Blurring the Faith? Religious Intermarriage across Immigrant Generations

by

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Abstract:

This paper examines religious intermarriage across six immigrant origin generations: the foreign born arriving at age fifteen or later, the 1.5 generation, the second generation with two foreign-born parents, the 2.5 generation, the third generation and the fourth-plus generation. Analysis is based on data for the currently married population age twenty and older, taken from the 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey. The study draws four main conclusions. First, religious intermarriage increases with each successive generation through the third generation. Second, logistic regression analysis reveals the persistence of this pattern of rising religious exogamy despite controlling for inter-generational differences in socio-demographic variables. Third, generational differences in religiosity and in parent-respondent religious similarity underlie the greater religious exogamy of the 2.5 and third generations relative to those generations that are closer to the migration experience. Finally, the pattern found for the fourth-plus generation reflects unique and historically generated ethnic composition of that group.

Introduction

Intermarriage is a central feature of immigrant assimilation – one that serves as a key indicator of immigrant integration over time. The product of individual preferences and actions (Waite and Gallagher, 2000), as well as the influence of third parties, intermarriage suggests a loosening of group boundaries and diminished social distance between groups (Alba, 2005; Bean and Stevens, 2004; Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Kalmijn, 1998; Monden and Smits, 2005). Moreover, exogamy is not only an indicator of immigrant assimilation, but also a facilitator of that process. For partners, intermarriage involves establishing ties with, and thus adapting to or adopting elements of, another culture (Giorgas and Jones, 2002:47). Further, because marital partners are the reproducers and socializers of the next generation, intermarriage also may facilitate the assimilation of immigrant offspring: Social-group identification may be diluted for these individuals and/or they may themselves be more likely to marry exogamously (Lieberson and Waters, 1988: 181-187; Kalmijn, 1998: 396; Wildsmith, 2003: 565).

Partly because of data limitations, North American studies focus primarily on ethnic and racial intermarriage as barometers of declining social distances and increasing integration of immigrant origin groups (Alba and Golden, 1986; Lee and Edmonston, 2005). With few exceptions – all of which are restricted to immigrant-nonimmigrant comparisons (Qian and Lichter, 2001; Stevens, Ishizawa, Escandell, 2005) – these studies also do not compare successive generations of immigrant origin groups. Instead they either compare intermarriage rates for specific groups at successive points in time, or they examine rates for "old" versus "new" ethnic stock. Against this backdrop, the contributions of this paper are twofold. First, we focus on religious intermarriage, thereby extending research on the intermarriage patterns of immigrant origin groups which primarily focuses on ethnic and racial intermarriage. Second, we examine religious intermarriage for six specific immigrant origin generations, ranging from those who are foreign born, through the second generation (native-born offspring of foreign-born

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parents) and third generation (native-born respondent with native-born parents), to the fourth-plus generation (native-born respondent with native-born parents and grandparents). Our logistic regression analysis of data from the 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey finds that religious intermarriage generally increases with each successive generation through the third, even after adjusting for generational differences in socio-demographic variables. We find, however, that generational differences in religiosity and in parent-respondent religious matching are important factors explaining the greater marital exogamy of the 2.5 and third generations relative to those generations that are closer to the migration experience.

Religious Intermarriage: Another Facet of Assimilation

Our study bridges two core areas of intermarriage research. The first focuses on religious intermarriage; the second investigates intermarriage across immigrant generations. In the first area, increasing intermarriage between members of different religions is viewed as the product of changes in the overall importance attributed to religion in society over time, and of changes in the socio-economic and cultural distance between religious groups. The secularization thesis posits that with the emergence of individualism that accompanies modernization, individuals become less devoted to their religion. Thus religious similarity becomes less of a priority in mate selection (van de Kaa, 1987; Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 2004). Since individualism centers on freedom of choice directed toward self-fulfillment, its emergence also reduces third parties' willingness and/or ability to influence the selection of marriage partners (Kalmijn, 1991).

Secularization also affects the strength of group boundaries and thus the distance between social groups. Declining devotion is accompanied by increasing similarity in beliefs and understandings, and decreasing differences in language, ethnicity and regional distinctiveness. For example, Kalmijn (1991: 789) and Lehrer (1998: 250) note that Protestants and Catholics in the United States have become more similar in their family-size preferences, marital fertility, birth-control practices, child rearing, patterns of separation and divorce, gender roles, and female employment – as well as their educational attainment and occupational composition. The reduction in these social differences, in turn, facilitates intermarriage (Kalmijn, 1991; Lehrer, 1998; Sherkat, 2004).

To date, religious intermarriage has not been extensively studied by those interested in marriage patterns among immigrant origin groups. Instead, research on intermarriage primarily focuses on the extent to which unions are endogamous/exogamous with respect to nativity and/or ethnicity (see, for example, Alba and Golden, 1986; Lieberson and Waters, 1988; Qian and Lichter, 2001; Lee and Bean, 2004; Perlmann and Waters, 2004; Stevens, 2005). Landmark studies that have considered religious intermarriage have been forced by data limitations to infer membership in a major religious group on the basis of national origin (Kennedy, 1944 and 1952; Peach, 1980). Likewise, very little of the literature on recent immigration and ethnicity considers religion (Warner, 1997: 218-219). Nevertheless, religious exogamy/endogamy is an important indicator of assimilation-related behaviors among immigrant origin groups.

What trends in religious intermarriage might be expected? Studies of intermarriage across immigrant generations generally draw on "linear" or "segmented" models of assimilation, and their variants. Classic assimilation theory assumes a linear and unidirectional, if at times bumpy, path to integration with the (Anglo) majority, whose culture remains essentially unchanged (Alba and Nee, 1997; Gans, 1992). According to this "linear" or "orthodox" model, successive generations of immigrant groups gradually lose their ethnic distinctiveness and eventually adopt the identity of the host population (Lee and Bean, 2004). In combination with the argument that declining denominationalism and the loss of religious distinctiveness facilitate intermarriage, there is reason to suspect that religious intermarriage will increase across immigrant generations.

This tenet receives additional support from the contemporary characteristics of immigrants to North America, and to Canada in particular. Compared with their European predecessors, today's immigrants increasingly are highly educated. Their offspring also are often well educated relative to the population as a whole (Boyd, 2002; 2005). Given that rising educational attainment is associated with individualism and secularism, the high levels of schooling among new immigrants and their children may encourage religious intermarriage.

