

Counting Canadian Evangelicals¹

by Rick Hiemstra, Centre for Research on Canadian Evangelicalism

Say What?

A survey by *Maclean's* magazine in 2004 found “almost one-third of Canadians defined themselves as born-again or evangelicals.”² In 2006 *Maclean's* reported that 31% of Canadians “feel uneasy around born-again Christians.”³ Then in 2007 *Maclean's* reported that Evangelicals form the Canadian religious group most satisfied with their sex lives.⁴ Are one-third of Canadians uneasy around another third of Canadians who are satisfied with their sex lives?

Where do these numbers come from? Who are the “Evangelicals” that *Maclean's* is finding? How are they finding them and why are they interested? What are we to make of these numbers? For that matter why should churches or governments care about how many Canadian Evangelicals there are?

Evangelicals and the Public Square

In the last few decades, interest in Canadian Evangelicals has been growing, with their return to prominence in the public square. Canada has had a number of prominent public Evangelicals in the past including T. T. Shields (1873–1955), William Aberhart (1878–1943), Ernest Manning (1908–1996) and Robert N. Thompson (1914–1997). With the exception of T. T. Shields, all were elected to public office, with Thompson being the last to leave public office, in 1972. Other evangelical Christians since, such as Brian Stiller, have had a significant public profile, but Evangelicals were not broadly recognized to have the potential to directly influence the course of federal government until Preston Manning founded the Reform Party in the early 1990s. Manning then led the Reform Party to become the official Opposition in the Canadian House of Commons. The Reform Party boasted a significant number of evangelical Members of Parliament, and Evangelicals were active in the party's rank and file.⁵ Manning was succeeded as leader of the Canadian Alliance Party, a new incarnation of the Reform Party, by Stockwell Day, who is also an Evangelical. Then in the early part of this decade, during debate over

¹ This is a more comprehensive version of a paper by the same title that appeared in *Church & Faith Trends* vol. 1 no. 1 (October 2007).

² Jonathan Gatehouse, “2004 in Review – The Poll: Sex, Snacks and Grapes,” *Maclean's* (December 27, 2004 and January 3, 2005), 38. “Would you describe yourself as either an Evangelical or Born again Christian? Yes – 31%, No – 63%, Don't Know/Not Applicable/Refused to Answer – 6%,” 38. The Strategic Counsel telephone survey between November 26 and November 30, 2004, of 1000 Canadians is accurate within ±3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

³ Lianne George, “How Canadian Are You?: The 2006 Canada Day Poll,” *Maclean's*, July 1, 2006, 43.

⁴ Ken MacQueen, “The Happiest Canadian,” *Maclean's*, July 9 and July 16, 2007, 54. *Maclean's* reported “Which religion has the best sex? Evangelicals (ahem, 69% satisfied) are the happiest.”

⁵ Evangelical Christians were active in the Liberal Party and the New Democratic Party as well; however, they did not have the same influence within their respective parties.

the legalization of same-sex marriages in Canada, evangelical Christians played a vocal and prominent role. Now the country was paying attention.

Conrad Hackett and Michael Lindsay point out that similarly interest in U.S. Evangelicalism, which is culturally more prominent than the Canadian variety, first attracted national attention only in 1976 when Jimmy Carter, an Evangelical, became President of the United States.⁶

New interest in evangelical participation in the public square was also signaled when Jonathan Malloy, a professor of political science at Carleton University, received a substantial Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council grant in 2004 to study “Canadian Evangelical Christians, Canadian political institutions and political opportunities.”

Other Reasons to Take a Look

Statistics Canada tracks religious affiliation in its decennial censuses. A 1971 document described the government interest in religious affiliation this way:

The data are used by governments as a basis for determining denominational school grants. It is used extensively by religious and educational organizations, such as the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, to assess the need to construct churches and schools for various religious groups in areas where there are concentrations of people of a particular denomination. Studies of family size and fertility rates among different religious groups are also carried out by social researchers because these data are available. The data are also used by Members of Parliament in assessing the importance of different religious groups in their constituencies.⁷

The reasons for taking a look at Evangelicals have changed over the years. Today the government uses religious affiliation data to better understand immigration, race, charitable giving and volunteering, and marriage and family. Government interest is still focused on gauging influence and aiding in the administration of government programs.

Evangelicals themselves are interested to know how many of us there are for some of the same reasons, but we also want to understand who we are and where we are. We want to know where there is the greatest need for church planting, and we want to understand how we can best co-operate for relief projects and partner together in common mission. In order to do this we have to understand who we are and how many of us there are. We have to count.

⁶ Conrad Hackett and D. Michael Lindsay, “Measuring Evangelicalism: Consequences of Different Operationalization Strategies” (unpublished paper, 2007), 2. This national attention was prompted by the election of Jimmy Carter, an evangelical Christian, as President of the United States of America.

⁷ Statistics Canada, *1971 Census of Canada – Questions and Answers*, 51.

How Many Evangelicals Are There?

George Rawlyk would have estimated “between five and ten per cent of Canadians were evangelicals in the early 1990s.”⁸ Reginald Bibby reports in *Fragmented Gods* (1987) that “Conservative Protestants,” which he uses fairly interchangeably with “evangelical Christians,” represent about 7% of the Canadian population.⁹

In 2004 Bibby’s report on the 2001 census data states that Conservative Protestant groups still represent only about 8% of the Canadian population.¹⁰ Rawlyk by contrast asserted in 1996 that, using the Christian Evangelical Scale (CES) developed by Andrew Grenville, he found 11% of Canadians were Protestant Evangelicals.¹¹ Ipsos Reid used a modified form of the CES in 2003 and found 12% of Canadians to be Protestant Evangelicals.¹² What is to account for the significant discrepancies?

The spread between Bibby and Rawlyk/Grenville is just 3 to 4 percentage points. But throw in the *Maclean’s* statistic that finds a third of Canadians are Evangelicals and the discrepancy grows to a quarter of the Canadian population. So where do these numbers come from? What are the strengths and weaknesses of their counting methods? How should we use these numbers?

Operationalizing Canadian Evangelicals

Good counts begin with good definitions. The better we define Evangelicals the more likely we are to find them when we go looking. The way that we count is more difficult than it may at first appear. Counting is an expensive business. When it comes to tracking religious affiliation, even Statistics Canada economizes by polling just 20% of the population.¹³ Researchers, therefore, look for tools that maximize both accuracy and economy when they set out to find Evangelicals. Tools for finding a population accurately and economically are called operationalizations.

The Bible contains an operationalization that is helpful for understanding the concept.

⁸ George A. Rawlyk and Mark Noll., eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994), 19.

⁹ Reginald W. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin Publishers, 1987), 28.

¹⁰ Reginald W. Bibby, *Restless Churches: How Canada’s Churches Can Contribute to the Emerging Religious Renaissance* (Toronto and Kelowna, B.C.: Novalis and Wood Lake Books, 2004), 39.

¹¹ George A. Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?: In Search of Canadian Evangelicalism in the 1990’s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), 118. Rawlyk found that 16% of the population were Evangelical Christian, with 11% being Protestant Evangelicals and 5% being “Catholic Evangelicals.”

¹² Aileen Van Ginkel, “Evangelical Beliefs and Practices: A Summary of the 2003 Ipsos-Reid Survey Results,” *Church and Faith Trends* (December 2003): 1. The survey found that 19% of the population were Evangelical Christians, with 12% being Protestant Evangelicals and 7% being “Catholic Evangelicals.”

¹³ During a decennial census just 20% of the population will receive the long form, which includes the question on religious affiliation.

In Judges 12:1-7 the tribe of Ephraim picked a quarrel with Jephthah over a perceived snub. A battle ensued and Jephthah and his forces gained the upper hand over the Ephraimites. The following verses record what happened next.

And the Gileadites captured the fords of the Jordan against the Ephraimites. And when any of the fugitives of Ephraim said, "Let me go over," the men of Gilead said to him, "Are you an Ephraimite?" When he said "No," they said to him, "Then say Shibboleth," and he said "Sibboleth," for he could not pronounce it right. Then they seized him and slaughtered him at the fords of the Jordan. At that time 42,000 of the Ephraimites fell. (Judges 12:5-6, ESV)

The Shibboleth question operationalized the Ephraimites. This one question did not describe their culture. It did not provide an exhaustive definition of Ephraim. It simply homed in on a question that would separate out an Ephraimite from anyone else, and it did it without an elaborate interview or background check. It was an operationalization. The operationalizations we are looking at do not have the same sinister intent, but they do carry the same goals of economy and accuracy.

It is important to maintain a distinction between a definition and an operationalization. A good definition is the basis for an operationalization but an operationalization will find a group that only approximates the definition. In our Biblical example this simple question could have been improved upon by asking an additional question such as "Who is your father?" or even by asking the potential Ephraimite to repeat his answer, or pronounce other words with distinctive pronunciations. Further questions can help reduce error but only at the expense of economy. Evaluating an operationalization is done by checking the people it finds against the original definition. Error cannot be eliminated. What researchers have to do is decide what level of error they are comfortable with. To put the question another way, researchers have to decide how much they are willing to pay to eliminate more of the error.

Where This Paper Is Going

This paper surveys three non-ecclesial¹⁴ ways that Canadian Evangelicals have been operationalized. The first operationalization we will look at is self-identification, asking the question "Are you an evangelical Christian?" Next we will look at the Christian Evangelical Scale (CES), which has been used by George Rawlyk and The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, among others. Third we will look at the religious affiliation question that Statistics Canada asks as part of the decennial census, and which is used by Bibby and Outreach Canada, among others. I hope that this paper will sensitize us to the meaning of various counts and foster responsible handling of data on Canadian

¹⁴ Churches and denominations have been counting their own for as long as there have been churches in Canada. Each denomination has its own definitions and operationalizations. To aggregate the data collected by various denominations into a figure representing the size of the movement called Canadian Evangelicalism is akin to adding apples to oranges to grapefruit. This task would be difficult even if the barrier of simply gathering the data could be overcome.

Evangelicals. Finally, I intend to make suggestions for how operationalizations may be improved.

Method 1: Self Identification

A *Maclean's* 2004 year end poll found, “Almost one-third of Canadians defined themselves as born-again or evangelicals, with the highest responses in the Atlantic provinces (48 per cent) and Saskatchewan and Manitoba (37 per cent).”¹⁵ Respondents were asked if they considered themselves born again or evangelical. It is a question that operationalizes two groups, first “born-again” and second “evangelicals,” with no way to break the two groups out of the composite result. This question mirrors the method that The Gallup Organization uses to identify Evangelicals in the United States.¹⁶ Conrad Hackett and Michael Lindsay report that before Gallup started using its composite question in the United States, it carried out two separate polls in 1979. In the first poll, respondents were asked if they had “had a born-again experience,” and 39% said yes. The second poll asked respondents if they were part of the “evangelical movement,” and only 7% said yes.¹⁷ The Gallup Organization’s experience showed that in 1979 there was a significant perceptual difference in the minds of people in the United States between having a “born-again experience” and being part of the “evangelical movement.”

Simply asking people “Are you an evangelical Christian?” or some variant of the same question has the attraction of being an inexpensive operationalization. However, it sacrifices accuracy for economy.

George Rawlyk and Andrew Grenville carried out a series of surveys using the CES in the mid-1990s and found that further questioning of those they had already identified as Evangelicals revealed,

When asked if they considered themselves to be born-again Christians, 64 per cent of the evangelical sample said yes, 35 per cent no, and 1 percent “I do not know.”¹⁸

¹⁵ Gatehouse, “2004 in Review,” 34–41.

¹⁶ Hackett and Lindsay, “Measuring Evangelicalism,” 6. Hackett and Lindsay report that The Gallup Organization has used the question “Would you describe yourself as a born-again, or evangelical Christian?” since 1986 to identify American Evangelicals. Since 1992 the percentage of Americans classified by Gallup as evangelical has ranged between 36% and 47%. This is higher than but still consistent with the findings of the 2004 Strategic Counsel Poll.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* “Born-again” is a term with stronger cultural relevance in the United States than in Canada. This would account for the relatively high percentage of Americans self-identifying as “born-again.” It would be interesting to know if this represented an aversion to the term “evangelical” or whether people in the United States tend to have denominational affiliations that are stronger than their affiliation with the wider evangelical movement.

¹⁸ Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 119.

Rawlyk concluded,

One in three Canadian evangelicals obviously did not want to be described as born-again Christians because of the negative association of this phrase with fundamentalism, especially its American variant. Virtually all of these men and women, however, maintained that they have had conversion experiences.¹⁹

Grenville has also noted that “born-again” is a term more prevalent in the southern United States than in Canada.²⁰

The tendency to merge the terms “born again” and “evangelical” does exist in our culture; however, they are not identical and therefore should not be operationalized as interchangeable synonyms.

Rawlyk found an aversion to the “born-again” terminology in 1993, even before the American presidency of George W. Bush and the debate on same-sex marriage negatively affected public perceptions of born-again Christians and evangelical Christians. Then in 1995 Bibby found that 30% of Canadians were at least “a bit uneasy” around people who were “born-again Christians.”²¹ When *Maclean’s* reported on the same data they grouped “born-again Christians” in with “Sex offenders, Alcoholics, [and] Former mental patients” in a list of people around whom Canadians might be uneasy.²² The aversion to the terminology has likely heightened since 1993, and therefore more true Evangelicals will likely answer negatively to a straightforward self-identification question.

Self-identification is probably the least expensive way to operationalize Canadian Evangelicals. It is difficult to determine the accuracy of self-identification operationalizations, because the level of cultural comfort with the term “evangelical Christian” is always changing. Taking soundings with several different operationalizations with the same population at the same time would give us a point of comparison with which we could make an evaluation. The other major weakness of self-identification is that the term “evangelical Christian” is poorly defined and understood in the culture.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Andrew Grenville, “Development of the Christian Evangelical Scale,” (unpublished paper: Angus-Reid Group, 1995), 5.

²¹ Reginald W. Bibby, *The Bibby Report: Social Trends Canadian Style* (Toronto: Stoddard Publishing, 1995), 128. “Respondents were asked in the 1995 survey what they think their immediate response would be if they found themselves in a situation where the only thing they knew about a person was that he or she is a ‘born-again Christian.’ Some 70% said ‘at ease,’ 24% ‘a bit uneasy,’ 6% ‘very uneasy.’ ”

²² George, “How Canadian Are You?”, 43.

Method 2: The Christian Evangelical Scale (CES)

The CES is an operationalization that is substantially based on the Bebbington quadrilateral. David Bebbington in his work *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* identified four characteristics of British Evangelicals. These include:

- *conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed;
- *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible;
- *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ and the cross; and
- *activism*, the expression of the gospel in service to others.²³

Bebbington's quadrilateral, as these four markers have come to be known, exists as a midpoint between a definition and an operationalization. It does not so much define Evangelicalism as identify the areas where the most fruitful operationalizations will focus their questions. The CES and other operationalizations have dipped into Bebbington's well for questions.

How well do the findings of a British study work in the Canadian context? Sam Reimer, a sociologist at Atlantic Baptist University, conducted 118 interviews with Evangelicals in both Canada and the United States for his 1996 dissertation. His research is helpful for confirming the transferability of the Bebbington quadrilateral to the North American context. A content analysis of these interviews indicates that when Canadian and U.S. Evangelicals identified themselves they mentioned Bebbington's markers with the following frequency.

Canadian and U.S. Evangelical Content Responses to Identity Questions (n=118)²⁴

Content	Percentage
Conversionism	37.9
Crucicentrism	27.6
Biblicism	23.7
Activism	10.8

The activism marker was mentioned with less frequency than the other three markers. Reimer comments:

Activism responses may be relatively rare because behavioural requirements for inclusion in the "evangelical" fold are troublesome for core evangelicals with some seeing the inclusion of activist requirements conflicting with the doctrine that salvation is "by grace through faith alone."²⁵

²³ David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London and Boston: Unwin Hyman and Routledge, 1989), 2–19.

²⁴ Samuel Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide: The Conservative Protestant Subculture in Canada and the United States* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 44.

²⁵ Ibid.

This does not mean that behaviour was not important to the Evangelicals that Reimer interviewed; rather, it did not factor as strongly into whether someone was “in” or “out.”

J. D. Hunter, a respected U.S. sociologist of religion offers the following explanation for why Evangelicalism in his country might be operationalized primarily with reference to theology.

