Religion, Gender and Sexuality Among Youth in Canada: Summary and Selected Findings

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Executive Summary

1. This report presents some key findings from the Religion, Gender and Sexuality Among Youth Study conducted by Pamela Dickey Young and Heather Shipley, with Ian Alexander Cuthbertson as Research Assistant.

2. The RGSY project had four primary aims:
   - To explore the constructions and management strategies undertaken by young adults (aged 18-25) concerning their religious and sexual identities, values, and choices;
   - To examine the significant social, cultural, and political factors that inform the above-mentioned processes;
   - To study how these young adults manage their religious, sexual, and gender identities;
   - To generate rich qualitative and quantitative data that will contribute new knowledge to academic and policy debates on religion, youth, sexuality, and gender.

3. RGSY is a mixed-methods study that was open to self-selected participants between the ages of 18-25 who lived in Canada. The study provides a rich collection of data about the 486 participants in the survey and considerably more in-depth material about the 32 interviewees, 10 of whom also submitted video diaries.

4. The majority of participants (71.6%) were female.

5. The majority of survey participants were Christian (61%), though there were significant groupings of those who identified no religion (20.3%), as being spiritual but not religious (14.2%) and as ‘other’ (9.2%) including includes theist, agnostic, wiccan, combination of religions, and so on.

6. The majority of participants were single (78.4%).

7. On the whole, the respondents to our survey identified themselves as religious liberals (65.8%).

8. In terms of religious participation, 48.4% of survey respondents said they engaged in public religious practices at least once a month and 54.4% engaged in private religious practices at least monthly.
9. Though the majority (69.1%) identify as heterosexual, more than 30% did not and this points to a wide variety of understandings of sexual identity.

10. A majority of survey respondents were sexually active (65%). But most (74.8%) did not engage in casual sex.

11. Generally respondents viewed sexuality and its various expressions positively. Survey participants overwhelmingly (84.1%) thought that “Consenting adults should be allowed to express their sexuality however they wish.” They did draw firmer boundaries around their own sexual expressions.

12. Respondents felt strongly that females should be given equal opportunities as religious authorities. 50.3% stated that their religious tradition emphasized equality of the sexes and 44.3% also said that women were given equal access to leadership roles in their religious traditions.

13. 62.5% of survey participants did not experience specific expectations regarding sexuality and sexual practice/experience based on gender; 59.3% said they did not believe their religion encouraged individuals to behave differently or perform different roles based on their gender.

14. 80.3% of survey participants either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: “Heterosexuality and homosexuality should be treated equally.”

15. Personal autonomy in the construction of identity, including sexual and religious identities, is a central hallmark of the understanding of the young adult participants.

16. The lived religion of our participants does not always follow what they understand to be the teachings of their religious group. There is much room for negotiation.
17. The high number of non-religious and spiritual but not religious participants indicates that we need new ways to understand young adult relationship to religion.

18. Peers are exceptionally important influences on young adult sexuality.

19. Often young adult participants claimed more than one religious or sexual identity. They generally saw identity as malleable and ever-changing.

20. On matters such as sexuality outside marriage or LGBTQI sexuality, religion continues to exert forces that can make participants feel guilty for who they are, what they do and whom they love.

Section 1 The Research Context

The RGSY project was in part developed out of a desire to think about how to connect everyday religion and everyday sexuality through an exploration of lived religion, in this case, as it intersects and intertwines with youth identities in Canada. Drawing on Meredith McGuire (2008), Jeffrey Weeks (2011), Janet Jakobsen and Ann Pellegrini (2003), among others, we wanted to flesh out the categories of religion and sexuality and link them with youth identity and practices.

The RGSY project had four primary aims:

- To explore the constructions and management strategies undertaken by young adults (aged 18-25) concerning their religious and sexual identities, values, and choices;
- To examine the significant social, cultural, and political factors that inform the above-mentioned processes;
- To study how these young adults manage their religious, sexual, and gender identities;
- To generate rich qualitative and quantitative data that will contribute new knowledge to academic and policy debates on religion, youth, sexuality, and gender.

The desire to conduct research on religion, gender and sexuality among youth in Canada was inspired by Andrew Kam-Tuck Yip et al.’s UK project, Religion, Youth and Sexuality: A Multi-Faith Exploration (2009-2011). We wanted to know how Canadian youth compared to the youth Yip et al. were studying in the UK. So that we would have data that could be compared with the UK study, we began with Yip et al.’s questionnaire which they generously shared with us, and we adopted their methods of data collection via web-based survey, qualitative interviews and video diaries.