However, two factors may militate against this model of increasing religious intermarriage across generations. First, sustained flows of newcomers may inhibit religious intermarriage by facilitating the preservation of ethnic-religious distinctiveness and by increasing opportunities for marital endogamy. Using Australian data from the 1986 Census, Jones and Luijkx (1996) demonstrate that the maintenance of ethnic endogamy depends on a continuing flow of new immigrants. Second, religion often is an integral component of ethnic affiliation, and the significance of religion may increase as the saliency of other aspects of ethnic affiliation declines. In his treatise on the role of religion in the Euro-American society of the United States, Herberg ([1955]1960: 31) concludes that religion has replaced national origin as "the primary context of self identification and social location" for Americans. He interprets findings of high degrees of religious marital endogamy as indicating that religion establishes the boundaries between social groups whose members share an identity, while maintaining a distance from others in primary relationships (Kalmijn, 1991: 786-787). Thus the classic patterns of increasing ethnic intermarriage across immigrant offspring generations may not be paralleled by increased religious intermarriage.

Data and Methods

In contrast to these two offsetting possibilities, our analysis provides evidence of, and partial explanations for, increasing religious intermarriage across immigrant origin generations. We base our findings on data from the Statistics Canada's Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) released September 29th, 2003. This survey was conducted jointly by Statistics Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage with the aim of better understanding the social, political, and economic integration of Canadians with diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Data for the survey were collected using computer-assisted telephone interviews, between April and August of 2002. In total, 42,476 respondents participated in the survey, representing a population of 23,092,643. Taking into account the 1,057 persons classified as being outside the scope of the survey, the response rate was 75.6 percent. Participants were selected based on their answers to selected questions on the 2001 Census, with the target population being persons aged fifteen and older living in private dwellings in Canada's ten provinces. Landed immigrants and non-permanent residents were included in the target population. Landed immigrants are persons admitted legally into Canada for purposes of permanent residence. Non-permanent residents are admitted on a temporary basis. The non-permanent resident label applies to a variety of groups including students, fiancés**,** and refugee claimants seeking to adjust their status to that of permanent resident on the basis of humanitarian concerns. The following groups were excluded from the EDS sample: persons under age fifteen, persons living in collective dwellings, persons living on Indian reserves, persons declaring Aboriginal ethnic origins or identity, and the territories and other remote areas (Statistics Canada, 2005a).

In addition, the sampling frame was designed with the specific aim of capturing information about first- and second-generation Canadians. Accordingly, the sample distribution was established at one third for CBFA+ (i.e., those of Canadian, British Isles, French, American, Australian and/or New Zealand origins) and at two thirds for non-CBFA+. Furthermore,

interviews were not only conducted in English and French, but also in the following seven non-official languages: Mandarin, Cantonese, Italian, Punjabi, Portuguese, Vietnamese and Spanish. The survey's stratified sampling design makes it necessary that all analyses be subjected to a technique known as bootstrapping, in order to obtain accurate variance estimates (Statistics Canada, 2005a). Essentially, this technique involves drawing repeated random sub-samples (in this case, 500) from the full sample. The variability among the estimates in the sub-samples provides the variance estimate used to determine significance levels for model coefficients (Statistics Canada, 2005b). Statistics Canada provides a SAS macro for applying this technique to EDS data.

Our analysis is based on a sub-sample of the EDS that includes only those respondents who are over the age of twenty (i.e., reasonably 'at risk' of being married) and who are currently legally married (necessary in order to determine the spouse's religion). The total number of individuals in our sub-sample is just under 20,000. In our initial investigations, we examined intermarriage patterns for those in common-law unions as well. However, we did not include this group in the final analysis for two reasons. First, we found that the percent religiously intermarried was overall considerably higher among those living common-law than among those in legal marriages. Second, and more importantly, we found that among those in common-law unions there is very little variation by generation group in the percent marrying across religious boundaries. Taken together, these features suggest that cohabiters constitute a unique group who are generally fairly willing – and uniformly so – to violate norms surrounding marriage.

The dependent variable of interest here is religious intermarriage – defined as marriage outside the respondent's religious group (with marriage within the religious group serving as the reference category). Our religious groups are derived from the EDS detailed religion variable. We collapsed the 86 valid response categories in this variable into the following eight religion categories: no religion, Catholic, conservative Protestant, other Protestant, Christian Orthodox, other Christian, Jewish, and Eastern religions. Appendix A provides details on the coding of the religion variable. The religion of the spouse or common-law partner is categorized using the same coding scheme. We collapse the response categories to eight for two reasons. First, an implicit tenet of research on religious endogamy/exogamy is that intermarriage is significant because it captures the crossing of major boundaries regarding beliefs, ideologies and related behaviours. Our aggregation thus highlights this crossing rather than including marriages within major groupings such as fundamentalist Protestants. Second, we also include the respondent's current religion in our analysis to control for shifting religious compositions across the generation groups. Because of the very small number of cases in many of the detailed religion categories, the detailed variable cannot be included in the analysis.

We use a number of independent variables to predict marriage across religious boundaries. The focal independent variable in this analysis is immigrant generation group. This variable reflects the extent to which the respondent's roots are non-Canadian, and is represented as: first generation (born outside Canada and arriving after the age of fourteen), 1.5 generation (born outside Canada and arriving before the age of fifteen), second generation (born in Canada of foreign-born parents), 2.5 generation (born in Canada of one Canadian-born and one foreign-born parent), third generation (born in Canada of Canadian-born parents), and fourth-plus generation (born in Canada of Canadian-born parents and grandparents). The fourth-plus generation contains the legacy of Canada's history of settlement by the French and the British starting in the mid-1600s. The loss of New France to the British in 1763 left a sizeable French ethnic and linguistic population that persists to this day. The latter primarily reside in the province of Quebec and their religious roots are Catholic.

