speaking respondents, those from older age cohorts, and respondents from lower income households and smaller communities will exhibit less accepting attitudes toward homosexuality than their counterparts.

ii) Religious Analysis

- For the religious variables, it is expected that their effects will be statistically significant and that there will be strong positive associations with survey questions

pertaining to homosexuality as an unjustifiable behaviour, attitudes toward

homosexuals as undesirable neighbors, and the role of the church in speaking out on

homosexuality.

- It is expected that respondents who belong to a religious denomination will exhibit

  less acceptance toward homosexuality than respondents with no religious affiliation.

  More specifically, it is anticipated that Catholic respondents will exhibit more tolerant

  attitudes than Protestants or members of other religious denominations.

- It is expected that respondents who frequently pray, frequently attend church, indicate

  belief in god, belief in heaven, belief in hell, belief in life after death and belief that

  people have a soul will tend to have more negative attitudes toward homosexuality

  than will other respondents. It is further anticipated that those respondents who

  indicate that god is important in their life, who indicate that religion is important and

  who self-identify as religious persons will tend to have more negative attitudes

  toward homosexuality than will other respondents.

Conclusion

An examination of attitudes toward homosexuality and homosexuals is important

for several reasons. Temporal cross-national and cross-cultural evaluation of the

acceptance of out-groups sheds light upon the evolution of values, attitudes, and

institutional and behavioural responses. This holds critical importance for the

implementation of public policy and understanding ever-changing patterns of human

interaction. All recent evidence suggests that attitudes toward gays and lesbians are

undergoing significant changes around the globe. Thus, acquiring a deeper

understanding of the factors that propel and follow these changes represents a fascinating academic exercise.

In both Canada and the United States debates concerning the societal role of gay and lesbian partnerships continue to evoke tremendous controversy. Not only do debates rage within legislative chambers, but also within classrooms, churches, workplaces, and homes across both countries. It, therefore, is important to acquire a more precise understanding of what factors influence and reflect attitudes toward homosexuals and homosexuality throughout these societies.

What distinguishes this project from previous studies is that a comprehensive analysis of the socio-demographic and religious factors that influence attitudes toward homosexuality within Canada and the United States over a twenty year period is conducted using uniform nationally-representative data. Only Andersen and Fetner (2005) have conducted such a comparable study, but with a limited focus on factors associated to religion. The present analyses serves to re-assess directly Bibby's assertion that religious involvement is the primary factor that distinguishes Canadian and American attitudes toward homosexuality, and also to build upon other studies that have performed less thorough analyses using the WVS data.

This thesis project will contribute to the field of cross-national research, specifically pertaining to American-Canadian social attitudes. Although Seymour Martin Lipset speculates that Canada and the United States "are probably as alike as any other two peoples on earth," there remain many intriguing and complicated differences among these nations that have both fascinated and perplexed researchers for decades (1990: 2).

Authors such as Louis Hartz et al. (1964), Lipset (1990), Michael Adams (2003), and Edward Grabb and James Curtis (2005) are among many who have sought to assess the complicated array of factors that have created similar yet unique national characteristics and distinct social values among these two societies.

There exists a tremendous opportunity to expand upon previous comparative Canadian and American social value research. Although these countries share a vibrant history as neighbouring democracies, their respective social, political, and cultural climates have shaped distinct value and attitudinal patterns. By highlighting patterns on both sides of the border pertaining to the acceptance of homosexuality, this study will contribute to the evolving body of research that illuminates the intriguing yet often elusive nature of Canadian and American co-existence. In the next chapter, we will move to discuss the data source and the methodological and statistical procedures that are employed in the empirical analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

Data Source, Methods, and Procedures

Data Source

The data used in this project derive from three waves of the World Values

Surveys (WVS) conducted by Inglehart et al. in 1981/2, 1990, and 2000 (See Inglehart,

2004 and Appendix). The WVS provide a cross-national, cross-cultural comparison of

values and norms on a wide variety of topics from over 60 countries around the world,

boasting coverage of 85 percent of the world's population. The data come from

representative national samples of respondents over 18 years from each country, where

respondents were chosen by a stratified multistage probability random sampling

procedure and are subject to one-on-one interviews with a battery of questions. The

sample sizes for the WVS utilized are as follows:

Table 2.1(a) – Survey Sample Sizes

Survey Wave	Sample Size
Canada 1981	1254
USA 1982	2325
Canada 1990	1730
USA 1990	1839
Canada 2000	1931
USA 2000	1200

One limitation in using the WVS is the availability of only three research

questions that pertain to issues of homosexuality. Moreover, these questions were posed

intermittently between 1981 and 2000. A broader and more consistent battery of survey

questions regarding issues of homosexuality would inevitably lead to a more

comprehensive analysis. Second, G.M. Herek has proposed that studies on attitudes

toward homosexuality should distinguish between 'gay' and 'lesbian' categories (2000a:

256). Unfortunately, the WVS do not provide such a distinction, relying exclusively on

the term 'homosexual', in presumed reference to both gays and lesbians. Third, certain socio-demographic and religious questions are not consistently available across all three surveys, which inhibits a uniform analysis across all three waves.

Despite these restrictions, the advantages to using the WVS are considerable. The WVS were chosen over other available public opinion data because they are "the largest body of direct cross-time and cross-national data on public values ever collected" (Nevitte, 1996: 20). As Nevitte explains, "(t)he WVS data are the only directly comparable cross-time Canadian-American data available; no other survey has asked national samples of Canadians and Americans the very same questions at each of (three) different times" (1996: 22). Access to all three WVS waves spanning over a twenty-year period provides an extraordinary opportunity to track cross-national attitudinal changes.

Furthermore, the WVS data allow for both direct Canada-U.S. comparisons and also the analysis of specific regional variations within each country. This approach was utilized by Grabb and Curtis in their analysis of the "Four Regions" of North America: Quebec, English Canada, the Northern United States and the Southern United States (2005: 281-83). The regional categorization is limited to the 1990 and 2000 WVS samples. This feature allows for greater precision and accuracy when comparing nations, while minimizing the potential polarization of national attitudes due to extreme value differences found in particular regions such as Quebec and the Southern United States (see Baer, Grabb and Johnston, 1993; Grabb and Curtis, 2005).

Weight

The weight variable provided with each survey was utilized to ensure all samples were representative. Please refer to the Appendix for further details.

Dependent Variables

Question 1 on Homosexuality

The following question served as the primary indicator of attitudes toward homosexuality among Americans and Canadians. This question was posed in the 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS. This question was listed on a card (W), where the respondent was given a list of ten issues, and asked the following:

> Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between, using this card:
>
> *Homosexuality*
>
> Never Justifiable   Always Justifiable
> 1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

This question is part of a battery of ten questions about controversial behaviours and issues (e.g.: divorce, abortion, prostitution, euthanasia etc.) and allows respondents to indicate their opinion on a scale of "justifiability". This serves to reduce apprehension for the respondent by offering a wide range to indicate an opinion about the issue or behaviour. This question was utilized as a measure to determine how justifiable or unjustifiable respondents deem homosexuality to be.

Question 2 on Homosexuality

The second question served as a secondary measure of attitudes toward homosexuality among Americans and Canadians, and was utilized for confirmatory

purposes. This question was posed in both the 1990 and 2000 surveys. Listed on a card

(G) are numerous groups of people. The respondent was asked the following question:

> On this list are various groups of people. Could you please sort out any that
> you would not like to have as neighbors?
>
> 1- People with a criminal record
> 2 - People of a different race
> 3 - Heavy Drinkers
> 4 - Emotionally unstable people
> 5 - Muslims
> 6 - Immigrants/foreign workers
> 7 - People who have AIDS
> 8 - Drug Addicts
> *9 - Homosexuals*
> 10 - Jews

For this study, the *'homosexual'* category was exclusively employed. The presumed

purpose of this question is to determine which groups and characteristics among fellow

citizens are deemed undesirable by respondents. By providing the respondent with a card

and a list of numerous choices, apprehensions that the respondent may hold about

singling out a specific out-groups may be lessened, enabling a straightforward evaluation

of the respondent's position on out-groups. This question was utilized as a secondary

measure to determine whether respondents deemed homosexuals and homosexuality as

tolerable.

Question 3 on Homosexuality

The third question was also utilized for confirmatory purposes and to shed light

upon the connections between religious activity and opposition to homosexuality. This

particular question was only posed in the 1990 WVS:

Church speaking out on homosexuality

Do you think it is proper for the church to speak out on Homosexuality?
1 – Yes
2 – No
9 – Don't Know

There is some slight ambiguity in this question, in that survey respondents may possibly construe the question, *"Do you think it is proper for the church to speak out on Homosexuality?"*, to suggest that churches should speak out either *in favour of* or *against* homosexuality. Nevertheless, it is believed that the intention of the survey question is to draw connections between religious institutions and opposition to homosexuality, since in 1990 very few religious institutions were known formally to support homosexuality.

Independent and Control Variables

Based upon the review of previous literature as outlined in Chapter 1, the following control/predictor variables were utilized to conduct *i) a socio-demographic analysis* and *ii) an analysis of the effects of religion and religiosity*.

Table 2.2(b) – Summary of Available Variables

QUESTION/VARIABLE	1981 WVS	1990 WVS	2000 WVS
Homosexuality Justifiable?	X	X	X
Homosexual as Neighbour?		X	X
Should Church speak out on Homosexuality?		X	
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC			
Sex	X	X	X
Age	X	X	X
Education Level			X
Community Size	X	X	X
Marital Status	X	X	X
Language			X
Income	X	X	X
Ethnic Group	X	X	X
Region		X	X

RELIGIOUS			
Religious Denomination		X	X
Church Attendance	X	X	X
Importance of God	X	X	X
Prayer to God		X	X
Belief in God	X	X	X
Religious Person	X	X	X
Belief That People Have a Soul	X	X	X
Belief in Life After Death	X	X	X
Believe in Hell	X	X	X
Belief in Heaven	X	X	X
Religion Important	X	X	X

Please refer to the Appendix for further details regarding the original coding of the

independent and control variables that were utilized in the statistical analyses. Based

upon previous literature, variables were recoded to best identify those traits and factors

among respondents that are often associated with positive or negative attitudes toward

homosexuality.

Control Variables

i) Socio-Demographic Analysis
- **Gender** – Recoded to "Women" to focus exclusively on female respondents (women =1, males = 0).
- **Age** – A continuous category to determine "Age in years".
- **Marital Status** - Recoded to "Married" to focus exclusively on married persons (married = 1, others = 0).
- **Education** - Recoded to "University Degree" to focus exclusively on those with university degrees (university degree = 1, other levels = 0)
- **Community Size** - Recoded to "Town Under 50,000" to focus exclusively on respondents from smaller communities (town under 50,000 = 1, others = 0).
- **Ethnic Group** - Recoded to "Caucasian" to focus exclusively on Caucasian respondents (Caucasian = 1, others = 0).
- **Household Income** - Recoded to "Income Under $50,000" to focus exclusively on those from lower-income households (Income under $50,000 = 1, others = 0).
- **Language Spoken at Home** - Recoded to "English Language" to focus exclusively to focus on respondents who most often spoke English at home (English language = 1, others = 0).
- **Region Where Interview Conducted** - Recoded to "English Canada", "Quebec", "Southern United States", "Northern United States" to focus on these regions.

Independent Variables

ii) Religious Analysis
- **Do You Belong to a Religious Denomination?** - Recoded to "Yes Belong to Religious Denomination" to focus exclusively on those with affiliation with a formal religious organization (Yes, belong = 1, others = 0).
- **Which Religious Denomination?** - Recoded to "Catholic", "Protestant", and "Other Religious Denomination" to focus exclusively on these religious organizations (Catholic or Protestant or Other denomination = 1, others = 0).
- **Frequency of Church Attendance** - Recoded to "Attend Church More Than Once a Week" to focus exclusively on those who frequently attend church (Attend more than once a week = 1, others = 0).
- **Frequency of Prayer** - Recoded to "Pray Daily" to focus exclusively on those who frequently pray outside of religious service (Pray daily = 1, others = 0).
- **Are you a Religious Person?** - Recoded to "Yes Religious Person" to focus exclusively on those who identified themselves as 'religious' (Yes religious person = 1, others = 0).
- **How Important is God in Your Life?** - A scale ranging from 1 (Not Important) to 10 (Very Important), employed to determine how important respondents regarded god in their life.
- **Do You Believe in Heaven?** - Recoded to "Yes Believe in Heaven" to focus exclusively on those to who indicated belief in heaven (Yes believe in heaven = 1, others = 0).
- **Do You Believe in Hell?** - Recoded to "Yes Believe in Hell" to focus exclusively on those who indicated belief in hell (Yes believe in hell = 1, others = 0).
- **Do You Believe in Life After Death?** - Recoded to "Yes Believe in Life After Death" to focus exclusively on those who indicated belief in life after death (Yes believe in life after death = 1, others = 0).
- **Do You Believe People Have a Soul?** - Recoded to "Yes Believe People Have a Soul" to focus exclusively on those who indicated belief that people have a soul (Yes believe people have a soul = 1, others = 0).
- **Do You Believe in God?** - Recoded to "Yes Believe in God" to focus exclusively on those who indicated belief in god (Yes believe in god= 1, others = 0).
- **Is Religion Important?** - Recoded to "Religion Very Important" to focus exclusively on those who identified religion as important (Religion very important = 1, others = 0).

Main Techniques of Analysis

In both the exploratory and final stages of analysis, the main statistical techniques that were employed were logistic regression and ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. The rationale for selecting these techniques was based upon an examination of the histogram output of the primary dependent variable.

Histogram Output

Histograms of the primary dependent variable survey question pertaining to how justifiable homosexuality was deemed to be by respondents ('JUSTIFIABLEHOMOSEXUALITY') were examined to determine the distribution of the responses across all three WVS waves. In examining the histogram output across all three surveys, the reader acquires a first glimpse of slightly more accepting attitudes to homosexuality among Canadians as compared to Americans and also a crude sense of how attitudes across both countries became more accepting over the span of the three survey waves.

Graphs 2.1 and 2.2 display the histograms for the dependent variable for both Canada and the American samples. In both countries, for both the 1981/2 and 1990 survey waves, extreme scores were found among respondents who deemed homosexuality to be unjustifiable (score 1).

Graph 2.1 – Dependent Variable Histograms: Canada 1981 and USA 1982 WVS
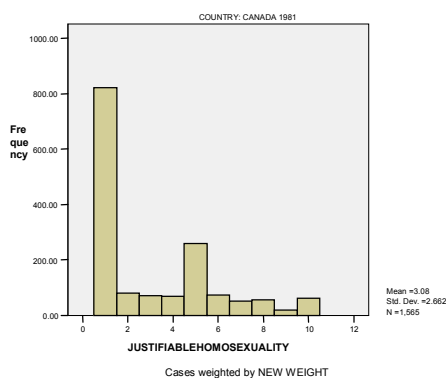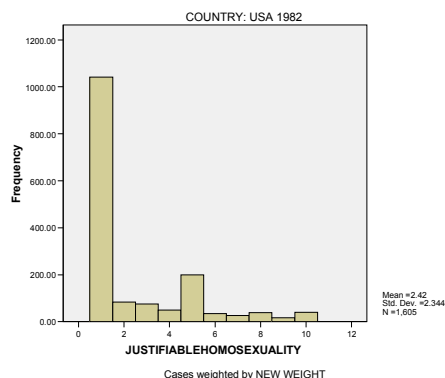
Canada, 1981 WVS   USA, 1982 WVS

Therefore, for both the 1981/2 and 1990 survey waves, it was determined that logistic regression techniques would be best for analyzing those extreme respondents who

indicated (1) on the scale of justifiability. Accordingly, it was determined that linear (OLS) regression would be utilized to analyze the remainder of the responses in the set (scores 2 to 10), as there exists a relatively normal curve among this portion of the distribution.

Graph 2.2 – Dependent Variable Histograms: Canada and USA 1990 WVS
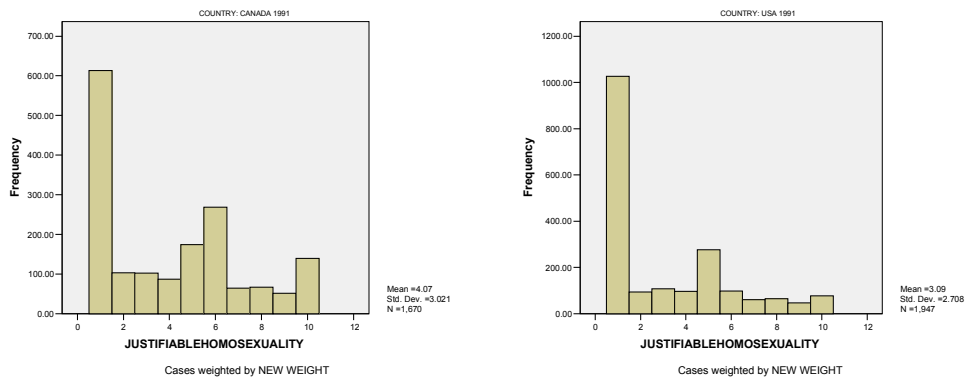
Canada, 1990 WVS   USA, 1990 WVS

An examination of the distribution of the dependent variable for the 2000 WVS wave across both countries illustrates a marked difference from the previous surveys. Graph 2.3 display the histograms for the dependent variable ('JUSTIFIABLEHOMOSEXUALITY') for both Canada and the United States in the 2000 WVS wave. For both countries, there are noticeable extremes among those respondents who indicated they accept homosexuality as justifiable (score 10), and those who deemed it to be unjustifiable (score 1). Among the rest of the scores (2 to 9) for both countries, there exists a relatively normal curve of response dispersion.

For the 2000 WVS wave, it was determined that special attention would be required to analyze such extreme scores adequately on the polar ends of the response set. Accordingly, logistic regression techniques were chosen to analyze those respondents who indicated either (1) or (10) on the scale of justifiability for the 2000 WVS wave.

Respondents who indicated between (2) and (9) on the scale were analyzed with linear

(OLS) regression techniques for the 2000 WVS wave.

Graph 2.3 – Dependent Variable Histograms: Canada and USA 2000 WVS
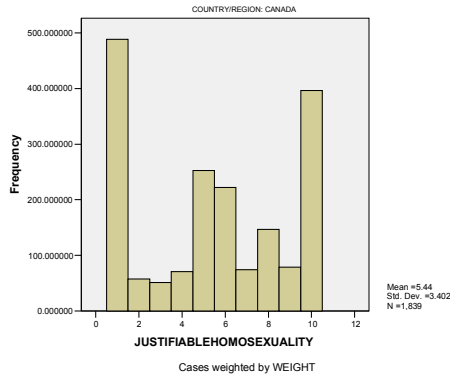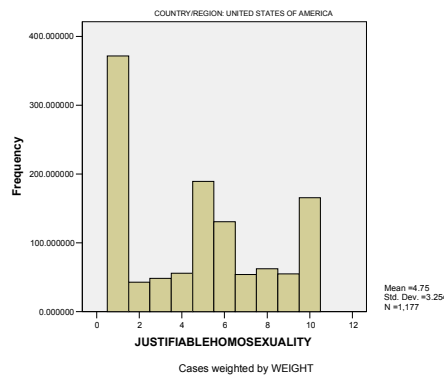
Canada, 2000 WVS   USA, 2000 WVS

Statistical Modeling Strategy

In order to assess the national effect, and also trends among the socio-

demographic and religious variables, four distinct models were created for both the

logistic and OLS regression analyses:

(1) A *National Effect model*, in which the variable for country is isolated in order to
examine the baseline national effect and to track its changes across more complex
models;
(2) A *Main Effects model*;
(3) An *Interaction Effects model*, to test for any relevant and significant interaction
effects;
(4) An *Expanded model*, which included any statistically significant variables from the
exploratory analyses, but which omitted any variables that were found to be
statistically insignificant in the Main Effects model.

