

Do Immigrants Religiously Assimilate?

Contextualizing Immigrant Religious Participation in Western Europe, the United States, and Canada

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ABSTRACT

Although studies have examined immigrant assimilation among various life domains (i.e. economic, spatial, linguistic), religion is rarely evaluated within an assimilation framework. This paper differentiates between religious *form* assimilation (e.g. frequency of religious participation) from *content* assimilation (i.e. switching to a different religious group). Although the latter is extremely rare among new immigrants to the West, findings demonstrate that the former is prevalent. Using immigrant survey data from Western Europe, the United States, and Canada, immigrant religious participation is compared to native religious participation levels within the immigrant's local, host society. A consistent, positive relationship is found to exist among all datasets, including a convergence towards the host society's mean over time. Model specification by religious affiliation does not indicate any generalized patterns across countries; however, a pattern does emerge when the proportion of the immigrant's religious affiliation in the host society is taken into account. The religious assimilation effect is strongest among extreme religious minority as well as religious majority groups. Conversely, the effect is weakest among religious groups representing a more moderately sized religious minority. The religious case becomes a prime example for the differentiation between form versus content assimilation – a theoretical construct proposed for application to other immigrant adaptive outcomes in the paper's discussion.

During its foundational years as a discipline in the United States, American sociologists within the ecological tradition, namely from the University of Chicago, placed great emphasis in the role of geographical context on social behavior (1925). However, with the emergence of more utilitarian perspectives (Coleman 1994; Hechter and Kanazawa 1997), the ecological tradition became disputed as the motivations and calculated intentions of the individual became a new locus for sociological analysis. Nonetheless, scholars have continued to advocate for an ecological approach (1977; Wilson 1987), resulting in a number of studies demonstrating neighborhood effects in terms of economic stratification (Massey 2008), educational and linguistic outcomes among second generation immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993; Yang and Ebaugh 2001; Zhou 1997), racial segregation (Massey and Denton 1993) and even religious change (Smith 1998; Stump 1984). Further attempts have been made to reconcile the individual versus ecological approaches, namely within a neo-institutionalist perspective, employing a context-bound form of rationality (Nee 2001).

With the depth of evidence supporting ecological determinants to individual level action, it is curious to find little empirical application of context to the burgeoning topic of immigrant religion. The intersection of religion and migration lends itself well to a test of the ecological tradition. It can be posited that religious participation is an individualized, rational behavior. Additionally, immigrants are subject to abrupt contextual change from sending to host societies.¹ These two conditions warrant the contextualization of immigrant religiosity; by doing so, we will not only expand the literature for the case of immigrant religion, but also contribute to contextual studies more generally. Drawing on Brubaker's formulation of assimilation as a *direction of change* rather than a *degree of similarity* or identity (Brubaker 2001), this paper examines how immigrant religious *forms* adapt to the host society, namely frequency of religious behavior, as opposed to the actual religious *content* or immigrant conversion to the host society's primary religion. Given the religious diversity contained within recent immigrant cohorts to the industrialized world as well as the inevitable change and subsequent

challenges such increased religious diversity presents to the host society (Wuthnow 2005), the subject of immigrant religious assimilation is timely and of interest to both the academy and the general public.

Immigrant Religion Research: Persistent Gaps

After a brief period of hiatus, assimilation theory has returned to the academic mainstream (Alba and Nee 2003; Gans 1999; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Rumbaut 1999). A number of studies have investigated immigrant assimilation according to a variety of life domains, including linguistic (Portes and Schauffler, 1994), economic (Borjas 1985), and spatial (Massey and Mullan 1984); however, studies of immigrant *religious* behavior remain scarce. Whether due to the observed persistence of immigrant religion beyond the first generation (Herberg 1960), or the assumption carried by previous immigrant theorists that religion is a sacred life domain incapable of dramatic change (Gordon 1964; Warner and Srole 1945), the study of immigrant religion has been largely left to religion scholars for examination, typically through ethnographic methods.

The intersection of migration and religious studies has resulted in a number of theoretical contributions (Foner and Alba 2008; Warner 1993; Warner 1998) and empirical studies (Cadge 2005; Chen 2008; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Warner and Wittner 1998; Yang 1999), largely within the past two decades; however, the previous lack of immigrant cohort data (Ebaugh 2003) has made it nearly impossible to produce generalized results beyond particular congregations, religious groups or specific geographic contexts. Although more quantitative research using immigrant survey data has emerged (Alanezi and Sherkat 2008; Cadge and Ecklund 2006; Connor 2008; van Tubergen 2007), variation in rates of immigrant religiosity across various contexts are still largely unexplored. As Cadge and Ecklund (2007) exhort, the absence of research on the impact of exit and receiving contexts on religious outcomes creates a persistent gap in immigrant religious research. Moreover, the dominant share of research on immigrant religious adaptation has occurred within the U.S., a fairly religious society

compared to other immigrant receiving countries. In order to effectively grapple with the question of immigrant religious assimilation and to understand how religious context shapes religious outcomes more generally, we must move beyond the religious context of the United States to include global religious diasporas (Ebaugh 2003).

The question of immigrant religious assimilation is immense and cannot be definitively examined within one paper. Therefore, in bridging the previously cited research gaps, we will explore only one immigrant religious outcome – immigrant religious participation in a local religious group. No one source can provide the perfect data to study this question; therefore, this paper triangulates immigrant survey data from Western Europe, the United States, and Canada since the year 2000. This analysis is not comparative in the traditional sense of comparing immigrant religious assimilation at a country level; instead, it distributes immigrant respondents according to sub-country units (i.e. sub-national region, state, city) to identify a process of religious assimilation at a local level. In anticipation of the findings, a general movement of immigrant religious participation toward the local, host society's mean levels of religious participation is found. However, this effect is not equal across all religious groups. No general pattern across all immigrant receiving countries by religious group can be determined; yet, a pattern according to the distribution of religious proportionality (i.e. market share) of the immigrant's religious affiliation (i.e. Catholic, Protestant, Muslim) at the local level does exist. The religious assimilation effect follows a U-curve in which immigrants belonging to both an extreme minority religious group as well as a majority religious group are most likely to assimilate to the religious participation levels of the host society. Immigrants of fairly sizeable religious minorities within the local society seem to be buffered from the religious assimilation effect, maintaining their level of religious participation regardless of local context.