The Canadian context is somewhat different from the UK context of Yip et al.’s project, however, which resulted in some modifications to the research project. Whereas the Religion, Youth and Sexuality study was aimed at youth from six specific religious groups (Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, and Sikhism) the RGSY project is aimed more broadly at the whole youth population of Canada. Thus, we broadened the notion of “religion” to include
the possibility of “nonreligion” and “spirituality,” including youth who might not consider themselves religious, but who want to express their thoughts and experiences on the intersections of religion, gender and sexuality.

**Methods**

We developed our own version of Yip et al.’s web-based questionnaire which we advertised widely through professional associations, listservs, Facebook and via colleagues. In the questionnaire we asked if participants would be willing to also take part in an interview and prepare a video diary; participants could select only survey, survey plus interview, or survey, interview and video diary. We piloted our first version of the questionnaire with 28 individuals and, based on the feedback we received, modified it to better suit the context as indicated by our pilot respondents.

RGSY is a mixed-methods study that was open to self-selected participants (convenience sampling) between the ages of 18-25 who lived in Canada.¹ As self-selected, it is not statistically representative of the whole of the Canadian population between ages 18-25. In order to be interested in completing the survey participants had to be at least interested in and have opinions about religion, if not themselves be religious, and want to connect those opinions about religion to gender and sexuality. What the study does provide is a rich collection of data about the 486 participants in the survey and considerably more in-depth material about the 32 interviewees, 10 of whom also submitted video diaries. Our results, though they do contain some surprises and variations, are certainly consistent among themselves and certainly in line with the literature from other parts of the world on young adult sexuality and young adult religion. Because our group

¹ Sometimes the interviewees were older than 25 by the time we were able to complete the interview process but we used the results of those interviews.
overwhelmingly identified as religious liberals, the results may have been different with a more religiously conservative group.

The questions on the survey and in the interviews probe youth gender, sexuality and religion at some depth. Using a *bricolage* of analytical tools, we provide several lenses through which to see the data, some derived from the data and others derived from the prior expertise of the researchers. We saw this as a way to ensure that those who might take other stances on the data might also see much of what we found there.

**Demographics of our Survey Participants**

Survey respondents were largely female. There were a total of 481 responses from 476 different people.

- Female 71.6% (of responses)
- Male 27.9%
- Trans 1.4%

When we asked about religion, we received 478 responses from 413 different people as follows:

- Buddhism 1.9% (of responses)
- Christianity 61.0%
- Hinduism .9%
- Islam 4.3%
- Judaism 3.3%
- Non-Religious 20.3%
- Sikhism 0.2%
- Spiritual but not religious 14.2%
- Other 9.2% (includes theist, agnostic, Wiccan, combination of religions, etc.)

*What religious activities/practices do you undertake (public and private) and how often?*
In terms of sexuality, we had 450 responses from 401 different people as follows:

- Lesbian 4.4% (of responses)
- Gay 4.7%
- Homosexual 2.7%
- Heterosexual 69.1%
- Bisexual 9.9%
- I do not define my sexuality 8.4%
- Queer 10.2%
- Asexual 2.4%

Thus, though the majority identify as heterosexual. More than 30% do not and this points to a wide variety of understandings of sexual identity.

To the question about ethnicity we received 557 responses from 464 separate respondents who answered:

- Aboriginal origins 3.9% (of responses)
- Acadian 1.8%
- African Origins 1.8%
- Arab Origins 2.3%
- Caribbean Origins 1.4%
- East or Southeast Asian Origins 4.8%
- European Origins 61.4%
- Latin, Central or South American Origins 2.7%
- South Asian Origins 4.1%
- West Asian Origins .72%
- Québécois 5.4%
- Other North American Origins 9.5%

The respondents to the survey were overwhelmingly students at some level or other--77.5% of respondents were students at the time they answered the survey, 93.8% had some postsecondary education and 88.9% of respondents had at least some university education. The 467 respondents to questions about educational attainment were distributed as follows:

- High school student .6%
- High school completed 5.6%
- College student 2.1%
• College completed (5 of these were also undergraduates at the time of survey) completion) 2.8% (college with no university)
• Undergraduate students 62.5%
• Undergraduate degree completed 20.3%
• Graduate degree completed 6%

Most of our survey participants (n=399) were single (78.4%). Only 7.2% were married (1 in a married same-sex relationship). A further 14.6% were in common law relationship (2.78% of those were same-sex common law relationships).