In the following chapter we will turn to the analysis of how and to what extent the

independent and control variables are associated with attitudes toward homosexuality.

CHAPTER THREE

Results

Exploratory Analysis

In the exploratory stages of the data analysis, the survey question pertaining to how justifiable Canadians and Americans deem homosexuality to be was examined across all three WVS waves using both logistic and OLS regression procedures. In these initial stages of analysis, the Canadian and American data sets remained separated in order to assess differences within and between each nation. Overall, the results from both streams of analysis were generally consistent with findings from previous research. (Please see the Appendix for a complete report of the exploratory findings)

Summary of the Exploratory Analyses: Logistic Regression

In the exploratory logistic regression analyses of the 1981, 1990 and 2000 WVS involving the main dependent variable (Justifiable: Homosexuality), among the socio-demographic variables, it was revealed that women and those with university degrees (2000 WVS only) were the groups most likely to express acceptance of homosexuality. The groups most likely to disapprove of homosexuality among the categories of socio-demographic variables included respondents from lower-income households, and those who were older. Generally speaking, these findings among the socio-demographic control variables were consistent with previous research.

Among the religious variables, the respondents most likely to disapprove of homosexuality included those who indicated that religion is very important, who cited frequent church attendance, and who indicated belief in heaven and belief in hell. Roman

Catholicism was associated with greater acceptance of homosexuality in two Canadian survey waves, and one American wave. Meanwhile, Protestantism was associated with greater disapproval of homosexuality in the 1990 and 2000 Canadian survey wave analyses. In the 2000 survey analysis, belief in life after death was associated with greater acceptance of homosexuality in both Canada and the United States.

Belief in hell was associated with greater opposition to homosexuality among Americans across all three survey waves, but only in Canada, for the 1981 wave. Meanwhile, belief in heaven was associated with greater disapproval of homosexuality among Canadians across all three survey waves, but in none of the American analyses. Overall, with some exceptions as noted, the findings were generally consistent with previous literature.

Summary of the Exploratory Analyses: OLS Regression

An exploratory OLS regression analysis was also conducted using the 1981, 1990 and 2000 WVS involving the main dependent variable (Justifiable: Homosexuality). The reader should be reminded that this analysis focused upon dependent variable scores (2-10) for the 1981 and 1990 WVS, and scores (2-9) for the 2000 WVS. In this analysis, the strongest predictors of acceptance of homosexuality among the socio-demographic variables was gender with female respondents being more accepting than males. The groups expressing the most disapproval of homosexuality among the socio-demographic variables included respondents from lower-income households, and those who were older. The only regional effect that displayed any relevance was that people in the

Southern United States were more likely than others to disapprove of homosexuality in both the 1990 and 2000 surveys.

For the religious variables, the strongest predictor of disapproval of homosexuality was frequent church attendance, which had a significant effect in every survey wave across both countries. Other consistently strong predictors of disapproval of homosexuality included indication that god is important in life, belief in hell, and membership in a religious denomination other than Protestant or Roman Catholic. In the 2000 survey wave, both Canadian Protestants and Canadian Catholics were more likely to accept homosexuality than the reference category. In the same wave, American Catholics also exhibited relatively greater acceptance of homosexuality, while American Protestants exhibited relatively greater disapproval. No further patterns pertaining to these religious denominations surfaced in the other survey waves to provide further confirmation or insight.

Only a few religious variables were found to be statistically significant and associated with positive attitudes toward homosexuality among the analysis of the 1981 and 1990 WVS (scores 2-10) and the 2000 WVS (scores 2-9). Respondents from both the 1981 and 1990 Canadian surveys who indicated belief in life after death exhibited relatively greater acceptance of homosexuality. One possible explanation for these findings is that respondents who believe in life after death may not be as likely to adhere to traditional religious doctrine, which is often associated with opposition to homosexuality. This finding and interpretation will be discussed in the later sections of the analysis.

Overall, despite some minor variations across the three survey waves, the OLS regression results did not dramatically differ between Canadians and Americans, nor were there any startling outcomes that differed greatly from results discovered in previous research endeavours. These exploratory analyses set the stage to continue with the plan to assess attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians and Americans merged across all three WVS waves.

Factor Analysis

In the early stages of the data analysis, a factor analysis was employed with the independent variables pertaining to religious involvement and religiosity. However, the results did not cohere in any interpretable factor structure, and therefore, no scale construction was conducted.

Interaction Effects

The results of the exploratory logistic regression and OLS regression analyses were examined in detail to determine what variables might yield potentially informative interaction effects. Those variables that were found to be statistically significant in one country's sample but not in the other country's sample were identified as potentially important for the creation of interaction effect variables. Based upon these criteria, numerous interaction effects were created for each survey wave to be employed in the later stages of analysis. Please refer to the Appendix for a complete list of the interaction effects that were created and incorporated into the statistical analyses.

Models of Analysis

As noted in chapter 2, the four models of analysis that were utilized in both the logistic regression and OLS regression analyses were: (1) a National Effect model; (2) a Main Effects model; (3) an Interaction Effects model; and (4) an Expanded model.

**1981 WVS Logistic Regression Analysis:
Combined Canadian and American Sample**

Table 3.1 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in the 1981 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected (1) on the scale of justifiability, indicating strong disapproval of homosexuality, versus all other choices.

In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

> 0 = respondent selected scale item between 2 and 10, where responses
>   ranged from homosexuality unjustifiable (2) to justifiable (10)
> 1 = respondent selected scale item (1), homosexuality deemed to be
>   completely unjustifiable

As explained above, four models of analysis were utilized: (1) a National Effect model, (2) a Main Effects model (3) an Interaction Effects model and (4) an Expanded model. The control variables were divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-demographic and religious variables. In each sub-analysis, a dichotomous variable for country (USA = 0,

Canada = 1) was included in order to track changes for the national effect. All (B)

coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

Table 3.1 : Logistic Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale item 1) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 1981 WVS

LOGISTIC REGRESSION	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects		Model 3 With Interaction effects		Model 4 Expanded	
	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
Country	-.500	.000						
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES								
Country			-.728	.000	Interaction Effects were non-significant			
Women			-.545	.000				
Married			.208	.028				
Age			.026	.000				
Income under $50,000			.640	.000				
Constant			-.325	.016				
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES								
Country			-.223	.020	-.088	NS	.073	NS
Yes believe in hell			.611	.000	.611	.000	.561	.000
How important god in life			.146	.000	.149	.000	.155	.000
Attend church more than once a week			1.266	.000	1.268	.000	1.239	.000
Yes believe in heaven			.433	.009	-	-	.491	.003
Yes believe life after death			-.255	.048	.012	NS	-	-
Yes believe soul			-	-	-	-	-.386	.036
Country X Yes believe in life after death			-	-	-.477	.045	-	-
Constant			-.870	.001	-.962	.004	-.914	.000
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)								
Socio- Demographic								
Country			-.463	.000	-.579	NS	-.275	NS
Women			-.819	.000	-.826	.000	-.796	.000
Age			.025	.000	.025	.000	.026	.000
Income under $50,000			.654	.000	.673	.000	.608	.000
Religiosity Measures								

Yes believe in hell			.644	.000	.645	.000	.612	.000
How important god in life			.120	.000	.120	.000	.124	.000
Attend church more than once a week			1.377	.000	1.379	.000	1.338	.000
Yes believe in heaven			.562	.003	-	-	.608	.001
Yes believe life after death			-.324	.028	-	-	-.308	.033
Yes believe people have a soul			-	-	-	-	-.398	.050
Constant	.687	.000	-1.611	.000	-1.569	.000	-1.515	.000

Country

First, we begin by examining the isolated coefficient for the national effect (-.500), which implies that the probability of Canadian respondents indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable was less likely than among Americans respondents. The odds ratio, Exp(B)(.606), confirms that Canadians in this survey would be less likely than Americans to express disapproval of homosexuality at the most intense level on the scale (i.e. 1).

Socio-Demographic Variables

Next, we examine the socio-demographic control variables. In the Main Effects model, for the variable for country (-.728), there appears to be a suppression effect where the country coefficient rises with the addition of the socio-demographic controls from (-.500) to (-.728). This indicates that the likelihood of Canadian respondents being opposed to homosexuality as compared to American respondents slightly increased due to the effect of the socio-demographic factors. The odds ratio, Exp(B) (.483), confirms that Canadians in this survey would still be less likely than Americans to express disapproval of homosexuality.

To understand this suppression effect better, the frequency distributions among the socio-demographic variables were examined. The distributions among 'women' and 'age' were evenly distributed across both countries. Table 3.1(a) presents the frequency distributions for 'household income under $50,000' and 'married' respondents in the 1981 WVS. The results below indicate that when compared to Americans, there are a higher proportion of Canadians who are married (68.2%) and a higher proportion of Canadians with lower income (28.1%). Based upon previous research, being married and having a lower income are typically associated with greater opposition to homosexuality. Therefore, these controls variables slightly accentuate the more liberal view of homosexuality among Canadian respondents.

Table 3.1(a) – Frequency Distributions: 'Household Income' and 'Married' variables (1981 WVS)

USA 1981	INCOME	Number	%	MARRIED	Number	%
	Over $50,000	1131	67.7	Not Married	703	42.1
	Under $50,000	255	15.2	Married	956	57.2
	Total	1386	83.0	Total	1659	99.3
	Missing	284	17.0	Missing	11	.7
	Total	1670	100.0	Total	1670	100.0
CANADA 1981	INCOME	Number	%	MARRIED	Number	%
	Over $50,000	883	54.4	Not Married	516	31.8
	Under $50,000	457	28.1	Married	1107	68.2
	Total	1340	82.5	Total	1623	100.0
	Missing	284	17.5	Missing	0	0
	Total	1623	100.0	Total	1623	100.0

Returning to table 3.1, among the socio-demographic variables, women were less likely than men to be intolerant of homosexuality, while, married respondents and those with a total household income under $50,000 were relatively more likely to be opposed to homosexuality. Also, a one unit increase in age increased the odds that survey respondents were less accepting of homosexuality. Attempts to test for interaction effects

among these socio-demographic variables did not yield any statistically significant results.

Religious Variables

Next we examine the effects of the religious variables. Recall from Chapter 1 that these variables were chosen because determinants of religious affiliation and involvement are often predictive of opposition to homosexuality. In the Main Effects model the suppression effect disappeared and the national effect decreased (-.223), as the probability of Canadian respondents indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable was found to be less likely than in the case among Americans respondents. The odds ratio, Exp(B) (.800), confirms for this model too that Canadians in this survey would be less likely than Americans to express disapproval of homosexuality. This indicates that if Canadian respondents possessed religious beliefs similar to American respondents, national differences in expressing the most oppositional view of homosexuality would decrease.

Those respondents who indicated belief in heaven, belief in hell, belief that god is important in their life, and who cited frequent church attendance were all more likely than other respondents to oppose homosexuality. Conversely, those respondents who indicated belief in life after death were relatively more likely to accept homosexuality.

In testing for interaction effects, the variable which combined 'country' and respondents who indicated belief in life after death (country*yesbelieveinlifeafterdeath) had a significant effect. The result was consistent with a greater likelihood of acceptance of homosexuality, which indicates that Canadian respondents who indicated a belief in

life after death were less likely than comparable American respondents to be opposed to homosexuality.

In the Expanded model very little change was observed in the strength and direction of the (B) coefficients found in the Main Effects model. However, responses for 'belief in life after death' and its corresponding interaction effect were found to be statistically insignificant. The only statistically significant addition to the model pertains to those respondents who indicated belief that people have a soul, who were found to be relatively more likely to accept homosexuality.

Combined Socio-demographic and Religious Analysis

In the Main Effects model the national effect came back up to (-.463), close to the effect prior to any controls. It therefore appears that the effect of the lower income of Canadians on attitudes about homosexuality is offset by their less fundamentalist religious views. In this model, the probability of Canadian respondents indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable was found to be less likely than among Americans respondents. The odds ratio, Exp(B) (.630), confirms that Canadians would be less likely than Americans to express disapproval of homosexuality. The coefficients in the combined category remained virtually the same in strength and direction when compared with the results garnered from the separate socio-demographic and religious category analysis.

Summary

The patterns highlighted in this analysis were generally consistent with those found in previous literature, as well as results obtained in the exploratory analysis.

Throughout all stages of the analysis, those respondents who indicated a traditional orientation to religious commitment, such as frequent church attendance, belief in hell, heaven, and importance of God in life, were consistently more likely to be opposed to homosexuality than were other respondents.

The respondents that were likely to be comparatively more supportive of homosexuality included Canadians, women, those who expressed belief in life after death and those who expressed belief that people have a soul. As previously discussed, there appear to be recurring patterns of acceptance of homosexuality among those who identify with the latter two. It is suggested that these respondents may be less restricted by forces inherent in traditional religious expression (i.e., strict adherence to religious scripture, etc.) that are conventionally associated with opposition to homosexual unions. We now move to examine the remaining responses from the scale of Justifiability for the 1981 WVS.

1981 WVS OLS Regression Analysis:
Combined Canadian and American Sample

Table 3.2 presents the results of a linear regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in the 1981 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected between (2) and (10) on the scale of justifiability, with responses ranging from disapproval to total acceptance of homosexuality.

The same four models that were used in the logistic regression analysis were also employed here: (1) a National Effect model, (2) a Main Effects model (3) an Interaction Effects model and (4) an Expanded model.

The independent and control variables were again divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-demographic and religious variables. In each sub-analysis, a combined variable for country (USA & Canada) was included in order to track changes for the national effect. All standardized and unstandardized beta coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

The reader should take notice that for the linear regression analysis, the meaning and direction of the beta coefficients are opposite to the logistic regression analysis (B) coefficients. In the linear regression analysis, the model is examining the scores on the scale of "Justifiability" from (2) to (10), where the higher scale numbers represent acceptance of homosexuality. This is the opposite of the logistic regression model, where the higher score (1) was recoded to represent opposition to homosexuality, and the lower score (0) represented all other responses on the scale.

Table 3.2 : OLS Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale items 2 to 10) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 1981 WVS

OLS REGRESSION	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects		Model 3 With Interaction effects		Model 4 Expanded Model	
	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.

Country	.122 (.119)	.000				
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES						
Country			.176 (.171)	.000	Interaction Effects were non-significant	
Women			.123 (.119)	.000		
Married			-.057 (-.058)	.014		
Age			-.200 (-.005)	.000		
Income under $50,000			-.125 (-.139)	.000		
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES						
Country			.048 (.046)	.019	-.217 (-.208)	NS	-.016 (-.015)	NS
Yes believe in heaven			-.076 (-.104)	.004	-.078 (-.106)	.003	-.088 (-117)	.001
Yes believe in life after death			.045 (.052)	.046	.045 (.052)	.047	-	-
Yes believe people have a soul			.047 (.080)	.047	.048 (.082)	.042	.055 (.087)	.024
Yes believe in hell			-.135 (-.136)	.000	-.134 (-.134)	.000	-.125 (-.125)	.000
How important god in life			-.163 (-.033)	.000	-.165 (-.033)	.000	-.183 (-.035)	.000
Yes believe in god			-	-	-.078 (-.206)	NS	-	-
Attend church more than once a week			-.135 (-.189)	.000	-.134 (-.188)	.000	-.132 (-.187)	.000
Country X Yes believe in god			-	-	.270 (.261)	.035	-	-
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)						
Country			.092 (.089)	.000	Interaction Effects were non-significant		.058 (.056)	NS
Women			.161 (.156)	.000			.156 (.152)	.000
Age			-.168 (-.005)	.000			-.170 (-.005)	.000
Income under $50,000			-.107 (-.119)	.000			-.108 (-.121)	.000
Yes believe in heaven			-.091 (-.123)	.001			-.101 (-.131)	.000
Yes believe in life after death			.052 (.060)	.032			.048 (.055)	.046
Yes believe in hell			-.128 (-.129)	.000			-.122 (-.123)	.000
How important god in life			-.125 (-.025)	.000			-.137 (-.026)	.000

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Attend church more than once a week		-.141 (-.200)	.000		-.135 (-.195)	.000
Yes believe people have a soul		-	-		.052 (.082)	.040

Country

First, we examine the isolated unstandardized beta coefficient for country (.119), indicating that the average Canadian, as compared to the average American, is higher on the (2 to 10) scale of justifiability.

Socio-Demographic Variables

Next, we examine the effect of the socio-demographic variables. The unstandardized beta coefficient for country in this stream of analysis is (.171), indicating that the average Canadian in the survey is (.171 points) higher on the scale of justifiability than the average American. It appears that the same suppression effect discussed in the previous analysis is also present here, where the country coefficient rises with the addition of the socio-demographic controls.

Across each of the three socio-demographic models, female respondents expressed more acceptance of homosexuality than did males. Meanwhile, married respondents, those from lower-income households and older respondents were consistently more negative than other respondents regarding homosexuality. None of the interaction effects was found to be statistically significant; therefore, there was virtually no change in the strength and direction of the socio-demographic variables in the latter models, notwithstanding some very minor fluctuations in the coefficient scores.

Religious Variables

In the Main Effects model the national effect decreased somewhat from the socio-demographic model to (.046), indicating that the average Canadian in this survey is (.046 points) higher on the scale of justifiability than the average American. The suppression effect observed in the socio-demographic analysis is eliminated with the religious controls.

Respondents who indicated belief in heaven, hell, importance of god in their life and cited frequent church attendance expressed negative attitudes toward homosexuality. Conversely, respondents who expressed belief that people have a soul and also belief in life after death held positive acceptance of homosexuality.

The only interaction effect by country that was successfully introduced to the model combined 'country' and respondents who indicated believe in god ('country*yesbelieveingod'). This interaction effect was consistent with positive acceptance of homosexuality, suggesting that Canadian respondents who believe in god are more accepting of homosexuality than are their American counterparts. This interaction effect proved to be statistically insignificant in the Expanded model. Further attention will be paid to this variable later in the analysis in order to ascertain whether it is anomalous.

Combined Socio-demographic and Religious Analysis

In the Main Effects model, the coefficient for country increased slightly from the religious model to (.089), indicating that the average Canadian in this survey is (.089

points) higher on the scale of justifiability than the average American. Again, this is the same suppression effect observed in the previous analysis.

Despite some minor fluctuation among the coefficient scores, there was virtually no change for the direction and strength of both the socio-demographic and religious variables in the combined model. In the combined socio-demographic and religious analysis, the only respondents that demonstrated acceptance of homosexuality included women, and those who expressed belief in life after death and also belief that people have a soul.

Summary

Almost all of the trends inherent to the 1981 WVS logistic regression analysis were consistent with the patterns in this OLS regression analysis. Furthermore, these findings were generally consistent with findings in previous literature and in the exploratory analysis. These trends will be compared with the findings in the 1990 and 2000 surveys to assess their robustness and reliability.

**1990 WVS Logistic Regression Analysis:
Combined Canadian and American Sample**

Table 3.3 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in the 1990 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected (1) on

the scale of justifiability, indicating strong disapproval of homosexuality, versus all other choices.

In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

0 = respondent selected scale item between 2 and 10, where responses
    ranged from homosexuality unjustifiable (2) to acceptable (10)
1 = respondent selected scale item (1), homosexuality deemed to be
    completely unjustifiable

The same four models that were used in previous analyses were also employed here: (1) a National Effect model, (2) a Main Effects model (3) an Interaction Effects model and (4) an Expanded model. The independent and control variables were again divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-demographic and religious variables.