Evangelicalism shares with the larger Protestant phenomenon a fixation with theology. Yet its concern is far more intense. Not only do evangelicals distinguish themselves from other religions this way, but they distinguish themselves from liberal Protestantism this way as well. Orthodoxy, strictly speaking, is a theological matter, not a moral or ritual matter as it is for some other faiths. Indeed, the history of conservative Protestantism in twentieth century America has, in large measure, been the history of the effort to maintain the purity and integrity of its theology.²⁶

Reimer concurs: “When evangelicals are asked to define themselves, they usually indicate that they are Christian, which they define according to orthodox beliefs about the work of Christ and the Bible, and on the strength of a conversion experience and, to a lesser extent, a godly lifestyle.”²⁷

When operationalizations are conducted through a poll or a survey, the questions are necessarily subjective. People self-identify through the way they answer the questions. Therefore the operationalization has to be based on how the respondent is likely to answer rather than on objective, observable criteria. This is why operationalizations need to focus on how respondents define themselves.

Reimer’s content analysis of identity responses suggest that Bebbington’s quadrilateral would constitute a reasonable basis for operationalizing Canadian Evangelicals. However, Reimer’s data and Hunter’s observations would suggest that a greater emphasis should be put on doctrine rather than behaviour.

The Christian Evangelical Scale (CES) is “a complex ‘evangelical scale’ involving ten variables concerned with religious practice and belief (including the traditional evangelical quadrilateral).”²⁸ When Andrew Grenville was developing the CES, he consulted the operationalizations outlined in the table below, which is reproduced from his paper “Development of the Christian Evangelical Scale.”

²⁶ James Davison Hunter, *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 19.

²⁷ Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide*, 47

²⁸ Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 118.

A Sampling of Items Used to Identify Evangelicals

	Keicolt & Nelson 91 ^a		Smidt 89 ^b	Smidt & Kellstedt 92 ^c	Wilcox 90 ^d	Gallup		Hunter 83 ^g	McDaniel & Burnett 91 ^h	Hammond & Hunter 84 ⁱ	Barna 92 ^j
	88	84				80 ^e	87 ^f				
Doctrinal Items											
Bible is God's Word/Literalism		*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	
Divinity of Christ					*	*		*		*	
Salvation through Christ								*			*
Necessity of Salvation									*		
Belief in God											*
God as Creator										*	
Life after death										*	
Devil exists										*	
Prayer effectual											*
Conversion/Commitment Items											
Born again	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				
Conversion					*						
Commitment											*
Evangelical/Share faith		*					*				*
Religion important				*					*		
Degree of religiosity									*		
Bible important									*		*
Read Bible											*

^a Jill K. Kiecolt and Hart M. Neilson, "Evangelicals and Party Realignment, 1976-1988," *Social Science Quarterly* 72 (1991): 552-569.

^b Corwin Smidt, "Identifying Evangelical Respondents: An Analysis of 'Born Again' and Bible Questions Used Across Different Surveys." In *Religion and Political Behavior*, ed. Ted G. Jelen (New York: Praeger Publishers): 23-43.

^c Corwin Smidt and Paul Kellstedt, "Evangelicals in the Post-Reagan Era: An Analysis of Evangelical Voters in the 1988 Presidential Election," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* vol. 31 no. 3 (1989): 330-338.

^d Clyde Wilcox, "Religions and Politics Among White Evangelicals: The Impact of Religious Variables on Political Attitudes," *Review of Religious Research* 32(1990): 27-42.

^e George Gallup, *Research Report on American Evangelicalism for Christianity Today*, (Princeton Religious Research Centre, 1980).

^f George Gallup, *Religion in America: The Gallup Report*, 1987: 259.

^g James D. Hunter, *American Evangelicalism: Conservative Religion and the Quandary of Modernity*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983).

^h Stephen W. McDaniel and John J. Burnett, "Targeting the Evangelical Market Segment," *Journal of Advertising* (1991): 26-33.

ⁱ Phillip E. Hammond and James Davidson Hunter, "On Maintaining Plausibility: The Worldview of Evangelical College Students," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 23 (1984): 221-238.

^j George Barna, *The Barna Report 1992-93: America Renews Its Search for God*, (Ventura, California: Regal Books, 1992).

These U.S. operationalizations generally use only three or four questions. The CES uses ten variables or questions broken into two subscales. The first subscale is called Doctrinal Orthodoxy (DO), and the second is called Biblicism, Activism and Conversion (BAC).

In developing the DO subscale, Grenville

used Fullerton and Hunsberger's Christian Orthodoxy Scale (COS) as a starting point for generating items related to Christology and other "necessary but not sufficient" doctrinal beliefs.²⁹

The DO scale came to be made up of five questions that are "representative of a non-specific Christian Orthodoxy"³⁰ that concentrated on the Crucicentrism marker of the Bebbington quadrilateral. The first five questions of the ten-question CES scale listed below represent the DO subscale.

The second subscale, the BAC scale, operationalized the other three markers of the Bebbington quadrilateral; biblicism, activism, and conversionism, and is made up of the last five questions of the CES listed below. The BAC scale is intended to sift Evangelicals from the larger group of those subscribing to the "non-specific Christian Orthodoxy" measured by the DO scale.

The questions that make up the CES scale are as follows: Please indicate whether you agree or disagree, moderately or strongly with each of the following statements,

DO Scale

1. The concept of God is an old superstition that is no longer needed to explain things in these modern times. (Reverse scored)
2. I feel that through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, God provided a way for the forgiveness of my sins.
3. In my view, Jesus Christ was not the divine son of God. (Reverse scored)
4. Man/woman is not a special creature made in the image of God, he/she is simply a recent development in the process of animal evolution. (Reverse scored)
5. I believe Jesus was crucified, died, and was buried but was resurrected to eternal life.

BAC Scale

6. I feel the Bible is God's word, and is to be taken literally, word for word.
7. I have committed my life to Christ and consider myself to be a converted Christian.
8. I feel it is very important to encourage non-Christians to become Christians.
9. Please indicate whether you never, occasionally, weekly, or daily read the Bible or other religious material. Choose the category which comes closest to describing your activity.
10. Which of the following best describes how often you attend religious services: I never, or almost never, attend religious services; I attend religious service on

²⁹ Grenville, "Development of the Christian Evangelical Scale," 4.

³⁰ Ibid., 9.

occasion; I attend religious services about once a month or so; I attend religious services once a week or so.³¹

The agree/disagree statements were scored as follows: agree strongly = 4, agree moderately = 3, disagree moderately = 2, disagree strongly = 1. Frequency of bible reading was scored: daily = 4, weekly = 3, occasionally = 2, never = 1. Frequency of church attendance was scored: weekly = 4; monthly = 3, occasionally = 2, never = 1. Those who score 34 or greater out of a possible score of 40 are determined to be evangelicals.³²

This is a summative scale and it is designed to operationalize evangelical Christians when it is applied in its totality. The BAC subscale is designed to distinguish evangelical Christians from other orthodox Christians. Grenville, however, uses a denominational affiliation question along with the CES. It is through this denominational affiliation question that he distinguishes between what he calls “Catholic Evangelicals” and “Protestant Evangelicals.” Samuel Reimer³³ and John Stackhouse³⁴ have taken issue with the finding of “Catholic Evangelicals.” Stackhouse has suggested changing the Bible question so that it measures agreement with a statement such as “Evangelicals affirm the Bible as God’s Word written, true in what it says and functioning as their supreme written guide for life.”³⁵ This change Stackhouse believes would, without needing a denominational affiliation question, sift the like-minded Catholics from the “Protestant Evangelicals” that the CES finds. And Stackhouse has also suggested that “Catholic Evangelicals” is simply a contradiction in terms, given the defining conviction of Evangelicals regarding the supreme authority of the Bible versus tradition.

A 2003 study used a shorter version of the CES with the 6 questions below. The shorter version was used at the request of the client in order to economize on the cost of the survey, and the client gave direction in terms of which questions they wanted to omit. In commenting on the relative priority of the questions, Grenville says, “There is no reason to believe (nor basis to generate the weights) that any one item is more centrally evangelical than another.”³⁶ However, he did add that the creation question was not as useful as the others.

The 2003 Shorter Version of the CES:

1. I **believe** that through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, God provided a way for the forgiveness of my sins.
2. I **believe the Bible to be the word of God and is reliable and trustworthy.** [See question #6 in the full version of the CES for comparison.]

³¹ Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 233.

³² Ibid.

³³ Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide*, 187.

³⁴ John Stackhouse, Jr., “Defining ‘Evangelical,’ ” *Church & Faith Trends* 1, no. 1 (October 2007): 2.

³⁵ Ibid., 5.

³⁶ Andrew Grenville, e-mail to author, September 12, 2007.

3. I have committed my life to Christ and consider myself to be a converted Christian.
4. The concept of God is an old superstition that is no longer needed to explain things in these modern times. [Reverse scored]
5. In my view, Jesus Christ was not the divine son of God. [Reverse scored]
6. Which of the following best describes how often you attend religious services: I never, or almost never, attend religious services; I attend religious services on occasion; I attend religious services about once a month or so; I attend religious services once a week or so.³⁷

The bold text above indicates where the questions in the 2003 version of the CES differed from the full CES. The most significant change was the modification of “I feel the Bible is God’s word, and is to be taken literally, word for word” to the broader “I believe the Bible to be the word of God and is reliable and trustworthy.” Those commenting on the first version of the Bible question, including Mark Noll, considered it too restrictive and not necessarily representative of evangelical thought.³⁸ Stackhouse believes that the revision is too permissive in that it does not deal with the Bible’s supreme written authority versus that of tradition. The individual questions were scored the same way as the full version of the CES, and those who scored 20 out of a possible 24 were determined to be Evangelicals.

In 2007 another version of the CES used 8 questions, which included the 6 from the 2003 survey and the following:

1. I believe Jesus was crucified, died, and was buried but was resurrected to eternal life.
2. I feel it is very important to encourage non-Christians to become Christians.

Again, the scoring was similar except this time the answers were summed and then decreased by 8 to give a score out of 24. Those with a score of 20 or more were determined to be Evangelicals.³⁹

The 2003 CES had 3 questions from the DO subscale and 3 questions from the BAC subscale. The 2007 CES had 4 questions from the DO subscale and 4 questions from the BAC subscale. Therefore a balance was maintained between the two subscales in the applications of the CES surveyed.

The questions that were dropped in both 2003 and 2007 deal with attitudes toward the creation and purpose of humanity, and the respondents’ practice of Bible reading. By deleting the question concerning daily Bible reading, the praxis dimension of the CES operationalization was weakened.

³⁷ Van Ginkel, “Evangelical Beliefs & Practices,” 1.

³⁸ Andrew Grenville, e-mail to author, September 12, 2007.

³⁹ Subtracting 8 has the effect of scoring each question out of 3 instead of 4. Therefore strongly disagree is scored as 0, moderately disagree as 1, moderately agree as 2, and strongly agree as 3.

The other two questions that were dropped from the 2003 CES operationalization concerned Jesus' life, death, burial, and resurrection, and attitudes about evangelism. The dropping of the questions on attitudes toward evangelism and the practice of daily Bible reading tend to de-operationalize the activism marker in the CES. The CES is heavily belief-based. Even when the CES asks about evangelism, it measures attitude, not practice. What are substantially being operationalized are beliefs not habits, theology not practice.

How well does the CES do in operationalizing evangelical Christians? It is possible that it could identify as evangelical Christians those who do not believe in things considered essential to the evangelical faith but otherwise score highly on other CES questions. For example, of those who were identified as Protestant Evangelicals in 2003 using the CES, 6% either moderately or strongly disagreed with the statement "I believe that through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, God provided a way for the forgiveness of my sins." Similarly 7% either moderately or strongly disagreed with the statement "I believe the Bible to be the word of God and is reliable and trustworthy."

There are several possible explanations for these findings. People could have misunderstood the question. They could have strange theologies and yet line up with most evangelical convictions and practices. When asked about these results, Grenville said that in any operationalization one tries to steer between being too permissive and too restrictive in one's definitions. One recognizes results such as this as anomalies and characterizes them as noise in the data. Despite the possibility of refinements, one can never completely eliminate noise from a survey.

Another way to evaluate the CES is to compare it with another operationalization. In this case I have chosen the current operationalization of The Barna Group because it uses a similar number of questions and does not ask respondents to self identify as either "born again" or as "evangelical." Barna's operationalization is applied in the United States and therefore provides an opportunity for cultural comparison in that the CES was developed to be applied in a Canadian context.

Barna identifies Evangelicals as a subset of those he identifies as "born-again Christians."⁴⁰ Barna's operationalization has been structured below along the DO and BAC subscales from the CES to facilitate comparison.

⁴⁰ Barna Group, "Evangelical Christians," <http://www.barna.org/FlexPage.aspx?Page=Topic&TopicID=17> (accessed August 13, 2007) and The Barna Group, "Born Again Christians," <http://www.barna.org/FlexPage.aspx?Page=Topic&TopicID=8> (accessed August 13, 2007).

CES	Barna
<p>DO Scale</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The concept of God is an old superstition that is no longer needed to explain things in these modern times. (Reverse scored) 2. I feel that through the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, God provided a way for the forgiveness of my sins. 3. In my view, Jesus Christ was not the divine son of God. (Reverse scored) 4. Man/woman is not a special creature made in the image of God, he/she is simply a recent development in the process of animal evolution. (Reverse scored) 5. I believe Jesus was crucified, died, and was buried but was resurrected to eternal life. 	<p>Barna's "DO Scale"</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Believing that Satan exists 2. Believing that eternal salvation is possible only through grace, not works 3. Believing that Jesus Christ lived a sinless life on earth 4. Describing God as the all-knowing, all-powerful, perfect deity who created the universe and still rules it today
<p>BAC Scale</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. I feel the Bible is God's word, and is to be taken literally, word for word. 7. I have committed my life to Christ and consider myself to be a converted Christian. 8. I feel it is very important to encourage non-Christians to become Christians. 9. Please indicate whether you never, occasionally, weekly, or daily read the Bible or other religious material. Choose the category which comes closest to describing your activity. 10. Which of the following best describes how often you attend religious services: I never, or almost never, attend religious services; I attend religious service on occasion; I attend religious services about once a month or so; I attend religious services once a week or so. 	<p>Barna's "BAC Scale"</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Asserting that the Bible is accurate in all that it teaches 7. Born Again <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Answering yes to "have you ever made a personal commitment to Jesus Christ that is still important in your life today?" b. Out of seven perspectives on life after death a respondent chooses "when I die, I will go to Heaven because I have confessed my sins and have accepted Jesus Christ as my savior." 8. Believing they have a personal responsibility to share their religious beliefs about Christ with non-Christians 9. Saying their faith is very important in their life today

Barna operationalizes Bebbington's activism marker only in terms of statements of belief. No behaviours such as the practice of Bible reading or church attendance are actually measured. In fact, with respect to church attendance Barna says, "being classified as an evangelical is not dependent upon church attendance or the denominational affiliation of the church they attend."⁴¹ This de-emphasis on practice is reinforced with Barna's question "Believing that eternal salvation is possible only through grace, *not works*" (emphasis added). Orthodoxy is measured but orthopraxy is self-consciously omitted, and even when it is measured it is measured only in terms of what the respondent believes should be done.

⁴¹ Barna Group, "Evangelical Christians."

Barna's operationalization reflects the modern separation of belief and practice. The CES does a better job at operationalizing orthopraxy, but in the most recent surveys that used the CES, one of its two questions measuring orthopraxy, Bible reading, was dropped. So what has happened that orthopraxy and activism can be so confidently de-emphasized in our operationalizations?

During the past century, Evangelicalism substantially defined itself over and against theological liberalism. Evangelicalism made these distinctions theologically, and it did so in a time when there was not the same degree of separation between belief and practice in our culture. Therefore, in the past we could be much more confident that beliefs would translate into action. We cannot do so today. I think it is implicit in Reimer's criticism of "belief evangelicals" that belief is simply not a sufficient basis to operationalize evangelical Christians. Reimer operationalizes the orthopraxy dimension of Evangelicalism through insisting on a participation in the evangelical subculture, where presumably orthopraxy will be encouraged.

The CES is more focused on the world we live in, and Barna's operationalization is more focused on the world to come. The CES talks about "Christ providing a way for the forgiveness of my sins," whereas Barna focuses on Christ as the one who gives access to heaven. The CES asks about God being needed to "explain things in these modern times," whereas the closest Barna comes to talking about relevance to the modern world is to ask respondents whether Jesus Christ is still important in their life today.