Immigrant Assimilation and Religion

Within sociological circles, the first formal definition of assimilation was proposed by Robert Park and E.W. Burgess as “a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life” (Park and Burgess 1921 [1969]). Just prior to the changes in U.S. immigration law in 1965, Milton Gordon (1964) parsed this straight-line progression of assimilation by identifying a seven step process whereby immigrants and ethnic minorities eventually assimilate into society’s primary group. The process starts with acculturation (i.e. diet and clothing preferences), moves to structural assimilation through securing employment within the primary group, and concludes with racial blending through interracial marriage. The final phase involves the elimination of native prejudice for the immigrant group. Herbert Gans (Gans 1999) later expanded assimilation theory to occur over multiple generations, recognizing the potential boomerang effects from one generation to the next in creating a more “bumpy” form of assimilation.

In subsequent years, the concept of assimilation became antiquated. Within academia, scholars identified several immigrant groups who were not assimilating; instead, they retained their cultural identity over several generations (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). Scholars took even less interest in assimilation due to a number of analytical problems, including the perplexing assumptions underlying the questions of assimilation to what, from what and for what purpose? (Rumbaut 1999). Additionally, assimilation also assumed the host society was willing to incorporate immigrants into their primary group, which was often not the case (Gans 1999). Consequently, cultural pluralism, which was more palatable to the general public opinion than the normative assumption of forced assimilation to a dominant White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture, became the prevailing schema for understanding immigrant adaptation to the host society. The concept of assimilation had almost disappeared by the early 1990s when Nathan Glazer (1993) wrote his classic article, “Is Assimilation Dead?” Now taken up

by political theorists (Modood 2007; Parekh 2000), multiculturalism has become the normative position for most scholars dealing with the topic of immigrant integration and incorporation.

However, the relics of assimilation theory did not completely disappear. Alba and Nee (2003) cite several examples of how the growing spatial dispersion of immigrant groups as well as their positive economic outcomes outside the ethnic enclave are producing a dynamic, mutual system of immigrant incorporation and native adjustment. On a different track, Portes and Zhou (1993) extend assimilation theory as being segmented. Primarily for the second generation, alternate outcomes of economic performance and social adjustment are due to neighborhood effects, the use of English, immigrant economic class, and the role of the family. More recently, Rogers Brubaker (2001) observes how assimilation theory has regained a place in the public discourse, not only in the United States but also in Europe. According to Brubaker, the concept of assimilation, at least among academic circles, should no longer hold the normative sense it may have held several decades ago; instead, it is being revived as a concept surrounding similarity, not identity. Brubaker writes, "In the general, abstract sense, the accent is on the process, not on some final state, and assimilation is a matter of degree. Assimilation designates a *direction of change*, not a particular *degree of similarity*" (Brubaker 2001:534).

Religion has long been considered one of the last strongholds of immigrant assimilation. Drawing from the earlier work of Warner and Srole (1945) and Gordon (1964), religion was essentially given a pass as it pertained to immigrant assimilation. Herberg (1960), the leading authority on immigrant religion in his day, characterized religious assimilation to occur within dominant religious groups, identifying the triple melting pot of Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism. Writers in the 1960s, however, were primarily reflecting on religious identity or *content* rather than *forms* or frequency of religious participation. During their time, they were experiencing the persistence of Catholicism among Irish and Italian immigrant communities who had arrived in the United States over two generations earlier (Greeley 1971). Although some religion scholars may argue otherwise (Chen 2008;

Legge 1997), immigrants are not switching their religious affiliation (e.g., Buddhism to Christianity) en masse. A quick analysis of the data used in this paper demonstrates that out of the total random sample of 8,573 immigrant respondents in the *New Immigrant Survey* collected during 2003-2004 in the United States (Jasso, Massey, Rosenzweig, and Smith 2008), only 57 respondents (0.66 %) indicated they belonged to a religion in which they were not raised, most of whom are switching to an evangelical form of Christianity.² From another data source also later employed in this paper (Jowell and Team 2005), only seven percent of first generation immigrants within France indicated a religious identity change, all of which moving to the non-religious category.³ Therefore, it cannot be argued that immigrant religious assimilation in terms of religious content or religious identity, at least for the first generation, is occurring at any significant rate.

However, the adoption of the host society's religious *forms* or level of participation is evident within the literature. In terms of more contemporary scholarship, immigrant religion researchers argue that religious identity becomes more salient for immigrants upon their resettlement. In fact, attributed to the United States' history of an associational style of religion, it is often through religious identity that immigrants become American (Chen 2008; Ebaugh and Chafetz 2000; Kurien 1998; Stark 1997; Warner 1998). As illustrated by Hirschman's 3 R's – refuge, respect, and resources (Hirschman 2004), immigrant congregations not only assist the immigrant in their adjustment to American life, but religious organizations also provide opportunities for community leadership and political knowledge critical to immigrant political engagement (Foley and Hoge 2007). And, since religious groups are such a critical institution to American culture, it only makes sense that religion has such an important role for immigrant incorporation.

Increased religious participation among immigrant populations during resettlement in the United States confirms that immigrants do religiously assimilate to the new society, at least in terms of frequency of religious behavior and deepening of the immigrant's religious identity (Cassanova 2007;

Foley and Hoge 2007; Kurien 2002; Warner 1998). However, religious form assimilation can go much deeper. Warner (1994), for example, identifies how immigrant religious groups in the United States adopt the congregational form of organization and worship found within American Protestantism. Warner lays out principles of religious organization and forms of religious practice that immigrant religious groups adopt from the American congregational model. The American case of immigrant religious form assimilation becomes more poignant when compared to other immigrant receiving nations. Connor (2008) finds that religious participation declines among immigrants to Quebec during the first three years of settlement. Similarly, van Tubergen (2007) finds immigrants who are more socially integrated within the mainstream society of the Netherlands to be less religiously active than those more socially isolated from mainstream culture. These results outside of the United States should come as no surprise since both Quebec and the Netherlands are far less religious areas. If the immigrant religious assimilation hypothesis is true, at least in terms of frequency of religious activity, we would expect immigrant religious participation to fall in locales like Quebec, yet rise in more religiously active countries like the United States.