In each sub-analysis, a dichotomous variable for country (USA = 0, Canada = 1) was included in order to track changes for the national effect. All (B) coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

Table 3.3 : Logistic Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale item 1) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 1990 WVS

LOGISTIC REGRESSION	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects		Model 3 With Interaction effects		Model 4 Expanded	
	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
Country	-.601	.000						
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES								
Country			-.597	.000	.307	NS	.234	NS
Women			-.486	.000	-.505	.000	-.504	.000
Married			.260	.002	.217	.010	.219	.009
Age			.020	.000	.020	.000	.020	.000
Income under $50,000			.740	.000	.723	.000	.671	.000
Town under 50,000			.469	.000	.944	.000	.944	.000

Country X Town under 50,000		-	-	-1.296	.000	-1.290	.000
Constant		-.1417	.000	-1.596	.000	-1.533	.000

RELIGIOUS VARIABLES

Country		-.321	.001	Interaction Effects		-.112	NS
Catholic		-	-	were non-		-.198	.033
Yes believe in hell		.387	.001	significant		.608	.000
How important god in life		.133	.000			.133	.000
Attend church more than once a week		.715	.000			.711	.000
Yes believe people have a soul		-.649	.002			-.501	.009
Religion very important		.559	.000			.593	.000
Constant		-1.060	.021			-1.090	.000

COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)

Socio- Demographic

Country		-.302	.010	1.780	.006	.723	.002
Women		-.738	.000	-.749	.000	-.744.	000
Married		.224	.040	-	-	-	-
Age		.016	.000	.016	.000	.016	.000
Income under $50,000		.667	.000	.737	.000	.576	.000
Town Under 50,000		.429	.000	.873	.000	.847	.000
Country X Town Under 50,000		-	-	-1.202	.000	-1.170	.000

Religiosity Measures

Catholic		-.369	.044	-	-	-	-
Religion very important		.577	.000	.558	.000	.602	.000
How important god in life		.111	.001	.162	.000	.111	.000
Attend church more than once a week		.676	.000	.685	.000	.663	.000
Yes believe people have soul		-.466	.047	-.489	.037	-	-
Yes believe in hell		.444	.001	.686	.000	.759	.000
Yes believe in heaven		.496	.021	-	-	-	-

Constant	.197	.000	-2.267	.000	-2.925	.000	-2.414	.000

Country

We begin by first examining the isolated coefficient for the national effect (-.601), which implies that the probability of Canadian respondents indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable is less than for Americans respondents. The odds ratio, Exp(B) (.548), re-expresses how Canadians in this survey would be less likely than Americans to express disapproval of homosexuality.

Socio-Demographic Variables

Next, we examine the socio-demographic control variables. In examining the Main Effects model, the variable for country (-.597), is only slightly decreased from the National Effect model, indicating that the likelihood of Canadian respondents being opposed to homosexuality as compared to American respondents is only slightly decreased from the zero-order country effect.

Women were less likely than men to be intolerant of homosexuality, while married respondents, older respondents and those with a total household income under $50,000 were relatively more likely than other groups to be opposed to homosexuality. A new addition to this model includes a variable for community size. Those respondents who lived in a community under 50,000 residents were more likely than people from larger communities to be opposed to homosexuality.

In testing for interaction effects, the effect of the variable which combined 'country' and respondents from smaller communities (country*townunder50,000) suggested that Canadian respondents from smaller communities were less likely than

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comparable American respondents to be opposed to homosexuality. Assessing the changes among the coefficients across the Interaction Effects model and Expanded Model shows there were only minor fluctuations in the coefficient scores.

Religious Variables

We next examine the religious variables. In the Main Effects model the national effect decreased to (-.321), indicating erosion in the probability of Canadian respondents deeming homosexuality to be unjustifiable to be was less among American respondents.

Respondents who indicated belief in hell, belief that god is important in their life, belief that religion is important, and who indicated frequent church attendance were all more likely than other respondents to be opposed to homosexuality. On the other hand, Roman Catholic respondents and those who indicated belief that people have a soul were found to be more accepting of homosexuality than other respondents. Attempts to test for interaction effects among these religious variables did not produce any statistically significant results.

Combined Socio-demographic and Religious Analysis

In the Main Effects model the national effect slightly decreased to (-.302), which again specifies that the probability of Canadian respondents indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable was less than it was among Americans respondents. The odds ratio, Exp(B) (.740), confirms that Canadians in this survey would be less likely than Americans to express disapproval of homosexuality. The coefficients in the

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combined analysis remained more or less consistent in strength and direction with the results garnered from the separate socio-demographic and religious category analysis.

Summary

Although some new measures were introduced in this model that were unavailable in the 1981 WVS, the collective results are consistent with most of the findings in previous literature and those observed in the 1981 data analysis. Besides gender, which showed women to be more approving of homosexuality, all of the socio-demographic control variables were consistently associated with relatively greater disapproval of homosexuality. Throughout all stages of analysis, those respondents who identified with traditional measures of religious commitment such as frequent church attendance, belief in hell, belief in the importance of religion, and the importance of God in life were consistently more likely than other respondents to be opposed to homosexuality. Conversely, Canadians, Catholics, and respondents who indicated belief that people have a soul were found to be more likely to be more supportive of homosexuality. The consistency of these trends will be measured against the results of the 2000 WVS analysis. We now move to examine the remaining responses from the scale of Justifiability for the 1990 WVS.

**1990 WVS OLS Regression Analysis:
Combined Canadian and American Sample**

Table 3.4 presents the results of a linear regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in

the 1990 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected between 2 and 10 on the scale of justifiability, with responses ranging from disapproval to total acceptance of homosexuality.

The same four models that were used in previous analyses were also employed here: (1) a National Effect model, (2) a Main Effects model (3) an Interaction Effects model and (4) an Expanded model. The independent and control variables were again divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-demographic and religious variables.

In each sub-analysis, a combined variable for country (USA & Canada) was included in order to track changes for the national effect. All standardized and unstandardized beta coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

Table 3.4 : OLS Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale items 2 to 10) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 1990 WVS

OLS REGRESSION	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects		Model 3 With Interaction effects		Model 4 Expanded Model	
	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.
Country	.148 (.149)	.000						
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES								
Country			.150 (.151)	.000	-.031 (-.032)	.512	-.020 (-.020)	NS
Women			.121 (.121)	.000	.122 (.121)	.000	.121 (.120)	.000
Married			-.070 (-.073)	.001	-.072 (-.075)	.011	-.062 (-.064)	.005
Age			-.160 (-.005)	.000	-.153 (-.004)	.000	-.154 (-.004)	.000

Income under $50,000		-.170 (-.185)	.000	-.153 (-.166)	.000	-.148 (-.161)	.000
Town Under 50,000		-.094 (-.096)	.000	-.188 (-.192)	.000	-.189 (-.194)	.000
Country X Town Under 50,000		-	-	.243 (.263)	.000	.250 (.270)	.000
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES							
Country		.071 (.072)	.001	-.012 (-.012)	NS	.026 (.026)	NS
Catholic		-	-	-	-	.042 (.043)	.038
Religion very important		-.134 (-.134)	.000	-.135 (-.135)	.000	-.142 (-.143)	.000
How important god in life		-.125 (-.029)	.000	-.123 (-.029)	.000	-.128 (-.029)	.000
Attend church more than once a week		-.106 (-.146)	.000	-.104 (-.144)	.000	-.105 (-.145)	.000
Yes believe in life after death		-	-	-.025 (-.031)	NS	-	-
Yes believe people have a soul		.071 (.134)	.002	.074 (.140)	.038	.060 (.109)	.009
Yes believe in hell		-.085 (-.090)	.000	-.105 (-.111)	.004	-.132 (-.138)	.000
Country X Yes believe in life after death		-	-	.111 (.118)	.036	-	-
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)							
Country		.062 (.063)	.009	-.217 (-.219)	.023	-.145 (-.146)	.002
Women		.148 (.148)	.000	.146 (.145)	.000	.147 (.147)	.000
Married		-.043 (-.045)	.043	-	-	-	-
Age		-.118 (-.003)	.000	-.116 (-003)	.000	-.113 (-.003)	.000
Income under $50,000		-.128 (-.139)	.000	-.114 (-.124)	.000	-.109 (-119)	.000
Town Under 50,000		-.085 (-.087)	.000	-.168 (-.172)	.000	-.165 (-.169)	.000
Country X Town Under 50,000		-	-	.223 (.241)	.000	.220 (.238)	.000
Roman Catholic		.076 (.076)	.042	-	-	-	-
Religion very important		-.128 (-128)	.000	-.124 (-.125)	.000	-.132 (-.132)	.000
How important god in life		-.100 (-.024)	.001	-.093 (-.022)	.001	-.100 (-.023)	.000

Attend church more than once a week		-.094 (-.129)	.000	-.091 (-.126)	.000	-.090 (-.125)	.000
Yes believe in heaven		-.059 (-.091)	.027	-	-	-	-
Yes believe in hell		-.089 (-.094)	.000	-.125 (-.132)	.001	-.150 (-.157)	.000

Country

First, we examine the isolated unstandardized beta coefficient for country (.149), indicating that the average Canadian in this survey, as compared to the average American, is higher on the scale of justifiability.

Socio-Demographic Variables

Among the socio-demographic variables, the unstandardized beta coefficient for country remained almost the same (.151), indicating that the average Canadian in this survey is higher on the scale of justifiability than the average American. Female respondents expressed positive acceptance of homosexuality, while married respondents, those from lower-income households, those from smaller communities and increases in age cohort were consistent with negative attitudes toward homosexuality.

As in the previous analysis, the only interaction effect that was introduced to the model combined 'country' and respondents from smaller communities ('country*town under 50,000'). This interaction effect was consistent with positive acceptance of homosexuality, suggesting that Canadian respondents in this survey from smaller communities are more accepting of homosexuality than American respondents. This interaction effect also proved to be statistically significant in the Expanded model. There was virtually no change in the strength and direction of the socio-demographic variables

in the latter models, notwithstanding some very minor fluctuation in the coefficient scores.

Religious Variables

In the Main Effects model the national effect decreased somewhat from the socio-demographic model to (.072), still indicating that the average Canadian in this survey is higher on the scale of justifiability than the average American. Respondents who indicated belief in hell, that religion is very important, importance of god in their life, and cited frequent church attendance expressed negative attitudes toward homosexuality. Oppositely, respondents who expressed belief that people have a soul held positive acceptance of homosexuality, and in the Expanded model, Roman Catholic respondents, expressed acceptance of homosexuality.

The only interaction effect that was introduced to the model once again combined 'country' and respondents who indicated believe in life after death ('country*yesbelieveinlifeafterdeath'). This interaction effect was consistent with positive acceptance of homosexuality, suggesting that Canadian respondents in this survey who believe in life after death are more accepting of homosexuality than the corresponding American respondents. This interaction effect proved to be statistically insignificant in the Expanded model.

Combined Socio-demographic and Religious Analysis

In the Main Effects model, the coefficient for country again decreased slightly from the religious model to (.063). Despite some minor fluctuation among the coefficient

scores, there was virtually no change for the direction and strength of both the socio-

demographic and religious variables in the combined model.

Summary

Most of the trends evident in the previous 1981 and 1990 analyses were consistent

with the patterns in this OLS regression analysis, and these findings were generally

consistent with findings in previous literature and in the exploratory analysis. We now

move to examine the remaining results for the 2000 WVS analysis.

**2000 WVS Logistic Regression Analysis: Justifiable - Homosexuality Scale Item (1)
Combined Canadian and American Sample,**

Table 3.5 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects

of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable

a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be

in the 2000 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected "1" on

the scale of justifiability, indicating strong disapproval of homosexuality, versus all other

choices. Responses for scale item "10" – complete acceptance of homosexuality will be

examined in the subsequent section.

In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

0 = respondent selected scale item between 2 and 9, where responses
    ranged from homosexuality unjustifiable (2) to justifiable (9)
1 = respondent selected scale item (1), homosexuality deemed to be
    unjustifiable

The same four models that were used in previous analyses were also employed here: (1) a National Effect model, (2) a Main Effects model (3) an Interaction Effects model and (4) an Expanded model. Several new variables were introduced into the model that were unavailable in the previous WVS waves: education, race (Caucasian versus other), home language (English versus other). The independent and control variables were again divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-demographic and religious variables.

In each sub-analysis, a dichotomous variable for country (USA = 0, Canada = 1) was included in order to track changes for the national effect. All (B) coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

Table 3.5 : Logistic Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale item 1) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 2000 WVS

LOGISTIC REGRESSION Homosexuality Not Justifiable	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects		Model 3 With Interaction effects		Model 3 Expanded Model	
	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
Country with HomosexualityNotJustifiable1	-.243	.003						
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES								
Country			-.273	.006	-.836	.015	-1.459	.000
Women			-.343	.000	-.343	.000	-.341	.000
University Degree			-.780	.000	-.719	.000	-.736	.000
Married			.427	.000	.425	.003	.423	.003
Age			.015	.000	.006	NS	.004	NS
English Language			.306	.011	.353	.004	.287	.017
Caucasian			-.577	.000	-.364	.017	-	-
Income under $50,000			.342	.001	-	-	-	-
Town under 50,000			.077	NS	-	-	-	-
Country X Age			-	-	.015	.008	.015	.009
Country X Income under $50,000			-	-	.625	.002	.625	.002
Country X Caucasian			-	-	-.595	.016	-	-

Constant			-1.427	.000	-1.001	.000	-1.090	.000
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES								
Country			.356	.001	.270	NS	.202	NS
Catholic			-.599	.000	-1.027	.000	-.605	.000
Other religious denomination			.352	.023	-	-	-	-
Pray daily			.417	.000	.359	.049	.387	.001
Yes believe in hell			.332	.013	-	-	-	-
How important god in life			.095	.003	.133	.026	.101	.001
Attend church more than once a week			.600	.000	.459	.014	.616	.000
Yes believe in heaven			.525	.010	-	-	.480	.015
Yes believe life after death			-.590	.000	-.550	.011	-.727	.000
Yes believe people have a soul			-.666	.006	-.635	.011	-	-
Country X Catholic			-	-	.704	.023	-	-
Country X Other religious denomination			-	-	1.021	.001	.694	.003
Religion very important			.639	.000	.502	.007	.614	.000
Constant			-2.062	.000	-1.998	.000	-2.293	.000
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)								
Socio-Demographic								
Country			.149	NS	-.441	NS	-.871	.012
Women			-.705	.000	-.684	.000	-.674.	.000
Age			.009	.011	-.001	NS	-	-
University Degree			-.768	.000	-.749	.000	-.763	.000
Married			.259	.019	-	-	-	-
Income under $50,000			-	-	-.153	NS	-.160	NS
Religiosity Measures								
Catholic			-.723	.000	-.996	.000	-.734	.000
Other Religious Denomination			.391	.020	.022	NS	-	-
Pray Daily			.432	.001	.493	.011	.379	.004
Yes believe in heaven			.562	.012	-	-	.496	.023
Religion very important			.686	.000	.505	.011	.649	.000
How important god in life			.093	.007	.142	.028	.094	.006
Attend church more than once a week			.642	.000	.556	.005	.673	.000
Yes believe in life after death			-.545	.000	-.514	.025	-.625	.000
Country X Age			-	-	.015	.028	-	-
Country X Under $50,000			-	-	.641	.008	.604	.010
Country X Other religious denomination			-	-	.774	.025	.654	.009
Constant HomosexualityNotJustifiable1	-.773	.000	-2.363	.000	-2.086	.002	-1.897	.000

Country

We begin by first examining the isolated coefficient for the national effect (-.243),

which implies that the probability of Canadian respondents in this survey indicating that

they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable is less than it is among Americans respondents. This is the same finding consistently observed throughout this study.

Socio-Demographic Variables

In examining the Main Effects model, the effect for country (-.273), is only minutely increased compared to the pattern for the National Effect model, with Canadian respondents still less likely than American respondents to be opposed to homosexuality.

In order to explain this slight suppression effect, the frequency distributions for the socio-demographic variables were examined. Most of these variables were found to be more or less evenly distributed across both countries in contrast to the 1981 figures in Table 3.1(a). Below, Table 3.5(a) shows the results of the frequency distributions for income, community size and ethnicity. The results demonstrate that, among Canadians, there are a higher proportion of Caucasian respondents and those from smaller communities, and, in these recent data, about the same proportion of Canadians from lower income households as compared to Americans, with missing data excluded.

Table 3.5(a) - Frequency Distributions: 'Community Size', 'Race', and 'Income' variables (2000 WVS)

USA 2000	TOWN UNDER 50,000	Number	%		CAUCASIAN	Number	%		INCOME UNDER $50,000	Number	%
	Town over 50,000	836	69.6		Other	328	27.4		Over $50,000	446	37.2
	Town Under 50,000	362	30.2		Caucasian	872	72.6		Under $50,000	686	57.2
	Missing	2	.2		Missing	-	-		Missing	68	5.7
	Total	1200	100.0		Total	1200	100.0			1200	100.0
CANADA 2000	TOWN UNDER 50,000	Number	%		CAUCASIAN	Number	%		INCOME UNDER $50,000	Number	%
	Town over 50,000	1181	61.2		Other	195	10.1		Over $50,000	637	33.0

	Town Under 50,000	750	38.8	Caucasian	1736	89.9	Under $50,000	1071	55.5
	Missing	-	-	Missing	-	-	Missing	223	11.5
	Total	1931	100.0	Total	1931	100.0	Total	1931	100.0

Returning to Table 3.5, women, respondents with university degrees and Caucasian respondents were determined to be less likely to deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable. Meanwhile, married respondents, those from lower-income households, English speaking respondents, and those from smaller communities were likely to be opposed to homosexuality. Also, a single unit increase in age increased the odds that respondents were less accepting of homosexuality.

Several new interaction effects were tested in this analysis, including:

Country*age
Country*income under $50,000
Country*Caucasian

In assessing the results, the interaction effect variables for age and income were consistent with greater likelihood for disapproval of homosexuality, while the interaction effect variable for race (Caucasian) was consistent with greater likelihood of acceptance of homosexuality. In effect, these findings suggest that Canadian respondents in this survey identified as 'Caucasian' were less likely (beyond the main effect) than Caucasian American respondents to be opposed to homosexuality, while older Canadians and those with household incomes over $50,000 were especially more likely than Americans to be opposed to homosexuality.

For those variables that remained statistically significant in the Expanded model, few changes from the Main Effects Model were observed in the strength and direction of their coefficients.

Religious Variables

In the Main Effects model the national effect reversed in direction and rose to (.356), suggesting that if Canadians and Americans had the same profile in religious beliefs, Canadians would be *more* likely than Americans to indicate that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable. The odds ratio, Exp(B) (1.428), shows that Canadians in this survey would be nearly one and a half times more likely than Americans to express disapproval of homosexuality.

Respondents who reported that they belong to a religious denomination other than Protestantism or Catholicism, that they believed in heaven and hell, believed that god is important in their life, believed that religion is important, and who cited frequent church attendance and frequent prayer were all likely to be opposed to homosexuality. Conversely, Roman Catholic respondents, those who endorsed belief in life after death and also that people have a soul were more accepting of homosexuality.

Several interaction effects were introduced to this model, including:

Country*Catholic
Country*other religious denomination

In assessing the results, the significant interaction effects involving country and both the 'Catholic' and 'Other religious denomination' dummy variables were consistent with greater likelihood for disapproval of homosexuality. In effect, these findings

suggest that Canadian respondents who identified as 'Catholic' or belonged to an 'Other religious denomination' were more likely than equivalent Americans to be opposed to homosexuality. The results from the Main Effects model were the mostly the same as the Expanded model, despite some minor fluctuations in coefficient scores.

