

Interreligious unions in Canada

by Warren Clark

Religion is only one of many characteristics that may be important in the search for a partner. As such it may be traded off for other desirable traits.¹ Friends and family may also influence the choice of a partner. In some religious groups a marriage outside the faith may be forbidden or only allowed if the outsider converts or promises to raise any children from the marriage in the partner's religion. In very secular societies where religious identity is weak, religion may be viewed as a matter of indifference in the selection of a partner.²

This article uses data from the Census of Population and the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) to examine the prevalence of interreligious conjugal unions and the social and demographic factors associated with their occurrence. The EDS is used to create models of the probability that a person in a couple is in an interreligious union where the impact of all other socio-demographic variables in the model is removed except the one being examined.

Interreligious unions refer to marriages and common-law unions where partners are from different

broad religious groups. For example, if a husband is a Buddhist and the wife is a Roman Catholic, this union is considered to be interreligious because each partner is from a different broad religious group. However, unions between people of different denominations within the same broad religious group are not considered interreligious; for example, an Anglican/Presbyterian union is not interreligious as both partners are Protestants.

Nearly one in five Canadians in couples are in interreligious unions

Given declining religious affiliation and increasing cultural diversity, the number of interreligious unions has increased in Canada. In 1981, 15% of people in couples were in an interreligious union. By 2001, interreligious unions had grown to 19% of couples: of the 14.1 million Canadians in couples, nearly 2.7 million had a partner from a different religious group.³ Despite the increase in interreligious unions, most Canadian couples are homogamous unions where both partners are from the same broad religious group.

What was once incongruous, now accepted

Not surprisingly, over half of interreligious unions are between Catholics and Protestants, the two largest religious groups in Canada. The 1.3 million people in Catholic/Protestant unions represented 9.6% of all persons in couples in 2001, up from 8.6% in 1981. Increasing numbers of young Catholics and Protestants intermarry because of a commonly shared culture.

Catholic/Protestant unions are not evenly distributed geographically as the availability of same-faith partners has a negative effect on the frequency of interreligious unions. In Quebec, where 83% of the population is Catholic and only 5% is Protestant, only 2% of Catholics in couples are married to (or in common-law relationships with) Protestants. In Ontario, where there are nearly equal numbers of Catholics and Protestants, 18% of Catholics in couples are in interreligious unions with a Protestant. In Newfoundland and Labrador, where Catholics are outnumbered by Protestants, 25% of Catholics in couples are in interreligious unions with a

Religious group	1981	1991	2001		
			Both sexes	Men	Women
% of population in couples who are in interreligious unions					
Total	15	17	19	19	19
No religion	38	27	25	32	17
Catholic	12	14	16	15	17
Protestant	14	17	21	19	23
Mainline Protestant ¹	15	19	23	21	25
Conservative Protestant ²	9	11	13	11	15
Other Protestant	15	22	25	23	27
Orthodox Christian	23	25	26	27	24
Christian n.i.e.	19	18	18	15	20
Muslim	13	11	9	11	6
Jewish	9	12	17	19	16
Buddhist	19	16	19	16	22
Hindu	11	10	9	9	8
Sikh	4	4	3	4	3
Other Eastern religions	26	24	27	25	29
Other religions ³	41	41	46	40	50

1. Mainline Protestant includes Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, United Church.
 2. Conservative Protestant includes Baptist, Pentecostal, Nazarene, Evangelical Free, Mennonite, Salvation Army, Reformed, Christian and Missionary Alliance and other smaller groups.
 3. Other religions includes New Age, Aboriginal Spirituality, Pagan, Scientology, Satanist, Wicca, Gnostic, Rastafarian, Unity, New Thought, Pantheist and other small religious groups.
 Note: Protestant breakdown is based on definitions by Nock, David A. 1993. "The organization of religious life in Canada." in *The Sociology of religion – A Canadian Focus*, edited by W.E. Hewitt, Toronto: Butterworths; and Bibby, Reginald W. 1987. "Fragmented Gods, The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada." Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Ltd.
 Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

unions where one partner professes "no religion" has decreased to 25% in 2001 from 38% in 1981 as the availability of potential "no religion" partners has increased. It is not surprising that the second and third largest interreligious unions groups in 2001 now involve a "no religion" partner with a Catholic or Protestant. Since 1991, the number of Catholic/no religion unions have increased by 52% while Protestant/no religion unions have increased by 18%. As "no religion" is more common among young adults, these interreligious unions are predominantly young couples. People who report a religious affiliation, but have lower levels of religiosity are more likely to select a partner with "no religion" than someone with higher levels of religiosity.

Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus least likely to be in interreligious unions

Many immigrants citing Islam, Sikhism and Hinduism as their religion, arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001. As such, they are more likely to have a strong cultural association with the marital traditions of their country of origin. In fact, for these three religious groups, interreligious unions are less likely in 2001 than in 1981.

About 71% of Muslim couples resided in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. The most common interreligious union involving a Muslim partner is with a Catholic, representing 4% of Muslims in couples. According to the Census, only 1% of Muslims in couples are in a conjugal union with someone who has no religion. Sikhs and Hindus are most likely to be in interreligious unions with Catholics or Protestants and rarely with those with no religion.

Although many Buddhists in couples have recently arrived in Canada, many also arrived earlier. Perhaps because of this longer history in Canada, and also because they are less likely to be highly religious, Buddhists are more likely to be in

Protestant. This data illustrates that interreligious unions are related to the degree of religious homogeneity of the population; when the population is relatively homogeneous, there are few opportunities for majority religious groups to marry outside their group, and few opportunities for minority religious groups to marry within their group.⁴ (Table A.1)

Conservative Protestants less likely to be in interreligious unions

Religious groups that are more traditional in religious doctrine have higher levels of involvement in their religious community and are less likely to be in interreligious unions.⁵ Conservative Protestants⁶ are more likely to have high religiosity and are

less likely (13%) to be in interreligious unions than Mainline Protestants⁷ (23%) or Catholics outside Quebec (27%).

More interreligious unions with "no religion" spouse

Generally, interreligious couples find it easier if one or both partners do not possess strong religious convictions or if one party is willing to convert. Men are less religious and are more likely to report "no religion" than women. The imbalance of potential partners with "no religion" means that men with no religious affiliation are more likely to be in interreligious unions than women are.

As the percentage of the population with "no religion" has grown to 17% in 2001 from 7% in 1981, interreligious

interreligious unions than Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus. The most frequent Buddhist interreligious union is with a partner who has no religion.

Orthodox Christians are more likely to be in interreligious unions

Orthodox churches developed in Greece, many of the countries of south-eastern Europe, the Middle East and Russia. When immigration brought large numbers of new residents from these parts of the world to Canada, their numbers included many Orthodox Christians. Over 70% of Orthodox Christians in couples were born outside Canada, but only about 25% arrived recently. According to the Census, Orthodox Christians are one of the most likely groups to be in an interreligious union (26%). After accounting for socio-demographic variables, the EDS probability models also support this finding.

Orthodox Christians are most likely to be in interreligious unions with Catholics. This may be associated with their geographic proximity and also with the many similarities between Orthodoxy and Catholicism.⁸ Over half of Orthodox Christians in couples are located in Montreal and Toronto, where Catholics represent the largest religious group.

Interreligious unions increasing among the Jewish religious group

According to the Census, interreligious unions have become more frequent among Jewish couples, 17% being interreligious in 2001 compared with 9% in 1991. Only 8% of those with a Jewish religion arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001, so people who have the Jewish religion have a longer history in Canada than many other religious groups. Jewish couples are concentrated in Montreal and Toronto (75%). Perhaps because of the cultural diversity of these large cities, interreligious unions between Jewish and other religious groups have

become more common, particularly with Catholics and Protestants.