However, a counter argument to Warner and other colleagues demonstrating religious form assimilation exists. Cadge (2008) argues that we should not expect de facto congregationalism, and implicitly frequency of religious participation, to be equal across all religious groups. Cadge provides the example of Theravada Buddhism in the United States and how immigrant Buddhist groups do not completely mirror the congregational model, including their frequency of religious attendance. Yang and Ebaugh (Yang and Ebaugh 2001) also weigh into this debate by arguing that immigrants belonging to minority religious groups in the receiving society are often more religiously active than immigrants belonging to a majority religious group.

The assimilation literature may assist us in explaining these apparent inconsistencies across religious groups. Drawing on Gordon's idea of a societal primary group, we would expect immigrants

belonging to a religious majority within the local society to religiously assimilate their participation patterns to that of primary religious group of the host society. However, there is also reason to believe that certain minorities equally respond to the pressures of assimilation. Blau (1977) posits that minority group members have more intergroup relations than majority group members. Due to the limited group size of religious minority groups, members are essentially forced to interact with the members of the primary religious group. In this way, information from native to immigrant is communicated, including norms of religious behavior. However, we may not expect this religious form assimilation to occur for all minority groups. Religious minority groups passing a critical threshold will contain sufficient relations within their own religious group, decreasing the likelihood of external communication with the primary religious group and subsequently isolating them from the norms of religious participation in their local community. Essentially, we would expect a U-shape religious assimilation effect in which both very low and high proportioned religious groups would assimilate at equally high levels. Immigrants belonging to religious groups with proportional sizes in the middle of the religious proportionality distribution will contain a sizeable buffer of influence from the host society, being the least likely group to religiously assimilate. In other words, we would expect the religious assimilation effect to be strongest for religious groups at either end of the religious proportionality spectrum, and weakest for those groups within the center of the religious proportionality distribution.

Through the mass of evidence for the immigrant religion case, a flexible yet generalizable model of immigrant religious form assimilation is required. Not since Herberg's time (1960) has a systematic treatment of immigrant religious adaptation been evaluated at a national level. With the new immigrants of the post-1965 era in the United States, much has changed; immigrant cohorts to the United States represent a far greater religious and ethnic diversity, and this religious diversity needs to be taken into account. Additionally, former immigrant source areas have turned into immigrant receiving areas (e.g., Western Europe). Attempting to identify a similar process in immigrant receiving

areas in the industrialized world, this paper tests the religious *form* assimilation hypothesis in Western Europe, the United States, and Canada using immigrant cohort data. Although results may not demonstrate that immigrant religious participation patterns are identical to their host societies' patterns, it is, as Brubaker (2001) argues, the directionality of the effect rather than the similarity that is of importance. Moreover, we will examine how this process of immigrant religious form association occurs differently for different religious groups. Moving beyond, a categorical schema of religious affiliation (i.e. Catholic, Muslim, etc.), we will examine how religious proportionality at a local level interacts with local religious vitality to shape levels of immigrant religious participation.

Data and Methods

Data. The *European Social Survey*⁴ (ESS) (Jowell and Team 2005; Jowell and Team 2007; Jowell and Team 2003) is a bi-annual survey conducted in 2002, 2004, and 2006 among EU and non-EU countries with an average response rate of 70 percent for each nation state. An immigrant subsample ($N_i=4,154$) consisting of those not born within the Western European states under analysis⁵ is extracted to compare immigrant religious participation with the host society's religious participation by sub-national administrative area ($N_j=142$). Due to the potential selection bias of immigrants to a particular region, there is the potential that immigrants are selecting their region of residence based on religious factors. However, it is more likely that immigrants have only a few choices based on previous colonial ties or labor recruitment. Nonetheless, since the survey was performed in the national language, respondent bias could exist whereby the most assimilated immigrants are more likely to participate. Therefore, the ESS is not the ideal data source for testing the religious assimilation hypothesis; however, it is a beginning in understanding the relationship.

The *New Immigrant Survey*⁶ (NIS) (Jasso, Massey, Rosenzweig, and Smith In press) from the United States contains many data improvements over the ESS. Drawing from a stratified, random

sample of immigrants receiving permanent residency in 2003-2004, this data represents a multi-cohort immigrant sample with a response rate of 68 percent ($N_i = 8,573$). Since the survey was conducted in 15 different languages, there is less potential for respondent bias among more acculturated immigrants. However, the drawback of the NIS is that its sampling frame includes both immigrants adjusting their status while already residing in the U.S. as well as those immigrating for the first time from abroad; therefore, all respondents have not been equally exposed to receiving contexts within the U.S. The data was collected approximately six months after receiving permanent residency. Although this short time period is not an issue for those immigrants already living in the U.S. for several years, it does provide a limited amount of time for newly arrived immigrants to adjust to the religious patterns of their receiving contexts. In terms of additional contextual control variables for U.S. analysis, data from the *Religious Congregational and Membership Study 2000* (RCMS) and the 2000 Census are tied to the U.S. state of residence for each immigrant respondent within the NIS.