Combined Socio-demographic and Religious Analysis

In the Main Effects model the national effect increased slightly to (.149), but proved to be statistically insignificant (p<.211). Given the statistical insignificance, this figure would signify that if Canadians and Americans had the same profile in combined socio-demographic and religious beliefs, Canadians would be equally likely as Americans to deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable.

The coefficients in the combined category remained more or less consistent in strength and direction as the results garnered from the separate socio-demographic and religious category analysis; however, some variables were dropped from the model due to statistical insignificance.

Summary

Several new measures were introduced into this analysis that were unavailable in the 1981 and 1990 WVS. The overall results were consistent with most of the findings in previous literature and in the 1981 and 1990 logistic regression analyses. However, one noteworthy finding was revealed in the analysis of the religious variables, where the national effect shifted to suggest that Canadians were more likely than Americans to oppose homosexuality. This trend was not repeated in the analysis of combined

variables, as the variable for national effect was statistically insignificant. It is another

indication that religion is the active ingredient in this analysis.

Women, respondents with university degrees, Caucasians, and respondents who

indicated belief in life after death and that people have a soul were all less likely to be

opposed to homosexuality. All of the other socio-demographic control variables and

traditional measures of religious commitment were likely to be opposed to

homosexuality. We now move to examine those respondents who selected score (10) on

the scale of justifiability in the 2000 WVS.

2000 WVS Logistic Regression Analysis: Justifiable - Homosexuality Scale Item (10) Combined Canadian and American Sample,

Table 3.6 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects

of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable

a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be

in the 2000 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected (10) on

the scale of justifiability, indicating approval of homosexuality, versus all other choices.

In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

0 = respondent selected scale item between 1 and 9, where responses
     ranged from homosexuality unjustifiable (1) to justifiable (9)
1 = respondent selected scale item (10), homosexuality deemed to be
     justifiable

The same four models that were used in previous analyses were also employed

here: (1) a National Effect model, (2) a Main Effects model (3) an Interaction Effects

model and (4) an Expanded model. The independent and control variables were again

divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious

variables, and (c) a combination of socio-demographic and religious variables.

In each sub-analysis, a dichotomous variable for country (USA = 0, Canada = 1)

was included in order to track changes for the national effect. All (B) coefficients were

examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

The reader should take note that for this analysis, the meaning and direction of the

(B) coefficients are opposite from the other logistic regression analyses. In this case, the

model is assessing those survey respondents who selected item (10) on the scale of

justifiability, therefore a positive (B) coefficient score is consistent with likely support of

homosexuality among Canadians.

Table 3.6 : Logistic Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale item 10) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 2000 WVS

LOGISTIC REGRESSION Homosexuality Justifiable	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects		Model 3 With Interaction effects		Model 3 Expanded Model	
	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
Country HomosexualityJustifiable10	.515	.000						
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES								
Country			.580	.000	-.025	NS	.859	.010
Women			.524	.000	.538	.000	.531	.000
University Degree			.613	.000	-	-	.406	.039
Married			-.507	.000	-.742	.000	-.748	.000
Age			-.020	.000	-.018	.005	-.014	.018
Caucasian			.785	.000	.551	.013	-	-
Income under $50,000			-.255	.025	-	-	-	-
Town under 50,000			-.383	.000	-.288	.021	-	-
Constant			-1.502	.000	-1.349	.000	-1.281	.000
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES								
Country			.258	.044	.610	NS	.250	NS
Protestant			-.716	.000	-	-	-.664	.000
Pray daily			-.285	.047	-	-	-.293	.041

Yes believe in hell			-	-	-.625	.028	-	-
Attend church more than once a week			-.835	.008	-	-	-	-
Yes believe in heaven			-.705	.000	-	-	-.671	.000
Yes believe life after death			.412	.008	.608	.046	.522	.000
Yes believe in god			-.565	.023	-	-	-.478	.040
Yes religious person			.554	.001	-	-	.582	.001
Religion very important			-.476	.002	-.568	.022	-.473	.002
Constant			-.611	.005	-.905	.022	-.520	.007
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)								
Socio-Demographic								
Country			.376	.009	.367	NS	.414	NS
Women			.797	.000	.827	.000	.847	.000
Age			-.013	.002	-	-	-	-
University Degree			.650	.000	-	-	.449	.050
Married			-.359	.005	-.756	.002	-.790	.001
Caucasian			.483	.020	-	-	-	-
Town Under 50,000			-.306	.013	-	-	-	-
Religiosity Measures								
Protestant			-.690	.001	-	-	-.659	.001
Religion very important			-.522	.002	-.621.	.017	-.571	.001
Yes believe in heaven			-.526	.007	-	-	-.555	.004
Yes believe in hell			-.319	.049	-.604	.050	-	-
How important god in life			-	-	-	-	-.072	.028
Attend church more than once a week			-.635	.048	-	-	-.625	.045
Yes believe in life after death			-	-	-	-	.358	.024
Yes believe in god			-.672	.012	-	-	-.632	.011
Yes religious person			.703	.000	-	-	.728	.000
Country X Married			-	-	.589	.042	-	-
Constant HomosexualityJustifiable10	-1.807	.000	-.845	.020	-1.067	NS	-.468	NS

Country

First we examine the isolated coefficient for the national effect (.515), which implies that the probability of Canadian respondents in this survey who deemed homosexuality to be unjustifiable is less likely than among Americans respondents. According to the odds ratio, Exp(B) (1.674), Canadians were 1.7 times more likely to endorse the most tolerant attitude.

Socio-Demographic Variables

In examining the Main Effects model, the variable for country (.580), is slightly increased from the National Effect model, where Canadian respondents remain more likely than American respondents to support homosexuality. This very slight suppression effect, much smaller than in earlier data, echoes the one for the categorical analysis above.

Tests for interaction effects among these socio-demographic variables did not produce in any statistically significant results. Among those variables that remained statistically significant in the latter models, there were no drastic fluctuations in strength or direction.

Religious Variables

In the Main Effects model the national effect decreased sharply to (.258), suggesting that much of the national effect is due to religious differences between the nations. Protestant respondents, those who indicated they pray daily, frequently attend church, believe in heaven, believe in god, and believe religion is very important were all likely to be opposed to homosexuality.

On the other hand, those respondents who indicated belief in life after death and that they were religious persons were determined to be relatively more accepting of homosexuality. This finding regarding 'religious persons' is contradictory to findings in previous literature and those reported earlier in this study. Further attention will be required to determine whether this finding is anomalous. Attempts to test for interaction effects among these religious variables did not produce in any statistically significant

results. Among those variables that remained statistically significant in the latter models, there were no drastic fluctuations in strength or direction.

Combined Socio-demographic and Religious Analysis

In the Main Effects model the national effect rose slightly to (.376), which signifies that if Canadians and Americans had the same profile, Canadians would still be more likely than Americans to indicate that they deem homosexuality to be justifiable. The sole interaction effect that passed the threshold of statistical significance was the combination of the variable for 'country' and the variable for 'married' respondents. In the Interaction Effect model, this interaction effect indicated that married Canadians would be especially more likely than married Americans to support homosexuality.

The coefficients in the combined category remained more or less consistent in strength and direction as the results garnered from the separate socio-demographic and religious category analysis; however, some variables were dropped from the model due to statistical insignificance. In this combined model, those respondents who indicated they were 'religious persons' were again found to be more likely to support homosexuality.

Summary

The overall results were consistent with most of the findings in previous literature and in the 1981 and 1990 logistic regression analyses and the other 2000 WVS logistic regression analysis. Women, respondents with university degrees, Caucasians, and respondents who indicated belief in life after death and that they were 'religious persons' were all less likely to be opposed to homosexuality. All of the other socio-demographic control variables and traditional measures of religious commitment were aligned with

likely opposition to homosexuality. We now move to examine the middle portion of the response set for the scale of Justifiability in the 2000 WVS.

2000 WVS OLS Regression Analysis:
Combined Canadian and American Sample

Table 3.7 presents the results of a linear regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in the 2000 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected between (2) and (9) on the scale of justifiability, with responses ranging from disapproval to acceptance of homosexuality.

Of note to the reader, the pool of respondents in this analysis is smaller than in the 1981 and 1990 OLS analyses since there were two logistic regression analyses for the 2000 WVS for scale items (1) and (10). The reader will observe that this appears to slightly hamper the statistical power of the results.

The same four models that were used in previous analyses were also employed here: (1) a National Effect model, (2) a Main Effects model (3) an Interaction Effects model and (4) an Expanded model. The independent and control variables were again divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-demographic and religious variables. In each sub-analysis, a combined variable for country (USA & Canada) was included in order to

track changes for the national effect. All standardized and unstandardized beta

coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

Table 3.7 : OLS Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale items 2 to 9) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 2000 WVS

OLS REGRESSION	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effect		Model 3 With Interaction Effects		Model 4 Expanded Model	
	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.
Country	-.024 (-.024)	NS						
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES								
Country			-.049 (-.049)	.036	.035 (.035)	NS	-.045 (-.045)	.043
University Degree			-	-	.075 (.089)	.016	-	-
English Language			-.052 (-.064)	.020	-.052 (-.064)	.021	-.047 (-.057)	.033
Town Under 50,000			.046 (.047)	.034	-	-	-	-
Country X University Degree			-	-	-.079 (-.129)	.015	-	-
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES								
Country			-.099 (-.101)	.000	-.146 (-.149)	.005	-.030 (-.030)	NS
Catholic			.089 (.095)	.001	.090 (.096)	.001	.076 (.081)	.005
Other religious denomination			-.063 (-.080)	.009	-.065 (-.082)	.008	-	-
Attend church more than once a week			-.071 (-.111)	.001	-.071 (-.111)	.001	-.077 (-.119)	.001
Yes believe in god			.058 (.107)	.046	-	-	.067 (.122)	.018
Yes religious person			-.058 (-.071)	.024	-.057 (-.070)	.028	-.076 (-.091)	.005
Religion very important			-.069 (-.070)	.008	-	-	.-.063 (-.064)	.019
Country X Other religious denomination			-	-	-	-	-.072 (-.133)	.012
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)								

Country		-.083 (-.084)	.000	-.011 (-.011)	NS	.021 (.021)	NS
University degree		-	-	.076 (.090)	.014	-	-
Caucasian		-.056 (-.074)	.015	-	-	-	-
Town Under 50,000		.051 (.053)	.016	-	-	-	-
Catholic		.091 (.097)	.002	.093 (.099)	.002	.076 (.081)	.008
Other religious denomination		-.071 (-.090)	.006	-.070 (-.089)	.007	-	-
Religion very important		-.069 (-.069)	.013	-	-	-.064 (-.065)	.017
Attend church more than once a week		-.082 (-.128)	.000	-.085 (-.132)	.000	-.078 (-.122)	.000
Yes believe in god		.061 (.112)	.044	-	-	.067 (.122)	.019
Yes religious person		-.072 (-.087)	.009	-.067 (-.081)	.015	-.077 (-.092)	.005
Country X University degree		-	-	-.072 (-.116)	.024	-	-
Country X Other religious denomination		-	-	-	-	-.071 (-.131)	.013

Country

      The isolated unstandardized beta coefficient for country (-.024) was determined to be statistically insignificant (p<.189), thus eliminating the national effect.

Socio-Demographic Variables

      With the socio-demographic variables controlled, the unstandardized beta coefficient for country moves into significance (-.049), indicating that the average Canadian in this survey is lower on the scale of justifiability than the average American. Here again is the recurrent suppression effect seen several times already. As compared to the earlier analyses, fewer variables were statistically significant across all three models, and the results appear far more sporadic. Respondents from smaller communities were associated with positive attitudes toward homosexuality, while respondents who spoke

primarily English in their households were associated with negative attitudes toward homosexuality.

The only interaction effect that was introduced to the model combined 'country' and respondents with a university degree ('country*university degree'). Although the regular 'university degree' variable was associated with positive acceptance of homosexuality, the related interaction effect was consistent with negative attitudes toward homosexuality, suggesting that Canadian respondents in this survey with university degrees are less accepting of homosexuality than equivalent American respondents. This interaction effect proved to be statistically insignificant in the Expanded model.

Religious Variables

In the Main Effects model the national effect increased somewhat from the socio-demographic model to (-.101), indicating that the average Canadian in this survey is lower on the scale of justifiability than the average American. Here, religion is not explaining the national effect. Respondents who indicated they belong to a religious denomination other than Catholicism or Protestantism, those who indicated that they were religious persons, frequently attend church and indicated that religion is very important expressed negative attitudes toward homosexuality. Oppositely, Catholic respondents and those who expressed belief in god held positive acceptance of homosexuality.

One interaction effect that was introduced into the model combined 'country' and respondents who belong to a religious denomination other than Catholicism or

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Protestantism ('country*otherreligiousdenomination'). This interaction effect was consistent with disapproval of homosexuality, suggesting that Canadian respondents from an 'other' religious denomination were less accepting of homosexuality than American respondents. This interaction effect proved to be statistically significant only in the Expanded model. Another interaction effect that was introduced combined 'country' and education ('country*university degree'). In the Interaction Effects model this variable was consistent with disapproval of homosexuality, suggesting that Canadian respondents with university degrees in this survey were less accepting of homosexuality than their American counterparts.

Combined Socio-demographic and Religious Analysis

In the Main Effects model, the coefficient for country again decreased slightly from the religious model to (-.084), indicating that the average Canadian in this survey is (-.084) lower on the scale of justifiability than the average American. The only noteworthy addition to this analysis included negative attitudes toward homosexuality among Caucasian respondents. Otherwise, despite some minor fluctuation among the coefficient scores, there was virtually no change for the direction and strength of both the socio-demographic and religious variables in the combined model.

Summary

Although the majority of the findings in this 2000 WVS OLS regression analysis were generally consistent with findings in both the 1981 and 1990 OLS analyses, this particular analysis was most unlike all of the previous ones. Variables that were mainstays in earlier studies such as 'gender', 'age' and several traditional indicators of

religious commitment were excluded due to statistical insignificance. Furthermore, as compared to the previous studies, this is the only analysis to this point where the national effect demonstrated that Canadian attitudes were associated with more negative attitudes than among Americans. As noted earlier, since this specific OLS regression analysis only covered responses on the scale of justifiability from (2) to (9), the robustness of these results is to be interpreted with more caution than normal, especially given the anomalous findings noted above.

The analysis of the dependent variable pertaining to the justifiability of homosexuality across all three WVS waves is now complete. Next, several confirmatory analyses involving the remaining dependent variables highlighted in Chapter 2 will be briefly examined and discussed.

Confirmatory Analyses

Following the analysis of the primary dependent variable, further analysis was conducted of the two remaining WVS dependent variables identified in Chapter 2. The purpose of examining these variables was to confirm the robustness of the trends observed in previous results.

1990 WVS– Neighbour: Homosexual

Table 3.8 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding whether respondents from a combined sample of Canadians and Americans selected 'homosexuals' as undesirable neighbours in the 1990 WVS.

In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

0 = respondent did not select 'homosexual' as an undesirable neighbour
1 = respondent selected 'homosexual' as an undesirable neighbour

Two models of analysis were utilized: (1) a National Effect model, and (2) a Main Effects model. The control variables were divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-demographic and religious variables. In each sub-analysis, a dichotomous variable for country (USA = 0, Canada = 1) was included in order to track changes for the national effect. All (B) coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

Table 3.8 : Logistic Regression of Neighbour: Homosexual and the Controls, Canada and USA, 1990 WVS

LOGISTIC REGRESSION	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects	
	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
Country	-.385	.000		
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				
Country			-.435	.000
Women			-.611	.000
Age			.005	.014
Income under $50,000			.366	.000
Town under 50,000			.301	.000
Constant			-.914	.000
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES				
Country			-.198	.038
Catholic				
Yes believe in heaven			.473	.011
Yes believe in hell			.247	.028
Religion very important			.413	.000
Yes belong religious denomination			-.629	.021
Constant			-.097	NS
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)				
Socio- Demographic				
Country			-.231	.036
Women			-.740	.000
Income under $50,000			.388	.001
Town Under 50,000			.295	.004
Religiosity Measures				
Religion very important			.424	.000
Yes believe in heaven			.437	.034
Constant	-.476	.000	-.719	NS

The results from this analysis are remarkably similar to those using the main dependent variable. Again, the same suppression effect observed in the previous analyses is present in the socio-demographic model, but it becomes lost in the religious and combined model. In examining the national effect across all stages of analysis, Canadian respondents were found to be less likely than American respondents to identify homosexuals as undesirable neighbours. In all instances, the odds ratio for the national effect confirmed that Canadians in this survey would be less likely than Americans to select homosexuals as an undesirable neighbour.

Women were also found to be less likely than men to identify homosexuals as undesirable neighbours, while older respondents, respondents from lower-income households, and respondents from smaller communities were more likely than others to object to homosexual neighbours. In the religious analysis, respondents who indicated belief in heaven and hell and that religion is very important were more likely to object to homosexual neighbours. The only finding in this analysis that appears contradictory to previous research is that respondents who indicated that they belong to a religious denomination were found to be likely to approve of neighbours who are homosexual. Next, the same dependent variable is examined in the 2000 WVS.

2000 WVS– Neighbour: Homosexual

Table 3.9 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding whether

respondents from a combined sample of Canadians and Americans selected

'homosexuals' as undesirable neighbours in the 2000 WVS.

In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

0 = respondent did not select 'homosexual' as an undesirable neighbour
1 = respondent selected 'homosexual' as an undesirable neighbour

Two models of analysis were utilized: (1) a National Effect model, and (2) a Main

Effects model. The control variables were divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-

demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-

demographic and religious variables. In each sub-analysis, a dichotomous variable for

country (USA = 0, Canada = 1) was included in order to track changes for the national

effect. All (B) coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05

$(p<.05)$.

Table 3.9 : Logistic Regression of Neighbour: Homosexual and the Controls, Canada and USA, 2000 WVS

LOGISTIC REGRESSION Homosexuality Not Justifiable	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects	
	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
Country with HomosexualityNotJustifiable1	-.399	.000		
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				
Country			-.424	.000
Women			-.461	.000
University Degree			-.776	.000
Married			.276	.008
Age			.017	.000
Caucasian			-.618	.000
Town under 50,000			.214	.046
Constant			-1.432	.000
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES				
Country			-.109	NS
Other religious denomination			.339	.042
Yes believe in hell			.327	.022
Yes believe life after death			-.560	.000
Religion very important			.385	.004

Constant		-2.342	.000
COMBINED MODEL **(SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)**			
Socio-Demographic			
Country		-.215	NS
Women		-.648	.000
Age		.016	.000
University Degree		-.800	.000
Caucasian		-.350	.021
Community Under 50,000		.251	.038
Religiosity **Measures**			
Religion very important		.409	.005
Yes believe in life after death		-.494	.001
Constant HomosexualityNotJustifiable1	-1.191	.000	-2.507	.000

Despite the addition of several variables in the survey, the results of this analysis

were more or less similar to those using the 1990 data for the same dependent variable.

Again, across all models, Canadian respondents were found to be less likely than

American respondents to identify homosexuals as undesirable neighbours; however, the

threshold of statistical significance was not met in the Religious or Combined models. In

all instances, the odds ratio for the national effect confirmed that Canadians in this survey

would be less likely than Americans to select homosexuals as an undesirable neighbour.

Within the socio-demographic category, women, Caucasian respondents and those

with university degrees were less likely than other respondents to oppose having

homosexuals as neighbours, while, older respondents, married respondents and

respondents from smaller communities were relatively likely to oppose having

homosexuals as neighbours. Among the religious variables, respondents from a religious

denomination apart from Catholicism and Protestantism, those who expressed belief in

hell and that religion is important were more likely to oppose homosexuals as neighbours.