Barna focuses on a complete confidence in the work of Christ, emphasizing Christ's sinlessness; however, he makes no attempt to measure the sinlessness, or even the progress in sanctification, of Evangelicals. For Barna, Christ gives access to heaven, but one wonders if he gives access to help for modern society. The difference in Bible questions in Barna and the CES is instructive. Barna's question asserts that "the Bible is accurate in all that it teaches." The CES question, in its newer form, asserts that "the Bible ... is reliable and trustworthy." The CES question carries with it the implication that the person who agrees with the assertion will be making some kind of application of what he or she finds there. This does not mean that those Barna operationalizes will not apply what they read in the Bible; it simply means that the wording does not imply an application. Barna creates an operationalization whereby it is possible to disengage orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

The CES is a better operationalization of Evangelicalism in that it contains stronger measures of the linkages between orthodoxy and orthopraxy. The Evangelicalism that Barna operationalizes could have a greater cleavage between orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Barna has written several books in recent years to complain about the behaviour of those he identifies as evangelical Christians.⁴²

⁴² Titles include his *Growing True Disciples: Strategies for Producing Genuine Followers of Christ* (Colorado Springs, CO: Waterbrook Press, 2001) and *The Revolution* (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 2005).

Method 3: Religious Affiliation

Religious affiliation is the operationalization preferred by sociologists of religion. In this section we will look first at the work of Reginald Bibby and Outreach Canada, who do research work that attempts to quantify Canadian Evangelicals using census data. Then we will look at the usefulness of religious affiliation data for operationalizing Evangelicals. Finally, we will look at the specific census work done by Statistics Canada.

Reginald Bibby, a respected and careful sociologist of religion, is important not only because he tends to operationalize Canadian Evangelicals by religious affiliation but also because he makes extensive use of the religious affiliation data generated by Statistics Canada.

In *Fragmented Gods* Bibby writes:

Conservative Protestants [evangelical Christians] do not exist as an organization but rather as a number of small “companies” predominantly originating in other countries, notably the United States (e.g., Christian and Missionary Alliance, Nazarenes, Pentecostals) and Europe (e.g., Baptists, Mennonites, Salvation Army).⁴³

Therefore, if you identify the “companies” you will identify its members.

Bibby elaborates further:

While the groups vary theologically, they nevertheless come under the umbrella of “the Believers’ Church,” in which a central criterion for membership is “regeneration” or “rebirth” – the belief that the individual has to have a personal, life-changing encounter with Christ in order to become a Christian and join the Church. They also stress the authority of Scripture.⁴⁴

In giving this definition Bibby is identifying what Stackhouse calls “sectish evangelicals” as opposed to “churchish evangelicals” such as the ones that may be found in the United Church of Canada or the Presbyterian Church of Canada.⁴⁵

When asked in 2007 about his criteria for deciding which denominations were evangelical, Bibby answered,

My primary criteria involve a combination of group self-identification and common sense. ... Primary groups in the Conservative Protestant category are ones that would tend to identify with the EFC (The Evangelical Fellowship of

⁴³ Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 115.

⁴⁴ Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 26. His assertion that Evangelicals vary theologically is more a comment on denominational theological distinctives rather than the core evangelical doctrines that are asserted in counter distinction to theological liberalism.

⁴⁵ Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism*, 3–17.

Canada) – Baptists, Pentecostals, Alliance, Nazarenes, Mennonites, etc. ... But my main goal is to try to place people and their denomination in the “religious family” with which most feel the greatest affinity.⁴⁶

This is a broadening of the family from Bibby’s definition in *Fragmented Gods*. There are groups such as the Christian Reformed Church and the Anglican Catholic Church of Canada that do not fit the “sectish” definition of Evangelicals but nevertheless affiliate with The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada.

Outreach Canada describes itself as “an evangelical-oriented mission organization, focused on strengthening churches and communities across Canada.” Part of its mission is to provide local demographic information to churches and ministry groups. Outreach Canada’s primary source of data is the Canadian census regarding religious affiliation. Both Bibby and Outreach Canada try to categorize Protestant denominations as either Mainline or Conservative Protestant according to which religious family a denomination would place itself. In order to do this, Outreach Canada identifies denominations as evangelical if they indicate agreement with two documents – the Vision 2000 Canada Statement of Faith⁴⁷ and The Lausanne Covenant.⁴⁸

Using the same census data as Bibby, Outreach Canada identified 10.8% and 11.1% of the Canadian population as evangelical in 1991 and 2001 respectively,⁴⁹ whereas Bibby finds that Conservative Protestants make up only about 8% of the Canadian population in the two censuses. Bibby did not provide an exhaustive list of the groups he included in his Conservative Protestant category. A complete list of the denominations Outreach Canada includes as evangelical can be found in Appendix B. Outreach Canada deems the following remainder religious code values to be evangelical:

Methodist, n.o.s. [not otherwise specified]; Other Reformed; Protestant, n.o.s.; Other Christian; Non-denominational; Interdenominational; and Christian, n.o.s.

It is likely that Outreach Canada’s inclusion of the remainder religious code values as evangelical accounts for a large part of the difference between its numbers and Bibby’s. Outreach Canada is probably too permissive in its definition and Bibby is probably too restrictive.

How well does religious affiliation data operationalize Canadian Evangelicals? Are all people in one denomination evangelical? Are all people in a mainline denomination not evangelical? Samuel Reimer, arguing for a religious affiliation operationalization, writes, “Core evangelicals have a clear group identity, they are group conscious, and they share negative (and positive) opinions toward certain groups.”⁵⁰ Core Evangelicals, according

⁴⁶ Reginald Bibby, e-mail to author, August 28, 2007.

⁴⁷ See Appendix C. *The Vision 2000 Statement of Faith* is similar to the current *The Evangelical Fellowship Statement of Faith*. <http://www.evangelicalfellowship.ca/NetCommunity/Page.aspx?&pid=265&srcid=184> (accessed August 29, 2007).

⁴⁸ <http://www.lausanne.org/lausanne-1974/lausanne-covenant.html> (accessed August 28, 2007).

⁴⁹ Calculated from a table supplied by Lorne Hunter of Outreach Canada on August 28, 2007.

⁵⁰ Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide*, 42.

to Reimer, can be operationalized by denominational affiliation because they are a substantially homogenous group. Reimer critiques theologically based operationalizations such as the CES because they

[will] find evangelicals in Catholic and mainline Protestant churches, but these “belief” evangelicals would not be part of the evangelical subculture, at least not to the same degree.⁵¹

Reimer’s critique raises the question, “To what degree can a Christian stray from the evangelical subculture and still be considered an evangelical?”

There are many in the mainline denominations, those that Stackhouse calls “churchish evangelicals,” that hold to many of the same beliefs and characteristics as those denominations listed under Bibby’s “Conservative Protestant,” and yet they will not be counted as Evangelicals. The presence of evangelical Christians in Canadian mainline denominations should not surprise us since “in 1871 virtually all Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, and a surprising number of Anglicans, would have been pleased to describe themselves as evangelicals.”⁵² Dr. J. Harry Faught, founding executive chairman of The Evangelical Fellowship of Canada (EFC), recognized that the way the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in the United States structured membership along denominational lines had the effect of excluding many like-minded Christians in mainline denominations. Faught therefore initially limited membership in the EFC to individuals.⁵³ Three of the first six presidents of the EFC were Presbyterians.⁵⁴ Toronto Bible College, now known as Tyndale University College and Seminary, has had mainline leadership in Dr. John McNicol, a Presbyterian, and has had significant mainline representation in its student body.⁵⁵ Further, in 1993 Rawlyk found that, of his Protestant evangelical sample, 30% came from mainline churches.⁵⁶ If Rawlyk’s data are correct then mainline churches contain significant numbers of Evangelicals that a religious affiliation operationalization will exclude.

Reimer collected his data on “core evangelicals” through in-depth interviews and careful analysis. His conclusion was that this core group did form a distinctive and homogenous subculture. However, an operationalization that simply measures religious affiliation cannot make the same kind of claims about the groups it finds.

At the beginning of the twentieth century in Canada, it was the norm in Canada to hold membership in a religious group. Membership usually had a formal public initiation rite

⁵¹ Ibid., 187.

⁵² Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 33.

⁵³ Ronald A. N. Kydd, “Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 298.

⁵⁴ Dr. William Fitch (1968–1970), Dr. Mariano Di Gangi (1970–71), Rev. Dr. A. Donald Macleod (1973–1975).

⁵⁵ See the chapters on “Toronto Bible College: 1894–1968” and “Ontario Bible College and Theological Seminary” in Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism*.

⁵⁶ Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 129.

and indicated an identification with a denomination’s beliefs and practices. Today, however, many people affiliate with a church without undertaking formal membership and they may be somewhat independent of the group in terms of belief and practice. Many people who say they are affiliates of a religious group are decidedly nominal. In 2001, 83.5% of Canadians reported a religious affiliation.⁵⁷ But in 1998, only 34% of Canadians reported attending religious services regularly. Regularly was defined as at least once a month.⁵⁸ Affiliates of a religious group are not necessarily sociologically or theologically homogenous.

While religious affiliation levels remain fairly constant there is a trend away from active formal participation in institutional religious life in Canada. Between 1985 and 2004 the percentage of Canadians reporting that they attended a religious service “at least monthly” fell from 41% to 32%.⁵⁹ Bibby tells us that religious affiliation for Conservative Protestants has held steady at about 8% of the population from 1871 to 2001.⁶⁰ The data on regular attendance of worship services for Conservative Protestants is somewhat mixed. Bibby and Ipsos Reid are generating their data using two different operationalizations, and the time frames for the data that follow overlap only somewhat. Nonetheless, it is instructive to consider the findings.

Bibby: Project Canada: ⁶¹ Weekly Service Attendance 1975–1995					
1975		1985		1995	
All Canadians	Conservative Protestants	All Canadians	Conservative Protestants	All Canadians	Conservative Protestants
31%	40%	28%	60%	25%	64%

Ipsos Reid and Rawlyk using the CES: Those who responded that “once a week or so” best describes how often they attend religious services. ⁶²			
1993		2003	
All Canadians	Conservative Protestants	All Canadians	Conservative Protestants
23%	59%	19%	52%

A possible explanation for the different results is that Bibby is using a more “sectish” definition of Evangelicals and is therefore finding a more socially cohesive core. The CES, on the other hand, may be more permissive in the net it casts and therefore finding a population that looks more like the general Canadian population.

⁵⁷ Statistics Canada, “Religion (95) and Sex (3) for Population, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2001 Census – 20% Sample Data,” Catalogue no. 97F0022XIE2001001. <http://www.statcan.ca/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=97F0022XIE2001001#formatdisp> (accessed August 26, 2007).

⁵⁸ Warren Clark, “Patterns of Religious Attendance,” *Canadian Social Trends* (Winter 2000): 24. Catalogue No. 11-008.

⁵⁹ Warren Clark and Grant Schellenberg, “Who’s religious?” *Canadian Social Trends* (Summer 2006): 2.

⁶⁰ Bibby, *Restless Churches*, 39.

⁶¹ Bibby, *The Bibby Report*, 125.

⁶² Ipsos Reid, “Canadian Religious Beliefs and Practices” (for The EFC et al.) Fall 2003 (n=3000), and Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 78.

Another sociological characteristic of Conservative Protestants is their emphasis on doctrine. Traditionally, evangelical denominations functioned as guardians of orthodox doctrine. The following table shows that Conservative Protestants cherish their doctrinal independence at rates consistent with the population and have done so since 1993.

Ipsos Reid and Rawlyk using the CES: Strongly or Moderately agree with the statement “My private beliefs about Christianity are more important than what is taught by any church” ⁶³		
1993	2003	
Conservative Protestants	All Canadians	Conservative Protestants
71%	72%	71%

The following table shows that, at least attitudinally, Conservative Protestant priority on regular attendance at worship services is slipping.

Ipsos Reid and Rawlyk using the CES: Strongly or Moderately agree with the statement “I don’t think you need to worship at church in order to be a good Christian” ⁶⁴		
1993	2003	
Conservative Protestants	All Canadians	Conservative Protestants
43%	81%	60%

Data from 2003 are not available for attitudes toward the priority of denominational brand in choosing a church; Rawlyk’s 1993 data, however, would suggest that for a significant proportion of Conservative Protestants, denominational identity is not as important as personal comfort in selecting a church. People look for a good church, not necessarily a good church in a particular denomination.

Ipsos Reid and Rawlyk using the CES: Strongly or moderately agree with the statement “When deciding which church to attend, I feel it does not matter which denomination, so long as I feel comfortable” ⁶⁵	
1993	
All Canadians	Conservative Protestants
60%	44%

The following table asserts that people are very attached to their individual congregations even if, as suggested in the previous table, they are not as attached to the denomination to which those congregations belong.

⁶³ Ibid, 129.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 130.

Ipsos Reid and Rawlyk using the CES: Those who responded “very close” or “close” to the question “Do you feel very close, close, neutral, far, or very far away from the church you are currently associated with?” ⁶⁶	
1993	
All Canadians	Conservative Protestants
96%	97%

Rawlyk’s work in 1993 suggests that Conservative Protestants are more loyal to their own interpretations of doctrine than that of a denomination, and that denominational loyalties are, in almost half the cases, becoming a secondary consideration when choosing a church. Conservative Christians are still attached to the congregations where they attend but not to the denominations that these churches are a part of. This does not mean that there is not a tight socialization among Canadian evangelical Christians, but it does suggest that the socialization is on the congregational level and not the denominational level. It would be helpful to be able to confirm these findings with a longitudinal study that looks at Canadian Evangelicals’ attitudes toward denominational loyalty. One study hardly constitutes a trend. The radical individualism of Canadian society would seem to be mirrored in the Conservative Protestant church as well.

This distancing from denominations seems to be found in Reimer’s research as well. Reimer found that when Evangelicals were asked how they would identify themselves, they would usually give an answer such as “An evangelical Christian.” Reimer continued, “Denominationally distinctive answers (e.g., ‘I would say I am a Nazarene’), while not uncommon, were a clear minority.”⁶⁷ It is likely that, had the same question been asked 50 years earlier, it would have elicited more denominational answers. This could be due to the fact that in the past more effort was put into making distinctions between denominations than between Evangelicals and the broader non-Christian culture.

Writing 17 years after *Fragmented Gods*, Bibby still looks at denominational affiliation. But he adds “a growing number of independent charismatic congregations” to his definition.⁶⁸ Bibby is now starting to partly operationalize Canadian Evangelicals on the congregational level, rather than just the denominational level.

In the past, denominations played a more active role as guardians of doctrine, especially denominational distinctives, than they do today. To the extent that common theological distinctives were emphasized, congregations were socialized on a denominational level. They were also socialized through denominational gatherings such as camp meetings and denominational annual meetings. A variety of cultural and ecclesiastical influences have now tended to move religious socialization down to the congregational level and at the same time up to the wider evangelical family level. The local church and religious media are now filling more of the socialization role that the denomination once played.

⁶⁶ Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 131.

⁶⁷ Reimer, *Evangelicals and the Continental Divide*, 43.

⁶⁸ Bibby, *Restless Churches*, 21.

If denominational affiliation is to continue to be profitably used as a measure for evangelical Christians, it will have to be corrected by some measure of denominational loyalty and homogeneity on a denomination-by-denomination basis. An accompanying question about frequency of attendance at religious services would help measure the opportunity a congregation and a denomination have for socializing their affiliates. We cannot assume that theologies are substantially homogeneous throughout those who affiliate with a denomination. Some denominations will have tighter official and working theologies than others. And polling data would seem to suggest that Canadian Evangelicals generally are not loyal to denominational theologies anyhow. We cannot assume that denominational affiliation is synonymous with denominational loyalty, or that affiliation necessarily implies a participation in the denominational subculture.

Statistics Canada and Religious Affiliation

Statistics Canada is the primary source of Canadian data on religious affiliation. It has been collecting these data since 1871 through its decennial censuses and annual General Social Survey.⁶⁹ The more comprehensive of these measures is the decennial census.⁷⁰

Enumeration Instructions

Before 1971, enumerators filled in forms for census respondents. Self-enumeration was introduced in 1971. Two formal sets of documents directed the enumerators how to fill out the religious affiliation question: enumerator's guides and the questions that appeared on the census form itself. Training sessions also provided guidance to enumerators.

The 1931 *Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators* had this to say about the religious affiliation question:

Religious body, denomination or community to which this person adheres or belongs. The religion of each person will be entered according as he or she professes, specifying the religious body, denomination, sect or community to which the person adheres or belongs, or which he or she favours. An entry MUST be made in this column regarding the religious belief or affiliation of each and every person enumerated in Column 3.⁷¹

Infants and children were to be assigned the religion in which they were being raised. Later census directions would make provision for noting a child's personal affiliation if it was voiced. The instructions remained largely unchanged for 1941.⁷² In 1951,

⁶⁹ Statistics Canada replaced the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1971.