On the whole, the respondents to our survey identified themselves as religious liberals. More than 50% (51.5%) of the final survey participants identified their religious position as “Very Liberal.” An additional 14.25% identified their religious position as “Somewhat Liberal.” Only 3.75% identified as “Very Conservative” and 12.75% identified as “somewhat Conservative.”

In terms of religious participation, 48.41% of survey respondents say they engaged in public religious practices at least once a month and 54.36% engaged in private religious practices at least monthly.

A majority of survey respondents were sexually active (65%). But most did not engage in casual sex (74.75% did not engage in casual sex).
Section 2 Key Findings

Autonomy/Personal Choice

One of the key findings of our project is that the young adults in our study placed a high value on personal autonomy. Further, for the most part, they saw personal freedom as the single most important factor in identity construction. They were the authors of their own identities and destinies, both religious and sexual.

My religion means that I feel free, comfortable, and happy. It helps me deal with the hard times and makes me feel even more grateful for the good times. It encourages me to be a better person.

Survey participant: #477, 21, female, queer/pansexual, Muslim.

My sexuality touches every aspect of my personality. My love, and the way I love, are entwined with my religion; my present, past, and future; and myself. I prefer everything to come from a place of love - and I believe sexual attraction also comes from that place. I love many people at once and in many different ways, so for me, my sexuality is an expression of diversity and sacredness.

Survey participant: #245, 20, female, currently heterosexual/open relationship, Unitarian Universalist.

I guess I know...what the bible says about that stuff, but I don't necessarily follow it. And so--I think when I was younger that's where my struggle came from because I wasn't sure...if I should just follow...what I think is right, or if I should follow...whatever is written, and I came to a conclusion that...if I . . . just decide my sexual choices just based on whatever I think is right and that I think it's right for me... I ... don't think God, or whatever, or Jesus, or Mary or whatever you pray to, I don't think they'll be... I think they have other things to worry about.

Interview excerpt: Claire, 21, female, sexual identity not named, Roman Catholic.

What does your religion mean to you?

Lived Religion

Although some participants do follow what they understand to be the teachings or rules of their particular religion, the lived religion of the participants in our study is often eclectic and does not always follow the traditional patterns of belonging to one specific religious group. Even when participants do affiliate, they sometimes do it loosely, picking and choosing what to take from their tradition.

Traditional religious categories are not nuanced enough

From our pilot survey we learned that traditional religious categories were not sufficient to account for the way participants thought of their own religiosity. Many participants in the pilot study said that they were not happy with the category “Other” to describe themselves. In response to that feedback, we added the categories “‘Non-religious” and “Spiritual but not religious” in addition to “Other.”

My atheism is not a religion; my ethical and metaphysical stance comes from a mix of philosophy, logic, learning, and instinct, and I consider my 'beliefs' to be very important. Survey participant: #346, 22, female, atheist, queer.

Being an atheist gives me strength and frees me from the superstitious nonsense that my parents believe. It gives me a stronger connection to my partner and a better sense (through humanism) of how to figure out what is right and wrong in the world. Survey participant: #200, 24, female, atheist, Hitchensian anti-theist, bisexual.
I just thought that because of my past in Christianity I feel like I can't continue because of my sins. So... you know having pre-marital sex or um having tattoos and you know drinking, doing drugs, being pro-choice these are ideas that aren't shared by the religion and by the religious community so I feel like I can't identify with the institution if I don't agree with the law- or the religious law at least.

Jessica, 19, female, sexuality not named, SBNR.

Interest in religion and religious questions

Of course, to be interested in our study, participants did have to have a basic interest in religion but generally were also well-informed about religious issues. Further, participants were interested in how they themselves related to what is traditionally called “religion” as well as to questions of meaning and values more generally. They often engaged in both public and private religious practices. They were able to be both critical of and appreciative of religions and religious practices.

Religion is negotiable

For most of our participants, both religion and participation in religion is negotiable. That is, they thought of religion as something that changes and could change over time. For the most part, they expected religion to accommodate to changing social mores. They also were content to negotiate their participation in religion—to choose what to accept and what to lay aside. Often they appropriated the values of their religious heritage without taking on its “rules.”
...when mixing your beliefs or your faith with the whole sex question, being Roman Catholic you’re supposed to wait until marriage. And that wasn’t a choice for me and I don't think that that's a bad thing that I made that choice. And I don't feel guilty about it either. So I just try to... follow my heart and say: is this what I want? Is this what my partner wants? Is that okay with me? Video diary excerpt: Paige, 21, heterosexual, Roman Catholic.