Conversely, those respondents who expressed belief in life after death were determined to be less likely to oppose homosexual neighbours.

Overall, these findings were very similar to the 1990 analysis with the same dependent variable, and the patterns and trends regarding opposition and acceptance of homosexuality were consistent with previous findings in this study and others. Lastly, we move to analyze briefly the sole remaining dependent variable regarding attitudes toward homosexuality.

1990 WVS– Should the Church Speak Out On Homosexuality?

Table 3.10 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding whether it is proper for "the church" to speak out on homosexuality. As discussed in Chapter 2, it is believed that the purpose of this ambiguous question is to draw connections between "church" and opposition to homosexuality. The sample is derived from a combined sample of Canadians and Americans in the 1990 WVS.

In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

0 = No, the church should not speak out on homosexuality
1 = Yes, the church should speak out on homosexuality

Two models were utilized: (1) a National Effect model, and (2) a Main Effects model. The control variables were divided up into three distinct strata: (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of socio-

demographic and religious variables. In each sub-analysis, a dichotomous variable for

country (USA = 0, Canada = 1) was included in order to track changes for the national

effect. All (B) coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05

(p<.05).

Table 3.10 : Logistic Regression of Should the Church Speak Out On Homosexuality, and the Controls, Canada and USA, 1990 WVS

LOGISTIC REGRESSION	Model 1 National Effect		Model 2 Main Effects	
	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
Country	-.478	.000		
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				
Country			-.482	.000
Women			-.169	.023
Married			.247	.002
Constant			.169	NS
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES				
Country			-.127	NS
Catholic			-.454	.005
Yes believe in hell			.980	.000
Attend church more than once a week			.565	.000
Yes believe people have a soul			.508	.012
Yes believe in life after death			.273	.029
Religion very important			.297	.007
Constant			-1.661	.000
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)				
Socio- Demographic				
Country			-.087	NS
Women			-.334	.001
Religiosity Measures				
Catholic			-.484	.007

Religion very important			.347	.004
Attend church more than once a week			.587	.000
Yes believe people have soul			.522	.017
Yes believe in life after death			.272	.047
Yes believe in hell			.965	.000
Constant	.368	.000	-1.646	.001

Across all models, Canadians were found to be less likely than Americans to indicate that churches should speak out on homosexuality; however, the threshold of statistical significance was not met in the Religious or Combined models. In all instances, the odds ratio for the national effect confirmed that Canadians in this survey would be less likely than Americans to stipulate that the church speak out on homosexuality. Among the socio-demographic indicators, women were found to be less likely than men to indicate it is proper for the church to speak out on homosexuality, while married respondents were more likely to indicate support for the church's role in this endeavour.

Among the religious effects, Catholic respondents were less likely than Protestants or members of other religious denominations to support the church in speaking out on homosexuality. Respondents who indicated a belief in hell, that religion is very important to them, frequent church attendance, a belief that people have a soul and also a belief in life after death were deemed more likely than other respondents to maintain that the church should speak out on homosexuality. It deserves notice that this is the first instance in the analysis where respondents who indicated belief that people

have a soul and belief in life after death were associated with apparent opposition to homosexuality.

Overall, the findings in this analysis are very interesting, most importantly because the dependent variable directly links attitudes toward homosexuality with support of a religious institution. The results of this analysis appear to help illustrate a marked difference between Canadians and Americans, whereby American respondents appear to insist upon more accountability among church leadership to oppose (or at least speak out about) homosexuality. It is unfortunate that this particular survey question was only posed in the 1990 WVS, as the robustness of these results cannot be further verified. However, the overall findings are generally consistent with the other results in the present study and with previous literature.

Conclusion: Confirmatory Analysis

The results from the confirmatory analysis cannot be directly compared to the analysis of the primary dependent variable. Nevertheless, these analyses did generally substantiate the robustness of the original findings in Chapter 3. The same general patterns and trends among the socio-demographic control variables and the religious variables were observed, and it was once again confirmed that Canadians are usually more likely than Americans to express greater acceptance of homosexuals.

Conclusion to Chapter Three

Throughout this analysis of all three WVS waves, some very clear and consistent

trends have been observed. There were very few anomalous results that appeared to contradict previous literature or the bulk of the other findings contained in this study.

National Effect

Except for the results of the 2000 OLS regression analysis, the findings indicate that Canadians are consistently more accepting of homosexuality than are Americans. Although the size of the disparity between Canadians and American attitudes varied at times, this trend was sustained throughout virtually every phase of the analysis.

Socio-demographic variables

Across both the OLS regression and logistic regression analyses on virtually every occasion, women were associated with positive acceptance of homosexuality. In the 2000 WVS, respondents with university education and Caucasian respondents were also associated with acceptance of homosexuality. The rest of the socio-demographic characteristics such as 'marriage', 'age', 'income under $50,000", 'community under 50,000 residents', and 'English language' were consistently found to be associated with disapproval of homosexuality. On many occasions, a suppression effect was observed, indicating that socio-demographic differences among Canadians and Americans play a part in the explaining the national effect. However, the rationale for such findings was not always straightforward or apparent.

Religious Variables

There was also great consistency among the religious variables across all models. Most of the religious indicators were repeatedly associated with disapproval of

homosexuality: belief in heaven, belief in hell, belief that religion is very important, frequent church attendance, belief that god is important in life, and frequent prayer.

The only indicators of religious commitment and affiliation that were consistently associated with positive acceptance of homosexuality were among respondents who indicated belief in 'life after death' and belief that 'people have a soul'. As mentioned earlier, these indicators of religious belief seem to be related a more broad sense of spirituality, as opposed to the other variables that appear to be more closely associated with greater adherence to traditional forms of religious practice and commitment, and therefore, greater opposition to homosexuality.

Below, figures 3.11 and 3.12 display the frequency distributions for respondents who indicated belief in life after death and belief that people have a soul. Overall, there were increases across both categories over the twenty-year range. Attitudes remained consistently higher among Americans than Canadians in every instance.

Table 3.11 - Frequency Distributions: 'Belief in Life After Death'
(1981, 1990, 2000 WVS)

BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH				
		1981 WVS	1990 WVS	2000 WVS
USA	Response	%	%	%
	Yes	70.9	69.3	75.3
	No	17.0	19.9	17.5
	Missing	12.1	10.8	7.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Response	%	%	%
CDA	Yes	61.7	61.0	65.2
	No	24.8	27.6	24.8
	Missing	13.5	11.4	10.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.12 -Frequency Distributions: 'Belief That People Have a Soul'
(1981, 1990, 2000 WVS)

BELIEF THAT PEOPLE HAVE A SOUL				
		1981 WVS	1990 WVS	2000 WVS
USA	Response	%	%	%
	Yes	87.8	87.2	93.7
	No	7.2	7.9	4.3
	Missing	5.0	4.9	2.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
CDA	Response	%	%	%
	Yes	80.3	78.8	86.7
	No	12.3	14.5	8.4
	Missing	7.4	6.8	4.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In *Restless Gods*, Bibby characterized those who do not identify with formal or traditional religious organizations or customs as those who practice "less conventional religion"(2002: 195). Bibby states that, among other beliefs, less conventional Canadians believe in a powerful force beyond the observable world, and often focus upon nurturing their souls, on self-acceptance and on the acceptance of others (2002: 194-202). Members of this group also practice meditation and reflection in seeking peace of mind and answers to the purposes of life (2002: 194-202).

Based upon his 1975, 1985 and 2000 Project Canada surveys, Bibby determined that, between 1975 and 2000, there has been a slight increase in belief in life after death among Canadians (65% to 68%) (2002: 119). This finding generally supports the trends observed above using the WVS data. Among those who never attend religious services, Bibby found that 70% raised the question of whether there is life after death, while 50% indicated belief that life after death exists (2002: 122). It is believed that a significant proportion of respondents in this study who indicated belief in life after death and belief that people have a soul may exercise or embrace "less conventional religion", and

therefore would not be bound by formal religious teachings or scripture that has traditionally opposed homosexuality. This would help to explain why these respondents often expressed more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality than did other Canadians.

The effects of religious denomination differences were not as important as expected in terms of establishing connections between religious affiliation and attitudes toward homosexuality in both countries. But, generally speaking, Catholicism, as compared to Protestantism and all other denominations, was frequently associated with relatively greater acceptance of homosexuality. Protestantism was often associated with greater disapproval of homosexuality, as was membership in other religious denominations. All of these findings are generally consistent with previous literature.

Overall, patterns of religiosity and religious activity appeared to account for the bulk of the differences between Canadian and American respondents. It was consistently observed that if Canadian respondents shared the same religious profile as Americans respondents (i.e. showed more devout religious adherence), the national effect was largely eliminated.

Interaction Effects

The overall impact of the interaction effects was intermittent, and provided inconsistent contributions to the models as a whole. No particular interaction effect was replicated on more than two occasions. Across all models, there were twelve statistically significant interaction effects, half of which affirmed positive acceptance toward homosexuality among Canadians, while the other half yielded the opposite effect. Although we should bear in mind that the main country effect provides us with the best

indicator of attitudes toward homosexuality, the interaction effects provide us with some additional insight regarding the relationships between the country variable and the control variables.

Conclusion

The approach to the statistical analyses in Chapter 3 was comprehensive and systematic in assessing how and to what extent the independent and control variables were associated to attitudes toward homosexuality among all three samples of the WVS data. Generally speaking the results garnered in this study were consistent with patterns and trends in the exploratory analysis and findings from previous research.

Next, Chapter 4 will briefly assess how patterns of regional variation affect attitudes toward homosexuality. Chapter 5, the concluding chapter, will then discuss the implications of the research findings and also directions for future studies.

CHAPTER FOUR

Regional Variation

The purpose of this chapter is to reconsider portions of the 1990 and 2000 WVS data to assess the importance of regional variation when comparing American and Canadian values and social attitudes. This exercise will tell us whether the apparent national effect is better termed "regional effect".

Influential studies by Douglas Baer, Edward Grabb and William Johnston (1993), and Grabb and Curtis (2005) have clearly identified the importance of assessing patterns of regional variation. In both studies, the researchers determined that respondents from Quebec often demonstrate the most liberal social attitudes, followed by respondents from English Canada, the Northern United States, and lastly, the Southern United States. In order to analyze attitudes toward homosexuality among these "four regions" of Canada and the United States, the same coding scheme utilized by Grabb and Curtis has been employed. Please refer to the Appendix for further details.

First, we begin by examining data from the 1990 WVS wave, and then move to assess data from the 2000 WVS wave. Following the data analyses, a brief overview of the contributions by Baer, Grabb and Johnston (1993), and Grabb and Curtis (2005) shall be discussed.

Table 4.1 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects

of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable

a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be

in the 1990 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected (1) on

the scale of justifiability, indicating strong disapproval of homosexuality, against all other

choices. In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

> 0 = respondent selected scale item between 2 and 10, where responses
>   ranged from homosexuality unjustifiable (2) to justifiable (10)
> 1 = respondent selected scale item (1), homosexuality deemed to be
>   unjustifiable

Two models were employed for this analysis: (1) a Regional Effect model to test for

regional variation, and (2) a Main Effects model. The control variables were divided up

among (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of

both. Variables to test for the national effect were removed from this analysis and

replaced by dichotomous variables for region (Quebec, English Canada, Southern USA,

and Northern USA). For this analysis, all four of the regional variables were entered into

the model simultaneously. All (B) coefficients were examined with a significance level

of less than .05 (p<.05).

Table 4.1: Logistic Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale item 1) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 1990 WVS

REGIONAL ANALYSIS	Model 1 Regional Effect		Model 2 Main Effects	
	B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.

REGION				
Quebec	-1.205	.000		
English Canada	-.738	.000		
Northern USA	-.482	.000		
Southern USA	.183	.044		
Constant	.442	.000		
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				
Quebec			-1.301	.000
English Canada			-.888	.000
Northern USA			-.650	.000
Southern USA			.112	NS
Women			-.485	.000
Married			.182	.003
Age			.023	.000
Income under $50,000			.612	.000
Town under 50,000			.415	.000
Constant			-1.012	.000
RELIGIOUS VARIABLES				
Quebec			-.486	.004
English Canada			-.211	NS
Southern USA			.172	NS
Religion very important			.552	.000
How important is god in life			.132	.000
Attend church more than once a week			.693	.000
Yes believe people have a soul			-.644	.002
Yes believe in hell			.347	.003
Constant			-1.057	.023
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)				
Southern USA			.393	.008
Quebec			-.355	NS
English Canada			-.133	NS
Women			-.744	.000
Married			.240	.029
Age			.017	.000
Income Under $50,000			.665	.000
Town Under 50,000			.412	.000
Yes believe in heaven			.496	.021
Religion very important			.571	.000
How important is god in lie			.105	.002

	Attend church more than once a week		.639	.000
	Yes believe in hell		.400	.002
	Constant		-2.352	.000

In the examining the regional effect model, the probability of respondents from Quebec indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable was less likely than among respondents from English Canada. Respondents from the Northern United States were less likely than respondents from the Southern United States to deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable.

In the socio-demographic, religious, and combined analyses, the same trends were repeated. However, several of the regional variables lost statistical significance. The strength and direction of the remaining socio-demographic and religious variables were generally consistent with the results from the original analyses in Chapter 3. Overall, these findings were consistent with previous research that has determined that respondents from Quebec often exhibit more liberal attitudes toward homosexuality than other Canadian citizens, and that respondents from the Northern United States are often more tolerant than citizens from the Southern United States.

Regional Analysis:
1990 WVS OLS Regression
Combined Canadian and American Sample

Table 4.2 presents the results of a linear regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in the 1990 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected between 2 and 10 on the scale of justifiability, with responses ranging from disapproval to total acceptance of homosexuality.

Two models were employed for this analysis: (1) a Regional Effect model, and (2) a Main Effects model. The control variables were divided up among (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of both. Variables to test for the national effect were removed from this analysis and replaced by dichotomous variables for region (Quebec, English Canada, Southern USA, and Northern USA). As with the previous logistic regression analysis, all four of the regional variables were entered into the model simultaneously. All standardized and unstandardized coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

The reader should recall that for the linear regression analysis, the meaning and direction of the beta coefficients are opposite to the logistic regression analysis (B) coefficients. In the linear regression analysis, the model is examining the scores on the scale of "Justifiability" from (2) to (10), where the higher scale numbers represent acceptance of homosexuality.

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Table 4.2: OLS Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale items 2 to 10) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 1990 WVS

REGIONAL ANALYSIS		Model 1 Regional Effect		Model 2 Main Effects	
		Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.
	REGION				
	Quebec	.135 (.291)	.000		
	English Canada	.141 (.182)	.000		
	Northern USA	.093 (.119)	.000		
	Southern USA	-.026 (-.043)	.045		
	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				
	Quebec			.394 (.574)	.001
	English Canada			.420 (.462)	.010
	Northern USA			.386 (.400)	.024
	Southern USA			.207 (.257)	NS
	Women			.124 (.124)	.000
	Married			-.072 (-.074)	.001
	Age			-.158 (-.004)	.000
	Income under $50,000			-.164 (-.178)	.000
	Town under 50,000			-.087 (-.089)	.000
	RELIGIOUS VARIABLES				
	Quebec			.331 (.495)	.001
	English Canada			.399 (.434)	.004
	Northern USA			.378 (.391)	.009
	Southern USA			.280 (.349)	.020
	Religion very important			-.131 (-.131)	.000

	How important is god in life	-.125 (-.029)	.000
	Attend church more than once a week	-.099 (-.137)	.000
	Yes believe people have a soul	.073 (.138)	.002
	Yes believe in hell	-.077 (-.081)	.002
	COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)		
	Quebec	.314 (.458)	.009
	English Canada	.375 (.412)	.017
	Northern USA	.374 (.388)	.025
	Southern USA	.245 (.304)	NS
	Women	.147 (.147)	.000
	Married	-.047 (-.049)	.028
	Age	-.121 (-.003)	.000
	Income under $50,000	-.126 (-.137)	.000
	Town under 50,000	-.083 (-.085)	.000
	Yes believe in heaven	-.064 (-.098)	.018
	Religion very important	-.125 (-.125)	.000
	How important is god in life	-.095 (-.022)	.001
	Attend church more than once a week	-.085 (-.117)	.000
	Yes believe people have a soul	.048 (.092)	.047
	Yes believe in hell	-.081 (-.085)	.002

In examining the unstandardized coefficients in the regional effect model, both

Canadian regions were higher on the scale of justifiability than both Americans regions.

The average respondent from Quebec was slightly higher on the scale of justifiability

(scores 2 through 10) than the average respondent from English Canada. Among Americans, the average respondent from the Northern United States was higher on the scale of justifiability than the average respondent from the Southern United States.

In examining the socio-demographic, religious, and combined models, respondents from Canada continued to exhibit more tolerant attitudes than respondents from the American regions. Respondents from Quebec held more tolerant attitudes than respondents from English Canada, while respondents from the Northern United States demonstrated more tolerant attitudes than respondents from the Southern United States. These findings were consistent with previous research. The strength and direction of the remaining socio-demographic variables were consistent with the results from the original analysis in Chapter 3. Next, we move to re-examine portions of the 2000 WVS data for patterns of regional variation.

Regional Analysis:
2000 WVS Logistic Regression - (Justifiable: Homosexuality Scale Item (1))
Combined Canadian and American Sample

Table 4.3 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in the 2000 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected (1) on the scale of justifiability, indicating strong disapproval of homosexuality, against all other choices. In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

0 = respondent selected scale item between 2 and 9, where responses
　　ranged from homosexuality unjustifiable (2) to justifiable (9)
1 = respondent selected scale item (1), homosexuality deemed to be
　　unjustifiable

Two models were employed for this analysis: (1) a Regional Effect model, and (2)
a Main Effects model. The control variables were divided up among (a) socio-
demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of both. Variables
to test for the national effect were removed from this analysis and replaced by
dichotomous variables for region (Quebec, English Canada, Southern USA, and Northern
USA). All four of these regional variables were entered into the model simultaneously,
and 'Northern USA' acted as the reference category. All (B) coefficients were examined
with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

Table 4.3 : Logistic Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale item 1) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 2000 WVS

REGIONAL ANALYSIS		Model 1 Regional Effect		Model 2 Main Effects	
		B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
	REGION				
	Quebec	-.398	.005		
	English Canada	.058	NS		
	Southern USA	.502	.000		
	Constant	-.970	.000		
	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				
	Quebec			-.312	NS
	English Canada			-.073	NS
	Southern USA			.474	.000
	Women			-.357	.000
	Married			.414	.000
	Age			.016	.000
	University Degree			-.793	.000
	Caucasian			-.511	.000
	Income under $50,000			.338	.001
	Constant			-1.516	.000
	RELIGIOUS VARIABLES				

Quebec		.461	.012
English Canada		.411	.001
Southern USA		.161	NS
Catholic		-.606	.000
Other religious denomination		.351	.024
Religion very important		.637	.000
How important is god in life		.094	.003
Attend church more than once a week		.590	.000
Yes believe people have a soul		-.670	.006
Yes believe in hell		.334	.013
Yes believe in heaven		.523	.010
Yes believe in life after death		-.582	.000
Pray daily		.414	.001
Constant		-2.123	.000
COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)			
Quebec		.346	NS
English Canada		.239	NS
Southern USA		.243	NS
Women		-.710	.000
Married		.261	.018
Age		.009	.010
University Degree		-.770	.000
Catholic		-.724	.000
Other religious denomination		.392	.020
Yes believe in heaven		.559	.012
Religion very important		.686	.000
How important is god in lie		.092	.008
Attend church more than once a week		.629	.000
Yes believe in life after death		-.534	.000
Pray Daily		.429	.001
Constant		-2.529	.000

In the examining the regional effect model, the probability of respondents from

Quebec indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable was less likely than

among respondents from English Canada (b= 0). Meanwhile the probability of

respondents from the Southern United States indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable was more likely than among respondents from the Northern United States.