In addition to immigrant generation group, we are also concerned with the impact of several measures related to religion itself. The first of these is the respondent's religion – classified as described above. The second is a measure of the respondent's religiosity. We derive this variable from a 5-point Likert scale measuring the importance of religion to the respondent ('not important' through 'very important'). Our collapsed categories are as follows: not very important (includes 'no religion' and the lowest two categories on the Likert scale), moderately important (includes the third and fourth categories on the Likert scale), and very important. We enter this variable into the models as a set of dummies, using 'no religion/not very important' as the reference group. The final measure of religion in our analysis is the extent to which the respondent's religion (as categorized above) matches that of his/her parent(s) (also as categorized above). This variable has the following values: no parental religion matches respondent's religion, one parental religion matches respondent's religion, and both parental religions match respondent's religion. Respondents with missing data on one parent are coded according to the value of the non-missing parental religion – i.e., as either a single match or a non-match. Once again, this variable is entered into the models as a set of dummies, using 'no parental matches' as the reference category.

In addition to the focal variables, we introduce a number of controls and other relevant variables into our analysis. These include sex, age (in years), education (in approximate years), city or region of residence (Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, other CMA, and all other areas), and ethnicity (French or not French). Age and education are treated as continuous variables in our models; sex and ethnicity are treated as single dummy variables (with 'male' and 'not French' serving as the reference categories); and region is treated as a set of dummies (with 'all other areas' being the reference category).

We use logistic regression to model the relationship between immigrant generation group and the propensity to marry across religious boundaries. We choose this strategy for three reasons. First, logistic regression allows us to derive estimates for a categorical outcome – in our case, religious out-marriage, versus religious in-marriage. Secondly, this method permits us to conduct a multivariate analysis: it allows us to compare estimates across the generation groups of interest, and to determine the extent to which cross-group differences reflect the effects of the 'explanatory' and control variables introduced into the models. Thirdly, logistic regression controls for the distribution of the marginals in the underlying tables, that is, for relative group size. This is a concern in studies of intermarriage more generally, since they typically entail comparisons among groups that are uneven in size and hence face differently structured marriage markets. Finally, logistic regression permits multivariate analyses of a larger number of groups than the alternative strategy, log-linear analysis. Our interest in including all six immigrant generation categories in the analysis makes logistic regression the method of choice.

Modeling the relationship between immigrant generation group and marriage across religious boundaries produces a series of hierarchical models regressing religious intermarriage on sets of independent variables. The baseline model includes only immigrant generation group as a predictor. The second model adds a number of controls – sex, age, education, and place of residence – to the baseline model. This is followed by a model that introduces the religious group dummies, as well as the measures of religiosity (importance of religion and parent-respondent religion matching), to capture the extent to which these variables 'explain' overall differences between immigrant generation groups in the odds of marrying across religious boundaries. Finally, informed by the history of Canada's colonization by the British and the French, we introduce French ethnicity and interaction terms for French ethnicity by generation group in order to address the linguistically- and geographically-bounded marriage market that may exist among the fourth-plus generation.

Results

Table 1 presents bivariate distributions for each of the independent variables in our models, by religious intermarriage. Overall, 24 percent of the married population age twenty and above has a partner from a different major religious group. At the same time, there is variation across the immigrant generation groups: As the classic assimilation model predicts, levels of religious exogamy generally rise with increasing distance from the migration experience. The exception is the fourth-plus generation, where there is a sharp decline in the percent religiously intermarried, almost to the level of first-generation immigrants. Table 1 also shows that differences in the propensity to marry across religious boundaries are trivial (and not significant) for men and women, and do not vary substantially among those who have more than a high school diploma. On the other hand, living in Quebec and being a native French speaker both have depressive effects on religious intermarriage. Rates of intermarriage also vary by religion. Those who declare themselves as having no religion are the most likely to have partners with other religious affiliations, followed by those who are Christian Orthodox. Those who declare membership in Jewish, Eastern, or Catholic religions are least likely to be married to someone with a different religion. Not surprisingly, the incidence of religious exogamy also varies according to the importance of religion to the respondent, with out-marriage rising as the importance of religion declines. Experiencing a mixed religious context earlier in life or across the life cycle also matters: Persons whose religion does not match that of one or both parents are more likely to be religiously intermarried themselves.

Table 2 presents the bivariate distributions, across immigrant generation groups, of the variables in our models. Many of the variations in religious intermarriage evident in Table 1 are relevant to the analysis of differences by generational status. As shown in Table 2, the first generation (foreign born and immigrated at age fifteen or later) are highly concentrated in Toronto, Vancouver and to a lesser extent in Montreal, while other generation groups, particularly the Canadian born, are more likely to be residing in other areas. Further, the distribution of French ethnicity is heavily weighted toward the fourth-plus generation, with nearly forty-eight percent of this group claiming French as their mother tongue, as compared to a high of less than seven percent across the other generation groups. The religious composition of the generation groups also varies. One in five of the first generation declares Eastern religions compared to seven percent of the 1.5 generation and less than five percent of later generations. Conversely, the percentages who are Catholic or other (non-fundamentalist) Protestant rise from the 1.5 generation on, reflecting previous patterns of immigration largely from Europe. Generational differences in religiosity exist as well, with nearly half of the first generation saying religion is very important to them compared with slightly more than one-fourth of the third generation. Members of the 2.5 and third generation are more likely to belong to a religion that does not match that of one or both of their parents, a pattern that may indicate earlier generational shifts away from religion.

Because variables such as place of residence, French ethnicity, education, religion and measures of religiosity or *a priori* religious disengagement are related to religious intermarriage, it is possible that compositional differences among generation groups underlie differences in religious exogamy across generation groups. We take this possibility into account by constructing multivariate models using logistic regression. We build successive models that first control for the socio-demographic variables sex, age, education, and place of residence, then assess the effects of religious affiliation and religiosity, and finally test for possible interactions between French ethnicity and immigrant generation group.