Peer influence

Particularly on matters having to do with sexual attitudes and values, peers are the single most important influence on young adults, chosen by 86.6% of survey respondents. Young adults have limited sexual experience and knowledge on which to draw. Sometimes peer pressure to conform to the friend group is strong. But we also found that peers often took seriously their roles as educators of one another and did their “research” so they could help their friends as well as themselves.

Expansiveness of acceptance

Our young adult participants were on the whole very accepting of one another’s sexual and religious choices. Survey participants overwhelmingly (84.1%) thought that “Consenting adults should be allowed to express their sexuality however they wish.” So, basically, participants were not interested in policing or regulating the sexuality or religion of others. In general, they were accepting of the choices of others in the same way that they valued the autonomy of their own choices.

Multiple identities

Often participants claimed multiple religious and sexual identities. They did not like to be restricted to singular choices. And their identities were not always straightforward. Not only did
they claim multiple ways to understand themselves in their various personal and societal roles, but they also sometimes claimed multiple identities within what are often thought to be singular categories, sexuality and religion, for example. And even when they made one choice, they often qualified that choice by indicating openness to other religious or sexual influences and the possibility of changed identities in the future.

*I have spiritual interests, I look toward Buddhist & Hindu philosophy the most. I was raised Unitarian, and I am dating a Hindu man...I am spiritually very open-minded and curious but keep an agnostic stance.* Survey participant: #204, 22, female, bisexual/queer, SBNR.

*I kind of believe a combination of Greek mythology and Christianity. I do believe that there is one god who rules everyone but I think that there's too much in this world for just one god so I believe that there is- there are gods below god. Not in the sense of the feuding petty gods that you find in Greek mythology but more in the sense of gods who watch and who care. Gods who know that- who know what you can handle, who know the amount of... joy or happiness sadness, pain, you know, grief or struggle, good fortune that a person can handle, you know. They keep the balance in this world.* Video diary excerpt: Erica, 22, female, lesbian, United Church of Canada.

**Boundaries**

Although participants were happy to let others make their own sexual and religious choices and were not really interested in restricting or passing judgments on those choices, they drew much more restrictive boundaries around their own choices, in particular around their own sexual choices. For example, only 25.3% of our respondents said that they engaged in casual sex.

In our interviews we discovered that respondents were quite thoughtful and articulate about their choice of sexual partners, sexual activities and so on. Although they acknowledged the influence of peers they did not do something just because they thought everyone else was doing it. Indeed, the evidence suggests that they sifted and weighed influences as they made their sexual decisions.
Our respondents often drew boundaries around religion when it did not live up to their expectations of egalitarian and inclusive social conduct.

Mainstream Muslims do not accept same-sex marriage or relationships, which somewhat restricts my ability to be open about my sexuality. However, that is changing for the better, as people show that the Quran does not discriminate against LGBTQ+ people. Survey participant: #008, 21, female, Muslim, queer/pansexual.

What does your sexuality mean to you?

Husband Designed Sexual Orientation Beautiful Own Sexuality Fear Define Private Life Fun Love Sacred Means Meant Expression Preferences Important Given Sex Begun Relationship Sexuality Gives Identity Confusion Comfortable School Control Safe
Section 3 Reflections

Identities under Construction

Young adult respondents were at a time in their lives when, although they had made some basic decisions about their lives and identities, they still saw much as open to possibility and, furthermore, they did not necessarily see themselves as needing to settle on stable identities. For most of them, identity was flexible and changing. Mostly they saw identities as a series or set of choices of which they themselves were the authors. Their identities had not always come easily to them. Sometimes they had struggled. But they were usually open to the possibility that identities can and should be reconstructed over time.

Continuing influences of “religion” on premarital sex

One of the main surprises in the study was that, whether or not our respondents were religious at present or were religious in the tradition of their upbringing, many interviewees held on to views of sex outside marriage that they traced back to religion even though at the same time most were sexually active. Often those religious influences caused great struggle within the participants.

Lauren, who was brought up in a liberal Christian denomination, the United Church of Canada, mentioned having to “shake off the concept of not having sex before marriage… it was just tradition and I don't really take much stock in tradition.” And yet, although she said she did not follow the tradition, she talked in detail about the agony of deciding whether or not to have intercourse with her heterosexual partner. After she made the decision, she was glad she had, but she understood it to be something even her liberal church would not sanction. “I think if I were taking my religious tradition into account I wouldn’t have a healthy sex life because I wouldn’t be having sex.” (Interview excerpt: Lauren, 23, female, “probably straight,” United Church).
Karim, a relatively conservative Catholic felt “guilty” because he was going against Catholic teaching to have sex with his girlfriend. But he also changed his mind about the Catholic teachings because he saw that they had done damage to his relationship.