In the socio-demographic model, respondents from the Southern United States remained likely to exhibit intolerant attitudes toward homosexuality. Meanwhile, in the religious model, respondents from both Quebec and English Canada were found to be likely to exhibit intolerant attitudes toward homosexuality. These particular findings are anomalous, differing greatly from previous results where Canadian respondents consistently held tolerant attitudes toward homosexuals. None of the regional variables was statistically significant in the combined socio-demographic/religious model.

Regional Analysis:
2000 WVS Logistic Regression - (Justifiable: Homosexuality Scale Item (10))
Combined Canadian and American Sample

Table 4.4 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in the 2000 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected (10) on the scale of justifiability, indicating approval of homosexuality, against all other choices. In this analysis, the coding for the dependent variable is as follows:

0 = respondent selected scale item between 1 and 9, where responses
ranged from homosexuality unjustifiable (1) to justifiable (9)
1 = respondent selected scale item (10), homosexuality deemed to be
justifiable

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Two models were employed for this analysis: (1) a Regional Effect model, and (2) a Main Effects model. The control variables were divided up among (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of both. Variables to test for the national effect were removed from this analysis and replaced by dichotomous variables for region (Quebec, English Canada, Southern USA, and Northern USA). All four of these regional variables were entered into the model simultaneously, and 'Northern USA' acted as the reference category. All (B) coefficients were examined with a significance level of less than .05 (p<.05).

The reader recall that the meaning and direction of the (B) coefficients in this analysis are opposite from the other logistic regression analyses. In this case, the model is assessing those survey respondents who selected item (10) on the scale of justifiability, therefore a positive (B) coefficient score is consistent with likely support of homosexuality.

Table 4.4: Logistic Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale item 10) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 2000 WVS

REGIONAL ANALYSIS		Model 1 Regional Effect		Model 2 Main Effects	
		B Coefficient	Sig.	B Coefficient	Sig.
	REGION				
	Quebec	.495	.001		
	English Canada	.354	.003		
	Southern USA	-.367	.043		
	Constant	-1.682	.000		
	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				
	Quebec			.579	.020
	English Canada			.480	.000
	Southern United States			-.275	NS
	Women			.529	.000
	Married			-.502	.000

	Age	-.020	.000
	University Degree	.621	.000
	Caucasian	.749	.000
	Town under 50,000	-.379	.000
	Constant	-1.447	.000
	RELIGIOUS VARIABLES		
	Quebec	.144	NS
	English Canada	.296	.048
	Southern USA	.026	NS
	Protestant	-.709	.000
	Pray Daily	-.288	.045
	Religion very important	-.484	.002
	Attend church more than once a week	-.827	.009
	Yes religious person	.556	.001
	Yes believe in heaven	-.716	.000
	Yes believe in life after death	.414	.008
	Yes believe in god	-.570	.022
	Constant	-.619	.007
	COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)		
	Quebec	.280	NS
	English Canada	.395	.015
	Southern USA	.046	NS
	Women	.797	.000
	Married	-.363	.005
	Age	-.013	.002
	University Degree	.643	.000
	Caucasian	.500	.018
	Town under 50,000	-.309	.012
	Protestant	-.684	.001
	Yes believe in heaven	-.530	.006
	Religion very important	-.525	.002
	Attend church more than once a week	-.635	.049
	Yes believe in hell	-.326	.045
	Yes believe in god	-.673	.012
	Yes religious person	.706	.000
	Constant	-.800	.048

In examining the regional effect model, the probability of respondents from

Quebec indicating that they deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable was less likely than

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among respondents from English Canada. Respondents from the Southern United States were more likely than respondents from the Northern United States to deem homosexuality to be unjustifiable.

The above trend among Canadians continued in the socio-demographic analysis, and English Canadians continued to demonstrate likely tolerance of homosexuality in the latter models. Meanwhile, results among the American regions were not statistically significant throughout the latter models. Overall, the remaining results were generally consistent with previous research.

Regional Analysis:
2000 WVS OLS Regression
Combined Canadian and American Sample

Table 4.5 presents the results of a linear regression analysis showing the effects of the independent and control variables on the survey question regarding how justifiable a combined sample of Canadian and American respondents deemed homosexuality to be in the 2000 WVS. This analysis only pertains to those respondents who selected between 2 and 9 on the scale of justifiability, with responses ranging from disapproval to total acceptance of homosexuality.

Two models were employed for this analysis: (1) a Regional Effect model, and (2) a Main Effects model. The control variables were divided up among (a) socio-demographic variables, (b) religious variables, and (c) a combination of both. Variables to test for the national effect were removed from this analysis and replaced by dichotomous variables for region (Quebec, English Canada, Southern USA, and Northern

USA). For this analysis, English Canada served as a reference category. All

standardized and unstandardized coefficients were examined with a significance level of

less than .05 (p<.05).

Once again, the reader should recall that for the linear regression analysis, the

meaning and direction of the beta coefficients are opposite to the logistic regression

analysis (B) coefficients. In this analysis, the model is examining the scores on the scale

of "Justifiability" from (2) to (9), where the higher scale numbers represent acceptance of

homosexuality.

Table 4.5: OLS Regression of Homosexuality: Justifiable (Scale items 2 to 9) and the Controls, Canada and USA, 2000 WVS

REGIONAL ANALYSIS		Model 1 Regional Effect		Model 2 Main Effects	
		Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.	Standardized & (Un-standardized) Beta Coefficients	Sig.
	REGION				
	Quebec	.043 (.059)	.027		
	Northern USA	.056 (.064)	.005		
	Southern USA	-.002 (-.003)	NS		
	SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				
	Quebec			.042 (.058)	NS
	Northern USA			.073 (.085)	.002
	Southern USA			.001 (.001)	NS
	Town under 50,000			.048 (.050)	.025
	RELIGIOUS VARIABLES				

	Quebec		-.002 (-.002)	NS
	Northern USA		.100 (.116)	.000
	Southern USA		.052 (.072)	.017
	Catholic		.087 (.092)	.002
	Other religious denomination		-.065 (-.083)	.007
	Religion very important		-.068 (-.069)	.008
	Attend church more than once a week		-.069 (-.108)	.001
	Yes believe in god		.057 (.106)	.047
	Yes religious person		-.059 (-.073)	.022
	COMBINED MODEL (SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC & RELIGIOUS VARIABLES)			
	Quebec		.000 (-.001)	NS
	Northern USA		.090 (.105)	.000
	Southern USA		.036 (.049)	NS
	Caucasian		-.058 (-.077)	.012
	Town under 50,000		.052 (.053)	.015
	Catholic		.086 (.092)	.004
	Other religious denomination		-.074 (-.094)	.004
	Religion very important		-.068 (-.068)	.014
	Attend church more than once a week		-.080 (-.124)	.000
	Yes believe in god		.060 (.111)	.045
	Yes religious person		-.073 (-.089)	.008

As mentioned in the original analysis of these data in Chapter 3, much of the national effect (and regional effect) for this portion of the attitudinal scale has already been wrung out of the data. Nevertheless, in examining the unstandardized beta coefficients in the regional effect model, the average respondent from the Northern United States is slightly higher on the scale of justifiability (scores 2 through 9) than respondents from Quebec. This result among respondents from the Northern United States was generally sustained across all models.

In the religious model, the average respondent from the Northern United States was higher on the scale of justifiability than the average respondent from the Southern United States. The results among the remaining socio-demographic and religious variables were generally consistent with the results discussed in Chapter 3.

Summary of the Regional Analysis

Although this analysis was far from exhaustive, it has been clearly demonstrated that accounting for patterns of regional variation among Canadians and Americans can yield important and informative results. What distinguishes this regional analysis from research conducted by Grabb and Curtis (2005) is that there was a more comprehensive focus upon particular portions of the attitudinal scale, thus, some of the results slightly differed.

Nevertheless, in both the 1990 and 2000 WVS analyses, it was generally confirmed that respondents from Quebec often demonstrate more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality than respondents from the rest of Canada, and respondents from the Northern United States often demonstrate more tolerant attitudes than respondents

from the Southern United States. In essence, the "four regions" model as conceived by Grabb and Curtis to assess regional variation among Canadians and Americans was upheld across both WVS surveys. Future research should strongly consider employing this model, or exploring alternative patterns of regional variation.

The Importance of Assessing Patterns of Regional Variation

As previously mentioned, studies by Baer, Grabb and Johnston (1993) and Grabb and Curtis (2005) have laid the groundwork for the evaluation of patterns of regional variation among Canadian and American values and attitudes. In assessing patterns of regional culture among Canadians and Americans, Baer, Grabb and Johnston affirmed that virtually no previous empirical research had thoroughly examined "the possible confounding effects of regional divisions on national value differences" (1993: 14). They credited their study as "a first attempt to place Canadian and American discussions of national and regional distinctiveness in the same theoretical and empirical contexts" seeking to "add to the understanding of both international and intranational differences in values and beliefs" (1993: 15). They tested Lipset's revolution-counterrevolution thesis as well as the regional cleavages in both countries. Using national survey data from the early 1980s, the authors divided each country into six regions and compared attitudes on a variety of topics, including corporate and government power, economic inequality, capitalism, labour organization, crime, gender and family issues (1993: 17).

The authors concluded that there are some obvious patterns of "regional cultural differentiation" in Canada and the United States, which demonstrates "that, with few exceptions, the official political boundary does not delineate the important cultural divisions or regional communities of the two countries" (1993: 27). Rather, the authors

proposed that the most important delineations among Canada and the United States exist

between Quebec and English Canada and between the "Old South" and the other

American states rather than the Canada-U.S. border (1993: 27). They strongly rejected

Lipset's 'origins' thesis, stating "(t)here is virtually no empirical basis for arguing that

major value differences exist between Canadians and Americans as a whole, at least

along the lines suggested by Lipset" (1993: 28).

The authors recommended that future research must further explore the issues of

regional culture and distinctiveness, in the Canadian/American context and beyond.

They suggested that more comprehensive sources of social survey data be used, and that

the most effective way to study regional differentiation is to utilize structural difference

models, which examine "structural differentiation along economic, political, ecological,

or social lines to explain cultural, attitudinal, or behavioural differences" (1993: 30).

They also suggested that this method may be supplemented by "an appreciation for

historical factors that shape the development of distinct regions" (1993: 30).

Grabb and Curtis followed up on this approach to studying North American

values and attitudes in *Regions Apart* (2005). They demonstrated that without the

recognition of distinct values among the "four regions" of North America, there is risk in

polarizing the overall national results, especially regarding hot-button social value issues

involving the family and sexuality (e.g., divorce, abortion, homosexuality, prostitution,

etc.). Baer et al. also supported this notion in declaring that "Quebeckers have apparently

evolved into the most consistently liberal population in the two countries, while

Americans in the Old South seem to be the most conservative regional community"

(1993: 28). These trends have also been generally supported by Nevitte (1996), Lipset (1990) and Adams (2003).

Further discussion surrounding the uniqueness of attitudes among respondents from Quebec notably underscores the importance of considering the regional elements in Canadian-American studies. Grabb and Curtis (2005) determined that respondents from Quebec, of whom 80 percent are identified as Roman Catholic, were "the least likely among all the groups to express a belief in (the) eight conventional or fundamental religious tenets" which include belief in the existence of god, life after death, a soul, the Devil, Hell, Heaven, sin, and resurrection (2005: 145).

The authors observed that "Quebecers still see Christianity (specifically Roman Catholicism) as central to their identity"; however, they propose that this may simply indicate "signs of their continuing ties to their traditional culture and way of life", rather than adherence to "strict or literal interpretation of Christian religious teachings" (2005: 145). In other words, Grabb and Curtis speculate that because of "recent historical events and the notable change in their society since the 1960s", respondents from Quebec may continue to identify with Roman Catholicism/Christianity, but many have "rejected many of the formal restrictions that were imposed upon them in the past by official Catholic doctrines or precepts" (2005: 152). Lipset also supports these findings in asserting that due to "changes in the religious arena, Canadians, once more conservative, are now more libertarian than Americans, Quebecers more so than the rest of the country (1990: 219)."

Without probing intricate patterns of regional variation, important phenomena both between and within nations, such as liberal attitudes in Quebec, may be

unintentionally overlooked by researchers. In effect, researchers may create and sustain inaccurate portraits of entire nations, without recognizing that specific regional pockets may be inordinately skewing attitudes and values in one direction or another.

Considering the findings from previous research and the brief analysis in this chapter, it is clear that patterns of regional variation are crucial factors to consider in comparing social values and attitudes among Canadians and Americans. It stands as imperative that future research involving the analysis of attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians and Americans consider assessing patterns of regional variation to obtain a complete and accurate picture.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion and Conclusion

In this final chapter, the hypotheses laid out in Chapter 1 shall be reviewed, followed by a discussion regarding the implications of the research findings, which will involve a re-examination of several key pieces of previous research. This will be followed by a discussion regarding recommendations for future research and a final conclusion.

Re-addressing the hypotheses

As demonstrated in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, a large majority of the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 1 were confirmed:

- Canadian respondents were found to exhibit more accepting attitudes toward homosexuality than American respondents

- Respondents from Quebec exhibited the most tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality, followed by English Canadians, Northern Americans, and lastly, Southern American respondents.

i) Socio-demographic analysis
- Females, respondents with university degrees, and Caucasian respondents exhibited tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality. Meanwhile, married respondents, English speaking respondents, those from older age cohorts, and respondents from lower income households and smaller communities exhibited less accepting attitudes toward homosexuality.

ii) Religious Analysis
- Respondents who belong to a religious denomination exhibited less accepting attitudes toward homosexuality than respondents with no religious affiliation. Also, Catholic respondents exhibited more tolerant attitudes than Protestants or members of other religious denominations. On many occasions, Catholic respondents were found

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to be supportive of homosexuality, which was contrary to the expectations outlined in Chapter 1. As outlined in Chapter 4, it is believed that the large proportion of respondents from Quebec largely account for this phenomenon.

- Respondents who frequently pray, frequently attend church, indicate belief in god, belief in heaven, and belief in hell were associated with negative attitudes toward homosexuality. Furthermore, respondents who indicate that god is important in their life, that indicate religion is important, and that self-identify as religious persons were more likely than others to have negative attitudes toward homosexuality.

- The only indicators of religious behaviour that were associated with positive more for homosexuality included respondents who expressed belief in life after death and belief that people have a soul. These findings were contrary to the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 1. As discussed in Chapter 3, it is speculated that these responses are consistent with a different kind of spirituality, one less tied to organized religion, as compared to the other responses that appear to be more consistent with traditional indicators of religious practice and commitment.

Accounting for the National Effect

As speculated in Chapter 1, the burden of explaining the national effect is formidable. The following section will discuss the implications of the research findings in an attempt to account for why Canadians often exhibit more accepting attitudes toward homosexuality than Americans.

Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Based upon the evidence garnered in this study, it does not appear that disparities among the socio-demographic categories serve to explain the national attitudinal differences among Canadians and Americans to any great extent. Virtually all of the results from the socio-demographic analysis were consistent with findings from previous

literature. Across most of the logistic and OLS regression analyses outlined in Chapter 3, a modest suppression effect was continuously observed among the socio-demographic variables.

It was initially theorized that the most probable explanation for this suppression effect centered around the measurements for household income. Given that Canadians have historically trailed Americans regarding per capita (or household) income, it was hypothesized that Canadian respondents were thwarting previous trends by exhibiting higher levels of acceptance of homosexuality, despite their lower incomes. However, after a careful review of the frequency distributions for income, and the remaining socio-demographic variables, this hypothesis could not be substantiated across all three surveys. Inconsistencies among the socio-demographic variables across all three WVS surveys inhibited a clear explanation for the suppression effect that was repeatedly observed. All in all, the socio-demographic variables were not believed to contribute greatly to the differences in attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians and Americans.

Regional Factors

As discussed in Chapter 4, attitudes toward homosexuality vary across Quebec, English Canada, the Northern United States and the Southern United States. While the regional analysis generally upheld the results from the national effect analyses, this exercise proved beneficial for obtaining a more accurate and nuanced perspective regarding the distribution of attitudes among Americans and Canadians.

Religious Factors

Based on the findings examined in this study, the most obvious explanation for the national effect appears to be rooted in differences in religiosity and religious commitment among Canadians and Americans. For virtually every religious measure in every analysis outlined in Chapter 3, Canadian respondents were less religiously devout than American respondents, which appears to help explain the national differences regarding attitudes toward homosexuality. Unfortunately, restrictions in the WVS data prevented a more precise analysis of the categories pertaining to religious denomination across both countries. For example, no consistent measures for specific Christian sects, or fundamentalist or evangelical Christians were available. However, there were a much higher number of Catholic respondents among Canadians (especially in Quebec), who were often found to be more supportive of homosexuality than were Protestants or members of "Other" religious denominations.

All in all, the analysis generally revealed that if Canadians respondents were as religiously devout and committed as American respondents, the national effect between them in regard to attitudes toward homosexuality would largely disappear. In essence, this conclusion supports Bibby's theory that lower levels of religiosity among Canadians as compared to Americans account for more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality in Canada. Before examining Bibby's findings in further detail, it is important to compare the differing role of religion in the Canadian and American societies in order to understand better the national effect.

Religious Activity Among Canadians and Americans

Canadians and Americans differ in terms of their affiliations to formal religious organizations. Based upon 1990 WVS data, 41 percent of Canadians identified themselves as Catholic, 28 percent as Protestant, and 4 percent as members of "Other" faiths. Meanwhile, among Americans, 28 percent identified themselves as Catholic, 37 percent as Protestant, and 10 percent as members of "Other" faiths. Grabb and Curtis confirm that these findings, "in large measure, parallel those reported in other research" in the 1990s and in many more recent studies (2005: 140-1).

Depending upon the data source used, there often exist slight discrepancies among researchers regarding the more complicated subtleties involving religious affiliation among Canadians and Americans. For instance, using WVS data, Grabb and Curtis report that 80 percent of Quebecois define themselves as Catholic, and state that "15 per cent of respondents from the US South" claim to belong to "more 'fundamentalist' or conservative Protestant religions, including Baptist and Pentecostal sects…compared to 5 percent in the US North, about 2 per cent in English Canada, and less than 1 per cent in Quebec" (2005: 141). Meanwhile, Bibby presents slightly different figures in his examination of data from The Gallup Organization (March 23rd, 2004). He asserts that "close to 30% of Americans identify with evangelical Protestant groups (higher if the 'Other Christian' category is factored in), versus just under 10% of Canadians" (2006: 10-11).

Grabb and Curtis also reported that formal religious involvement appears to be declining in both countries, and that 32 percent of English Canadians report "no religion"

compared to 12 percent of Quebecois, and 25 percent of Northern and Southern

Americans who claim no religious affiliation (2005, 142).[1] These figures differ slightly

from Bibby's findings, who asserted that 16 percent of Canadians and 11 percent of

Americans declare no religion (2004: 6).

Canadian and American Religious 'Cultures'

Beyond these above discrepancies, there appears to be considerable consensus

that religious activity plays a far more prominent societal role in the United States as

compared to Canada. Herman states that "…in the United States, where individuals

express among the highest levels of religious commitment in the world – over 90% of the

population believe in God and pray regularly" (1997: 7). In comparing Canadians and

Americans, Grabb and Curtis observed that "Americans are more likely to say that they

are religious people, to report high levels of attendance at religious services, to say that

God is important in their life, to pray regularly and to rank highly on an eight-item

composite scale of conventional religious beliefs" (2005: 142).