⁷⁰ In 1971, one-third of Canadians filled out the census long form, which included religious affiliation questions. In 1981 this dropped to one-fifth of Canadians.

⁷¹ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada 1933 – Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators*, 33.

⁷² Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1941*, vol. 1, part 1-X, 288.

enumerators were instructed, “Do not accept broad, general terms such as Christian, Protestant, or Believer.”⁷³ However, in 1961 this qualification was added:

Also enumerators were instructed to accept without question the denomination reported by respondents. They were to enquire more fully when “Christian”, “Protestant”, “Believer”, etc., were reported but were to accept these if a specific denomination could not be given. Further, if a person stated he had no religion, the entry “none” was recorded.⁷⁴

Clearly an effort was made to avoid general answers that would not identify a denomination.

Census Forms

The census question that appeared on the form in 1931 simply asked for “Religious body, Denomination or Community to which this person adheres or belongs.” This question formed the title for a column in a larger table. In 1941 the census form was still presented in tabular form but this time read, “Religious body, denomination to which this person adheres or belongs. (Do not use indefinite terms such as Christian, Believer, or Protestant, etc.)” There was no suggested list of religions on the census form itself until 1951. By 1951, census forms were being collected by household and were designed to be scored by automated readers once enumerators had filled in mark-in circles with soft lead pencils. Although there was still an option to write in the answers, there would have been a strong administrative impulse to use the categories provided on the form, categories that could be scored more easily. The new scoring technology resulted in the introduction of the suggested lists of religions on the census form. The lists continued after the scoring technology ceased to be used.

⁷³ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Enumeration Manual 9th Census of Canada 1951*, 41.

⁷⁴ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1961*, vol. 1, part 2-6.

Suggested List of Religions Appearing on Decennial Census Forms, 1961–2001⁷⁵

1951	1961 ^c	1971 ^c	1981 ^c	1991 ^d	2001
1. Roman Catholic	1. Adventist^a	1. Anglican	1. Roman Catholic	1. Roman Catholic	1. Roman Catholic
2. United Church	2. Anglican	2. Baptist^a	2. United Church	2. Ukrainian Catholic	2. Ukrainian Catholic
3. Anglican	3. Baptist	3. Greek Orthodox	3. Anglican Church	3. United Church	3. United Church
4. Presbyterian	4. Christian Science	4. Jewish	4. Presbyterian	4. Anglican Church	4. Anglican
5. Baptist^a	5. Greek Orthodox	5. Lutheran	5. Lutheran	5. Presbyterian	5. Lutheran
6. Lutheran	6. Jehovah's Witnesses	6. Mennonite	6. Baptist^a	6. Lutheran	6. Baptist^a
7. Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	7. Jewish	8. Presbyterian	7. Greek Orthodox	7. Baptist^a	7. Greek Orthodox
8. Jewish	8. Lutheran	9. Roman Catholic	8. Jewish	8. Pentecostal	8. Jewish
9. Greek Orthodox	9. Mennonite	10. Salvation Army	9. Ukrainian Catholic	9. Greek Orthodox	9. Islam
10. Mennonite	10. Mormon	11. Ukrainian Catholic	10. Pentecostal	10. Jewish	10. Buddhist
11. Pentecostal	11. Pentecostal	12. United Church	11. Jehovah's Witnesses	11. Mennonite	11. Hindu
12. Evangelical Church	12. Presbyterian	13. No religion	12. Mennonite	12. Jehovah's Witnesses	12. Sikh
13. Salvation Army	14. Salvation Army		13. Salvation Army	13. Salvation Army	13. etc. ^e
14. Mormon	15. Ukrainian Catholic		14. Islam	14. Islam	
15. Christian Science	16. United Church		15. No religion ^d	15. Buddhist	
16. Adventist^b				16. Hindu	
				17. Sikh	

^a Groups traditionally understood to be Conservative Protestant are in bold.

^b Until recently, Seventh Day Adventists would not have considered themselves Evangelical and would not have been understood to be Evangelical, although they would be understood to be Conservative Protestants. See also Appendix A.

^c Groups are listed in the order in which they appeared. In 1961 and 1971 the suggested list of religions was alphabetically ordered. From 1981 on, the groups appeared in order dictated, at least in part, by their frequency from the previous census.

^d The format of the questions changed in 1991. In 1971 and 1981 each item on the list had its own mark-in box. Starting in 1991 there was a blank space to write in the respondent's religious affiliation, with a separate mark-in box retained for "no religion."

^e The year 2001 was the first in which "etc." was added to the list, thereby explicitly suggesting that the list was not exhaustive.

Automated readers require answers to be written with a particular kind of soft lead pencil and to stay scrupulously within the lines of the mark-in circles. When self-enumeration was introduced, it was not possible to have the same kind of control over the way forms were filled out as when enumerators completed the census forms. Therefore, electronic scoring was abandoned in 1971. Mark-in boxes were still used beside the individual suggested religions until 1991, when a write-in box was provided for all responses except "no religion."⁷⁶

The enumeration process has tended to favor religious affiliation responses for the major mainline denominations and other established groups.

⁷⁵ 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 Canadian Census Forms.

⁷⁶ "No Religion" continued to have its own mark-in box.

1991 and 2001 Census Religious Affiliation Counts for Selected Denominations⁷⁷

	1991 Census	2001 Census	Change
Included in the 1991 census religion question and dropped in 2001			
Pentecostal	436,435	369,480	-15.3%
Salvation Army	112,345	87,790	-21.9%
Mennonite	207,970	191,465	-7.9%
Included in both 1991 and 2001 census religion question			
Baptist	663,360	729,475	10.0%
Other			
Non-Denominational	32,005	40,545	26.7%
Protestant	628,945	549,205	-12.7%
Christian	353,040	780,450	121.1%

The denominations that are traditionally understood to be evangelical that were dropped from the suggested list of religions in the 2001 census form include Pentecostal, Salvation Army, and Mennonite. All three denominations saw a reported decline in religious affiliation, while Baptist, the only traditionally evangelical denomination to remain on the 2001 census form, saw an increase (see table above).

There are many other factors that contribute to the results of the Statistics Canada decennial religious affiliation data besides the question asked. All we can do here is note that, all other things being equal, it would appear that those denominations that are listed on the form seem to show increased reported affiliation and those that are dropped seem to show a reduced reported affiliation. No direct cause and effect relationship can be confidently established. The finding of a decrease in Pentecostal religious affiliation seems to be contradicted by what Rawlyk wrote in 1996: “The fastest-growing segment of the evangelical population, it should be stressed, is the charismatic/Pentecostal one.”⁷⁸ It would be interesting to know how these census findings compare with the attendance and membership statistics kept by each denomination.

The other really remarkable result in comparing the 1991 and 2001 sets of census data is the explosive growth (up 121.1%) in those reporting “Christian” as their religious affiliation. Certainly those contributing to this group would be representative of all Christian categories; however, it would be interesting to know how much the reduced specificity with respect to evangelical denominational descriptors in the census question contributed to the increase in those answering “Christian.” It is also possible that because the 2001 list now contains significantly more religions as opposed to denominations, respondents may have concluded that an affiliation with a religion was what was looked for as opposed to an affiliation with a denomination. For a comparison of Canadian census religious code values from 1971 through 2001, see Appendix A.

⁷⁷ Statistics Canada, *Religion (95A), Age Groups (7A) and Sex (3) for Population, for Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 1991 and 2001 Censuses – 20% Sample Data – Cat. No. 97F0022XCB2001002*.

<http://www.statcan.ca/bsolc/english/bsolc?catno=97F0022XCB2001002> (accessed August 20, 2007).

⁷⁸ Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?*, 14.

Who Is Included in “Other”?

Statistics Canada has generally reported on the largest 15 to 20 denominations in its census documents. Smaller groups such as many evangelical denominations have been placed in a category or group of categories called “other.” The following groups were broken out of the 1971 “other” category in the reporting for the 1981 census:

Polish National Catholic Church, Apostolic Christian, Associated Gospel, Christadelphian, Christian Assembly, Christian Congregational, Christian n.o.s., Church of God, Interdenominational, Mission Covenant, Mission de l’Esprit Saint, Missionary Church, Moravian, New Apostolic, New Church, Non-Denominational, Other Christian, Other Reformed, People’s Church, Quakers, Reformed Church of America, Spiritualist, Standard Church, Baha’i, Hindu, Islam, Other Eastern Non-Christian, Other Non-Christian, Sikh, Taoist, Pagan, Theosophical Groups, Agnostic, (New Thought-Unity-Metaphysical, Other Para-religious groups, other non-religious, other not elsewhere classified).⁷⁹

This is a remarkably varied group, and within it are buried several groups that would be considered Conservative Protestants or Evangelicals. Though the group is varied, it also represents a small proportion of the Canadian population, ranging between 1.6% and 1.4% of the population between 1921 and 1971.

The modification of the reported religious code values for the 1981 census gives us an opportunity to evaluate how many Conservative Protestants may have been buried in the “other” category in older census reports. When numbers for these newly identified evangelical groups are aggregated for the 1981 census, they account for just 0.1% of the Canadian population. On the 1981 census the groups traditionally identified as Conservative Protestant⁸⁰ represented only 6.5% of the population. So if the groups that could be roughly identified as Conservative Protestant, or evangelical were combined, they would represent only approximately 6.6% of the population. In 1981 there are reported these other religious codes that collectively represent another 0.1% of the population: Protestant n.o.s. (not otherwise specified), Other Christian, and Christian n.o.s. The aggregate of these possible sources would corroborate Bibby’s finding that only about 7% of the Canadian population could be identified as Conservative Protestants based on reported 1981 census data. Bibby has calculated that using Canadian census data that Conservative Protestants have made up just 7% to 8% of the Canadian population between 1871 and 2001.⁸¹ These numbers, however, do not tell the whole story.

⁷⁹ Bracketed groups were variously assigned to “Other/Not included” or “Other/No religion” in 1971. See *1981 Census Dictionary*.

⁸⁰ Groups that would be considered “Conservative Protestant” although not necessarily “evangelical” consist of Adventist, Baptist, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Christian Reformed, Churches of Christ, Disciples, Free Methodist, Hutterite, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Salvation Army.

⁸¹ Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, 47 and *Restless Churches*, 39.

Clerical Assignments

After religious affiliation data have been collected, they must be processed or coded. Clerks often assign one answer to another category based on a set of rules contained in the census's *Population Code Book*. These clerical assignments are often necessary because of illegible responses or the ambiguity in people's responses. Sometimes smaller denominations would be placed in larger family groupings, or more often would be placed in an "other" category. In certain cases, however, clerks reassigned them to completely different religious groups. For example, a person who affiliated with the Wesleyan Church of Canada may respond as a Protestant, an Evangelical, a Wesleyan, a Wesleyan Methodist, a Methodist, or a Christian. If a person's response was "Wesleyan Methodist" in 2001, an assignment would need to be made because the Wesleyan Methodist Church ceased to exist when it merged with the Pilgrim Holiness Church to become the Wesleyan Church in 1968.

In 1981 Statistics Canada began publishing a census dictionary. With respect to the religious affiliation question, the census dictionary explains changes in the religious code values from previous census documents as they related to reporting. Statistics Canada reports on far fewer religious code values, or identifiable religious groups, than are captured on census forms. Appendices D and E reproduce the *Population Code Book* coding instructions for religion for the 1961 and 1971 censuses respectively. These two sets of coding instructions were the only ones that could be obtained for this paper. The tables on religion in the census dictionaries highlight only changes in coding rules between censuses (see Appendix A). The *Population Code Book* tables on religion provide more detail on clerical assignments (see appendices D and E). I highlight the clerical assignments because some data on evangelical denominations tended to be erased from the public record by these assignments when clerks assigned respondents' answers to broader categories. Reporting became more diverse in 1981, but in each census Canadians have continued to report hundreds of different religious affiliations, most of which are still not formally acknowledged.

The following is a sampling of clerical assignments gleaned from census dictionaries and population code books.

A note from the *1991 Census Dictionary* says that in 1971 those who responded with "Protestant n.o.s." for their religious affiliation had their response "clerically assigned to United Church or Anglican or Presbyterian or Baptist, or Lutheran during the coding operation."⁸² The *1971 Census of Canada Population Code Book* under "Protestant n.o.s." has a note to "see Protestant assign," but no other guidance can be gleaned from the document (see Appendix E). Obviously this clerical assignment has the potential to inflate the reported level of religious affiliation for these mainline denominations.

⁸² Statistics Canada, "Appendix G," *1991 Census Dictionary*.

For the 1931, 1941, 1951, and 1961 Census reports, those reporting “Methodist” were included in The United Church of Canada for reporting purposes.⁸³ The *1961 Population Code Book* indicates that “Methodist n.o.s.,” “Methodist Bible Student,” and “Methodist Chapel” were assigned to The United Church of Canada.⁸⁴ There were, however, several Holiness Methodist bodies in existence in Canada at this time that respondents may have meant to indicate.

In another notation in 1971, “Methodist, n.o.s.” was “clerically assigned to Free Methodist or Wesleyan Methodist during the coding operation.”⁸⁵ This notation is not likely to affect the aggregate evangelical count in the census since both Free Methodists and Wesleyans are evangelical denominations. Curiously, while this clerical assignment was made, no religious code value is listed for “Wesleyan” in the *1991 Census Dictionary*.⁸⁶ “Wesleyan,” “Wesleyan Methodist,” and “Wesleyan Methodist Connection” are all included in the *1971 Census of Canada Population Code Book* with the instruction that they all be clerically assigned or coded as “Other”.

Finally, in the 1971 census the Evangelical Church was included in the United Church of Canada figures. In 1951 and 1961 the census counts for the Evangelical Church were 50,900 and 27,079, respectively.⁸⁷ Further, the *1971 Population Code Book* assigns to the United Church the following groups, many of which could plausibly be understood to be evangelical:

All People’s Church, All People’s Mission, Bible Christian, Church of All Nations, Evangelical Association, Evangelical Church, Evangelical Free, Evangelical United Brethren, German United, Methodist Bible Student, Methodist Chapel, New Connection Methodist, Salem Church (Methodist), Swedish Methodist, United Brethren in Christ, United Church Mission, Zion Evangelical.

It would be an interesting research project to find out what all the clerical assignments were and then to try to quantify their effect on reported religious affiliation.

Canadian Century Research Infrastructure Project (CCRI)

There are enough questions about what has been hidden in the census data that a group of Canadian universities have partnered together to form the Canadian Century Research Infrastructure (CCRI) project.

⁸³ Statistics Canada, “Series A164-184. Principal religious denominations of the population, census dates, 1871 to 1971,” in *Historical Statistics of Canada, Second Edition*, ed. F. H. Leacy, 1983.

⁸⁴ The other Methodist body mentioned was “Methodist (African),” which was assigned to “other.”

⁸⁵ Statistics Canada, “Appendix G: Comparison of Religious Code Values, 1991, 1981, and 1971,” *1991 Census Dictionary*.

⁸⁶ See Appendix A for a comparison of the religious code values reported on in the various census dictionaries.

⁸⁷ In 1968 the Evangelical United Brethren Church of Canada joined the United Church of Canada.

The *CCRI* is a pan-Canadian, multi-disciplinary and multi-institutional effort to develop a set of interrelated databases centered on data from the 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951 Canadian censuses. These databases will then be joined to other databases that cover the periods from 1871 to 1901, and from 1961 to 2001. The result will be a new foundation for the study of social, economic, cultural and political change.⁸⁸

The goal of the CCRI is to answer the question “What characteristics, processes and circumstances explain the making of modern Canada?” and its emphasis in answering this question is on uncovering “complexity and diversity.” The CCRI is sampling 4% of the original census form documentation to create a new set of data from which to do research. The story of evangelical Christians is certainly a part of the complexity and diversity that made modern Canada. The CCRI’s work should help quantify religious affiliation data as freed from the confounding factor of clerical assignment.

Conclusions

Lack of interest throughout most of Canada’s recent history regarding evangelical Christians generally meant that when they were counted, and they often were not, it was done with little care. The re-entry of evangelical Christians into the public square seems to have fostered a new interest in evangelical Christians and a renewed interest in counting them.

Of the three common types of operationalizations, self-identification is the least helpful. Because of confusion over the meaning of the terms “evangelical” and “born again,” combined with negative cultural associations with the terms, the data collected this way will be unreliable.