Table 1: Percent who are Religiously Intermarried, Currently Married Population, Age 20 and Older, Canada, 2002

Total	24
Generational Status	
Foreign born	
Immigrated age 15+	19
Immigrated age 0-14	27
Canadian born	
Both parents foreign born	28
One parent foreign born	28
Third generation	32
Fourth plus generation	18
Sex	
Female	23
Male	24
City or Region of Residence	
Montreal	12
Other Quebec	5
Toronto	24
Vancouver	28
All Other Areas	28
Education	
Less than high school	17
High school diploma	23
Some college/university	28
College, trade diploma or certificate	27
University undergraduate degree	26
Bachelors degree or professional degree and higher	26
Ethnicity	
British/North American	27
French	15
Other European	26
All other ancestries	18
Religion	
No religion	39
Catholic	17
Conservative Protestant	26
Other Protestant	28
Christian Orthodox	32
Other Christian	27
Jewish	14
Eastern religions	10
Importance of Religion	
No religion & not very important	37
Moderately important	23
Very important	13
Parents Religion Matches that of Respondent	
No Parent Religion Matches	36
One Parent Religion Matches	38
Both Parent Religions Match	18

Source: Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2002

Table 2. Bivariate Distributions of Variables in Models, for Currently Married Polulation, Age 20+, Canada 2002

	Foreign Born		Canadian Born						
				One Parent Foreign-Born					
	Immigrated Age 15+	Immigrated Age 0-14	Both Parents Foreign-Born	Father Foreign-Born	Mother Foreign-Born	Total	Third Generation	Fourth + Generation	Total
Population Estimates, '000s	2414	512	865	566	345	1776	2274	3434	10410
Percentage of Total	23.2	4.9	8.3	5.4	3.3	17.1	21.8	33.0	100.0
Religious Intermarriage	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Exogamous	18.8	26.6	28.2	27.0	29.8	28.1	31.9	18.3	23.5
Endogamous	81.2	73.4	71.8	73.0	70.2	71.9	68.1	81.7	76.5
Sex	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	51.1	53.5	51.6	49.1	47.8	48.6	47.9	49.4	49.8
Female	48.9	46.5	48.4	50.9	52.2	51.4	52.1	50.6	50.2
Age	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
20-29	3.8	6.4	6.1	5.5	4.5	5.1	5.4	5.7	5.2
30-39	20.2	23.8	25.3	15.0	17.5	16.0	20.2	19.5	20.2
40-49	24.7	26.1	25.8	20.8	19.9	20.4	32.6	26.5	26.8
50-59	21.6	30.0	8.1	21.0	27.3	23.4	25.3	21.6	21.8
60+	29.7	13.8	34.7	37.7	30.7	35.0	16.5	26.8	26.0
French Language	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
All Other	97.6	96.6	98.9	94.0	93.5	93.8	93.3	52.3	81.4
French	2.4	3.4	1.1	6.0	6.5	6.2	6.7	47.7	18.6
Province of Residence	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Atlantic	1.1	2.7	1.0	4.6	4.3	4.5	4.9	19.4	8.3
Quebec	12.3	9.6	7.2	6.3	9.7	7.6	7.0	41.0	19.6
Ontario	56.2	57.0	51.1	41.4	42.6	41.8	38.9	29.0	41.8
Prairies	11.2	13.6	22.7	28.4	25.2	27.2	30.6	7.2	16.6
British Columbia	19.2	17.1	18.0	19.3	18.3	18.9	18.5	3.4	13.6
CMA Residence	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Montreal	11.1	8.1	6.5	4.0	5.5	4.5	3.2	14.0	9.2
Toronto	38.4	30.9	24.2	13.5	10.2	12.2	9.7	5.1	17.3
Vancouver	14.4	8.9	7.8	6.7	6.5	6.6	7.1	1.2	6.9
Other CMA	24.5	30.4	34.4	32.3	35.3	33.5	37.1	30.2	31.0
All Other Areas	11.6	21.8	27.1	43.6	42.4	43.2	42.9	49.5	35.5
Education	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than High school	23.0	19.4	19.6	25.6	22.0	24.2	17.7	29.2	23.5
High School Diploma	21.3	20.5	23.5	23.7	23.2	23.5	26.1	23.2	23.3
Some College/University	8.9	11.4	12.1	10.7	11.0	10.8	12.3	9.1	10.3
College/Trade Dip./Cert	16.2	20.9	21.5	19.7	21.5	20.4	20.9	20.6	19.7
Univ. Undergrad. Degree	19.9	20.3	18.3	14.3	16.3	15.0	17.5	13.6	16.8
Univ. Grad. / Prof. Degree	10.7	7.5	5.0	6.0	5.9	6.0	5.5	4.3	6.4
Religion	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No Religion	16.8	12.7	13.1	17.9	16.6	17.4	17.0	6.9	13.1
Catholic	33.0	40.8	38.4	25.7	26.4	26.0	28.0	59.8	40.8
Conservative Protestant	5.8	7.8	7.9	9.3	9.8	9.5	9.8	6.7	7.5
Other Protestant	11.3	23.2	28.3	39.3	40.0	39.6	38.6	22.9	25.4
Christian Orthodox	4.7	2.9	3.4	1.3	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.8
Other Christian	5.2	4.6	4.7	4.3	5.0	4.6	6.3	3.6	4.7
Jewish	1.8	1.7	2.6	1.8	2.1	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.1
Eastern Religions	21.4	6.3	1.6	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	5.5
Importance of Religion	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not important	27.6	31.0	28.6	35.5	36.0	35.7	34.7	24.2	29.0
Moderately important	23.5	33.5	34.5	35.4	34.6	35.1	37.8	41.7	35.0
Very important	48.9	35.5	37.0	29.1	29.4	29.2	27.6	34.2	36.0
Church Attendance	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not at all, or <once a month	92.3	94.4	93.7	92.0	92.9	92.3	92.5	93.3	92.9
Monthly	3.1	1.5	2.6	2.9	2.3	2.6	3.2	3.1	3.0
Weekly	4.7	4.1	3.6	5.2	4.8	5.0	4.3	3.6	4.1
Religion Compared to Parents	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Not same as either parent	17.8	16.5	17.8	22.6	21.2	22.1	23.1	11.8	17.3
Same as father's	4.5	4.7	5.0	8.7	10.2	9.2	7.9	3.4	5.3
Same as mothers	5.3	7.5	5.8	12.4	12.7	12.5	11.6	3.9	7.0
Same as both parents	72.4	71.2	71.4	56.4	56.0	56.2	57.4	80.9	70.4

Table 3 presents the regression coefficients (logits), and their significance levels, for these logistic regression models. In Table 4, the logits are transformed into odds ratios. Odds of greater than one indicate that the odds of religious intermarriage (versus religious endogamy) are higher than those of the reference group, whereas odds of less than 1 indicate that the odds of intermarriage are lower than those for the reference group. For ease of interpretation, we also convert our findings into model-derived predicted percentages of religious intermarriage, calculated separately for each generation group (see Table 5). These percentages are calculated using the model coefficients, and setting all independent variables other than the generation groups at their sample means. The discussion below focuses on these predicted percentages and what they tell us about the relative contributions to religious intermarriage of the variables in our models.