The *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada* (LSIC) (Statistics Canada 2007) is yet another level of data improvement over the ESS and NIS. Similar to the NIS, the LSIC randomly selected immigrants receiving their permanent residency ($N_i = 12,040$) and interviewed them in their preferred language. As is common for immigrants, the great majority of these respondents live in urban contexts, essentially scattered among 27 Census Metropolitan Areas. The initial response rate for the first wave is 60 percent, which is comparable to the NIS response rate.⁷ But contrary to the NIS, the LSIC sampling frame only includes those immigrants who applied for their residency through an overseas embassy or consulate. Therefore, this data represents an immigrant cohort without substantial, prior exposure to Canadian society. The immigrants were interviewed six months, two years, and four years after their arrival to Canada, providing longitudinal data to measure change in religious participation frequency. This panel data permits adequate testing of temporality in controlling for the duration of exposure as well as permitting tests of host society selection bias. It is unfortunate however, that in the

final wave (year four), Statistics Canada altered the question wording for the religious participation measure, rendering it unusable for this data analysis⁸; however, given the short time period (two years compared to the six month wave), any indication of immigrant religious assimilation only magnifies the findings. The analysis retains a balanced dataset for analysis in both waves ($N_i = 8,186$). Contextual control variables are drawn from the 2001 Canadian Census.

Variables of interest. The measures for immigrant religious participation vary by dataset. For the ESS immigrant subsample, the religious participation question is, “Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, about how often do you attend religious services nowadays?” In order to estimate the conventional expectations of religious participation within the Christian, Western worldview, the original, eight-point scale (none through everyday) is collapsed to religious participation of monthly or more. In the LSIC, immigrants were asked to select a level of participation ranging from not at all to daily for the question, “How frequently do you take part in religious group activities?” This variable is also recoded to monthly or more. In the NIS, immigrants were asked, “Since becoming a permanent resident, how many times have you attended religious services?” Using the number of months since their permanent residency was granted, the total count is divided by this duration variable in order to obtain a frequency count per month. All immigrant data is limited to those respondents who did not move from their host society context after migration (NIS- state; LSIC – city; ESS-sub-national region). Limiting the sample in this way permits continued exposure to the same host society throughout the immigrant’s time in the local, receiving society.

Critical to the testing of the religious assimilation hypothesis, all three selected immigrant areas (Western Europe, United States, Canada) contain substantial internal variation in their religiosity. Certain areas within each immigrant receiving area are more religious (e.g., Ireland, the Southern U.S., Atlantic Canada) while other areas are far less religiously active (e.g., France, the U.S. Northwest, Quebec). The geographic units of analysis for each survey (ESS-sub-national region; NIS-state; LSIC-city)

were determined by data availability representing the host society's religious participation levels. Also important was a sufficient sample size for each geographic unit among native respondents in these corresponding surveys, typically $N > 100$ for each local unit. For the European data, the proportion of the population attending religious services monthly or more pooled across all three survey years within the ESS ($N \approx 72,000$) were computed for each sub-national administrative region.⁹ Attached to NIS respondents, the proportion of monthly or more religious participation by host U.S. state was derived from the *Annenberg National Election Survey 2004* ($N = 81,422$).¹⁰ For mean monthly or more religious participation levels by Canadian city, the *Canadian General Social Survey 2001-2005* ($N \approx 100,000$) was used.¹¹ All religious participation means were derived using population or design weights included in each survey, limiting contexts with 100 or more respondents to capture a reliable mean for the host society's religious participation. Additionally, foreign-born respondents were removed from these contextual units, enabling a more accurate measure of native-born religious participation.¹²

Religious contextual variables are derived from a variety of datasets. For Western Europe, the ESS full sample was used to provide measures of religious proportionality for each immigrant's stated religious affiliation. Attached to NIS respondents were state level religious contextual variables derived from the *Religious Congregational and Membership Study 2000* (RCMS). RCMS is an aggregation of religious congregation membership statistics voluntarily provided by denominations and other religious groups to a central data repository, and is the closest stand-in for a religious census in the U.S. Using Finke and Scheitle's (Finke and Scheitle 2005) recommended corrections at the state level for under representation of African-American and other ethnic groups, religious proportionality is attached to each NIS respondent according to their state of residence. In Canada, the religious variable in the 2001 Census is used to calculate religious proportionality at the city level. In order to reconcile the religious affiliation categories across all datasets as well as obtain sufficiently large groups for interaction effects, eight categories emerged: Protestant, Catholic, Christian Orthodox, Muslim, Jewish, Eastern Religions

(including Daoism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Hinduism), other religious affiliation, and no religious affiliation.

Control variables. Among all datasets, the following individual-level variables are taken into account: religious group affiliation, age, sex, spouse in the residence, child in the residence, education, and employment status. Contextual-level variables such as proportion foreign born, religious pluralism, and proportion religious affiliation for the respondent's selected religion is also controlled. In terms of host society exposure, the duration of time lived within the country for the ESS and NIS respondents is included in all models. Among the immigrant cohort datasets (NIS, LSIC), the immigration visa category is also taken into account.¹³ See Table A in the appendix for descriptive statistics of all variables.

Methods. Each data analysis step is replicated for each immigrant survey. This includes separate analyses for each wave of the LSIC. By analyzing all three datasets, each representing three entirely different immigration systems, any similarity of results strengthens the argument for or against religious assimilation. In order to get a preliminary view of the immigrant religious participation variable, the proportion of immigrants attending monthly more across socio-demographic variables (sex, education, age, etc.) are compared across datasets. Then, bivariate scatter plots of host society religious participation levels alongside immigrant religious participation levels are compared. Using STATA's `xtmelogit` command, the central analysis employs multilevel, logistic regression in assessing individual-level immigrant religious assimilation. This statistical procedure runs both fixed and random effects models, better known as mixed effects. The distribution of random effects is assumed to be Gaussian whereas the conditional distribution is Bernoulli. Adaptive Gaussian quadrature is used to estimate the log likelihood of the models (Rabe-Hesketh and Skrondal 2008). All models in this analysis use four integration (quadrature) points and include at least two levels: (1) the administrative unit for the receiving society (i.e. ESS-sub-national region; NIS-state; LSIC-city) and (2) country of birth. This latter level is included as a proxy for the normative level of religious participation among co-nationals

prior to migrating as well as other contextual variables at the country of origin.¹⁴ For LSIC models, the level of the individual across the two time periods is also included, resulting in a total of three levels of analysis. This addition to the LSIC models effectively holds individual and receiving context characteristics constant across both time periods, yet simultaneously permitting a random intercept. Positive coefficients for the independent variable suggest religious assimilation in that as the host society's religious participation rises, so does the immigrant's religious participation. Positive coefficients also demonstrate the reverse direction of the relationship in that as the host society's religious participation decreases, so does that of the immigrant.