International public opinion polls frequently place the United States among the

most religious nations in the entire world. For example, a recent Associate Press-Ipsos

poll confirmed that Americans are vastly more religious than all of their Western

counterparts (Zoll, 2005). The poll affirmed that "only 2 per cent (of Americans) said

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[1] Grabb and Curtis provide the following clarification in *Regions Apart*: "The percentages of respondents indicating that they have no religion are higher in the WVS samples than in other sources. Census data show, for example, that 12 per cent of Canadians in 1991 and 16 percent of Canadians in 2001 identified themselves as 'atheists, agnostics, or non-believers' (Matyas 2003). Data from the United States suggest that between 8 per cent and 11 per cent of Americans reported having no religion during this same period (Statistical Abstract of the United States 2001: 56, Table 66). The discrepancies between these figures and the WVS results are probably due to differences in question wording. In the WVS, respondents were asked if they are actual members of a religious denomination, whereas the other sources typically asked about respondents' religious 'preference' or 'identification'" (2005: 142).

they do not believe in God. Almost 40 per cent said religious leaders should try to sway politicians, notably higher than in other countries" (Zoll, 2005). Comparatively, the poll indicated that "almost two-thirds of Canadians say religion is important to them, but most seem to prefer that religion and politics not mix too closely" (Zoll, 2005).

In discussing factors that distinguish Canadian and American religious experiences, Lipset describes how the United States is the only country in the world "where most churchgoers adhere to *sects*, mainly the Methodists and Baptists, but also hundreds of others. Elsewhere in Christendom the Anglican, Catholic, Lutheran, and Orthodox *churches* dominate" (1996: 19). Lipset emphasizes that due to the hierarchical structure and membership in churches, parishioners are expected to adhere to the directions of church leaders, where in sects, "each local unit adheres voluntarily" (1996: 19). Furthermore, Lipset asserts that the "American Protestant religious ethos" assumes the "perfectibility of humanity and an obligation to avoid sin", as compared to churchgoers in other nations (Canada, Europe, Australia) who have "accepted the inherent weakness of people, their inability to escape sin and error, and the need for the church to be forgiving and protecting" (1990: 16).

Lipset, among others, suggests that the combination of high levels of religious attendance and the overall unique American religious 'experience' is associated with the shaping the 'national character' of Americans. He also asserts that "America is the most moralistic country in the developed world" and this "moralism flows in large part from the country's unique Protestant sectarian and ideological commitments" (1996: 27). In comparison, Lipset observes that Canadian religion, dominated by church (Anglican and

Catholic) and ecumenical (United Church) traditions, has not emphasized moralism (1990: 218).

Grabb and Curtis, among others, reject Lipset's claim that religion in Canada has been more "monolithic, authoritarian, and 'state-supported'"(2005: 112) (see Grabb and Curtis, 2005: 111-116). Rather, they contend that, historically, "most English Canadians basically resembled most Americans, in that they did not favour the so-called 'statist' religions stressed by Lipset, either Anglican or Catholic" (2005: 115). Lipset's sweeping claims that Canadian and American national character are based upon 'founding origins' have also been sharply contested (e.g.: Baer, Grabb, and Johnston, 1990a; 1990b; 1993; Grabb, Curtis and Baer; 1999; 2000; 2001; Grabb and Curtis, 2005; Hoover et. al. 2002). However, Lipset's general observations that American society is heavily influenced by "moralism" are largely supported.

Samuel Reimer's comparison of the cultural effects of religion in Canada and the United States both complements and challenges Lipset's assertions (1995). Overall, Reimer suggests that there are more cultural supports in American society that encourage conformity to religious norms as compared to Canada. As will be discussed shortly, Bibby maintains that this may explain less tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality among both religious and non-religious American citizens. Reimer suggests that "conformity to socially approved behaviour", not "inner religious convictions" explains high levels of religiosity among Americans (1995: 446). He suggests that "religiosity in Canada may be prompted to a greater degree by personal religious devotion" (1995:446). Reimer cites evidence from multiple studies that have found that self-reported church

attendance in the United States is almost twice as high as actual in-church counts, which suggests that there is an element of "social desirability" surrounding church attendance among Americans (Hadaway, Marler, and Chaves, 1993; Chaves and Cavendish, 1994) (1995: 455).

Although Reimer is careful to not offer absolute conclusions, he suggests that unusually high levels of religiosity in the United States may be explained by "the intertwining of cultural and religious elements, which increases levels of religiosity beyond what would be expected from individual religious conviction" (1995: 456). Grabb and Curtis largely support Reimer's point in stating, the "largest differences between the two peoples centre mainly on moral issues, most notably the higher levels of religiosity and sexual or moral conservatism in the United States" (2005: 251). Therefore, it seems that Lipset, Reimer and Grabb and Curtis all support Bibby's assertion that there is a unique sense of moral conservatism in American society, which is greatly influenced by a high incidence of religious activity and support for religion, whether genuine or inflated. In effect, these criteria offer support to Bibby's explanation for why Americans exhibit less tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality than Canadians.

The Separation Between Church and State

In digging deeper, it appears that religion and politics are more closely linked in the United States as compared to Canada. However, adequately summarizing and comparing the separation of church and state across both nations is an onerous task. Lipset claims that when Canada was formed as a nation, there were strong ties between church and state, where "(b)oth the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church,

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hierarchically organized and receiving overt governmental support, gave strong support to the established political and social order" (1990, 16). As a result, Lipset argues, Canada, "in contrast to the Republic, has been less prone to both fundamentalism and evangelicalism" (1990, 16). Lipset states that the connection between religion and the state in Canada has decreased significantly over time, and that churches "have become more permissive in their social attitudes" (1990: 218). Again, Grabb and Curtis strongly object to Lipset's claim that Canadian churches were or are more 'statist' or hierarchical (2005: 111-116; see also Grabb, Curtis and Baer, 2000).

In turn, Lipset contends that Canadians today are "more supportive than Americans of redistributive equalitarianism" (1990: 219). Even a cursory analysis reveals this to be evident, where issues of religious "moralism" are largely absent in the day-to-day workings of national and provincial politics in Canada. Inevitably, policy issues arise that involve aspects of religion. However, since the adoption of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982, the role of religion across the Canadian political spectrum has been largely reduced to the context of protecting both individuals and groups under the principle of 'equality', as opposed to basing the tasks and decisions of the state upon principles of religiously-based "moralism".

In examining the historical division of church and state in the United States, Ted Jelen points out that the legal setting for church-state relations is laid out in the First Amendment to the US Constitution, as the first right listed in the Bill of Rights (2004: 1031). Jelen suggests that this religious clause appears to "guarantee freedom from religion, while the Free Exercise Clause seems to guarantee freedom of religion" (2004:

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1031). Notwithstanding these provisions, many observe that in actual practice, the lines between church/religion and state in America are often blurred. For one, John Green notes that some of the most pressing policy debates in the United States such as abortion, gay marriage, and stem cell research "understandably draw religious leaders into public debate" (Page, 2005: 1A).

The Republican Party in the United States is often linked in the mass media with support from Christian groups. A recent poll conducted for the Associated Press by Ipsos assessing religious values and involvement among various Western countries found that "Republicans are much more likely than Democrats to think clergy should try to influence government decisions" (Zoll, 2005). Similarly, a recent commentary featured in *The Economist* declared that evangelical Christian voters have become the most powerful block of voters in the Republican party, and that they now "want to redefine the boundaries of church and state to make more room for public displays of religiosity and for faith-based social policy" (2005: 62). Grabb and Curtis suggest that "many US government policies (including same-sex marriage and other gay rights initiatives) have been guided by the need to take into account the typically more conservative attitudes and priorities of the people and the leaders of the American South" which holds the highest number of evangelical Christians in the country (2005: 256).

These and other findings seem to have created and sustained a popular depiction of a divided American society, split into two political/religious camps. Robert Reich, for instance, asserts that a clear "political fault-line" exists in present-day America:

> On the conservative side are Americans who attend church regularly,
> believe that homosexuality is morally wrong, want the government to ban

> abortions, take offence at out-of-wedlock births and think they have a God-given right to own any gun they wish. On the liberal side of the cultural divide are those whose church attendance is irregular at best, who harbour far more permissive attitudes toward sex, and think government should control gun ownership and ban handguns and assault rifles (2005, 16-17).

Although this type of depiction perhaps too simplistic, there is evidence to suggest that religious groups, especially evangelical or fundamentalist organizations, in the United States have far more influence upon political affairs than in Canada.

There also appears to be greater support for organizations stressing moral and sexual conservatism in the United States as compared to Canada. Herman identifies the 'New Christian Right' (NCR) or 'Christian Right' (CR) as a social movement of linked organizations that are particularly active in anti-gay/lesbian initiatives, among many other causes. In Canada, for example, these groups include the Salvation Army of Canada, REAL Women, and the Focus on the Family (Canada) Association (1994: 81). For the United States, Herman defines the Christian Right as a "broad coalition of profamily organizations (e.g., Focus on the Family, Concerned Women for America, Traditional Values Coalition) that have come together to struggle for their socio-political vision in the public sphere" (2000: 140). Because of sheer numbers and other cultural supports, Herman clearly identifies that the influence of the Christian Right movement is far greater in the United States as compared to Canada.

In this brief overview, there is considerable support to establish that religion is far more prominent in the American political landscape as compared to Canada. As Jelen contends, "it seems clear that conflict over the proper relationship between church and state remains a permanent feature of politics in the United States" (2004: 1033). He

further suggests that because "the population of the US is both highly religious, and highly religiously diverse, the vitality of religious politics is in some ways quite unsurprising" (2004: 1033).

Overall, the findings outlined in Chapter 3 suggest that the more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians are largely explained by differences in religiosity between Canadians and Americans. Based upon the above evaluation of religious activity in both countries, it appears that the complex combination of higher levels of religiosity, especially evangelical Christianity, and the complex "intertwining of cultural and religious elements" in the United States help explain why Americans usually exhibit more negative attitudes toward homosexuality than do Canadians (Reimer, 1995: 456).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this thesis project is essentially a re-evaluation of Bibby's study. The following section will provide a detailed evaluation of Bibby's theory that divergent levels of religious commitment, rather than other socio-demographic, cultural, and socio-structural factors, largely account for different attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians and Americans. This will be followed by a discussion of Andersen and Fetner's study, which offers an alternative explanation to Bibby's theory.

Bibby's Theory Re-Addressed

The central question posed in Bibby's study is "(t)o what extent does 'the religious factor' help to account for Canadian and American attitudinal differences"

(2004: 6)? To this question, Bibby offers a layered conclusion. He states that both Canadians and Americans who are religiously involved, and especially those who frequently attend religious services, are more often opposed to homosexuality. He argues that there appears to be no significant difference in the values and messages taught by Conservative Protestants (evangelicals), Catholics and Mainline Protestants in both Canada and the United States, and states that Catholics and Conservative Protestants continue to generate considerable opposition to homosexuality (2004: 13). He also highlights that there has been increasing approval of homosexuals among some Mainline Protestant groups. Overall, Bibby asserts that, regarding matters of sexual orientation, "(t)he Canadian-American differences, for all the speculation about variant charter myths, cultural emphases, and social policies, appear to be largely the result of differences in religious composition and religious participation" (2004: 14).

Bibby relies heavily upon these differences between Canadians and Americans to explain differences in attitudes toward homosexuality. As previously noted, he refers to the 2001 Canadian census, which reveals that close to "eight in ten Canadians identify with Catholicism or Protestantism…7% identify with other religions, and 16% say they have no religion" (2004: 6). Comparatively, he states that over eighty percent of Americans identify with Christianity, 7% with other religions, and 11% with no religious affiliation (2004: 6).

However, the key distinctions are that approximately 50% of Canadians are Catholic, and that 30% to 45% of Americans are 'born again' or 'evangelical' Christians who attend church more frequently than Canadians (2004: 13-14). Meanwhile, according

to Bibby's data, only 10% of Canadians identify as 'evangelical' and they attend church

less regularly overall (2004: 13-14). Bibby's intricate conclusion is basically

summarized in the following statement:

> So it is that in the United States, the evangelical giant, combined with the
> significant presence of the Catholic Church, and a lesser but still
> noteworthy amount of assistance from Mainline Protestantism, together
> constitute a formidable opponent to gays and lesbians who wish to be fully
> accepted, with the same rights as other Americans. Conversely, in Canada
> the evangelical presence is a committed but petite presence. Mainline
> Protestantism is less and less an ally. And the Roman Catholic Church,
> despite significant numbers, not only finds itself increasingly alone, but
> also with a shrinking proportion of highly committed members, especially
> in Quebec (2004, 14).

Bibby asserts that evangelical Christians and Catholics "believe that scriptural authority

and Church teachings leave them with no choice" but to oppose same-sex behaviour

(2004: 14). He suggests that future research should be devoted to those non-religious

people who are opposed to homosexuality, since they may be potentially converted to

support gay and lesbian issues because they are not influenced by any religious teachings.

Strengths and Weaknesses of Bibby's Study

As mentioned previously, Bibby's work stands as the only known study that has

thoroughly examined differences among Canadian and American attitudes toward

homosexuality using nationally representative social survey data with a detailed focus on

religious factors. He used recent survey data, and included a brief but comprehensive

global summary of attitudes toward homosexuality in his introduction. His overall

conclusion that devoted Christians across Canada and the United States (evangelicals,

Catholics, and Mainline Protestants), especially those who often attend church, are more

likely to be opposed to accepting gays and lesbians is consistent with previous literature

(2004: 14).

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Bibby did not examine regional variables in his statistical analysis, but did consider regional factors in his general discussion. He alluded to the notion that Roman Catholicism is declining in Quebec. However, he did not provide any detail about how this may affect overall Canadian attitudes. Bibby made reference to the paradoxical existence of liberal attitudes in Quebec amidst high levels of Catholicism (as discussed in Chapter 4), but he ultimately concluded that "'The Catholic Factor' doesn't account for overall discrepancy in attitudes between the two countries" (2004: 13).

Where Bibby's study falls short is in offering a comprehensive explanation for how factors outside of religion impact attitudes toward homosexuality. He concludes that higher levels of homosexual acceptance in Canada "reflect not so much a greater emphasis on diversity as lower levels of participation and a much smaller proportion of evangelicals – the lack of religiosity rather than different cultural emphases" (2004: 1). Yet Bibby does not dismiss the "cultural emphases" altogether. In fact, he asserts that "when Canadians are not very involved in religious groups, they are strongly influenced by the cultural emphasis on *respect for* and *acceptance of* sexual orientation diversity" (2004: 11). However, he states that

> when Americans are not highly involved in their churches, they
> nonetheless are considerably more inclined than their Canadian
> counterparts to be opposed to homosexuality. Personally and culturally,
> they remain part of a society that – as Reimer noted – is still highly
> supportive of organized religion. In sharp contrast, in Canada the
> religiously inactive seem to fairly readily buy into the dominant cultural
> ethos of diversity – in this case, something of a 'moral mosaic' (2004: 14).

These statements add confusion to Bibby's overall argument, because he seems both to downplay and to accept the "cultural emphases" that influence attitudes toward homosexuality. In essence, he does not discuss these "cultural emphases" or issues of

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"diversity" in any great detail, leaving room for uncertainty regarding how factors outside of religion influence attitudes toward homosexuality.

Despite the fact that Bibby has clearly established that the attitudinal differences regarding homosexuality among Canadians and Americans appear to be rooted in differences in religiosity, his limited treatment of other social and cultural factors reveals a weakness in his research design, and the design used in this thesis: the "cultural emphases" are very difficult to quantify given the available social survey data. Andersen and Fetner's (2005) study fittingly illustrates the difficulty in accounting for how social and cultural factors outside of religious activity explain more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians.

An Alternative Explanation: Andersen and Fetner's study

Andersen and Fetner's study offers an alternative explanation to Bibby's theory, drawing attention away from the religious factors. Their study employed the same three waves of WVS data as this thesis project and, as discussed earlier, the authors focused primarily upon the effect of age cohort upon attitudes toward homosexuality. They determined that Canadians have consistently exhibited more accepting attitudes toward homosexuality than Americans across all cohorts, and also that "the differences between the two countries (are) more pronounced for the younger age cohorts" (2005: 24).

Andersen and Fetner did not discuss any regional factors in their study, nor did they provide a comprehensive analysis of the impact of religious behaviour on attitudes. Nevertheless, the authors confirmed that the social and political cultures pertaining to the accommodation of gays and lesbians in both countries have dramatically differed in

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recent decades. They considered the effects of popular media depictions of homosexuals, the rise of activism for gay/lesbian rights, and the impact of the anti-gay "Religious Right" on overall attitudes toward homosexuality. They discussed how civil rights for gays and lesbians have been regularly granted in Canada, while similar accommodating measures have been far less frequent in the United States. They ultimately concluded that the more liberalized political climate in Canada has contributed to more accepting attitudes among Canadians.

The authors stated that "social factors may indeed influence change in attitudes regarding even the most controversial of social issues" (2005: 23). However, they leave some room for uncertainty and criticism in speculating that "(a)lthough we cannot be certain from these data that policy affected attitudes rather than the other way around, given that most other social forces were similar in both countries, this seems the logical conclusion" (2005: 24). Andersen and Fetner suggest that further in-depth study is required to determine how and why Canadian and American policies for gays and lesbians have diverged, since the "growing wedge between Canadians and Americans is consistent with the argument that people's views are reflective of their own country's particular social policies on the issue" (2005: 24).

As outlined in the literature review, there is sufficient evidence to corroborate Andersen and Fetner's claim that social and legal initiatives to accommodate gays and lesbians within Canada and the United States have radically diverged. In a nutshell, Canada has dismantled virtually all barriers that restrict gay and lesbian partners from full and equal rights of citizenship. Meanwhile, despite some breakthroughs, the vast

majority of American states continue to move in the opposite direction. The authors'
conclusion that different national social policies affect attitudes toward homosexuality is
clearly important to consider. However, it appears that Andersen and Fetner may have
underestimated the role that religious activity plays in affecting attitudes as well.

Reaching a Conclusion

Overall, in assessing the results of this study, and in considering the competing
explanations offered in previous research, the bulk of the substantive evidence largely
supports Bibby's conclusion that religious differences best explain more tolerant attitudes
toward homosexuality among Canadians. However, due to restrictions within the WVS
data, detailed comparisons regarding specific religious denominations were somewhat
limited.

It must also be recognized that the socio-cultural explanation, as proposed by
Andersen and Fetner, cannot be dismissed on the basis that there are no directly
observable quantifiable data. In essence, it is most likely that Canadians often exhibit
more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality than Americans for a complex combination
of religiously-based *and* socio-cultural reasons; however the available data do not, or
cannot, directly demonstrate this likely reality.

What this study has revealed is that reaching a thorough and accurate conclusion
on this question may not be entirely feasible through a strict reliance upon social survey
data analysis. Future studies must also consider using more precise measures to better
determine what factors drive attitudes toward homosexuality. This does not suggest that
the data or methods chosen for this project were unsuitable to meet the stated research

aims. As explained in Chapter 1, the WVS provide the best known means to pursue this endeavour. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the employment of nationally representative survey analysis with the available data does not provide an entirely complete picture that considers all of the political, social, cultural and religious nuances that may affect attitudes among Canadians and Americans. Both Bibby and Andersen and Fetner themselves failed to substantiate thoroughly how factors outside of religious activity affect attitudes toward homosexuality among Canadians and Americans.