The predicted percentages derived from Model 1 (Table 5) are equivalent to the baseline percentages shown in Tables 1 and 2. While the overall increase in religious out-marriage up to the third generation is apparent, SAS 'test' statements that examine the statistical significance of the difference between each possible pair of coefficients from this model reveal that the baseline picture is actually one in which the odds of religious exogamy rise initially, then level off across the 1.5 through the 2.5 generations, then rise again with the third generation, and finally fall precipitously with the fourth-plus. (See Appendix B for details on these Model 1 coefficient-by-coefficient comparisons.) Predicted percentages derived from Model 2 (Table 5) show that when the differences between generation groups in age, education, place of residence, and French ethnicity are taken into account, the percent religiously intermarried drops for each immigrant generation group and the differences between groups decline somewhat. As well, the difference between the first and the fourth-plus generation becomes highly significant (a change that reflects the high concentration of Quebec residents in this group, as discussed below). Nevertheless, the overall pattern remains, in which religious intermarriage rises, if bumpily, through the third generation. The persistence of this general trend is also evident in the coefficient-by coefficient comparison test results for Model 2 (see Appendix B) – the exception being that once controls are added the fourth-plus generation becomes less distinct from the 1.5 through the 2.5 generations.

Adjusting for differences in the religious composition of the generation groups (results not shown) does not fundamentally alter the intermarriage by generation pattern found in Model 2. However, the pattern does change somewhat once we take into account differences among the generation groups in the importance placed on religion and in the degree to which parental and respondent religions match (Model 3: Table 5). The changes (including those in the coefficient-by-coefficient comparisons shown in Appendix B) indicate that the higher rates of religious intermarriage among the 2.5 and third generation, relative to earlier generations, are partially 'explained' by the lesser importance attached to religion and the greater mismatch between respondents' own religion and that of their parents.

Figure 1 below depicts the results from Models 1 through 3 in graphic form, using the model-derived within-generation group predicted percent marrying across major religious boundaries. The patterns described above are visible in the graphs.

Table 3. Logits for Religious Intermarriage, Currently Married Population, Age 20+, Canada 2002

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Logit	Logit	Logit	Logit
Constant	-1.462 ***	-1.210 ***	-0.272 ns	-0.357 ns
Generational Status				
1st generation	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
1.5 generation	0.449 ***	0.385 ***	0.232 *	0.242 **
2nd generation	0.526 ***	0.485 ***	0.339 ***	0.355 ***
2.5 generation (father foreign-born)	0.469 ***	0.458 ***	0.106 ns	0.149 ns
2.5 generation (mother foreign-born)	0.606 ***	0.607 ***	0.264 *	0.299 **
3rd generation	0.704 ***	0.630 ***	0.306 ***	0.346 ***
4th plus generation	-0.033 ns	0.310 ***	0.112 ns	0.357 ***
Sex				
Male		(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Female		-0.059 ns	0.109 *	0.124 *
Age		-0.013 ***	-0.011 ***	-0.010 ***
Years of Education		0.034 ***	0.025 **	0.025 **
Province of Residence				
Atlantic		0.069 ns	0.240 ns	0.181 ns
Quebec		-1.735 ***	-1.595 ***	-0.987 ***
Ontario		(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Prairies		0.029 ns	0.015 ns	0.024 ns
British Columbia		0.383 ***	0.236 *	0.251 *
CMA Residence				
Montreal		0.897 ***	0.771 ***	0.489 *
Toronto		(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Vancouver		-0.210 ns	-0.230 ns	-0.226 ns
Other CMA		0.055 ns	0.000 ns	-0.011 ns
All Other Areas		0.005 ns	-0.050 ns	-0.061 ns
Religion				
No Religion			(rg)	(rg)
Catholic			0.342 ***	0.425 ***
Conservative Protestant			0.610 ***	0.601 ***
Other Protestant			0.434 ***	0.393 ***
Christian Orthodox			1.044 ***	1.037 ***
Other Christian			0.617 ***	0.627 ***
Jewish			0.256 ns	0.228 ns
Eastern Religions			-0.282 ns	-0.259 ns
Importance of Religion				
Not important			(rg)	(rg)
Moderately important			-0.636 ***	-0.645 ***
Very important			-1.320 ***	-1.337 ***
Church Attendance				
Not at all, or less than once a month			(rg)	(rg)
Monthly			-0.706 ***	-0.734 ***
Weekly			-0.466 **	-0.479 **
Religion Compared to Parents				
Not same as either parent			(rg)	(rg)
Same as father			-0.166 ns	-0.197 ns
Same as mother			-0.026 ns	-0.045 ns
Same as both parents			-0.701 ***	-0.681 ***
French Language				
French-Speaking				-0.113 ns
Not French-Speaking				(rg)
Interaction Term				
4th plus generation* French				-1.016 ***
(-2LL) Model Chi-Square	363.5272 (df 6)	1184.9504 (df 17)	2475.0154 (df 31)	2597.8335 (df 33)

Table 4. Odds Ratios for Religious Intermarriage, Currently Married, Age 20+, Canada 2002