LGBTQI sexuality

Participants on the whole considered LGBTQI sexuality as “normal” and ordinary and thought that LGBTQI persons should be accorded the same respect for their sexuality that others should be accorded. When faced with the statement: “Heterosexuality and homosexuality should be treated equally,” 80.3% of survey participants either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, with the majority 63.3% indicating that they strongly agreed with the statement.

Still, some LGBTQI participants experienced judgement and rejection from religion (either their own group or other religious groups) because of their sexuality.

One respondent stated:

My sexual orientation does not define me. I am a sinner just like everyone else. I am first and foremost a child of God. My attractions may mean I go through life never having a family, and that breaks my heart, but it doesn't mean I'm going to give up on the plans God has for me. I will trust him despite my apparent disadvantage in this life. Survey participant: #101, 19, male, homosexual, Christian, very conservative.
Religion often has a long way to go and a lot to apologize for before LGBTQI persons can feel included and accepted.

**Schools and Media**

Education and media were only touched on in brief in our actual survey questions, but our respondents offered a lot of reflection on these areas in their comments. Variation in experiences in school were not necessarily tied to attendance at public versus private (Catholic) schools; participants reflected on the influence of abstinence only teaching in Catholic schools and heteronormative expectations across all schools. Respondents typically did not feel as though they learned much about religion, gender or sexuality in school; until university, respondents felt that the teaching about these categories was either a negative prescriptive (what not to do) or simply not spoken about. At the university level, we see great exploration of all of these identity categories – whether through formal education or through new peer networks.

Not all participants engaged with a breadth of media in their day to day lives, some acknowledge an amount of self-selection went in to their consumption of media while others didn’t engage with media (TV or online news) much at all. For those who did engage, media representations of sexuality are viewed generally by our respondents as advocating an oversexualized youthful population, unrepresentative of how they see themselves or how they experience their sexual behaviours. Most respondents felt that religion was negatively perceived and represented in media; that media coverage focused mostly on particular conservative notions about religion, ignoring the nuance of religious identity. They commented on the overuse of sexual imagery, especially as it pertained to consumerism and youth.
Thoughtful Reflection

Respondents were thoughtful and articulate about themselves and about religion and sexuality. They often had strong opinions on both topics, but those strong opinions were not uninformed ones. They placed a high value on both research and rationality—on knowing what others thought, on knowing what experts thought, and on making reasonable, informed choices for themselves in their views of others.

What’s with the candy jar?

*We see the candy jar as representative of many facets of this study: diversity, difference, temptation, containment. It represents variation, some behaviours and attitudes remain ‘within’ the jar, some notions and experiences fall ‘outside’ the jar.*
Publications Related to Religion, Gender and Sexuality Among Youth in Canada


**Conference Presentations:**

**Heather Shipley**

**2017**

**2016**

**2015**

**2014**
(Keynote) “Strange Bedfellows: Religion, Relationships, Spirituality, Sex and Health on College Campuses,” Seminar with Donna Freitas and Sarah-Jane Page, Centre for Global Engagement, Indiana State University, 3 November.


**2013**
“The spaces in between: religious and sexual intersections in education,” *Whose Religion? Education about religion in public schools*, University of Ottawa, 4-6 November.

2012
(Invited) *Religion, Youth and Sexuality: Stories from Great Britain and Canada*, Nottingham University, Nottingham, UK, 3 September.

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2017

“Negotiating Doctrines on Sexuality: Attitudes of Canadian Young Adults to Church Views on Sex.” Association for the Sociology of Religion, Montreal, 13 August.

2016

“Sex, Religion and Canadian Youth,” Association for the Sociology of Religion, Seattle, 19-21 August.

“RGSY: Emerging Themes.” Annual Meeting of the Religion and Diversity Project, Montreal, 4-6 May.

2015

“Sex, Religion and Canadian Youth: Identities Under Construction,” The 40th Annual Luther Lecture, University of Regina, 28 September.

“Sex, Religion and Canadian Youth: Identities Under Construction,” Religion Across the Humanities: Matariki Humanities Colloquium, Queen’s University, 3 October.

“Gender in the RGSY Project,” Canadian Society for the Study of Religion, Ottawa, 1June.

2014


2013

“Who Speaks for Religion?” paper given at workshop on Whose Religion? Education about Religion in Public Schools, University of Ottawa, 4-6 November.

2012

(Invited) *Religion, Youth and Sexuality: Stories from Great Britain and Canada*, Nottingham University, Nottingham, UK, 3 September.
Selected Sources