Religious affiliation data gathered in Canadian censuses has tended to be bias against finding Evangelicals in how the census questions were asked, coded, and reported. The assumption of denominational homogeneity that may have at one time made denominational affiliation a good operationalization has given way before radical individualism. A variety of cultural and ecclesiastical influences have tended to move religious socialization down to the congregational level and at the same time up to the wider evangelical family level. Bundling a religious affiliation question with a question about frequency of attendance at religious services would improve its value as an operationalization of religion generally and of Evangelicalism specifically. It would allow us to identify and draw better conclusions about a core and a periphery for each religious group.

During the past century Evangelicalism substantially defined itself over and against theological liberalism. There are important doctrines held by Evangelicals, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, that are not operationalized because they were not the flash points

⁸⁸ The CCRI website contains many helpful resources, including reproductions of many census form documents: <http://www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/CCRI/index.htm> (accessed September 27, 2007).

of controversy with theological liberalism. As the influence of theological liberalism has weakened, Evangelicalism finds itself in a period of readjusting its sense of identity in relation to the wider culture. Current operationalizations of Evangelicals concentrate on distinctions between Christians. Future operationalizations will have to take account of the distinctions between Evangelicals and a wider culture that has ceased to be Christian in any meaningful sense. The strong threats to the faith are changing and so therefore are the boundaries that will be emphasized.

Because both Canadian culture and the culture of Evangelicalism are changing rapidly, definitions and operationalizations will need to be revisited every few years. The core of the faith may not change, but for greatest effectiveness, the way questions are asked may have to change. The best way to learn where these boundaries currently lie would be to conduct a large congregational survey of evangelical churches in Canada, paying attention to what contemporary Evangelicals voice as their boundary markers. We would do well to make a distinction in such a survey between the boundaries indicated by different generations. Generations within churches inhabit different cultures and will likely have different boundary markers.⁸⁹ New operationalizations will also have to take account of the evangelical Christians who immigrate from the Global South and bring with them new social and theological emphases.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ See J. D. Hunter, *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation*. Chicago and London: The Chicago University Press, 1987.

⁹⁰ See Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Appendix A. Comparison of Protestant Religious Code values for the 1971, 1981, 1991, and 2001 Censuses According to the 1991 and 2001 Census Dictionaries⁹¹

1971	1981	1991	2001
Adventist ^a	Adventist ^a	Adventist ^a	Adventist, Seventh Day ^a
— ^b	Mennonite	Mennonite	Amish
Anglican	Anglican	Anglican	Anglican
Other	Apostolic Christian	Apostolic Christian	Apostolic Christian Church
—	Other Christian	Other Christian	Apostolic, n.o.s.
Other	Associated Gospel	Associated Gospel	Associated Gospel
Baptist	Baptist	Baptist	Baptist
—	Other Christian	Other Christian	Born-again Christian, n.o.s.
Brethren in Christ	Brethren in Christ	Brethren in Christ	Brethren in Christ
Not included	Canadian Reformed Church	Canadian Reformed Church	Canadian and American Reformed Church
Not included	Charismatic Renewal	Charismatic Renewal	Charismatic Renewal
Other	Christadelphian	Christadelphian	Christadelphian
Christian and Missionary Alliance	Christian and Missionary Alliance	Christian and Missionary Alliance	Christian and Missionary Alliance
Other	Christian Assembly	Christian Assembly	— ^b
Other	Christian Congregational	Christian Congregational	Christian Congregation
Other	Christian, n.o.s.	Christian, n.o.s.	Christian, n.o.s.
Christian Reformed	Christian Reformed	Christian Reformed Church	Christian Reformed Church
Other	Church of God	Church of God	Church of God, n.o.s.
Mormon	Church of Latter-Day Saints	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Church of the Nazarene	Church of the Nazarene	Church of the Nazarene	Church of the Nazarene
Churches of Christ Disciples	Churches of Christ Disciples	Churches of Christ Disciples	Churches of Christ Disciples
Christian Reformed	Dutch Reformed Church	Dutch Reformed Church	Dutch Reformed Church
United Church	Evangelical ^{d,e}	Evangelical ^e	—
—	Other Christian	Other Christian	Evangelical, n.o.s. ^e
United Church ^c	Evangelical Free Church	Evangelical Free Church	Evangelical Free Church
—	Evangelical/Missionary Church ^d	Evangelical/Missionary Church ^d	Evangelical Missionary Church ^d
Free Methodist	Free Methodist	Free Methodist	Free Methodist
Hutterite	Hutterite	Hutterite	Hutterite
—	Other Christian	Other Christian	Iglesia ni Cristo
Jehovah's Witnesses	Jehovah's Witnesses	Jehovah's Witnesses	Jehovah's Witnesses
Lutheran	Lutheran	Lutheran	Lutheran
Mennonite	Mennonite	Mennonite	Mennonite
Not included	Methodist Episcopal	Methodist Episcopal	—
Clerically assigned to Free Methodist or Wesleyan Methodist during coding operation	Methodist, n.o.s.	Methodist, n.o.s.	Methodist, n.i.e.
Other	Mission Covenant	Mission Covenant	—
Other	Mission de l'Esprit Saint	Mission de l'Esprit Saint	Mission de l'Esprit Saint
Other	Missionary Church	Missionary Church	—
Other	Moravian	Moravian	Moravian
Other	New Apostolic	New Apostolic	New Apostolic
Other	New Church	New Church	Swedenborgian
Doukhobors	Orthodox Doukhobors	Orthodox Doukhobors	
Other	Other Reformed	Other Reformed	Reformed, n.i.e.
Pentecostal	Pentecostal	Pentecostal	Pentecostal
Other	People's Church	People's Church	—

⁹¹ Table compiled from "Appendix G: Comparison of Religious Code Values, 1991, 1981, 1971," *1991 Census Dictionary*, and from "Appendix L: Comparison of Religious Code Values, 2001, 1991, 1981," *2001 Census Dictionary*.

1971	1981	1991	2001
Plymouth Brethren	Plymouth Brethren	Plymouth Brethren	Christian or Plymouth Brethren
Presbyterian	Presbyterian	Presbyterian	Presbyterian
Other	Quakers	Quakers	Quakers
Other	Reformed Church of America	Reformed Church of America	Canadian and American Reformed Church
Doukhobors	Doukhobors	Doukhobors	Doukhobors
Mormon	Reorganized Church of Latter Saints	Reorganized Church of Latter Saints	Reorganized Church of Latter-day Saints
Salvation Army	Salvation Army	Salvation Army	Salvation Army
Other	Spiritualist	Spiritualist	Spiritualist
Other	Standard Church	Standard Church	Standard Church
Unitarian	Unitarian	Unitarian	Unitarian
United Church	United Church	United Church	United Church
—	Other Christian	Vineyard Christian Fellowship	Vineyard Christian Fellowship
Other	Wesleyan	Wesleyan	Wesleyan
Not included	Worldwide Church of God	Worldwide Church of God	Worldwide Church of God
Other	Other Christian	Other Christian	Other Christian
Clerically assigned to United Church or Anglican, or Presbyterian, or Baptist, or Lutheran during the coding operation	Protestant, n.o.s.	Protestant, n.o.s.	Protestant, n.o.s.
Other	Interdenominational	Interdenominational	Interdenominational
Other	Non-denominational	Non-denominational	Non-denominational

n.i.e. = not included elsewhere; n.o.s. = not otherwise specified

^a Bold text indicates that the religious group was reported on in that year's published census documents.

^b Where data in the 2001 Census Dictionary were not present in the 1991 Census Dictionary, the 1971 data field is marked with a dash. Conversely, where data in the 1991 Census Dictionary were not present in the 2001 Census Dictionary, the 2001 data field is marked with a dash.

^c Evangelical Church was reported on independently for all census data except 1971 when it was included in the United Church figures. The 1961 census population was 27,079, and the 1981 census population was 5,780.

^d In 1981 there were 19,030 persons reporting Evangelical as their religious affiliation. It is possible that this is listed here as an abbreviation for "Evangelical/Missionary Church." The Evangelical/Missionary Church is usually grouped with Methodist bodies for the purposes of reporting. In 1981 "Evangelical" occupies the "Evangelical/Missionary Church" space in the census documents.

^e It is not clear whether the code value "Evangelical" in 1981 and 1991 became "Evangelical, n.o.s." in 2001.

Appendix B: Denominations that Outreach Canada Includes as Evangelical based on Denominational Self-identification

Denominations listed are based on the 1991 and 2001 Canadian Census Religious Code Values.

- Adventist
- Apostolic Christian
- Associated Gospel
- Baptist
- Brethren in Christ
- Charismatic Renewal
- Christian and Missionary Alliance
- Christian Assembly
- Christian Congregation
- Churches of Christ, Disciples
- Church of God
- Church of the Nazarene
- Evangelical Free Church
- Mennonite
- Evangelical Methodist
- Evangelical Missionary Church
- Free Methodist
- Methodist, n.o.s.
- Mission de l'Esprit Saint
- Moravian
- New Apostolic
- Pentecostal
- People's Church
- Plymouth or Christian Brethren
- Christian Reformed
- Canadian Reformed
- Dutch Reformed
- Reformed Church of America
- Other Reformed
- Salvation Army
- Standard Church
- Vineyard Christian Fellowship
- Wesleyan
- Worldwide Church of God
- Protestant, n.o.s.
- Other Christian
- Non-denominational
- Interdenominational
- Christian, n.o.s.

Appendix C: The Vision 2000 Statement of Faith

We believe and adhere to:

1. The Holy Scriptures as originally given by God, divinely inspired, infallible, entirely trustworthy; and the only supreme authority in all matters of faith and conduct.
2. One God, eternally existent in three Persons: Father, Son and Holy Spirit.
3. Our Lord Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, His virgin birth, His sinless human life, His divine miracles, His bodily resurrection, His ascension, His mediatorial work, and His personal return in power and glory.
4. The salvation of lost and sinful man through the shed blood of the Lord Jesus Christ by faith apart from works, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit.
5. The Holy Spirit by whose indwelling the believer is enabled to live a holy life to witness and work for the Lord Jesus Christ.
6. The unity in the Spirit of all true believers, the Church, the Body of Christ.
7. The resurrection of both the saved and the lost; they that are saved unto the resurrection of life, and they that are lost unto the resurrection of damnation.

Appendix D: 1961 Census of Canada: Population Code Book -
Religion

1961 Census of Canada Population Code Book

32.

QUESTION 11 - RELIGION

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
Aboriginal	23 Other	Assembly of God	*Pentecostal
Absolute	23 Other	Associated Gospel	23 Other
Absolute Scientist	23 Other	Assyrian Jacobite	23 Other
Absolute Truth	23 Other	Assyrian Jacobite Apostolic	23 Other
Advent Christian	*Adventist	Atheist	20 No Religion
Adventist	*Adventist	Austrian Church	*Roman Catholic
Adventist Christian	*Adventist		
African Methodist Episcopal	23 Other	Baha'is	23 Other
African Orthodox	23 Other	Baptist	*Baptist
Agnostic	23 Other	Baptist Mission	*Baptist
Albanian Church	*Greek Orthodox	Barthian	23 Other
Albanian Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox	Beechy Amish	
Alliance	02 C. and M.A.	Mennonite	*Mennonite
Alone with God	23 Other	Believer	23 Other
All Peoples Church	*United Church	Berthgaler	*Mennonite
All Peoples Mission	*United Church	Bethany	23 Other
Amara Church Society	23 Other	Bethel	23 Other
A.M.E. (Methodist Episcopal)	23 Other	Bethel Gospel	23 Other
American Baptist	*Baptist	Bethel Pentecostal Tabernacle	*Pentecostal
American Baptist Association	*Baptist	Bethelite	23 Other
American Lutheran	*Lutheran	Bible Brethren	*Jehovah's Witnesses
American Methodist Episcopal	23 Other	Bible Christian	*United Church
Amish Mennonite	*Mennonite	Bible Church	23 Other
A.M.O.R.G. (Rosicrucians)	23 Other	Bible Conference	*Jehovah's Witnesses
Anabaptist	*Mennonite	Bible Institute	*Jehovah's Witnesses
Anglican	*Anglican	Bible Pastoral Institute	*Jehovah's Witnesses
Anglican Mission	*Anglican	Bible Sender	*Jehovah's Witnesses
Anglo Catholic	*Anglican	Bible Student	*Jehovah's Witnesses
Anglo Israelite	*Jewish	Birth of Christ	23 Other
Apostolic	23 Other	Blank	Assign
Apostolic Brethren	23 Other	Body of Christ	23 Other
Apostolic Catholic	23 Other	Bohemian Brethren	23 Other
Apostolic Church	23 Other	Brahman (Hindu)	23 Other
Apostolic Faith		Brethren	00 Brethren in Christ
Assembly	*Pentecostal	Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers)	00 Brethren in Christ
Apostolic Faith Mission	*Pentecostal	Brethren in Christ	00
Apostolic Lighthouse	23 Other	Brethren (Plymouth)	21
Apostolic Lutheran	*Lutheran		
Apostolic Mission	23 Other		
Armenian Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox		
Armenian Apostolic	23 Other		
Assembled Body of Christ	23 Other		

* Indicates a marking position provided on schedule.

33.

QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
Brinser	Mennonite	Christian Community of	
British Israelite	23 Other	Universal Brethren	12 Doukhobor
Brothers in Christ	23 Other	Christian Community of	
Brothers of Man	23 Other	Universal Brotherhood	12 Doukhobor
Bruder Gemeinde	*Mennonite	Christian Disciple	23 Other
Bruderhoef Mennonite	*Mennonite	Christian Doctrine	23 Other
Bruderthaler	*Mennonite	Christian Endeavour	23 Other
Buehmanites (Oxford Group)	23 Other	Christian Faith	
Buddhist	01	Doctrine	23 Other
Bulgarian Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox	Christian Fellowship	23 Other
Bukovian Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox	Christian Gathered in	
Bukyo	01 Buddhist	the name of the Lord	23 Other
Bullockites	*Baptist	Christian Orthodox	23 Other
Bunde	*Mennonite	Christian Reformed	03
Burning Bush	23 Other	Christian Reliance	23 Other
		Christian Religion	23 Other
		Christian Saints	23 Other
		Christian Science	*Christian Science
		Christian Scientist	*Christian Science
Calvary Pentecostal	*Pentecostal	Christian Sectarian	23 Other
Calvinist	*Presbyterian	Christian Socialist	23 Other
Canadian Temple	23 Other	Christian Standard	23 Other
C. and M.A.	02	Christian Union	23 Other
Canolite	*Baptist	Christian Unity	*Baptist
Carmelite	23 Other	Christian Universalist	23 Other
Catholic Apostolic	23 Other	Christian Worker	23 Other
C.C.U.B.	12 Doukhobor	Church in the Home	23 Other
Central Christian	23 Other	Church of all Nations	*United Church
Central Gospel	23 Other	Church of Christ	04 Churches
Children of God	23 Other		of Christ,
Children of Light	23 Other	Churches of Christ,	Disciples
Chinese Church	11 Confucian	Disciples	
Chinoquist	23 Other	Church of Christ,	04
Chortitz	*Mennonite	Scientist	*Christian Science
Christadelphian	23 Other	Church of	
Christ Disciple	04 Churches	Czechoslovakia	*Roman Catholic
	of Christ,	Church of Denmark	*Lutheran
	Disciples	Church of Disciples	04 Churches
Christian	23 Other		of Christ,
Christian Alliance	02 C. and M.A.	Church of England	Disciples
Christian and		Church of England	*Anglican
Missionary Alliance	02	Mission	*Anglican
Christian Apostle	23 Other	Church of Faith	23 Other
Christian Assembly	23 Other	Church of First Born	23 Other
Christian Association	23 Other	Church of God	23 Other
Christian Baptist	*Baptist		
Christian Believer	23 Other		
Christian Body	23 Other		
Christian Brethren	21 Plymouth Brethren		

34.

QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
Church of God, Adventist	*Adventist	Covenanter C.S.	*Presbyterian *Christian Science
Church of God in Christ (Mennonite)	*Mennonite	Czechoslovakian Church	*Roman Catholic
Church of God in Christ (Pentecostal)	*Pentecostal		
Church of God, Mennonite	*Mennonite	Daniel's Band	23 Other
Church of God (New Dunker)	00 Brethren in Christ	Danish Church	*Lutheran
Church of Grace	23 Other	Danish Evangelical Free Church Association	23 Other
Church of Ireland	*Anglican	Danish Evangelical Lutheran	*Lutheran
Church of Jerusalem	23 Other	Darby Brethren	23 Other
Church of Jesus	23 Other	Defenseless Mennonite	*Mennonite
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	*Mormon	Deist (Indians)	23 Other
Church of Latter Day Saints	*Mormon	Denmark Church	*Lutheran
Church of the Brethren	00 Brethren in Christ	Disciple Baptist	04 Churches of Christ, Disciples
Church of the Living God	23 Other	Disciple of Christ	04 Churches of Christ, Disciples
Church of the Lutheran Brethren	*Lutheran	Disciples	04 Churches of Christ, Disciples
Church of the Nazarene	10	Dissenters	23 Other
Church of New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian)	23 Other	Divine Revelation	23 Other
Church of the Redeemed	23 Other	Divine Scientist	*Christian Science
Church of Scotland	*Presbyterian	Dooper	*Mennonite
Church of Sweden	*Lutheran	Doopsgezinde	*Mennonite
Church of Truth	23 Other	Door of Hope	23 Other
C.M.A.	02 C. and M.A.	Doukhobor	12
Coloured Primitive Baptist	*Baptist	Druid	23 Other
Community Church	23 Other	Druise	23 Other
Confessional	23 Other	Dunkard (German Baptist)	00 Brethren in Christ
Confucian	11	Dunker (German Baptist)	00 Brethren in Christ
Congregational (Toronto, Kingston & Stratford)	23 Other	Dutch Church	23 Other
Congregational (except Toronto, Kingston & Stratford)	*United Church	Dutch Reform	23 Other
Connectional	23 Other		
Conservative Dunker (German Baptist)	00 Brethren in Christ	Eastern Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox
Conservative Friends	23 Other	Elimite	23 Other
Conservative Mennonite	*Mennonite	Elin	23 Other
Cosmopolitan	23 Other	Elin Chapel	23 Other

QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
Episcopalian	*Anglican	First Christian	
Esoteric Law (Theosophist)	23 Other	Reformed	03
Estonian Church	*Lutheran	First Church of	*Christian
Evangelical Adventist	*Adventist	Christ, Scientist	Science
Evangelical and		Followers of Christ	23 Other
Reformed	23 Other	Followers of God	23 Other
Evangelical Association)	13 Evangelical	Followers of Ideas	23 Other
Evangelical Church)	United	Followers of Jesus	23 Other
Evangelical Free)	Brethren	Four Square	23 Other
Evangelical Lutheran	*Lutheran	Four Square Gospel	23 Other
Evangelical Mennonite	*Mennonite	Free Baptist	*Baptist
Brethren	*Mennonite	Free Brethren	23 Other
Evangelical Mennonite	*Mennonite	Free Christian	23 Other
Church (Kleingemeinde)		Free Church	*Presbyterian
Evangelical Mission		Free Church of England	
Covenant	23 Other	(Reformed Episcopal)	23 Other
Evangelical United		Free Church of Scotland	*Presbyterian
Brethren	13	Free Evangelical	*Presbyterian
Evangelical Unity of		Free Gospel Assembly	*Pentecostal
Bohemian and		Free Lutheran	*Lutheran
Moravian Brethren	23 Other	Free Methodist	14
Evangelist	23 Other	Free Methodist Church	14
Evangelist Association	23 Other	Free Presbyterian	*Presbyterian
Evangelist Church	23 Other	Free Thinker	23 Other
Evangelist in Gilead	23 Other	Free Will Baptist	*Baptist
Evening Lights	23 Other	French Baptist	*Baptist
Evolutionist	23 Other	Friends (Quakers)	23 Other
Exclusive Brethren	21 Plymouth	Friends of Augsburg	*Lutheran
	Brethren	Full Gospel Assembly	*Pentecostal
		Full Gospel Mission	*Pentecostal
		Full Gospel Tabernacle	*Pentecostal
		Fundamentalists	
		(Buchmanism)	23 Other
Faith	23 Other		
Faith Healers	23 Other		
Faith of Christ	23 Other		
Faith of Jesus	23 Other		
Faith Tabernacle	*Pentecostal	General Baptist	*Baptist
Farrington Independent	*Presbyterian	General Conference	
Father Divine	23 Other	Mennonite	*Mennonite
Federated	23 Other	General Six Principle	
Fellowship	23 Other	Baptist	*Baptist
Finnish Apostle	*Lutheran	German Baptist	00 Brethren
Finnish Apostolic		Brethren	in Christ
Lutheran	*Lutheran	German Baptist (Dunker)	00 Brethren
Finnish Church	*Lutheran		in Christ
Finnish Evangelical		German Church	*Lutheran
Lutheran	*Lutheran	German Evangelical	*Lutheran
First Brethren	23 Other	German Evangelical	
First Christian	23 Other	Lutheran	*Lutheran

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QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
German Free	*Lutheran	Hindu	23 Other
German Presbyterian	*Presbyterian	Holiness	23 Other
German Reform	*Lutheran	Holiness Church	23 Other
German Seventh-Day Baptist	*Baptist	Holiness Movement	14 Free Methodist
German United	*United Church	Holiness Movement Mission	14 Free Methodist
Gerside Mission	23 Other	Holy Ghost	23 Other
Geskougtoong	01 Buddhist	Holy Gospel	23 Other
God and Christ	23 Other	Holy Rollers	*Pentecostal
God's Children	23 Other	Hope Gospel	23 Other
God, Deist	23 Other	Hornerites (Standard Church)	23 Other
God's Way	23 Other	House of David	23 Other
Golden Rule	23 Other	House of God	23 Other
Go Preacher	23 Other	House of Israel	*Jewish
Gospel	23 Other	House of Jacob	*Jewish
Gospel Assembly	23 Other	Huguenot	23 Other
Gospel Association	23 Other	Humanitarian	23 Other
Gospel Believer	23 Other	Hungarian Catholic	*Roman Catholic
Gospel Brethren	23 Other	Hussite	23 Other
Gospel Church	23 Other	Hutterian Brethren	*Mennonite
Gospel Evangelist	23 Other	Hutterische Breuder	*Mennonite
Gospel Fellowship	23 Other	Hutterite	*Mennonite
Gospel Friends	23 Other		
Gospel Hall	23 Other		
Gospel Lutheran	*Lutheran		
Gospel Mission	23 Other		
Gospel Preacher	23 Other		
Gospel Trumpet	23 Other	I am Activity	23 Other
Gospel Workers	23 Other	I.B.S.A.	*Jehovah's Witnesses
Goughite	23 Other		
Go Ye	23 Other	Icelandic Church	*Lutheran
Grace and Truth	23 Other	Independent	23 Other
Greek Catholic	*Ukrainian Catholic	Independent Baptist	*Baptist
	23 Other	Independent Baptist Church of America	*Baptist
Greek Independent	*Greek Orthodox	Independent Bible Student	*Jehovah's Witnesses
Greek Orthodox	23 Other	Independent Brethren	23 Other
Gregorian	*Anglican	Independent Doukhobor	12 Doukhobor
Grenfell Mission	23 Other	Independent Greek	23 Other
Guild of Health	23 Other	Infidel	20 No Religion
		Infinite Science	23 Other
Heathen	23 Other	Inner Light	23 Other
Hebrew	*Jewish	Interdenominational	23 Other
Hebrew School	*Jewish	Interdenominational Four Square	
Hermetic (Theosophist)	23 Other	International Bible	23 Other *Jehovah's Witnesses
Hicksite	23 Other		
Higher Metaphysics	23 Other		
Higher Thought	23 Other		

37.

QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
International Bible Society	*Jehovah's Witnesses	Labour Church	23 Other
International Bible Student	*Jehovah's Witnesses	Last Message of God	23 Other
International Bible Students Association	*Jehovah's Witnesses	Latitudinarian	23 Other
Irvingites (Apostolic Catholic)	23 Other	Latter Day Saints	*Mormon
Islam (Mohammedan)	23 Other	Latter House of Israel	23 Other
Israelite	*Jewish	Lee Hing	11 Confucian
Italian Christian	23 Other	Liberal Catholic	23 Other
Jacobite Church	23 Other	Liberal Christian	22 Unitarian
Jains (India)	23 Other	Life and Advent Union	*Adventist
Jansenist	23 Other	Lighthouse Mission	23 Other
Japanese Church	01 Buddhist	Lithuanian National Catholic	23 Other
Japanese Temple	01 Buddhist	Longhouse (Deist, Indians)	23 Other
Jehovah's Witness	*Jehovah's Witnesses	Lord's Church	23 Other
Jesus Only	23 Other	Lot of Jesus	23 Other
Jesus Way	23 Other	Lutheran	*Lutheran
Jesus Word	23 Other	Lutheran Evangelical	*Lutheran
Jewish	*Jewish	Lutheran Reform	*Lutheran
Joculist	23 Other	MacDonalдите	*Presbyterian
Johannite	23 Other	McLean Mission	*Presbyterian
Judaism	*Jewish	McQuinnitte	23 Other
Jugendveniens	*Mennonite	Marantha Hall (Toronto)	23 Other
Kabalarian	23 Other	Materialist	23 Other
Kalvinist	*Presbyterian	Mazdaism	23 Other
Kavalik Rim	*Roman Catholic	Megiddo	23 Other
Kedron	23 Other	Memorial Institute (Toronto)	*Baptist
Kingdom	23 Other	Mennonite	*Mennonite
Kingdom of God Fellowship	23 Other	Mennonite Baptist	*Mennonite
Kirchen	*Lutheran	Mennonite Brethren	*Mennonite
Kirk	*Presbyterian	Mennonite Brethren in Christ	Now United Missionary Church
Kleine-Gemeinde	*Mennonite	Mennonite Church	*Mennonite
Knight of God	23 Other	Mennonite Mission	*Mennonite
Knight of Plymouth	23 Other	Messiah	23 Other
Krimmer-Bruder-Gemeinde	*Mennonite	Methodist (not Free or Wesleyan)	*United Church
Krimmer Mennonite Brethren	*Mennonite	Methodist (African)	23 Other
		Methodist Bible Student	*United Church
		Methodist Chapel	*United Church
		Methodist (Free)	11
		Methodist (Wesleyan)	23 Other
		Millenial Dawn	*Jehovah's Witnesses

38.

QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
Missionary Alliance	02 C. and M.A.	New Testimony	23 Other
Mission	23 Other	New Thought	23 Other
Mission Brothers	23 Other	New Thought Science	23 Other
Mission Church	23 Other	New Truth	23 Other
Mission Covenant	23 Other	No Church	23 Other
Mission Friends	23 Other	Non Believer	20 No Religion
Mission Workers	23 Other	Non Christian	20 No Religion
Modern Church	23 Other	Non Conformist	23 Other
Mohammedan	23 Other	Nondenominational	23 Other
Monist	23 Other	None	20 No Religion
Moravian	23 Other	Non Sectarian	23 Other
Moravian Brethren	23 Other	No Preference	23 Other
Mormon	*Mormon	No Religion	20
Mosaic	*Jewish	Norwegian Church	*Lutheran
Mosaic Doctrine	*Jewish	Norwegian Synod	*Lutheran
Moslem	23 Other	Not Stated	Assign
Muslim	23 Other		
		Obbenites	*Mennonite
Name of the Lord	23 Other	Occult	23 Other
National Catholic		Old Catholic	*Greek Orthodox
(Polish)	23 Other	Old Colony	*Mennonite
Nationalist	23 Other	Old German Baptist	00 Brethren
Nazarene	10 Church of	Brethren (Dunker)	in Christ
	the	Old Order Amish	
	Nazarene	Mennonite Church	*Mennonite
Neder D.H.	*Mennonite	Old Order Dunkard	00 Brethren
Netherland Hevoring	*Mennonite		in Christ
Negro Baptist	*Baptist	Old Order Wisler	*Mennonite
Neutral	23 Other	Old School Baptist	*Baptist
New Apostolic	23 Other	Oliver Gospel	23 Other
New Baptist	*Baptist	Open Bible	23 Other
New Church		Open Brethren	21 Plymouth
(Swedenborgian)	23 Other		Brethren
New Connection		Open Door Mission	23 Other
Methodist	*United Church	Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox
New Dunker (German	00 Brethren	Orthodox Catholic	*Greek Orthodox
Baptist)	in Christ	Orthodox Conservative	
New Free Church	*Presbyterian	Friends	23 Other
New Gospel	23 Other	Orthodox Doukhor	12 Doukhor
New Jerusalem		Oxford Group	
(Swedenborgian)	23 Other	(Buchmanites)	23 Other
New Light			
(Swedenborgian)	23 Other		
New Mennonite	*Mennonite		
New Reform	23 Other	Pagan	23 Other
New Testament	23 Other	Pantheist	23 Other
New Testament of Christ	23 Other	P.A. of Canada	*Pentecostal

39.

QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
Pentecostal	*Pentecostal	Reconciliationist	23 Other
Pentecostal Assembly of Canada	*Pentecostal	Redeemer	23 Other
Pentecostal Association of Canada	*Pentecostal	Reformation	23 Other
Pentecostal Bands of the World	*Pentecostal	Reformationist	23 Other
Pentecostal Brethren in Christ	*Pentecostal	Reformed Baptist Alliance	23 Other
Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	*Pentecostal	Reformed Church	23 Other
Pentecostal Holiness	*Pentecostal	Reformed Church (Christian)	03
Pentecostal Mission	*Pentecostal	Reformed Church (Dutch)	23 Other
Pentecostal Saints	*Pentecostal	Reformed Church of France	23 Other
People's Church	*Pentecostal	Reformed Episcopal	23 Other
Pilgrim Brethren	*United Church	Reformed Lutheran	*Lutheran
Pilgrim Holiness	23 Other	Reformed Mennonite	*Mennonite
Pillar of Fire	23 Other	Reformed Methodist	*United Church
Plymouth Brethren	21	Reformed Presbyterian	*Presbyterian
Polish Catholic Church	*Roman Catholic	Reformist	23 Other
Polish National Catholic Church	23 Other	Regular Baptist	*Baptist
Practical Christianity	23 Other	Religious Brethren	23 Other
Practical Metaphysics	23 Other	Religious Society of Friends	23 Other
Practical Methodist	*United Church	Religious Thought	23 Other
Prairie Bible Institute	23 Other	Remonstrant	23 Other
Predestinarian Baptist	*Baptist	Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	*Mormon
Presbyterian	*Presbyterian	Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints	*Mormon
Presbyterian Church of Canada	*Presbyterian	Reorganized Labour Church	23 Other
Primitive Baptist	*Baptist	Reorganized Latter Day Saints	*Mormon
Primitive Brethren	23 Other	Restitutionist	23 Other
Primitive Church	23 Other	Rissler Mennonite	*Mennonite
Primitive Friends	23 Other	River Brethren	00 Brethren in Christ
Primitive Methodist	*United Church	Roman Catholic	*Roman Catholic
Prodigal	23 Other	R. C.	*Roman Catholic
Progressive Brethren (Dunker)	00 Brethren in Christ	Romanoff	23 Other
Protestant Episcopal	*Anglican	Rosicrucian	23 Other
Prowachawny	*Greek Orthodox	Rosenort	*Mennonite
Publican	23 Other	Rotarian	23 Other
Puritan	23 Other	Roumanian Orthodox	Greek Orthodox
Quakers (Friends)	23 Other	Round Church	23 Other
Radical	23 Other	Rudnerweide	*Mennonite
Rationalist	23 Other	Russellite	*Jehovah's Witnesses
		Russian Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox

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QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

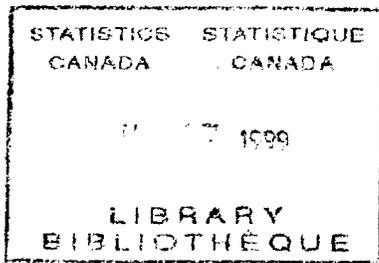
RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
Russian Protestant	23 Other	Spiritualist	23 Other
Russian Schism	23 Other	Standard Church	23 Other
Ruthenian Catholic	*Ukrainian Catholic	Stauffer	*Mennonite
Sabbath Keeper	23 Other	Stauffer Mennonite	*Mennonite
Saints	23 Other	Students of Right	23 Other
Salem Church (Methodist)	*United Church	Stundist	*Baptist
Salvation Army	*Salvation Army	Sun Worshipper	23 Other
Salvation Army of America	*Salvation Army	Svobodniki	12 Doukhobor
Salvationist	*Salvation Army	Swedenborgian (New Church)	23 Other
Samaritan	23 Other	Swedenborgian (New Jerusalem)	23 Other
Saved by Grace	23 Other	Swedenborgian (New Light)	23 Other
Scandinavian Evangelical	*Lutheran	Swedish Baptist	*Baptist
Schenatic	*Mennonite	Swedish Church	*Lutheran
Schismatic	23 Other	Swedish Methodist	United Church
Schonweiser	23 Other	Swedish Mission	*Lutheran
Schwenkfelders	23 Other	Synagogue	*Jewish
Scientist	*Christian Science	Syrian Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox
Secularist	23 Other	Talmud Torah	*Jewish
Separate Baptist	*Baptist	Taoist (Chinese)	23 Other
Serbian Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox	Taufer	*Mennonite
Seventh-Day Adventist	*Adventist	Taufgesinde	*Mennonite
Seventh-Day Baptist	*Baptist	Temple (Canadian)	23 Other
Seventh-Day Sabbath Keeper	*Adventist	Temple of Abundant Life	23 Other
Shakers	23 Other	Temple of God	23 Other
Sharon Bible Institute	23 Other	Temple of Jesus	23 Other
Shinto	23 Other	Temple Society	23 Other
Sikh	23 Other	Testimony of Jesus	23 Other
Sikh Temple	23 Other	Therapeutic	23 Other
Singh	23 Other	Theosophical Society	23 Other
Skeptic	23 Other	Theosophist	23 Other
Slovak Lutheran	*Lutheran	Theosophy	23 Other
Socialist	23 Other	Thinker	23 Other
Society of Brothers	*Mennonite	True Church	23 Other
Society of Friends	23 Other	True Gospel	23 Other
Solomon Reformist	23 Other	True Way	23 Other
Sommerfelder	*Mennonite	Truth	23 Other
Sons of David	*Jewish	Tunker (German Baptist)	00 Brethren in Christ
Sons of Freedom	12 Doukhobor	Two by Two	23 Other
Sons of Jacob	*Jewish	Two-Seed-in-the- Spirit	
Spiritual Community of Christ	12 Doukhobor	Predestinarian	*Baptist

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QUESTION 11 - RELIGION - Con.