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Odds	Odds	Odds	Odds
Generational Status				
1st generation	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
1.5 generation	1.57 ***	1.47 ***	1.26 *	1.27 **
2nd generation	1.69 ***	1.62 ***	1.40 ***	1.43 ***
2.5 generation (father foreign-born)	1.60 ***	1.58 ***	1.11 ns	1.16 ns
2.5 generation (mother foreign-born)	1.83 ***	1.83 ***	1.30 *	1.35 **
3rd generation	2.02 ***	1.88 ***	1.36 ***	1.41 ***
4th plus generation (all)	0.97 ns	1.36 ***	1.12 ns	
4th plus generation (non-French)				1.43 ***
4th plus generation (French)				0.52 ***
Sex				
Male		(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Female		0.94 ns	1.11 *	1.13 *
Age		0.99 ***	0.99 ***	0.99 ***
Years of Education		1.03 ***	1.03 **	1.02 **
Province of Residence				
Atlantic		1.07 ns	1.27 ns	1.20 ns
Quebec		0.18 ***	0.20 ***	0.37 ***
Ontario		(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Prairies		1.03 ns	1.02 ns	1.02 ns
British Columbia		1.47 ***	1.27 *	1.29 *
CMA Residence				
Montreal		2.45 ***	2.16 ***	1.63 *
Toronto		(rg)	(rg)	(rg)
Vancouver		0.81 ns	0.79 ns	0.80 ns
Other CMA		1.06 ns	1.00 ns	0.99 ns
All Other Areas		1.00 ns	0.95 ns	0.94 ns
Religion				
No Religion			(rg)	(rg)
Catholic			1.41 ***	1.53 ***
Conservative Protestant			1.84 ***	1.82 ***
Other Protestant			1.54 ***	1.48 ***
Christian Orthodox			2.84 ***	2.82 ***
Other Christian			1.85 ***	1.87 ***
Jewish			1.29 ns	1.26 ns
Eastern Religions			0.75 ns	0.77 ns
Importance of Religion				
Not important			(rg)	(rg)
Moderately important			0.53 ***	0.52 ***
Very important			0.27 ***	0.26 ***
Church Attendance				
Not at all, or less than once each month			(rg)	(rg)
Monthly			0.49 ***	0.48 ***
Weekly			0.63 **	0.62 **
Religion Compared to Parents				
Not same as either parent			(rg)	(rg)
Same as father			0.85 ns	0.82 ns
Same as mother			0.97 ns	0.96 ns
Same as both parents			0.50 ***	0.51 ***
French Language				
French-Speaking				0.89 ns
Not French-Speaking				(rg)

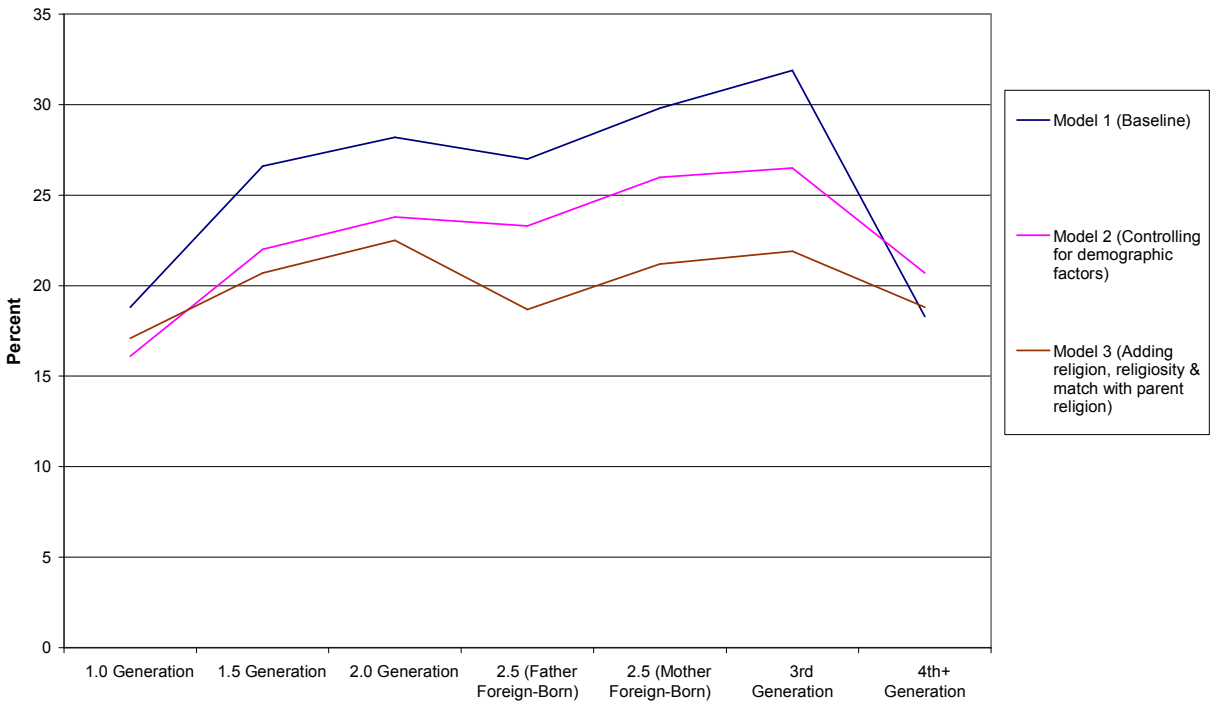
Table 5. Predicted Percent Religiously Intermarrying, by Generation, Net of Other Variables
Currently Married Population, Age 20+, Canada 2002

Model and Generational Status	Total	Religious Intermarriage	
		Endogamous	Exogamous
Model 1			
1.0 Generation	100.0	81.2	18.8
1.5 Generation	100.0	73.4	26.6
2.0 Generation	100.0	71.8	28.2
2.5 (Father Foreign-Born)	100.0	73.0	27.0
2.5 (Mother Foreign-Born)	100.0	70.2	29.8
3rd Generation	100.0	68.1	31.9
4th+ Generation	100.0	81.7	18.3
Model 2 [(a)]			
1.0 Generation	100.0	83.9	16.1
1.5 Generation	100.0	78.0	22.0
2.0 Generation	100.0	76.2	23.8
2.5 (Father Foreign-Born)	100.0	76.7	23.3
2.5 (Mother Foreign-Born)	100.0	74.0	26.0
3rd Generation	100.0	73.5	26.5
4th+ Generation	100.0	79.3	20.7
Model 3 [(b)]			
1.0 Generation	100.0	82.9	17.1
1.5 Generation	100.0	79.3	20.7
2.0 Generation	100.0	77.5	22.5
2.5 (Father Foreign-Born)	100.0	81.3	18.7
2.5 (Mother Foreign-Born)	100.0	78.8	21.2
3rd Generation	100.0	78.1	21.9
4th+ Generation	100.0	81.2	18.8
Model 4 [(c)]			
1.0 Generation	100.0	82.3	17.7
1.5 Generation	100.0	78.5	21.5
2.0 Generation	100.0	76.5	23.5
2.5 (Father Foreign-Born)	100.0	80.0	20.0
2.5 (Mother Foreign-Born)	100.0	77.5	22.5
3rd Generation	100.0	76.6	23.4
4th+ Generation (Non-French)	100.0	76.4	23.6
4th+ Generation (French)	100.0	90.0	10.0