It is acknowledged that there is no such thing as a perfect survey. However, the 1981-2000 WVS do not allow researchers to probe adequately some of these crucial factors among Canadians and Americans that are central to this debate. For instance, it would be most beneficial for future studies to account for how ground-breaking legal initiatives, such as legalized same-sex marriage, affect attitudes regarding homosexuality among a given population. Surely, longitudinal surveys can track the trajectory of trends before and after specific social phenomena, yet there will always remain speculation and subjective interpretation on behalf of researchers to explain findings.

Lipset offers legitimacy to the practice of supplementing research findings with anecdotal evidence in an effort to provide the most accurate picture possible:

> Social scientists should not feel inhibited about admitting that one of their main methods is *dialogue*. In large measure, the very meaning of scholarly verification in qualitative fields (and even to a considerable extent in some quantitative ones) is the examination of the same problem by different people operating with alternative approaches. As long as we agree about the meaning of hypotheses and the nature of the evidence, the dialogue can result in replication and the growth of knowledge (1990: xiv).

Lipset's comments have merit. Social scientists deserve the latitude to make grounded interpretations based on large swaths of complicated and diverse evidence. However, Lipset's suggestion that frequent agreement exists regarding "the nature of the evidence" is at best contentious, especially regarding comparisons of Canadians and Americans.

Mass Versus Elite Opinion

Future studies must also contend with the issue raised by Andersen and Fetner of carefully assessing how the attitudes of citizens are affected by the legal decisions and policies dictated by their national leaders and institutions. Grabb and Curtis remind their readers that when comparing Canadian and American values, it is "important to distinguish between evidence that deals with the political and other elite leaders, on the one hand, and findings that pertain to the two general populations, on the other hand" (2005: 259). They observe that the failure among some researchers to draw this distinction "has led to considerable confusion and misunderstanding about how and to what extent Canadians and Americans are truly similar to or different from one another" (2005: 259).

This topic was explored in the 2003 John L. Manion Lecture titled *The Myth of Shared Values*, where Joseph Heath explored the "folk sociology" myth that the citizens of Canada, or any nation, hold shared values. He argued that liberal democratic nations such as Canada ironically encourage the opposite of shared values by promoting individual freedoms and multi-faceted diversity (2003: 2). Heath highlighted the same "confusion and misunderstanding" discussed by Grabb and Curtis. To begin, through

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observing that Canadians often exhibit higher levels of tolerance than Americans in studies regarding homosexuality, Heath asserted:

> (T)his does not add up to any sort of 'shared value' among Canadians; in fact, the suggestion that it does willfully obstructs the fact that Canadians are deeply divided on the issue. (Furthermore, the mere fact that 5 or 10 percent more Canadians answer "yes" in an opinion survey than citizens in some other country does not show that Canadians have shared values. It just means that more people are of that opinion) (2003: 12).

In this statement, Heath offers a very simple but important reminder that although a greater number of Canadians express acceptance of homosexuality than Americans, this does not necessarily reflect the entire 'national attitude'. It merely illustrates that there are more Canadians with that particular opinion.

Furthermore, Heath also offers caution about jumping to the conclusion that homosexual rights reflect some shared commitment to "tolerance" or "diversity" among the wider national population (2003: 31). He states that, "(i)t is precisely because homosexuality offends the values of so many that homosexuals are in need of anti-discrimination rights in the first place" (2003: 31). Grabb and Curtis also caution readers that although same-sex marriage has received considerable support among Canadian courts and many political leaders, it remains an issue supported by a thin majority of Canadian citizens (2005: 260). All in all, Grabb and Curtis and Heath seem to agree that elite initiatives, such as civil rights for gays and lesbians, don't necessarily reflect national shared values among citizens in any country. More specifically, the above authors assert that Canada's greater legal protection for homosexuality should not be regarded as indisputable evidence of greater acceptance of gays and lesbians among Canadian citizens.

Grabb and Curtis suggest that "elite preferences and outlooks can and do 'trickle down' to the general population in some cases"; however, they assert that "what the people value and what their elites espouse will not always, or even usually, correspond" (2005: 260-1). Their arguments reflect the problems that arise when attempting to decipher whether 'mass opinion' is influencing or reflecting 'elite' actions, or vice versa. Grabb and Curtis insist that it is therefore incumbent upon researchers to "attend to the problem of moving back and forth between the elite and mass levels of analysis, and to avoid drawing conclusions about one level based on evidence from the other" (2005: 260-1).

Grabb and Curtis offer some concluding words on this complicated chicken-egg phenomenon involving elite preferences and public opinion:

> Our view is that, especially over the longer term, the beliefs and outlooks that inhere among the wider population are typically a more accurate representation of a society's prevailing values than are the views of national leaders (2005: 261).

However, they also speculate that this phenomenon can work in the opposite manner. For instance, they discuss the likelihood that liberal views among citizens from Quebec have promoted greater federal support for the legal recognition of same-sex marriages, which, in effect, "may have partially swayed the opinions of other Canadians in this regard (Gallup 2001a; Maclean's 2003b: 34)" (2005: 256). As previously mentioned, Grabb and Curtis assert that strong liberal social attitudes in Quebec and strong conservative social attitudes in the Southern United States have had a polarizing impact upon each respective country's political climate and national values overall (2005: 256-7). All in all, it is clear that caution need be exercised when attributing social values or attitudes to either the national population, or the political elite, or a combination thereof.

Recommendations for Future Research

This research project could be expanded in a variety of ways. First, as future WVS waves become available, an extended assessment of this twenty-year analysis would yield further insight into the trends and patterns observed in this study. Future researchers may wish to offer a fresh approach in expanding or altering the methods or control variables. Or, like Bibby's (2004) study, future research might combine multiple sources of statistical data from public opinion surveys and other nationally representative studies.

Although the WVS provide a wide range of important survey measures, future studies should consider utilizing social survey data with a broader set of questions regarding homosexuality. Ideally, an expanded set of questions and measures would include questions pertaining to social and cultural institutions, civil unions/same-sex marriage, and questions that provide a clearer link between religious beliefs/institutions and attitudes toward homosexuality. Some examples of additional survey questions and measures that are suggested for future research include the following:

Suggested Socio-demographic Measures

Many of the same socio-demographic measures utilized in this study are considered essential. Additional measures might include political party affiliation, political interest and involvement, and socio-economic status.

Suggested Measures Pertaining to Homosexuality

On this scale of (1) to (10), please indicate how "justifiable" you deem the following to be:

- Relationships between gay men
- Relationships between lesbian women
- "Civil unions" (legally recognized partnerships) among gays and lesbians
- "Marriage" (universally recognized partnerships) among gays and lesbians
- Gay men with adopted children
- Lesbian women with adopted children
- As Herek suggested, instead of using the term "homosexual" future analyses might consider focusing on specific categories such as gays and lesbians (and bisexuals, transsexuals, transgendered persons, etc.; however these latter categories span well beyond the scope of this study) (2000a: 256).

Other potential survey questions:
- Should gays and lesbians be allowed to teach children in school?
- Should gays and lesbians be allowed to serve in the armed forces (navy, army, etc.)?
- Should the government permit gay and lesbian individuals (and partners) exactly the same civil and legal rights in society as heterosexual citizens?
- Indicate on the scale below, how comfortable would you would feel if you had gays or lesbians as neighbours (scores ranging from 'Very Comfortable' to 'Very Uncomfortable)
- Do you feel homosexuality should be illegal?

Additional Religious Measures
- Do you belong to a religious denomination? (If so, indicate which denomination?) (include all possible categories, including specific Christian sects)
- Do you consider yourself to be an evangelical or fundamentalist Christian?
- Do you believe that the Bible condemns homosexual behaviour?
- How strongly do your religious beliefs influence your attitudes toward homosexuality? (Scores range from 'Very strongly' to 'Not at all')
- Should religious leaders speak out against homosexuality?
- Do you feel homosexuality is a 'sin'?
- Should gays or lesbians be allowed to become religious leaders?

In order to reach more substantial conclusions, multiple measures, such as those cited above, will likely be required to narrow the connections between social/cultural and religious factors and attitudes toward homosexuality. This may require the employment of more precise questions than have been traditionally asked. For example: How strongly do your religious beliefs influence your attitudes toward homosexuality? As demonstrated in this study, conventional measures and survey questions regarding

homosexuality often leave too much room for researchers to speculate upon what specific factors are actually driving attitudes.

As the list of countries that officially recognize same-sex marriages continues to grow (currently including Belgium, The Netherlands, Canada, Spain, South Africa, and Israel, the body of research surrounding attitudes toward homosexuality is expected to evolve exponentially. Future studies may consider incorporating comparisons between other countries beyond Canada and the United States, for example, other G-8 or G-20 countries, or countries that have formal laws accepting same-sex marriage. Future researchers may choose to assess attitudes toward homosexuality amidst larger social value trends, such as the overall liberalization of social attitudes or growing secularization in industrial societies. Needless to say, there are limitless possibilities to explore.

Conclusion

As outlined in the literature review, only two previous studies have devoted a comprehensive sociological treatment to the question of why Canadians often exhibit more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality than Americans. Following the attempts by Bibby (2004) and Andersen and Fetner (2005), this thesis project should be viewed as a third such endeavour. Although several researchers have examined attitudes toward homosexuality using the WVS, this study has provided sufficient contributions to previous research in several respects.

First, this study has provided a detailed focus upon how religious, socio-demographic, and regional factors among Canadians and Americans are connected to

attitudes toward homosexuality. Second, no previous studies have explored all three of the available questions pertaining to homosexuality available in the WVS. Third, this study has provided a strong focus on statistical interactions with a comprehensive and systematic statistical analysis. Lastly, this study has highlighted many of the key difficulties inherent in conducting social value comparison between Canadians and Americans and has offered important suggestions for future research.

All in all, the evidence gathered in this study appears to support Bibby's theory that lower incidence of religiosity among Canadians explain their more tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality. However, it is also suggested that religious influences elements must be considered as working in concert with other social, cultural, political and legal factors which influence individual opinion in culmination. Whether nationally-representative social survey data can adequately reflect this likely reality still remains to be seen. Needless to say, as issues surrounding homosexuality continue to evolve in the North American context and beyond, significant work lies ahead to understand better those factors that differentiate Canadian and American attitudes.

Adams poignantly describes both the impetus and dilemma inherent in cross-national social value research: "It's not unusual for a Canadian to express that he or she *feels* different from American friends, colleagues, or even relatives; it is unusual, however, to see this feeling quantified" (2003: 67). Regardless of the difficulties involved in such a pursuit, it is inevitable that others will attempt to encapsulate, qualify, and quantify differences and similarities between Canadians and Americans and citizens of many other nations. Even when considering the abundance of pitfalls and limitations

involved in this type of inquiry, there is nevertheless incentive to continue to challenge conventional mythologies and to produce more accurate national portraits.

As Nevitte asserts, reaching solid conclusions about whether members of any two or more nations have convergent or divergent values, structures and characteristics is "difficult," "risky" and often "requires a leap of faith" (1996: 13). Nevertheless, these concerns are minimized when we consider the importance of accurately depicting the manner in which members of Canadian and American societies are being accommodated in the face of continued claims for full citizenship, acceptance and belonging.

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Appendix

Data

Data files for each of the six survey waves utilized in this project, as well as more detailed information regarding sampling procedures for each survey are available for download at http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org.

Weight

A weighting procedure was conducted for each individual survey. The World Value Survey website provides information regarding the weight for each survey. Below is the available information for each survey.
http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/services/index.html

> **Canada 1981:**
> (No information available)
> **USA 1982:**
> The weight variable corrects for race.
> **Canada 1990:**
> A weight factor was included (no specifics available).
> **USA 1990:**
> Sample stratified by race, overrepresenting minority groups. The weight variable corrects for this. It also corrects for differences in age and sex.
> **Canada 2000:**
> See Inglehart, Ronald, et al. (2004). World Values Surveys and European Values Surveys 1999-2001. (Computer File) ICPSR version. Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research (producer), 2002. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (distributor).
>
> Two basic weight schemes are applied for estimates based on Canadian individuals over 18 years of age and older:
>
> a. household weighting
> The sample is assigned disproportionately to achieve regional targets. The design weight at this stage corrects for the disproportionate area sampling. The regional/area groupings are:
>
> > Atlantic
> > Quebec
> > Ontario
> > The West
>
> An adjustment weight corrects for different response rates achieved by household size within regional strata.

The regional groupings are:

> Atlantic
> Quebec
> Ontario
> Prairies
> British Columbia

The household size groupings are

> 1 person
> 2 persons
> 3 persons
> 4 persons or more

An adjustment weight corrects for different response rates achieved by household size within regional strata.

b.   individual weighting

The individual weight scheme is applied to the sample after the application of the household weight scheme.

The design weight for individuals is used to correct for different chances of selection depending on the number of people 18 years or older in the household. Within a household, only one person is selected for interview from among all qualifying members. The respondent selection weight, *i.e.*, the universe of selection probability, is applied to the respondent.

Adjustment weights adjust for regional, community size, age and gender variations in response rates. The age and sex groupings are:

Males and Female:
> 18-24
> 25-34
> 35-49
> 50-64
> 65+

USA 2000:
Yes Weighting schemes were applied.

Independent and Control Variables

Socio-Demographic Variables

Sex of Respondent
        1   Male
        2   Female
        (asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Age

        (Previous question: Can you tell me your date of birth, please? 19__)
        This means you are __ __ years old

        (asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Education

        What is the highest level that you have attained?
        (IF STUDENT, CODE AGE AT WHICH HE/SHE EXPECTS TO
        COMPLETE EDUCATION)
        1.   No formal education
        2.   Incomplete primary school
        3.   Complete primary school
        4.   Incomplete secondary school
        5.   Complete secondary school
        6.   Incomplete college
        7.   Complete college
        8.   Some university-level education, without degree
        9.   University-level education, with degree
        0.   DK/NA
        (asked in 2000 WVS)

Marital Status

        Are you currently…
        1 - Married
        2 - Living together as married
        3 - Divorced
        4 - Separated
        5 - Widowed
        6 - Single
        (asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Community Size

Size of Town
1   Under 2,000
2   2,000 – 5,000
3   5 - 10,000
4   10 – 20,000
5   20 – 50,000
6   50 - 100,000
7   100 – 500,000
8   500,000 and more
(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Income

Here is a scale of incomes and we would like to know in what group your <u>household</u> is, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in. Just give the letter of the group your <u>household</u> falls into, before taxes and other deductions.

C – Up to 12,500
D – 12,501 to 20,000
E – 20,001 to 27,500
F – 27,501 to 35,000
G – 35,001 to 42,500
H – 42,501 to 50,000
I – 50,001 to 62,500
J – 62,501 to 75,000
K – 75,001 to 100,000
L – 100,000 or more
(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Ethnic Group
(code by observation)

Canada	United States
1 – Caucasian (White)	1 – Caucasian (White)
2 – Negro (Black)	2 – African American (Black)
3 – South Asian (Indian)	3 – South Asian (Indian)
4 – East Asian, Chinese, Japanese	4 – East Asian, Chinese, Japanese
5 – Arabic (Central Asia)	5 – Arabic (Central Asia)
6 – Latin American/ Hispanic	6 - Other
7 – Native/Native Indian	7 – Hispanic (Mexican)

(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Language Spoken at Home

<div align="center">

Canada   United States
(36 choices)   (5 choices)
(asked in 2000 WVS)

</div>

Region where interview was conducted
(asked in 1990, 2000 WVS)

For further information regarding "Four Regions" recoding see:
Curtis, James and Edward Grabb. (2005). Regions Apart: The Four Societies of Canada and the United States. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
(Appendix II – p281-83)

Region

CANADA
P.E.I
Nova Scotia
New Brunswick
Quebec
Ontario
Manitoba
Saskatchewan
Alberta
British Columbia
Newfoundland

USA

New England
Middle Atlantic States
South Atlantic States
East South Central States
West South Central States
East North Central States
West North Central States
Rocky Mountain States
Northwest States
California

Northern United States Region
- New England, Middle Atlantic States, East North Central States, West North Central States, Rocky Mountain States, Northwest States, California,

Southern United States

- South Atlantic States, East South Central States, West South Central States

Religious Variables

Belong to Religious Denomination?

      Do you belong to a religious denomination?
      IF YES: Which one? (IF NO: Code 0)

Which Religious Denomination?

No, not a member	0
Roman Catholic	1
Protestant	2
Orthodox (Russian/Greek/etc.)	3
Jewish	4
Muslim	5
Hindu	6
Buddhist	7
Other (write in)	8
No answer	9

      (asked in 1990, 2000 WVS)

Religious Service Attendance

      Apart from weddings, funeral and christenings, about how often do you attend religious services these days?

1	More than once a week
2	Once a week
3	Once a month
4	Only on special holy days
5	Once a year
6	Less often
7	Never, practically never

      (asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Importance of God

      How important is God in your life? Please use this scale to indicate. 10 means very important and 1 means not at all important.

      Not at all   Very

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Prayer to God

How often to do you pray to God outside of religious services? Would you say…

1 every day
2 more than once a week
3 once a week
4 at least once a month
5 several times a year
6 less often
7 never
8 Don't know (DO NOT READ OUT)

(asked in 1990, and 2000 WVS)

Belief in God

Do you believe in God?

1 – Yes
2 – No
9 – Don't Know

(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Religious Person

Independently of whether you go to church or not, would you say you are

1 – A religious person
2 – Not a religious person
3 – A convicted Atheist
4 - Don't know

(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Believe in Life After Death

1 – Yes
2 – No
9 – Don't Know

(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Believe People Have a Soul

1 – Yes
2 – No
9 – Don't Know

(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Believe in Hell

1 – Yes

2 – No
9 – Don't Know
(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Believe in Heaven
1 – Yes
2 – No
9 – Don't Know
(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

How Important Is Religion?
1 – Very important
2 – Rather important
3 – Not very important
4 – Not at all important
9 – Don't Know
(asked in 1981/2, 1990, 2000 WVS)

Interaction Effects

1981

Logistic Regression
Country*MARRIED
Country*YESBELIEVEHEAVEN
Country*YESBELIEVEINLIFEAFTERDEATH

OLS Regression
Country*YES BELIEVEINGOD

1990

Logistic Regression
Country*COMMUNITYUNDER50,000
Country*INCOMEUNDER$50,000
Country*CATHOLIC
Country*PROTESTANT
Country*YESBELIEVEINHEAVEN
Country*HOWIMPORTANTGODINLIFE
Country*YESBELIEVEINHELL

OLS Regression
Country*MARRIED
Country*COMMUNITYUNDER50,000
Country*SOUTHERNUSA
Country*OTHERRELIGIOUSDENOM.
Country*YESBELIEVEINHEAVEN
Country*YESBELIEVELIFEAFTERDEATH
Country*YESBELIEVEINHELL
Country*YESBELIEVEPEOPLEHAVEASOUL

2000

Logistic Regression
Country*MARRIED
Country*AGE
Country*UNIVERSITYDEGREE
Country*COMMUNITYUNDER50,000
Country*INCOMEUNDER$50,000
Country*CATHOLIC
Country*PROTESTANT
Country*OTHERRELIGIOUSDENOM.
Country*PRAYDAILY
Country*YESBELIEVEINHEAVEN
Country*RELIGIONVERYIMPORTANT
Country*HOWIMPORTANTGODINLIFE
Country*ATTENDCHURCHMORETHANONCEAWEEK
Country*YESBELIVEINLIFEAFTERDEATH
Country*YESBELIEVEINHELL
Country*YESBELIEVEINGOD
Country*YESRELIGIOUSPERSON

OLS Regression
Country*UNIVERSITYDEGREE
Country*COMMUNITYUNDER50,000
Country*INCOMEUNDER$50,000
Country*CAUCASIAN
(Country*SOUTHERNUSA)
Country*YESBELIEVEINHEAVEN
Country*RELIGIONVERYIMPORTANT