Most critical to the story of immigrant religious assimilation is the change occurring between survey waves within the LSIC. One of the great weaknesses of immigrant religion scholarship is the inability to determine changes in religious behavior over time. Additionally, there is the causality problem in which the host society could be adapting to immigrant religious participation frequency. Although the latter intuitively seems less likely, both of these threats to internal validity can be mitigated using the *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada*. Religious assimilation will be highly demonstrated if the magnitude of any positive coefficient is larger in the second wave than in the first. Also, a lack of statistical significance in the first wave for the religious assimilation effect will provide evidence for lack of selection of residence based on native religious participation levels. Lastly, the mixed, multilevel modeling in the LSIC will permit a baseline of religious participation for comparison to wave two (1.5 to 2 years following migration).

Models will also be presented separately for each religious group (i.e. Protestant, Catholic, Muslim, etc.) by each dataset to assess if religious form assimilation is taking place equally across all religious groups. Additionally, separate models for differing levels of religious proportionality or the religious market share for the respondent's religious affiliation will be evaluated. These model

specifications will permit us to see if and how religious assimilation occurs across different religious groups and religious group sizes.

Results

FIGURE 1 – RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION BY DATASET AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

ABOUT HERE

Prior to examining the relationship between native and immigrant religious participation levels, it is beneficial to determine the robustness of the immigrant religious participation measure across datasets. Figure 1 displays the proportion of each dataset sample attending a religious group monthly or more by selected socio-demographic variables (see Table B in the appendix for actual estimates). Looking across the rows or datasets, we find no drastic differences for particular socio-demographic groups compared to the overall mean. Looking down the columns, we find that differences in religious participation levels within socio-demographic across datasets are similar. For instance, females are more likely to religiously participate monthly or more than males. Also, older respondents and immigrants with children in the home are more likely to be religiously active. Since the question wording and sampling frame differ across datasets, we are unable to directly compare means of Western Europe with Canada and the United States; however, these similarities among socio-demographic variables across all datasets do demonstrate the robustness of the religious participation measure as well as a similar process of immigrant religious adaptation, regardless of national context. Further descriptive statistics for all three surveys are found in Table A in the appendix.

FIGURE 2 BIVARIATE RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION PLOTS BY DATASET – ABOUT HERE

The next step is to compare grouped data for the two key variables of interest: native and immigrant religious participation. Figure 1 compares the proportion for monthly or more religious participation of the host society (horizontal axis) to the proportion of immigrants with the same level of religious participation (vertical axis). To ensure high reliability within this grouped data, host society means are limited to jurisdictions of 100 or more native respondents whereas immigrant means are limited to 30 or more immigrant respondents for each area of residence. Looking at the scatter plot for Western Europe (top) in Figure 2, we can see that there is indeed a positive relationship ($R = 0.36$) between immigrant and host society religious participation. It should be noted that due to graph constraints, Portugal and Ireland were removed; however, the inclusion of Portuguese and Irish administrative areas only increases the correlation ($R=0.43$). Many European regions have almost identical religious participation for the host society and immigrant groups, with the exception of some areas in the upper-left quadrant.

Moving onto the United States, we find a positive relationship similar to that seen in the European data. Using the proportion of each group attending monthly or more, the direction of similarity between the immigrants and their states of residence is moderately strong. Generally, the immigrant proportion is lower than the host population, but the positive correlation at 0.41 still indicates a positive directionality to the association. Similarly with the Canadian data, we see a similar correlation ($r=0.47$) for immigrant and native religious participation during LSIC's second wave (2003 or 2 years after migration).

FIGURE 3 BIVARIATE RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION PLOTS BY TIME PERIOD – ABOUT HERE

The Canadian longitudinal data provides even greater insight into the potential religious assimilation of immigrants. Figure 3 plots the proportions of weekly or more religious participation by

Census Metropolitan Area for approximately six months (2001) and two years after migration (2003).¹⁵ In comparing the two graphs, the less scattered nature of the 2003 plot suggests that immigrants begin to assimilate to their host societies' religious participation patterns. There is a persistent outlier (Winnipeg, MB); but, with correlations of 0.25 in 2001 and 0.53 in 2003, it is clear that there is a certain shifting of directionality towards the host society's mean. However, it should be noted that like the U.S. sample, immigrants are generally less religiously active in terms of participation than the Canadian population. This could be due to individual-level effects but also differences in sampling and question wording for the two surveys among immigrants and natives. Despite these favorable indications supporting the religious assimilation hypothesis, these visual depictions employ grouped data. Further analysis at an individual level is required.

TABLE 1 RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS– ABOUT HERE

The central analysis for the immigrant religious assimilation hypothesis is displayed in Table 1. To emphasize the key variables of interest, coefficients for control variables are not included, but can be found in Table C in the appendix. Also, coefficients within Table 1 have been standardized so as to better compare the religious assimilation effect across datasets. In Table 1, individual-level religious participation for each survey's immigrant sample is regressed on their local host society's religious participation mean as well as previously stated control variables. Unlike the previous scatter plots, all individual immigrant respondents are included in the analysis. Starting again with Europe, the positive standardized coefficient for the host society participation ($\beta = 0.255$) agrees with the earlier graphical representation for the religious participation relationship. As native religious participation increases, so does immigrant religious participation increase. Given the acculturation bias to this data, this effect is expected. In the United States, the host society's coefficient of 0.122 further demonstrates the