(a) Net of sex, age, education, province, and CMA
(b) Net of sex, age, education, province, CMA, religious affiliation, religiosity, church attendance and religion match with parent(s)
(c) Net of sex, age, education, province, CMA, religious affiliation, religiosity, church attendance, religion match with parent(s) and French language

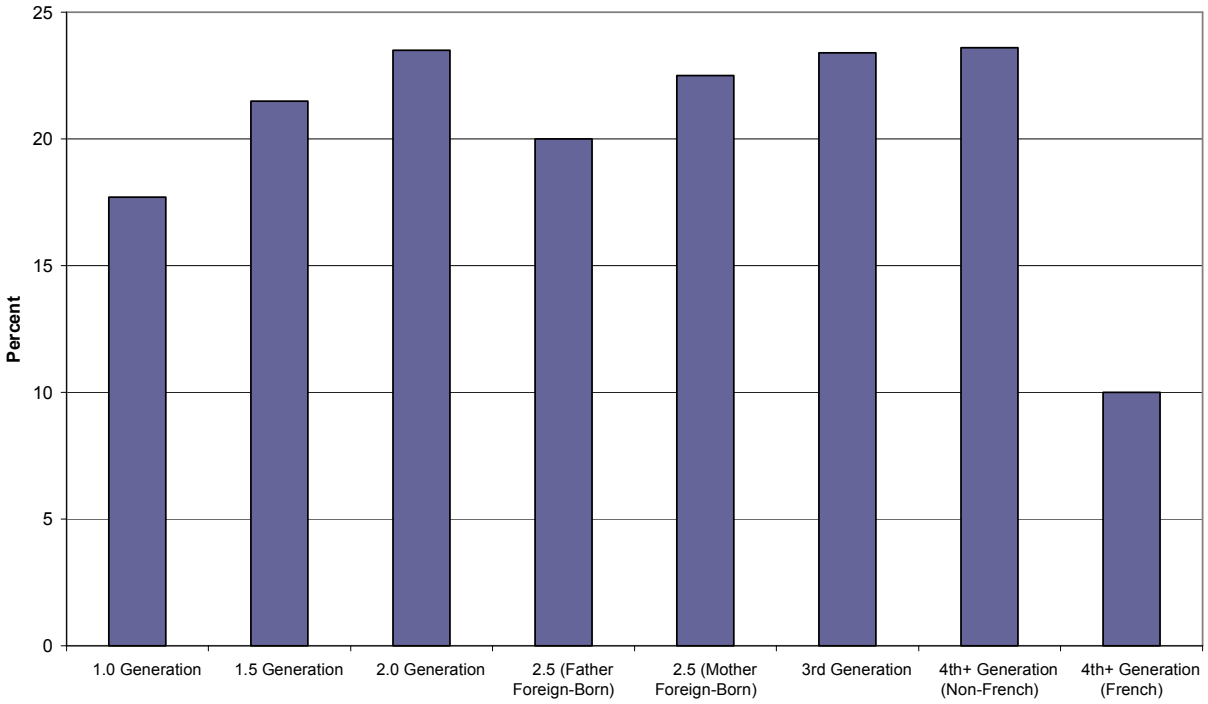
Source: Table 2

Figure 1. Baseline and Predicted Percent Marrying across Religious Boundaries
Currently Married, Age 20+, Canada 2002



While Model 3 suggests that there is no difference between the first generation and the fourth-plus generation in the propensity to marry across religious boundaries, the results from Model 4, which controls for the unique impact of French ethnicity in Canada, tell a more complicated story. Predicted percentages derived from the Model 4 coefficients show that religious intermarriage patterns actually vary dramatically by French ethnicity within the fourth-plus generation, being extremely low for the French and relatively high for the non-French. As a result, among the non-French population, and taking into account the other variables in the model, rates of religious exogamy rise initially then remain fairly constant across the generations. The only exception is the 2.5 generation, father foreign born; however, coefficient-by-coefficient comparison tests show that the effect on religious intermarriage of being in the 2.5 generation with a foreign-born father is not significantly different from the effect of being in the 2.5 generation with a foreign-born mother. (For further details on the comparison test results for this model, see Appendix B.). Among the French, on the other hand – who are concentrated in the fourth-plus generation – low odds of religious intermarriage persist. These odds are, in fact, considerably lower (and highly significantly so) than those found even among first-generation immigrants. Figure 2 presents the predicted percentages derived from Model 4 in graphic form. The patterns described above are clearly evident in the chart.

Figure 2. Predicted Percent Marrying across Religion, by Generational Status (Model 4)
Currently Married, Age 20+, Canada 2002



Taken together, these results show, first of all, that religious intermarriage is a facet of immigrant assimilation across the generations. Secondly, they indicate that disengagement from religion is a significant component of that shift. And finally, they suggest that where ethnic attachment is associated with geographically- and linguistically-bounded marriage markets, religious endogamy may still be pronounced several generations beyond the immigration experience.

Conclusion

In this paper, we examine patterns of religious intermarriage across several successive immigrant generations in Canada. Our aims are twofold: first, to shed new light on long-term assimilation processes by including a large number of immigrant generation groups in the analysis; and second, to add a substantive dimension to earlier work on immigrant assimilation by focusing on religious intermarriage. Our study models assimilation processes using a data set that provides detailed information on both immigrant generation and respondent and spousal religious affiliation, along with extensive data on a number of related variables. Thus we are able not only to track marital behaviour across several immigrant generations, but also to include in our models controls and potential 'explanatory' variables that illuminate the processes underlying immigrant assimilation over the longer term.