RELIGION	MARK or CODE	RELIGION	MARK or CODE
Ukrainian Catholic	*Ukrainian Catholic	Universalist	23 Other
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*Ukrainian Catholic	Unknown	Assign
Ukrainian National	23 Other	Vedanta Society	23 Other
Ukrainian Orthodox	*Greek Orthodox	Volunteers of America	23 Other
Unattached	23 Other		
Unbeliever	20 No Religion		
Undenominational Mission	23 Other	Watch Tower	*Jehovah's Witnesses
Union	23 Other	Welsh Church (Congregational)	*United Church
Union Gospel	23 Other	Welsh Independent	23 Other
Union Society	23 Other	Wesleyan	23 Other
Unitarian	22	Wesleyan Methodist	23 Other
United American Free Will Baptist, Coloured	*Baptist	Wesleyan Methodist Connection	23 Other
United Baptist	*Baptist	Wilburite (Friends)	23 Other
United Brethren)	13 Evangelical	Wisler Mennonite	*Mennonite
United Brethren)	United Brethren	Worker	23 Other
in Christ)	Church		
United Christian)	*United Church		
United Church	*United Church	Zen Woo Society	23 Other
United Church of Canada	23 Other	Zion	23 Other
United Church of Christ	*United Church	Zion Chapel	23 Other
United Church Mission	*Lutheran	Zion Evangelical	13 Evangelical
United Danish Evangelical Lutheran	23 Other		United Brethren
United Evangelist	*Presbyterian	Zion Evangelist	23 Other
United Free	*Presbyterian	Zionist Movement	*Jewish
United Free Church of Scotland	*Presbyterian	Zionist Organization	*Jewish
United Friends	23 Other	Zion Mennonite	*Mennonite
United Missionary Church	23 Other	Zion Reform	23 Other
United Presbyterian	*United Church	Zoroaster	23 Other
Unity	23 Other	Zwingli	23 Other

Appendix E: 1971 Census of Canada: Population Code Book -
Religion



1971 Census of Canada
Population Code Book

Preface

This manual contains the classifications and codes needed for the coding of "write-in" answers to various demographic characteristics and is to be used by Regional Office Processing staff working in Operations 5 and 6.

It is separated into sections relating to the various questions. Each set of pages referring to a specific question contains a summary of codes for that question; the specific groups or classifications that respondents could write in with the code to be used for designating this and, for some questions, assignment tables.

If it is found during processing, that classifications have been missed, this manual will be updated in accordance with instructions.

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGIONSUMMARY OF CODESABBREVIATION USED:

C. and M.A. - Christian and Missionary
Alliance

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Anglican	*	C. and M.A.	17
Baptist	*	Christian Reformed	18
Greek Orthodox	*	Christian Science	19
Jewish	*	Churches of Christ, Disciples	20
Lutheran	*	Church of the Nazarene	21
Mennonite	*	Confucian	22
Pentecostal	*	Doukhorbor	23
Presbyterian	*	Free Methodist	25
Roman Catholic	*	Hutterite	26
Salvation Army	*	Jehovah's Witnesses	27
Ukrainian Catholic	*	Mormon	28
United Church	*	Plymouth Brethren	29
No Religion	*	Unitarian	30
Adventist	14	Other	31
Brethren in Christ	15		
Buddhist	16		

* Indicates a marking position provided on schedule.

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Aboriginal	31 Other	Apostolic Lutheran	* Lutheran
Absolute	31 Other	Apostolic Mission	31 Other
Absolute Scientist ..	31 Other	Armenian Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox
Absolute Truth	31 Other	Armenian Apostolic	31 Other
Advent Christian	14 Adventist	Assembled Body of	
Adventist	14 Adventist	Christ	31 Other
Adventist Christian	14 Adventist	Assembly of God ...	* Pentecostal
African Methodist		Associated Gospel	31 Other
Episcopal	31 Other	Assyrian Jacobite	31 Other
African Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox	Assyrian Jacobite	
Agnostic	31 Other	Apostolic	31 Other
Albanian Church	* Greek Orthodox	Atheist	* No Religion
Albanian Orthodox ...	* Greek Orthodox	Austrian Church ...	* Roman Catholic
Alliance	17 C. and M.A.		
All People's Church	* United Church	Baha'is	31 Other
All People's Mission	* United Church	Baptist	* Baptist
Alone with God	31 Other	Baptist Mission ...	* Baptist
Amana Church Society	14 Adventist	Barthian	31 Other
A.M.E. (Methodist		Beachy Amish	
Episcopal)	31 Other	Mennonite	* Mennonite
American Baptist	* Baptist	Believer	31 Other
American Baptist		Berthgaler	* Mennonite
Association	* Baptist	Bethany	31 Other
American Lutheran ...	* Lutheran	Bethel	31 Other
American Methodist		Bethel Gospel	31 Other
Episcopal	31 Other	Bethelite	31 Other
Amish Mennonite	* Mennonite	Bethel Pentecostal	
A.M.O.R.C.		Tabernacle	* Pentecostal
(Rosicrucians)	31 Other	Bible Brethren	27 Jehovah's
Anabaptist	* Mennonite	Witnesses	
Anglican	* Anglican	Bible Christian ...	* United Church
Anglican Mission	* Anglican	Bible Church	31 Other
Anglo Catholic	* Anglican	Bible Conference ..	27 Jehovah's
Anglo Israelite	31 Other	Witnesses	
Apostolic	31 Other	Bible Institute ...	27 Jehovah's
Apostolic Brethren ..	31 Other	Witnesses	
Apostolic Catholic ..	31 Other	Bible Pastoral	
Apostolic Church	31 Other	Institute	27 Jehovah's
Apostolic Faith		Witnesses	
Assembly	* Pentecostal	Bible Sender	27 Jehovah's
Apostolic Faith		Witnesses	
Mission	31 Other	Bible Student	27 Jehovah's
Apostolic Lighthouse	31 Other	Witnesses	

* Indicates a marking position provided on schedule.

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Birth of Christ	31 Other	Chortitz	* Mennonite
Blank	Computer assign.	Christadelphian ...	31 Other
Body of Christ	31 Other	Christ Disciple ...	20 Churches of Christ, Disciples
Bohemian Brethren ...	31 Other	Christian	31 Other
Brahman (Hindu)	31 Other	Christian Alliance	17 C. and M.A.
Brethren	15 Brethren in Christ	Christian and Missionary Alliance	17 C. and M.A.
Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers)	15 Brethren in Christ	Christian Apostle	31 Other
Brethren in Christ ..	15 Brethren in Christ	Christian Assembly	31 Other
Brethren (Plymouth)	29 Plymouth Brethren	Christian Association	31 Other
Brinser	* Mennonite	Christian Baptist	* Baptist
British Israelite ...	31 Other	Christian Believer	31 Other
British Methodist ...	31 Other	Christian Body	31 Other
British Methodist Episcopal	31 Other	Christian Brethren	31 Other
Brothers of Man	31 Other	Christian Community of Universal Brethren	23 Doukhobor
Bruder Gemeinde	* Mennonite	Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood	23 Doukhobor
Bruderhoef Mennonite	* Mennonite	Christian Disciple	31 Other
Bruderthaler	* Mennonite	Christian Doctrine	31 Other
Buchmanites (Oxford Group)	31 Other	Christian Endeavour	31 Other
Buddhist	16 Buddhist	Christian Faith Doctrine	31 Other
Bukovinian Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox	Christian Fellow- ship	31 Other
Bukyo	16 Buddhist	Christian Gathered in the name of the Lord	31 Other
Bulgarian Orthodox ..	* Greek Orthodox	Christian Orthodox	31 Other
Bullockites	* Baptist	Christian Reformed	18 Christian Reformed
Bunde	* Mennonite	Christian Reliance	31 Other
Burning Bush	31 Other	Christian Religion	31 Other
Calvary Pentecostal	* Pentecostal	Christian Saints ..	31 Other
Calvinist	* Presbyterian	Christian Science	19 Christian Science
Canadian Temple	31 Other	Christian Scientist	19 Christian Science
C. and M.A.	17 C. and M.A.	Christian Sectarian	31 Other
Canolite	* Baptist	Christian Socialist	31 Other
Carmelite	* Roman Catholic	Christian Standard	31 Other
Catholic Apostolic ..	31 Other	Christian Union ...	31 Other
C.C.U.B.	23 Doukhobor	Christian Unity ...	* Baptist
Central Christian ...	31 Other	Christian Universalist	31 Other
Central Gospel	* Pentecostal		
Children of God	31 Other		
Children of Light ...	31 Other		
Chinese Church	22 Confucian		
Chinoquist	31 Other		
Canadian Reformed	31 Other		

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Christian Worker	31 Other	Church of the	
Church in the Home ..	31 Other	Brethren	15 Brethren in Christ
Church of all Nations *	United Church	Church of the	
Church of Christ	20 Churches of Christ, Disciples	Living God	31 Other
Churches of Christ, Disciples	20 Churches of Christ, Disciples	Church of the Lutheran Brethren	* Lutheran
Church of Christ, Scientist	19 Christian Science	Church of the Nazarene	21 Church of the Nazarene
Church of Czechoslovakia	* Roman Catholic	Church of the Redeemed	31 Other
Church of Denmark ...	* Lutheran	Church of Truth ...	31 Other
Church of Disciples	20 Churches of Christ, Disciples	C.M.A.	17 C. and M.A.
Church of England ...	* Anglican	Coloured Primitive Baptist	* Baptist
Church of England Mission	* Anglican	Community Church ..	31 Other
Church of Faith	31 Other	Confessional	31 Other
Church of First Born	31 Other	Confucian	22 Confucian
Church of God	31 Other	Congregational	31 Other
Church of God, Adventist	14 Adventist	Connectional	31 Other
Church of God in Christ (Mennonite) *	Mennonite	Conservative Dunker (German Baptist)	15 Brethren in Christ
Church of God in Christ (Pentecostal)	* Pentecostal	Conservative Friends	31 Other
Church of God, Mennonite	* Mennonite	Conservative Mennonite	* Mennonite
Church of God (New Dunker)	15 Brethren in Christ	Cosmopolitan	31 Other
Church of Grace	31 Other	Covenanter	* Presbyterian
Church of Ireland ...	* Anglican	C.S.	19 Christian Science
Church of Jerusalem	31 Other	Czechoslovakian Church	* Roman Catholic
Church of Jesus	31 Other	Daniel's Band	31 Other
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	28 Mormon	Danish Church	* Lutheran
Church of Latter Day Saints	28 Mormon	Danish Evangelical Free Church Association	31 Other
Church of New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) ...	31 Other	Danish Evangelical Lutheran	* Lutheran
Church of Scotland ..	* Presbyterian	Darby Brethren	31 Other
Church of Sweden	* Lutheran	Defenceless Mennonite	* Mennonite
Church of God of Prophecy	31 Other	Deist (Indians) ...	31 Other
		Denmark Church	* Lutheran
		Disciple Baptist ..	20 Churches of Christ, Disciples

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Disciple of Christ ..	20 Churches of Christ, Disciples	Evangelical United Brethren	* United Church
Disciples	20 Churches of Christ, Disciples	Evangelical Unity of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren	31 Other
Dissenters	31 Other	Evangelist	31 Other
Divine Revelation ...	31 Other	Evangelist Association	31 Other
Divine Scientist	19 Christian Science	Evangelist Church	31 Other
Dooper	* Mennonite	Evangelist in Gilead	31 Other
Doopsgezinde	* Mennonite	Evening Lights	31 Other
Door of Hope	31 Other	Evolutionist	31 Other
Doukhobor	23 Doukhobor	Exclusive Brethren	29 Plymouth Brethren
Druid	31 Other	Faith	31 Other
Druise	31 Other	Faith Healers	31 Other
Dunkard (German Baptist)	15 Brethren in Christ	Faith of Christ ...	31 Other
Dunker (German Baptist)	15 Brethren in Christ	Faith of Jesus	31 Other
Dutch Church	18 Christian Reformed	Faith Tabernacle ..	* Pentecostal
Dutch Reform	18 Christian Reformed	Farrington Independent	* Presbyterian
Eastern Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox	Father Divine	31 Other
Elim	* Pentecostal	Federated	31 Other
Elim Chapel	* Pentecostal	Fellowship	31 Other
Elimite	* Pentecostal	Finnish Apostle ...	* Lutheran
Episcopalian	* Anglican	Finnish Apostolic Lutheran	* Lutheran
Esoteric Law (Theosophist)	31 Other	Finnish Church	* Lutheran
Estonian Church	* Lutheran	Finnish Evangelical Lutheran	* Lutheran
Evangelical Adventist	14 Adventist	First Brethren	31 Other
Evangelical and Reformed	31 Other	First Christian ...	31 Other
Evangelical Association	* United Church	First Christian Reformed	18 Christian Reformed
Evangelical Church ..	* United Church	First Church of Christ, Scientist	19 Christian Science
Evangelical Free	* United Church	Followers of Christ	31 Other
Evangelical Lutheran	* Lutheran	Followers of God	31 Other
Evangelical Mennonite Brethren	* Mennonite	Followers of Ideas	31 Other
Evangelical Mennonite Church (Klein-gemeinde)	* Mennonite	Followers of Jesus	31 Other
Evangelical Mission Covenant	31 Other	Four Square	* Pentecostal
		Four Square Gospel	* Pentecostal
		Free Baptist	* Baptist
		Free Brethren	31 Other
		Free Christian	31 Other
		Free Church	* Presbyterian