relationship between native and immigrant religious participation levels. Moving on to the longitudinal data in Canada, the dramatic increase in the host society's religious participation variable from 2001 to 2003 ($\beta_{2001}=0.129$; $\beta_{2003}=0.226$) not only demonstrates the sizeable shift of the immigrant's frequency of religious participation towards that found in the host society, but also that this change can occur in only two years after settlement. Doubly important, the lack of statistical significance for the 2001 coefficient compared to the 2003 coefficient demonstrates that immigrants are not selecting their city of residence based on its degree of religiosity. When estimated as a three level model with the individual as the third level, these effects continue to hold ($\beta_{2001-2003}=0.203$), signifying a more causal nature to the relationship between native and immigrant religious participation levels. Somewhat like a natural experiment, these immigrants to Canada have little prior experience with Canadian culture; therefore, given the short time period of six months following migration, we would expect little relationship between native and immigrant religious participation. However, come two years later, after more time to adjust to the religious mores of local Canadian society, the higher coefficient as well as statistically significant findings for the 2003 and 2001-2003 combined models demonstrate that immigrants do adjust their religious participation levels in response to those found in their city of residence.

TABLE 2 – RELIGIOUS ASSIMILATION EFFECT BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION ABOUT HERE

Model specification by religious group affiliation will permit us to test whether religious assimilation occurs equally across all religious groups. Table 2 lists the standardized coefficients for the religious assimilation effect by religious group and dataset again employing mixed multilevel modeling techniques. Across all datasets, it is challenging to find a general pattern for the effect. Catholics seems to assimilate well in both Western Europe and the United States. Muslims do not seem to assimilate well in these same areas, but do seem to assimilate in Canada. This complexity of results can be explained by national contextual factors as well as the composition of immigrants arriving to these national

destinations. However, explanations for these country-level comparisons by particular religious groups can become ad hoc, lacking any level of generalizeability for the religious assimilation process as a whole. Moreover, the varying group sizes for each religious group also biases standard errors, making it difficult to compare statistical significance across religious groups. A more flexible, quantified alternative is required.

TABLE 3 – STANDARDIZED MULTILEVEL LOGIT REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS FOR IMMIGRANT RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION ON HOST SOCIETY RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION, BY RELIGIOUS PROPORTION QUINTILE

There is however a numerical alternative to these challenges of model specification by religious group. If we divide religious proportionality (the surrounding proportionality of the religious group corresponding to the immigrant's stated religious affiliation) into equal cut-points (i.e. quintiles), we can estimate separate regression models. This will provide for a more equal number of respondents in each group, eliminating the bias associated with group size and standard errors. Table 3 presents the religious assimilation effect (standardized coefficients for the native religious participation variable) by quintiles for the immigrant's religious proportionality for each dataset.¹⁶ Looking first at Europe, we find that the quintiles with the weakest effect, both in terms of magnitude and statistical significance, are quintiles one ($\beta = 0.184$) and four ($\beta = 0.169$). Quintiles two ($\beta = 0.332$), three ($\beta = 0.359$), and five ($\beta = 0.356$) representing more extreme minority as well as majority religious groups have nearly equal levels for the religious assimilation effect. Moving to the United States, we only find the second quintile ($\beta = 0.265$) to be statistically significant as well as the largest coefficient. Again, this is demonstrating that more extreme minority religious groups are more likely to religiously assimilate compared to more moderately sized groups (i.e. quintiles three and four). Lastly, all quintiles for the Canadian data except for quintile two are statistically significant. Moreover, with the exception of quintile four ($\beta = 0.562$), all the

significant Canadian coefficients are similar in magnitude. Again, the gaping hole in terms of the religious assimilation effect is located in the center of the religious proportionality scale, or for a more moderately sized religious groups.

This summation of results by religious proportionality quintile is not terribly precise when comparing the religious assimilation effect at different quintile intervals across all datasets. In looking only at magnitude levels of the coefficients, the European and American datasets do seem to follow the same trajectory – rising or plateau levels for quintiles one through three, a decline in quintile four, with a final rebound in quintile five. This U-shape follows the anticipated effect. The Canadian data's drop appears much earlier in quintile two. These differences across datasets could be related to cross-national differences, differences according to cut-off points, or could be an artifact of the reliability of the religious proportionality measure or the differences according to sampling frames more generally. Without additional data or ad hoc explanations, cross-national differences are difficult to pinpoint. Moreover, the selection of critical thresholds for cut points can become arbitrary, especially given the variety of source data for the religious proportionality measure. Regardless of these differences, our hypothesis of more extreme minority religious groups as well as majority or primary religious groups having the strongest assimilation effect seems to fit all datasets. Regardless of the exact quintile whereby the assimilation effect drops in magnitude or significance, there is still a drop in the center of the religious proportionality spectrum (either quintile two, three, or four) among all datasets. As our hypothesis predicted, the magnitude of the religious assimilation effect follows a certain U-shape. More extreme minorities as well as majority religious groups seem to assimilate well to the religious participation levels of the local, host society. However, more mid-sized religious minorities on the aggregate seem to be resilient to such religious assimilation, both in terms of magnitude and statistical significance.

Discussion, Implications, and Further Research

Among documented migrants to Western Europe, the United States, and Canada, the results demonstrate a common directionality of immigrant religious assimilation, at least in terms of religious participation. In jurisdictions where the host society attends religious activities infrequently, immigrants mirror this low level of religious participation, all else being equal. The opposite is also true that immigrants with higher religious participation generally reside in host societies where religious activity is also high. The Canadian, longitudinal data clearly demonstrates that assimilation occurs throughout the resettlement process and is not a matter of religious selectivity or mere circumstance. Lastly, by demonstrating that the process of immigrant religious assimilation spans three separate immigrant receiving areas (Western Europe, United States, Canada), this analysis supports the proposition that immigrant religion as increasing or decreasing during immigrant resettlement depends on localized context. Although model specifications by religious group do not identify consistent patterns across countries, a more flexible specification by religious proportionality does identify a more generalizable process of religious assimilation. More extreme minorities as well as majority religious groups seem to emulate the religious participation levels of the host society; however, more moderately sized religious minorities are more resilient to religious assimilation.