Young couples more likely to be interreligious

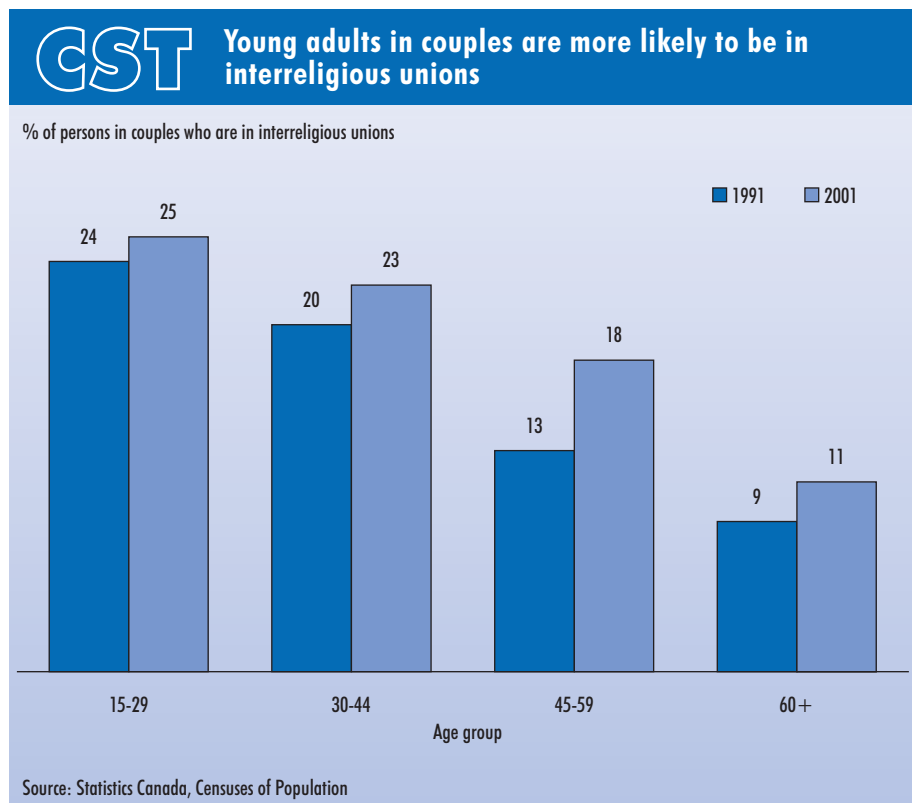
Increasingly common interreligious unions may indicate a decline in the importance of religion in social life, or that Canadians are becoming more tolerant of people outside their own religious group.⁹ Others argue that secularization has resulted in the declining influence of religion as a factor in selecting a mate while the influence of education has increased.¹⁰

Many factors are associated with the frequency of interreligious unions. (Table A.2) Older Canadians are less likely to be in interreligious unions. This may be because they entered into their marriage or common-law union when Canadian society was more homogenous than it is today, and had fewer opportunities to find partners from a different faith. American researchers also suggest that because interreligious unions are less likely to

survive than homogamous unions, older people who have been married or in a common-law union longer than younger cohorts have simply undergone attrition, leaving fewer interreligious unions among older people.¹¹

Home language makes a difference

Catholics who speak only English at home are much more likely to be in interreligious unions than their French-speaking counterparts both in and outside Quebec. Most French-speaking Canadians are Catholics, but the minority who are Protestants are more likely to be in interreligious unions than either English-speaking Protestants or Catholics who speak only French at home. Most of those who speak only a non-official language at home have only recently arrived in Canada and as such, their choice of partners is more reflective of the traditions of their home country. Only 8% of those in couples who speak a non-official language at home are in interreligious unions.