The results of our analysis show that the overall pattern of religious intermarriage across immigrant generation groups is one of gradual, if bumpy, assimilation with increasing distance from the immigration experience. This general pattern is still in evidence once generational differences in age, sex, education, and place of residence are accounted for, suggesting that group differences in socio-demographic characteristics are not the primary explanations for

generational increases in the odds of marrying across religious boundaries. The introduction of variables related to religiosity and *a priori* religious disengagement, on the other hand, indicates that declining religious attachment is associated with much of the increase in religious out-marriage that occurs among the 2.5 and third generations.

The exception to the general pattern of increasing religious out-marriage is the fourth-plus generation. We find, however, that the low odds of religious exogamy for this group reflect the fact that an extremely high proportion claims French ethnicity. In the Canadian context this implies operating in a marriage market constrained by both language and geography – and therefore not showing the classic assimilation pattern evident among the other immigrant generation groups.

Our findings add a substantive dimension to the classical model of immigrant assimilation. We show that religious intermarriage, like ethnic intermarriage and marriage between the native-born and the foreign-born, is a component of immigrant assimilation across the generations. Further, we show that this is a component of integration into the host society whose impact extends several generations down the road from the immigration experience. Our results also suggest that, beyond the second generation, this aspect of assimilation is largely attributable to secularization processes – specifically, the declining salience of religion that occurs with increasing distance from the immigration experience. At the same time, our findings show that unique processes may come into play for certain groups, so that social boundaries, as measured by religious intermarriage, remain strong several generations beyond migration. The Canadian case suggests that a key feature of this persistence is membership in an ethnic group characterized by geographic and linguistic boundaries. Few countries are currently characterized by this pattern in which "old" ethnic groups (such as the British and the French) retain their linguistic, religious and geographic concentration. However, in some settings continuing migration coupled with higher fertility rates among immigrant origin groups have the potential to produce sub-populations in the third generation and beyond who are linguistically, religiously and geographically bounded. This possibility currently seems most likely for the Mexican-origin population in the Southwestern United States, and perhaps for Northern Africans in France and Turkish-origin groups in Germany. If such patterns occur, other studies may find results similar to those for our study of Canada

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Appendix A – Coding of Religion Variable

Category 1 'No Religion' includes the following categories from the detailed religion variable (consistent with Statistics Canada recoding):
No religion (including Agnostic Atheist)
Humanist
Personal Faith
Free Thinker
Spiritual
Other n.i.e.
Category 2 'Catholic' includes the following categories from the detailed religion variable:
Roman Catholic
Ukrainian Catholic
Polish National Catholic Church
Other Catholic
Category 3 'Conservative Protestant' includes the following categories from the detailed religion variable:
Adventist
Apostolic Christian Church
Associated Gospel
Baptist
Brethren in Christ
Charismatic Renewal
Christadelphian
Christian and Missionary Alliance
Christian Congregational
Christian or Plymouth Brethren
Churches of Christ Disciples
Church of God n.o.s.
Church of the Nazarene
Doukhobors
Evangelical Free Church
Jehovah s Witnesses
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Reorganized Church of Latter-day Saints
Mennonite
Free Methodist
Methodist n.i.e.
Moravian
New Apostolic
Pentecostal
Christian Reformed Church
Canadian and American Reformed Church
Dutch Reformed Church
Reformed n.i.e.
Salvation Army
Standard Church
Swedenborgian (New Church)
Vineyard Christian Fellowship
Wesleyan
Worldwide Church of God
Category 4 'Other Protestant' includes the following categories from the detailed religion variable:
Anglican
Lutheran
Presbyterian
Quakers
Unitarian
United Church

Non-denominational
Interdenominational
Protestant n.o.s.

Category 5 'Christian Orthodox' includes the following categories from the detailed religion variable:

Antiochian Orthodox Christian
Armenian Orthodox
Coptic Orthodox
Greek Orthodox
Romanian Orthodox
Russian Orthodox
Serbian Orthodox
Ukrainian Orthodox
Orthodox n.i.e.

Category 6 'Other Christian' includes the following category from the detailed religion variable:

Christian n.i.e.

Category 7 'Jewish' includes the following category from the detailed religion variable:

Jewish

Category 8 'Eastern Religions' includes the following categories from the detailed religion variable:

Muslim
Buddhist
Hindu
Sikh
Bahai
Jains
Shinto
Taoist
Zoroastrian
Eastern religions n.i.e.

The following categories from the detailed religion variable were classed as uncodeable (missing) for the purposes of this analysis:

Aboriginal spirituality
Pagan
Unity - New Thought - Pantheist
New Age
Scientology
Gnostic
Rastafarian
Satanist
Other religions n.i.e.
Uncodeable
Not asked
Refused
Don't know

Appendix B -- Test Results for Coefficient-by-Coefficient Comparisons (Pr > ChiSq)

	1.5	2nd	2.5 (f f-b)	2.5 (m f-b)	3rd	4th+
Model 1						
1st generation (from model)	***	***	***	***	***	ns
1.5 generation		ns	ns	ns	**	***
2nd generation			ns	ns	*	***
2.5 generation (father foreign-born)				ns	**	***
2.5 generation (mother foreign-born)					ns	***
3rd generation						***
Model 2						
1st generation (from model)	***	***	***	***	***	***
1.5 generation		ns	ns	ns	**	ns
2nd generation			ns	ns	*	**
2.5 generation (father foreign-born)				ns	*	ns
2.5 generation (mother foreign-born)					ns	**
3rd generation						***
Model 3						
1st generation (from model)	*	***	ns	*	***	ns
1.5 generation		ns	ns	ns	ns	*
2nd generation			*	ns	ns	**
2.5 generation (father foreign-born)				ns	*	ns
2.5 generation (mother foreign-born)					ns	ns
3rd generation						***
Model 4 (non-French)						
1st generation (from model)	**	***	ns	**	***	***
1.5 generation		ns	ns	ns	ns	ns
2nd generation			*	ns	ns	ns
2.5 generation (father foreign-born)				ns	*	*
2.5 generation (mother foreign-born)					ns	ns
3rd generation						ns
Model 4 (French)						
1st generation (from model)	**	***	ns	**	***	***
1.5 generation		ns	ns	ns	ns	***
2nd generation			*	ns	ns	***
2.5 generation (father foreign-born)				ns	*	***
2.5 generation (mother foreign-born)					ns	***
3rd generation						***
Model 4 French vs. non-French						***