A tangible example of this assimilation process will more effectively illustrate how this process occurs. Two primary immigrant receiving cities in Canada, Montreal and Toronto, were selected as representing contexts with low, native religious participation (Montreal, 24% attending monthly or more) and relatively higher native religious participation (Toronto, 38% attending monthly or more). Presented in Table 3, different religious groups representing low, moderate, and high proportioned groups within each city were selected. Based on this paper's findings, we would expect immigrant religious participation of low and high proportioned groups to begin to converge to the city's native, mean religious participation levels. Conversely, we would expect immigrant religious participation

among moderately sized groups to remain fairly constant.¹⁷ And, this is exactly what occurs when the two time periods, 2001 to 2003 are compared. Eastern religions (low proportionality) and Catholics (high proportionality) in Montreal both rise in their religious participation levels, climbing closer to that found for the native population. However, Muslim (moderate proportionality) religious participation remains constant for both time periods. In Toronto, immigrant Christian Orthodox (low proportionality) and Catholics (high proportionality) also rise to the host society's mean, whereas immigrants belonging to Eastern religions (moderate proportionality) retain a constant level of religious participation. For these specific examples, I recognize that many other factors could be operating among these immigrant religious groups in these two Canadian cities. Results on the aggregate do not always bear out as clearly when disaggregated. This final analysis is for illustration purposes only.

TABLE 3 – RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION PREDICTED PROBABILITIES ABOUT HERE

However, as we have seen, immigrant assimilation is not always *identical* to the host society's mean, rather it is *directional*. In other words, left on its own, immigrant religious assimilation is a natural process; however, it is possible that additional individual- and contextual-level factors may accelerate or impede immigrant religious assimilation, leaving much more room for additional research on this topic. For instance, there are a host of other contextual factors that may alter the speed or even directionality of religious assimilation. For example, there is a popular conception that Muslims within the European context seem to grow in their religiosity over time, somewhat as a reaction to European secularism but also to Europe's negative receptivity of immigrants. As Foner and Alba (2008) point out, religion in Europe serves as a barrier for immigrant incorporation compared to the United States where it is more a bridge of integration. Additional religious contextual factors may also alter the religious assimilation process. For instance, higher religious pluralism in the host society compared to the country of origin is

found to dampen immigrant religious activity after the migratory event (Connor 2007) as well as during resettlement (van Tubergen 2006). The ethnic enclave literature developed by Portes and Rumbaut (2006) is also amenable to the assimilation process in that a larger proportion of co-ethnics in a given area may lead to less similarity to religious patterns of the host society. Lastly, previous immigrant cohorts may also have a bearing on religious involvement of incoming immigrants. The American-Korean case epitomizes this in that the earliest Korean immigrants were largely Christian and organized cultural activities centered around the church for their incoming immigrant cohorts. Subsequently, they created a heavily religious, Christian Korean culture (Kim 2002). In sum, previous immigrant cohorts can set the tenor for religious activity among future cohorts, possibly altering the religious assimilation process.

The next logical question surrounding this abstract force of religious assimilation is the social mechanisms by which immigrants emulate the host society's religious participation patterns. How does the vibe of the host society's religiosity get communicated to the individual immigrant? Are the religious participation patterns communicated to immigrants by the sheer number of worship centers within local communities? Or, rather, is the degree of religiosity attained through media? Most likely, social interaction provides the greatest communication of this knowledge. In this case, does religious assimilation occur through co-ethnic, co-religionist, or immigrant-native networks? What is the reference group immigrants are referring to in adapting their frequency of religious participation to the host society? As for other immigrant outcomes (Portes and Zhou, 1993), is the assimilation segmented resulting in differential outcomes for different immigrant groups depending on the immigrant's reference group in the host society? Is it possible that convergence of immigrant religious participation patterns to the host society occurs through multiple generations? In this way, do incoming cohorts quickly assimilate to the religious mode of the host society through interaction with previous immigrant cohorts? Or, is it possible that as Park and Burgess (Park and Burgess 1921 [1969]) defines assimilation

more generally, is religious form assimilation simply occurring unconsciously? Applying an assimilation framework to religion results in a preponderance of questions, if not an entire research agenda.

The project of answering the question of immigrant religious assimilation, at least among contemporary immigrant cohorts, has only begun. Questions requiring additional data still remain unanswered. Most critical is the short time span much of the data in this paper represents. Although the European and American data do represent immigrant cohorts with several years of host society exposure, it is still a reasonably short time span to assess long-term immigrant religious assimilation, particularly given the religious change occurring simultaneously within the host society. Also, this study is unable to test religious assimilation across immigrant generations. Additionally, this data analysis represents only legally admitted immigrants. It excludes undocumented immigrants and temporary migrants, and under represents refugees. However, neither these data limitations nor the normative connotations associated with the concept of assimilation should deter further investigation of how immigrant religious groups adapt and assimilate to the host society. We should also not abandon the critical pursuit of understanding the social mechanisms that facilitate religious assimilation. Finally, further research is required as to how the immigrant population's religious behavior may impact the host society's religiosity. As posited by Alba and Nee (2003), a mutual exchange in religious patterns could be underway.

The analysis in this paper has further elaborated assimilation theory more generally in that not all features of immigrant life, and in this case religion, assimilate to the host society. This fact does not invalidate the use of an assimilation framework however. Instead, further analysis of other immigrant outcomes should examine how *forms* of immigrant outcomes may begin to converge to the host society's mean over time despite the maintenance of their *content* within particular, immigrant traditions. On the surface, this form versus content dichotomy may appear to be similar to Gordon's (1964) acculturation followed by structural assimilation phases. The primary difference in this form

versus content formulation is that Gordon viewed acculturation and structural assimilation as a series of consecutive phases over time. I propose that form assimilation is not necessarily a preparatory phase for content assimilation. I view them as two distinct processes occurring on separate time schedules. Given the institutional preference for multiculturalism among immigrant incorporation theorists as well as policy makers more generally, we can only expect content elements of immigrant lives to continue to resist assimilation; but, a form assimilation could still occur.