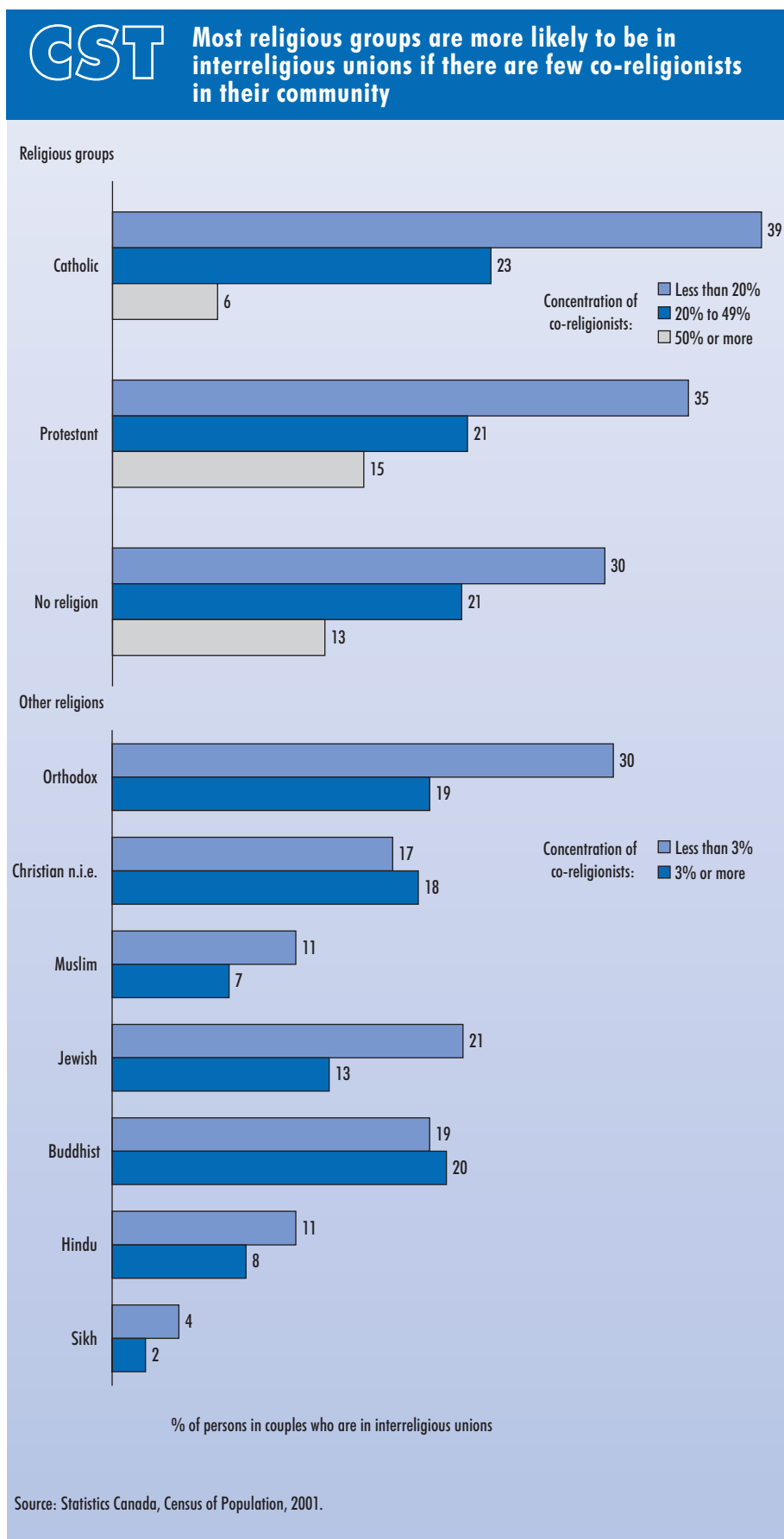
Interreligious unions more likely for highly educated people of "other" religions

Researchers have found it is more likely that more highly-educated minority groups marry outside their group than lesser-educated peers.¹² Some suggest that highly-educated people may have more individualistic attitudes and are therefore less influenced by family and community to select a mate from their ancestral religious group.¹³ Others suggest that highly-educated groups have wider intellectual horizons as well as higher levels of socioeconomic achievement, both of which may be traded off against religious compatibility.¹⁴

According to the 2001 Census, those with less than high school graduation are much less likely to be in interreligious unions, but this may be related to age (older people have less education). The EDS probability models show that after accounting for other characteristics such as age, education has a significant effect on the probability of couples being in an interreligious union primarily for "other religions"¹⁵ and Catholics outside Quebec. There is no significant effect for Protestants and the effect for Quebec Catholics and those with "no religion" is mixed. (Table A.3)

When co-religionists are scarce, interreligious unions more likely

If individuals with particular traits are scarce, they are more likely to be in interreligious unions. However, this does not always hold true. According to the 2001 Census, people in almost every religious group living in communities with a low concentration of co-religionists of the opposite sex are more likely to be in interreligious unions than people in communities with high concentrations of co-religionists. For example, among Catholic couples outside Quebec, 39% are in interreligious unions if the concentration of Catholics is low (less than 20%) in their community. However, where there is a high concentration (50% or more),



20% of Catholics in couples are in interreligious unions. The only religious groups which contradict this finding are Buddhists and "Christian n.i.e. (not include elsewhere)".