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Free Church of England (Reformed Episcopal)	31 Other	God, Deist	31 Other
Free Church of Scotland	* Presbyterian	God's Children	31 Other
Free Evangelical	* Presbyterian	God's Way	31 Other
Free Gospel Assembly	* Pentecostal	Golden Rule	31 Other
Free Lutheran	* Lutheran	Go Preacher	31 Other
Free Methodist	25 Free Methodist	Gospel	* Pentecostal
Free Methodist Church	25 Free Methodist	Gospel Assembly	* Pentecostal
Free Presbyterian ...	* Presbyterian	Gospel Association	* Pentecostal
Free Thinker	31 Other	Gospel Believer ...	* Pentecostal
Free Will Baptist ...	* Baptist	Gospel Brethren ...	* Pentecostal
French Baptist	* Baptist	Gospel Church	* Pentecostal
Friends (Quakers) ...	31 Other	Gospel Evangelist	* Pentecostal
Friends of Augsburg	* Lutheran	Gospel Fellowship	* Pentecostal
Full Gospel Assembly	* Pentecostal	Gospel Friends	* Pentecostal
Full Gospel Mission	* Pentecostal	Gospel Hall	* Pentecostal
Full Gospel Taber- nacle	* Pentecostal	Gospel Lutheran ...	* Lutheran
Fundamentalists (Buchmanism)	31 Other	Gospel Mission	* Pentecostal
General Baptist	* Baptist	Gospel Preacher ...	* Pentecostal
General Conference Mennonite	* Mennonite	Gospel Trumpet	* Pentecostal
General Six Principle Baptist	* Baptist	Gospel Workers	* Pentecostal
German Baptist Brethren	15 Brethren in Christ	Goughite	31 Other
German Baptist (Dunker)	15 Brethren in Christ	Go Ye	31 Other
German Church	* Lutheran	Grace and Truth ...	31 Other
German Evangelical ..	* Lutheran	Greek Catholic	* Ukrainian Catholic
German Evangelical Lutheran	* Lutheran	Greek Independent	31 Other
German Free	* Lutheran	Greek Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox
German Presbyterian	* Presbyterian	Gregorian	31 Other
German Reform	* Lutheran	Grenfell Mission ...	* Anglican
German Seventh-Day Baptist	* Baptist	Guild of Health	31 Other
German United	* United Church	Heathen	31 Other
Gerside Mission	31 Other	Hebrew	* Jewish
Geskougtoong	16 Buddhist	Hebrew School	* Jewish
God and Christ	31 Other	Hermetic (Theoso- phist)	31 Other
		Hicksite	31 Other
		Higher Metaphysics	31 Other
		Higher Thought	31 Other
		Hindu	31 Other
		Holiness	31 Other
		Holiness Church ...	31 Other
		Holiness Movement	25 Free Methodist
		Holiness Movement Mission	25 Free Methodist
		Holy Ghost	31 Other
		Holy Gospel	* Pentecostal
		Holy Rollers	* Pentecostal

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Hope Gospel	31 Other	Islam (Mohammedan)	31 Other
Hornerites (Standard Church)	31 Other	Israelite	* Jewish
House of David	31 Other	Italian Christian	31 Other
House of God	31 Other	Jacobite Church ...	31 Other
House of Israel	* Jewish	Jains (India)	31 Other
House of Jacob	* Jewish	Jansenist	31 Other
Huguenot	31 Other	Japanese Church ...	16 Buddhist
Humanitarian	31 Other	Japanese Temple ...	16 Buddhist
Hungarian Catholic ..	* Roman Catholic	Jehovah's Witness	27 Jehovah's Witnesses
Hussite	31 Other	Jesus Only	31 Other
Hutterian Brethren ..	26 Hutterite	Jesus Way	31 Other
Hutterische Breuder	26 Hutterite	Jesus Word	31 Other
Hutterite	26 Hutterite	Jewish	* Jewish
I am Activity	31 Other	Joculist	31 Other
I.B.S.A.	27 Jehovah's Witnesses	Johannite	31 Other
Icelandic Church	* Lutheran	Judaism	* Jewish
Independent	31 Other	Jugendveniensiens	* Mennonite
Independent Baptist	* Baptist	Kabalarian	31 Other
Independent Baptist Church of America	* Baptist	Kalvinist	* Presbyterian
Independent Bible Student	27 Jehovah's Witnesses	Kavalik Rim	* Roman Catholic
Independent Brethren	31 Other	Kedron	31 Other
Independent Doukhorobor	23 Doukhorobor	Kingdom	31 Other
Independent Greek ...	31 Other	Kingdom of God Fellowship	31 Other
Infidel	* No Religion	Kirchen	* Lutheran
Infinite Science	31 Other	Kirk	* Presbyterian
Inner Light	31 Other	Kleine-Gemeinde ...	* Mennonite
Interdenominational	31 Other	Knight of God	31 Other
Interdenominational Four Square	* Pentecostal	Knight of Plymouth	31 Other
International Bible	27 Jehovah's Witnesses	Krimmer-Bruder-Gemeinde	* Mennonite
International Bible Society	27 Jehovah's Witnesses	Krimmer Mennonite Brethren	* Mennonite
International Bible Student	27 Jehovah's Witnesses	Labour Church	31 Other
International Bible Students Association	27 Jehovah's Witnesses	Last Message of God	31 Other
Irvingites (Apostolic Catholic)	31 Other	Latitudinarian	31 Other
Isma'ili Muslim	31 Other	Latter Day Saints	28 Mormon
		Latter House of Israel	31 Other
		Lee Hing	22 Confucian
		Liberal Catholic ..	31 Other
		Liberal Christian	30 Unitarian
		Life and Advent Union	14 Adventist
		Lighthouse Mission	31 Other

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Lithuanian National		Modern Church	31 Other
Catholic	31 Other	Mohammedan	31 Other
Longhouse (Deist, Indians)	31 Other	Monist	31 Other
Lord's Church	31 Other	Monotheist	31 Other
Lot of Jesus	31 Other	Moral Rearmament (M.R.A.)	31 Other
Lutheran	* Lutheran	Moravian	31 Other
Lutheran Evangelical	* Lutheran	Moravian Brethren	31 Other
Lutheran Reform	* Lutheran	Mormon	28 Mormon
MacDonaldite	* Presbyterian	Mosaic	* Jewish
Marantha Hall (Toronto)	31 Other	Mosaic Doctrine ...	* Jewish
Materialist	31 Other	Moslem	31 Other
Mazdaism	31 Other	Muslim	31 Other
McLean Mission	* Presbyterian	Name of the Lord	31 Other
McQuinnitte	31 Other	National Catholic (Polish)	31 Other
Megiddo	31 Other	Nationalist	31 Other
Memorial Institute (Toronto)	* Baptist	Nazarene	21 Church of the Nazarene
Mennonite	* Mennonite	Neder D.H.	* Mennonite
Mennonite Baptist ...	* Mennonite	Negro Baptist	* Baptist
Mennonite Brethren ..	* Mennonite	Netherland Hevoroming	* Mennonite
in Christ	31 Other	Neutral	31 Other
Mennonite Church	* Mennonite	New Apostolic	31 Other
Mennonite Mission ...	* Mennonite	New Baptist	* Baptist
Messiah	31 Other	New Church (Swedenborgian)	31 Other
Methodist (not Free or Wesleyan)	See Methodist assign.	New Connection Methodist	* United Church
Methodist (African)	31 Other	New Dunker (German Baptist)	15 Brethren in Christ
Methodist Bible Student	* United Church	New Free Church ...	* Presbyterian
Methodist Chapel	* United Church	New Gospel	* Pentecostal
Methodist (Free)	25 Free Methodist	New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian)	31 Other
Methodist (Wesleyan)	31 Other	New Light (Swedenborgian)	31 Other
Millenial Dawn	27 Jehovah's Witnesses	New Mennonite	* Mennonite
Mission	31 Other	New Reform	31 Other
Missionary Alliance	17 C. and M.A.	New Testament	31 Other
Mission Brothers	31 Other	New Testament of Christ	31 Other
Mission Church	31 Other	New Testimony	31 Other
Mission Covenant ...	31 Other	New Thought	31 Other
Mission de l'Esprit- Saint	31 Other	New Thought Science	31 Other
Mission Friends	31 Other		
Mission Workers	31 Other		

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
New Truth	31 Other	Pentecostal Bands of the World	* Pentecostal
No Church	31 Other	Pentecostal Brethren in Christ	* Pentecostal
Non Believer	* No Religion	Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene	21 Church of the Nazarene
Non Christian	31 Other	Pentecostal Holi- ness	* Pentecostal
Non Conformist	31 Other	Pentecostal Mission	* Pentecostal
Nondenominational ...	31 Other	Pentecostal Saints	* Pentecostal
None	* No Religion	People's Church ...	31 Other
Non Sectarian	31 Other	Pilgrim Brethren ..	29 Plymouth Brethren
No Preference	31 Other	Pilgrim Holiness ..	31 Other
No Religion	* No Religion	Pillar of Fire	31 Other
Norwegian Church	* Lutheran	Plymouth Brethren	29 Plymouth Brethren
Norwegian Synod	* Lutheran	Polish Catholic Church	* Roman Catholic
Not stated	Computer assign.	Polish National Catholic Church	31 Other
Obbenites	* Mennonite	Practical Christianity	31 Other
Occult	31 Other	Practical Meta- physics	31 Other
Old Catholic	31 Other	Practical Methodist	25 Free Methodist
Old Colony	* Mennonite	Prairie Bible Institute	31 Other
Old German Baptist Brethren (Dunker)	15 Brethren in Christ	Predestinarian Baptist	* Baptist
Old Order Amish Mennonite Church ..	* Mennonite	Presbyterian	* Presbyterian
Old Order Dunkard ...	15 Brethren in Christ	Presbyterian Church of Canada	* Presbyterian
Old Order Wisler	* Mennonite	Primitive Baptist	* Baptist
Old School Baptist ..	* Baptist	Primitive Brethren	31 Other
Oliver Gospel	* Pentecostal	Primitive Church ..	31 Other
Open Bible	31 Other	Primitive Friends	31 Other
Open Brethren	29 Plymouth Brethren	Primitive Methodist	25 Free Methodist
Open Door Mission ...	31 Other	Prodigal	31 Other
Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox	Progressive Brethren (Dunker)	15 Brethren in Christ
Orthodox Catholic ...	31 Other	Protestant	See Protestant assign.
Orthodox Conservative Friends	31 Other	Protestant Episcopal	* Anglican
Orthodox Doukhobor ..	23 Doukhobor	Prowachawny	* Greek Orthodox
Oxford Group (Buchmanites)	31 Other	Publican	31 Other
Pagan	31 Other	PLATONIST	31 Other
Pantheist	31 Other		
P.A. of Canada	* Pentecostal		
Pentecostal	* Pentecostal		
Pentecostal Assembly of Canada	* Pentecostal		
Pentecostal Associa- tion of Canada	* Pentecostal		

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Puritan	31 Other	R. C.	* Roman Catholic
Quakers (Friends) ...	31 Other	Roman Catholic	* Roman Catholic
Radical	31 Other	Romanoff	31 Other
Rationalist	31 Other	Rosenort	* Mennonite
Reconciliationist ...	31 Other	Rosicrucian	31 Other
Redeemer	31 Other	Rotarian	31 Other
Reformation	31 Other	Roumanian Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox
Reformationist	31 Other	Round Church	31 Other
Reformed Baptist		Rudnerweide	* Mennonite
Alliance	31 Other	Russellite	27 Jehovah's Witnesses
Reformed Church	31 Other	Russian Orthodox ..	* Greek Orthodox
Reformed Church		Russian Protestant	31 Other
(Christian)	18 Christian Re- formed	Russian Schism	31 Other
Reformed Church		Ruthenian Catholic	* Ukrainian Catholic
(Dutch)	18 Christian Re- formed	Sabbath Keeper	31 Other
Reformed Church of		Saints	28 Mormon
America	31 Other	Salem Church	
Reformed Church of		(Methodist)	* United Church
France	31 Other	Salvation Army	* Salvation Army
Reformed Episcopal ..	31 Other	Salvation Army of	
Reformed Lutheran ...	* Lutheran	America	* Salvation Army
Reformed Mennonite ..	* Mennonite	Salvationist	* Salvation Army
Reformed Methodist ..	25 Free Methodist	Samaritan	31 Other
Reformed Presby- terian	* Presbyterian	Saved by Grace	31 Other
Reformist	31 Other	Scandinavian	
Regular Baptist	* Baptist	Evangelical	* Lutheran
Religious Brethren ..	31 Other	Schenatic	* Mennonite
Religious Society of		Schismatic	31 Other
Friends	31 Other	Schonweiser	31 Other
Religious Thought ...	31 Other	Schwenkfelders	31 Other
Remonstrant	31 Other	Scientist	19 Christian Science
Reorganized Church of		Secularist	31 Other
Jesus Christ of		Separate Baptist ..	* Baptist
Latter Day Saints	28 Mormon	Serbian Orthodox ..	* Greek Orthodox
Reorganized Church of		Seventh-Day	
Latter Day Saints	28 Mormon	Adventist	14 Adventist
Reorganized Labour		Seventh-Day Baptist	* Baptist
Church	31 Other	Seventh-Day Sabbath	
Reorganized Latter		Keeper	14 Adventist
Day Saints	28 Mormon	Shakers	31 Other
Restitutionist	31 Other	Sharon Bible Insti- tute	31 Other
Rissler Mennonite ...	* Mennonite	Shinto	31 Other
River Brethren	15 Brethren in Christ	Sikh	31 Other
Reincarnation	31 Other		

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Continued

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
Sikh Temple	31 Other	Theosophy	31 Other
Singh	31 Other	Therapeutic	31 Other
Skeptic	31 Other	Thinker	31 Other
Slovak Lutheran	* Lutheran	True Church	31 Other
Socialist	31 Other	True Gospel	* Pentecostal
Society of Brothers	26 Hutterite	True Way	31 Other
Society of Friends ..	31 Other	Truth	31 Other
Solomon Reformist ...	31 Other	Tunker (German	
Sommerfelder	* Mennonite	Baptist)	15 Brethren in
Sons of David	* Jewish	Christ	
Sons of Freedom	23 Doukhobor	Two by Two	31 Other
Sons of Jacob	* Jewish	Two-Seed-in-the-	
Spiritual Community		Spirit	
of Christ	23 Doukhobor	Predestinarian ..	* Baptist
Spiritualist	31 Other	Ukrainian Catholic	* Ukrainian
Standard Church	31 Other	Catholic	
Stauffer	* Mennonite	Ukrainian (Greek)	
Stauffer Mennonite ..	* Mennonite	Catholic	* Ukrainian
Students of Right ...	31 Other	Catholic	
Stundist	* Baptist	Ukrainian National	31 Other
Sun Worshipper	31 Other	Ukrainian Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox
Svobodniki	23 Doukhobor	Unattached	31 Other
Swedenborgian (New		Unbeliever	* No Religion
Church)	31 Other	Udenominational	
Swedenborgian (New		Mission	31 Other
Jerusalem)	31 Other	Union	31 Other
Swedenborgian (New		Union Gospel	31 Other
Light)	31 Other	Union Society	31 Other
Swedish Baptist	* Baptist	Unitarian	30 Unitarian
Swedish Church	* Lutheran	United American Free	
Swedish Methodist ...	* United Church	Will Baptist,	
Swedish Mission	* Lutheran	Coloured	* Baptist
Synagogue	* Jewish	United Baptist	* Baptist
Syrian Orthodox	* Greek Orthodox	United Brethren)	
		United Brethren)	
Talmud Torah	* Jewish	in Christ)	* United Church
Taoist (Chinese)	31 Other	United Christian)	
Taufer	* Mennonite	United Church	* United Church
Taufgesinde	* Mennonite	United Church of	
Temple (Canadian) ...	31 Other	Canada	* United Church
Temple of Abundant		United Church of	
Life	31 Other	Christ	31 Other
Temple of God	31 Other	United Church	
Temple of Jesus	31 Other	Mission	* United Church
Temple Society	31 Other	United Danish	
Testimony of Jesus ..	31 Other	Evangelical	
Theosophical Society	31 Other	Lutheran	* Lutheran
Theosophist	31 Other	United Evangelist	31 Other

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QUESTION 16 - RELIGION - Concluded

Religion	Mark or code	Religion	Mark or code
United Free	* Presbyterian	Wesleyan	31 Other
United Free Church		Wesleyan Methodist	31 Other
of Scotland	* Presbyterian	Wesleyan Methodist	
United Friends	31 Other	Connection	31 Other
United Missionary		Wilburite (Friends)	31 Other
Church	31 Other	Wisler Mennonite ..	* Mennonite
United Presbyterian	* United Church	Worker	31 Other
Unity	31 Other		
Universalist	30 Unitarian	Zen Woo Society ...	31 Other
Unknown	Computer assign.	Zion	31 Other
		Zion Chapel	31 Other
Vedanta Society	31 Other	Zion Evangelical ..	* United Church
Volunteers of		Zion Evangelist ...	31 Other
America	* Salvation Army	Zionist Movement ..	* Jewish
		Zionist Organi-	
Watch Tower	27-Jehovah's	zation	* Jewish
	Witnesses	Zion Mennonite	* Mennonite
Welsh Church		Zion Reform	31 Other
(Congregational) ..	* United Church	Zoroaster	31 Other
Welsh Independent ...	31 Other	Zwingli	31 Other