Parents interreligious? Adult children more likely to be interreligious

Parents often play a key role in the development of attitudes and values of their children and are more likely to pass on their religiosity and religious affiliation if they have a common religious background.¹⁶ According

to the 2002 EDS probability models, after accounting for other socio-demographic factors, people whose parents were of different faiths were more likely to be in an interreligious union themselves. This was observed for Catholics, Protestants, and other religions, but not the "no religion" group.

CST What you should know about this study

Data in this article are from the 1981, 1991 and 2001 Censuses of Population and from the 2002 Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS). Interreligious unions refer to couples who at the time of the Census were married or living common-law with a partner from a different religious group. The Census asked respondents to report a specific religious denomination or group even if they were not practicing members of the group. People with no connection or affiliation with any religious group were asked to indicate that they had "No religion". "No religion" also includes atheists, agnostics, humanists, free thinkers and others who for whatever reason indicated that they were without a religious affiliation. This article refers to the following religious groups: Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Christian n.i.e. (not included elsewhere), Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Other Eastern religions, "other religions" and "no religion". Marriages or common-law unions between denominations within a group (e.g. between a Roman Catholic and a Polish Catholic) are not counted as interreligious in this article whereas a union between two broad groups such as between a Protestant and a Buddhist is considered to be an interreligious union.

The Census records the current religion of respondents at the time of the Census. Current religion underestimates interreligious unions because a marriage or common-law union may lead to religious conversion of one of the partners. A religious conversion of a partner at the time of union formation is not collected by the Census.

Data from the 2002 EDS was used to develop five logistic regression models (Quebec Catholics, Catholics outside Quebec, Protestants, "Other religions", "No religion") to estimate probabilities of a person in a couple being in an

interreligious union. The following variables were included in each model: gender, age, marital status, parents in an interreligious union when the respondent was aged 15, province of residence, religion of mother, religion of respondent, religiosity of respondent, highest level of schooling, home language and size of community where respondent lived in 2001. Predicted probabilities were calculated holding all variables at their mean value except the variable of interest.

The EDS surveyed the non-Aboriginal population aged 15 and over. About 42,500 people were interviewed of which 21,800 were in a conjugal union and were included in one of the logistic regression models.

Religiosity was measured using four dimensions – religious affiliation, attendance at religious services, personal religious practices, and importance of religion – in a simple additive scale. Individuals with no religious affiliation were assigned a score of 0, while those with an affiliation received a score of 1 to 13. People were grouped into three broad categories based on their religiosity index, low (0-5), moderate (6-10) and high (11-13). The group with 'low religiosity' includes persons with no religious affiliation.

This article uses the following terms:

Interreligious unions – couples where each partner is from a different religious group.

Homogamous unions – couples where partners are from the same religious group including unions between two people with no religion.

Co-religionists – people who are in the same broad religious group as the respondent

Highly religious people less likely to be in interreligious unions

Several studies confirm that those who have higher levels of religiosity place more importance on religious compatibility when selecting a mate than persons with lower levels of religiosity.¹⁷ Those with high religiosity may feel a strong affinity to their own religion and feel uncomfortable in other religious settings, especially those whose doctrine and religious practices are distant from their own tradition.¹⁸ Therefore it is not surprising that the EDS probability models show that after accounting for other social-demographic factors, those with high religiosity are least likely to be in an interreligious union.

Summary

With increasing cultural diversity in Canada, interreligious conjugal unions are on the rise, but still the vast majority of couples have partners from the same broad religious group. Of course, the likelihood of an interreligious union is associated with where you are, how homogeneous the religious mix of your community is, how religious you are, how traditional the doctrine of your religion is, and how long you've been in Canada.

People in communities which are religiously homogeneous and people who are highly religious are less likely to be in interreligious unions. Immigrants are also less likely to be in interreligious unions.

The logo for GST (Government Social Trends) features the letters 'GST' in a white, bold, sans-serif font, centered within a blue oval shape. The oval is set against a background of a blue wave-like graphic that extends horizontally across the page.

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1. Lehrer, Evelyn L. 1998. "Religious intermarriage in the United States: Determinants and trends." *Social Science Research*. 27:245-263.
2. Voas, David. 2003. "Intermarriage and the demography of secularization." *British Journal of Sociology*. 54(1): 83-108.
3. In general, this article uses broad religious groups to identify those who are in interreligious unions. If a union between people of two different denominations within one of the broad religious groups was considered an interreligious union then the number of people in interreligious unions in 2001 would have been 3.35 million or 24% of all people in unions compared to 2.68 million when broad religious groups as defined in this article are used.
4. Kalmijn, M. 1998. "Intermarriage and homogamy: causes, patterns, and trends." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24:395-421.
5. Kalmijn. 1998.
6. Conservative Protestant includes Baptist, Pentecostal, Nazarene, Evangelical Free, Mennonite, Salvation Army, Reformed, Christian and Missionary Alliance and other smaller groups.
7. Mainline Protestant includes Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian and United Church.
8. Ridenour, Fritz. 2001. *So what's the difference?* Ventura, California, Regal Books: 52-63.
9. Bibby, Reginald W. 1999. "On boundaries, gates and circulating saints: A longitudinal look at loyalty and loss." *Review of Religious Research*. 41: 149-164.
10. Kalmijn. 1998.
11. Kalmijn. 1998.
12. Kalmijn. 1998.
13. Kalmijn. 1998.
14. Lehrer, Evelyn L. 1998.
15. Includes Orthodox Christian, Christian n.i.e., Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Other Eastern religions and other religions.
16. Myers, S.M. 1996. "An interactive model of religiosity inheritance: the importance of family context." *American Sociological Review*. 61(5):858-866.
17. Sherkat, Darren E. 2004. "Religious intermarriage in the United States: trends, patterns, and predictors." *Social Science Research*. 33: 606-625.
18. Bibby, Reginald W. 2002. *Restless Gods – The renaissance of religion in Canada*. Toronto, Stoddart Publishing Company Limited: 39-40.

Religion of respondent		Religion of respondent	
Catholic ('000s)	6,200.2	Protestant	5.6
Religion of partner	(%)	No religion	3.9
Catholic	84.0	Orthodox	0.9
Protestant	10.9	Christian n.i.e.	0.5
No religion	3.7	Others	0.5
Orthodox	0.5	Hindu ('000s)	146.0
Others	0.8	Religion of partner	(%)
Protestant ('000s)	4,483.6	Hindu	91.2
Religion of partner	(%)	Catholic	3.0
Protestant	78.7	Protestant	1.9
Catholic	15.1	No religion	1.0
No religion	4.9	Muslim	0.9
Others	1.3	Sikh	0.9
No religion ('000s)	2,005.2	Christian n.i.e.	0.7
Religion of partner	(%)	Others	0.6
No religion	74.7	Buddhist ('000s)	142.6
Catholic	11.6	Religion of partner	(%)
Protestant	11.1	Buddhist	80.8
Christian n.i.e.	0.9	No religion	7.8
Buddhist	0.6	Catholic	5.8
Others	1.2	Protestant	3.5
Christian n.i.e. ('000s)	323.8	Christian n.i.e.	1.1
Religion of partner	(%)	Others	1.1
Christian n.i.e.	82.3	Sikh ('000s)	136.9
No religion	6.1	Religion of partner	(%)
Catholic	5.0	Sikh	96.9
Protestant	4.6	Protestant	0.6
Muslim	0.5	Catholic	0.6
Others	1.5	No religion	0.5
Orthodox Christian ('000s)	243.0	Others	0.5
Religion of partner	(%)	Other religions ('000s)	22.0
Orthodox Christian	74.3	Religion of partner	(%)
Catholic	13.4	Other religions	54.5
Protestant	7.9	No religion	18.5
No religion	2.8	Protestant	11.8
Jewish	0.6	Catholic	10.4
Muslim	0.5	Christian n.i.e.	1.6
Others	0.5	Buddhist	1.5
Muslim ('000s)	239.2	Jewish	0.6
Religion of partner	(%)	Others	1.7
Muslim	91.4	Eastern religions ('000s)	17.4
Catholic	3.8	Religion of partner	(%)
Protestant	1.4	Eastern religions	72.6
No religion	1.3	No religion	7.9
Hindu	0.6	Protestant	7.0
Orthodox	0.6	Catholic	6.0
Others	0.4	Hindu	1.5
Jewish ('000s)	159.7	Muslim	1.2
Religion of partner	(%)	Buddhist	1.0
Jewish	82.6	Other religions	0.6
Catholic	6.0	Others	1.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

	Population in couples	Total	Religious groups				
			Quebec Catholics	Catholics outside Quebec	Protestants	Other religions ¹	No religion
	('000s)		(Percent of population in couples in interreligious unions)				
2001	14,120	19	3	27	21	16	25
1991	12,840	17	2	25	17	16	27
1981	11,221	15	2	21	14	16	38
2001							
Gender							
Male	7,064	19	3	26	19	16	32
Female	7,056	19	3	29	23	16	17
Age							
15-29	1,374	25	5	37	33	20	28
30-44	5,169	23	4	32	28	17	26
45-59	4,529	18	3	26	21	16	24
60+	3,048	11	2	15	11	11	24
Marital status							
Married	11,803	18	3	25	19	14	24
Common-law union	2,317	25	3	43	42	50	28
Religion							
No religion	2,005	25	...	...	...	...	25
Catholic	6,200	16	3	27	...	...	...
Protestant	4,484	21	...	...	21	...	...
Mainline Protestant ²	3,155	23	...	...	23	...	...
Conservative Protestant ³	871	13	...	...	13	...	...
Other Protestant	458	25	...	...	25	...	...
Orthodox Christian	243	26	...	...	...	26	...
Christian n.i.e.	324	18	...	...	...	18	...
Muslim	239	9	...	...	...	9	...
Jewish	160	17	...	...	...	17	...
Buddhist	143	19	...	...	...	19	...
Hindu	146	9	...	...	...	9	...
Sikh	137	3	...	...	...	3	...
Other Eastern religions	17	27	...	...	...	27	...
Other religions	22	46	...	...	...	46	...
Highest level of schooling							
Less than high school graduation	3,807	14	2	19	16	10	21
High school diploma or some postsecondary	3,297	20	3	30	23	16	25
Trades or college certificate or diploma	4,136	22	3	31	23	21	29
University-educated	2,879	21	5	30	24	17	25

	Population in couples	Total	Religious groups				
			Quebec Catholics	Catholics outside Quebec	Protestants	Other religions ¹	No religion
	('000s)		(Percent of population in couples in interreligious unions)				
Home language							
English only	9,253	26	23	34	21	26	28
French only	3,080	3	2	3	28	27	23
Other only	1,557	8	5	7	12	6	11
English & French	43	22	15	18	54	33	22
English & other	162	9	8	8	16	7	16
French & other	20	9	8	7	16	7	29
English, French & other	5	11	5	14	19	14	28
Generational status							
First (Immigrants)	3,480	16	8	17	19	11	19
Second ⁴	2,093	24	8	32	20	27	29
Third ⁵	8,547	19	2	31	22	27	28
Size of community							
Rural and small town Canada	3,084	16	2	26	16	23	26
Under 25,000	378	20	1	26	21	23	27
25,000-249,999	2,605	20	1	30	21	23	27
250,000-999,999	2,980	23	2	30	23	19	27
1,000,000 and over	5,072	18	5	24	27	13	23
Concentration of co-religionists⁶							
Low – Less than 20%	2,823	24	...	39	34	16	30
Moderate – 20% to 49%	8,221	22	2	27	21	...	21
High – 50% or more	3,075	7	3	20	15	...	13
Census metropolitan areas (CMA)							
Montréal	1,532	9	5	...	35	14	24
Ottawa-Gatineau	491	23	5	25	33	19	31
Toronto	2,142	20	...	21	25	12	24
Calgary	443	27	...	37	25	17	26
Edmonton	428	27	...	32	24	21	27
Vancouver	907	23	...	35	24	15	19

... not applicable

1. Includes Orthodox Christian, Christian n.i.e., Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Other Eastern religions and other religions.

2. Mainline Protestant includes Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, United Church.

3. Conservative Protestant includes Baptist, Pentecostal, Nazarene, Evangelical Free, Mennonite, Salvation Army, Reformed, Christian and Missionary Alliance and other smaller groups.

4. Includes people born in Canada who have at least one parent born outside Canada.

5. Includes people born in Canada whose parents were both born in Canada.

6. This is the percentage of the population aged 20 to 59 of the opposite sex of the respondent in the same Census Metropolitan Area or Census Agglomeration that is in the same broad religious group as the respondent (co-religionist).

Source: Statistics Canada, Censuses of Population.

Table A.3 Predicted probability of a person in a couple being in an interreligious union

	Religious groups				
	Quebec Catholics	Catholics - rest of Canada	Protestant	Other ¹	No religion
	Predicted probability (%)				
Total	3	27	21	16	25
Gender					
Men	3	25	18*	13*	30*
Women	3	29	25	20	20
Age					
15-29	5	32	34	15	21
30-44	5	28	29	15	24
45-59	2*	27	24*	15	24
60+	3*	24*	12*	20	37*
Marital status					
Married	3	27	20	15	26
Common-law	5*	32*	32*	32*	23
Province of residence					
Atlantic provinces	...	23	16*	33*	37*
Quebec	...	...	25	17	33
Ontario	...	26	22	15	27
Prairie provinces	...	30	22	11*	29
British Columbia	...	38*	25	21*	19*
Parents were in interreligious union					
Yes	10*	39*	27*	23*	23
No	3	26	20	15	26
Religion of mother					
No religion	0	18*	31*	34	18*
Catholic	3	29	17	36	31
Protestant	4	16*	21*	22	27
Other Christian	40*	32	37*	9*	36
Other religion	9*	31	43*	18	36
Religion of respondent					
Mainline Protestant ²	...	...	22	...	...
Conservative Protestant ³	...	...	18*	...	...
Other Protestant	...	...	23	...	...
Orthodox Christian	...	...	...	44*	...
Christian n.i.e. (not included elsewhere)	...	...	...	18*	...
Muslim ⁴	...	...	...	10	...
Jewish	...	...	...	7	...
Buddhist	...	...	...	26*	...
Hindu	...	...	...	9	...
Sikh	...	...	...	6	...
Other Eastern religions	...	...	...	24*	...
Religiosity					
Low (0-5)	4*	47*	31*	31*	...
Medium (6-10)	4*	35*	27*	25*	...
High (11-13)	2	16	11	9	...
Highest level of schooling					
Less than high school diploma	2*	23	20	9*	25
High school diploma or some postsecondary	4	26	21	14	25
College diploma or certificate	4	29	21	21*	31*
University degree	3	33*	23	19*	23

	Religious groups				
	Quebec Catholics	Catholics - rest of Canada	Protestant	Other ¹	No religion
Predicted probability (%)					
Home language					
<i>English only</i>	48	36	21	30	30
French only	2*	2*	42*	26	25
Non-official language	22*	18*	29	8*	9*
English and French	11*	31	36*	36	29
English and non-official language(s)	28*	16*	20	9*	18*
French and non-official language(s)	15*	13	25	4*	39
Size of community in 2001					
Rural and small town Canada	5	28	16*	17	24
Under 25,000	0	17	20	15	27
25,000-249,999	1	28	20	16	23
250,000-999,999	5	26	22	18	21
1,000,000 and over	4	28	24	15	29

... not applicable

1. Includes Orthodox Christian, Christian n.i.e., Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Other Eastern religions and other religions.
2. Mainline Protestants (Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, United Church) are the reference group for Protestants.
3. Conservative Protestant includes Baptist, Pentecostal, Nazarene, Evangelical Free, Mennonite, Salvation Army, Reformed, Christian and Missionary Alliance and other smaller groups.
4. Muslim is the reference group for "Other religions".

* Statistically significant difference from reference category ($p < 0.05$).

Note: Reference groups are shown in italics.

Source: Statistics Canada, Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002.