This model of form but not content assimilation could be applied to a variety of immigrant outcomes. Using spatial assimilation as an example, the establishment of suburban ethnic communities could be defined as form assimilation whereby the content (ethnic community) remains intact but the location change from inner-city to suburbs represents an assimilation in form. Or in terms of employment, the securing of professional jobs by immigrants could be viewed as form assimilation, but remains unaltered in content if the job was principally procured through co-ethnic colleagues or networks. In this way, the assimilation framework can be expanded beyond the segmentation of particular groups to various spheres of action within a given life domain. Assimilation becomes more than a linear relationship of directionality, but also multi-dimensional in shape as form and content are contrasted.

Moreover, we have found that relative group size makes a difference for the magnitude of the religious assimilation effect. This U-shape pattern could also be applied to other immigrant outcomes (economic, linguistic, education) as more extreme co-ethnic minorities in comparison to the native population may actually share more adaptive qualities in common with co-ethnic majorities. Immigrant adaptation and second generation assimilation are often viewed within contextual bounds (Portes and Zhou 1993){Zhou, 2004 #79}, yet rarely is the proportional size of the ethnic group quantified and tested in a non-linear fashion.

In conclusion, the seemingly voluntary nature of religious participation cannot be assumed. At least for immigrants, religious activity is not only socially embedded within familial and social networks, but also shaped by larger units of context. This analysis provides yet another example of how the ecological tradition warrants further exploration for explaining various forms of social behavior. Although the shifting contexts experienced by immigrants may be unique, this study has provided a case whereby this change in context is magnified. As a result, we can more vividly determine how context makes a difference, not only in absolute terms but also according to relative group size of peer groups.

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¹ I recognize that religious participation can be highly socially embedded (see Ellison, Christopher G. 1995.

"Rational Choice Explanations of Individual Religious Behavior: Notes on the Problem of Social Embeddedness."

Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 34:89-97). Moreover, I recognize that immigrant groups can effectively change locales yet essentially remain psychologically and socially tied to their country of origin, despite the change in context (see Levitt, Peggy. 2007. *God Needs No Passport: Immigrants and the Changing American Religious Landscape*. New York, NY: The New Press)..

² It is possible that a portion of these "converts" switched religious identity prior to coming to the United States. The timing of their conversion is not recorded.

³ The France sample is small – 6 religious switchers out of 89 respondents; however, it still illustrates the rarity of religious content assimilation.

⁴ The ESS can be accessed through the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

⁵ Participating Western European countries included in this analysis are: Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, Spain, Finland, France, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and Sweden.

⁶ This research uses data from The New Immigrant Survey, a research project designed by G. Jasso, D. Massey, M. Rosenzweig, and J. Smith, and funded by NIH HD33843, NSF, USCIS, ASPE & Pew. Restricted Use Data, Version (1 or 2), May 2007. Retrieved August 2007. Persons interested in obtaining NIS Restricted Use Data should see http://nis.princeton.edu\data\data_restricted.html for further information. The original sample size was 8,573; however, this was reduced to 5,861 due to internal migration within the U.S. and missing values for dependent and control variables. Missing cases were not statistically significant when regressed on the dependent variable.

⁷ After respondent attrition, 9,990 cases for the second wave were available for analysis. Tests for the respondent group on the dependent variable missing in the second wave do not prove statistically significant. The second wave sample was further reduced to 8,186 cases, removing those immigrants who did not reside in a Census Metropolitan Area, who moved to a new city by the second wave or who did not provide a city of residence. Movers as well as those respondents not providing a city of residence were tested on the dependent variable with no statistically significant results. The non-city immigrant residents did have a significantly higher level of religious

attendance compared to the rest of the sample; however, this finding only further supports the religious assimilation hypothesis that host society religious attendance is highest in rural areas where the native population religious participation is high.

⁸ In the third wave, the probing question of religious group involvement asked prior to the respondent's frequency of religious attendance was the following: "Now some questions on participation in activities of groups or organizations in Canada such as a religious group, an ethnic association or a sport organization. Since your last interview, have you become a member or have you taken part in the activities of any groups or organizations?". This differed from the religious module opening question in waves 1 and 2: "Are you a member, or have you taken part in the activities of any groups or organizations in Canada (For example: a religious group, ethnic association, sports club, etc.)?" Statistics Canada researchers believed the previous wording of the module entry question in waves 1 and 2 were confusing to respondents (see *LSIC: Concordance Table Sorted By Items*, Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada). Simple cross tabs with the question of religious involvement in wave 3 show that 983 respondents who stated they were part of a religious organization in wave 2 and did not move to a different city were not part of a religious organization in wave 3. This dramatic change from year 2 to year 4 is unexpected and demonstrates how respondents in the third wave may not have interpreted "groups or organizations" to include a religious group or organization.

⁹ Each European country's set of administrative areas were determined by the country's principle investigator(s); however, the areas often follow existent administrative boundaries (i.e. state, province, county).

¹⁰ Although the *Annenberg National Election Survey 2004* has a very low response rate (approximately 28%), the timing of the survey to the 2003-2004 NIS as well as its large sample size makes it the best available dataset for a current reading of religious attendance by state. Although not seen in Figure 2 because of insufficient sample size among the immigrant sample, the proportion of monthly or more religious attendance matches the expected ordering of Mississippi at the highest with 76% and Vermont the lowest at 34%. The religious attendance question asked is, "How often do you attend religious services, apart from special events like weddings and funerals—more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?"

¹¹ The response rate for the Canadian GSS varies anywhere from 60 to 70 percent from 2001 through 2005. The religious attendance question used all five years is: “Other than on special occasions (such as weddings, funerals or baptisms), how often did you attend religious services in the last 12 months? Was it 1) at least once a week, 2) at least once a month, 3) a few times a year, 4) at least once a year, 5) not at all.”

¹² Immigrants entering Canada since 2001 were removed from the Canadian GSS data. All immigrants within the ESS were removed in calculating the host society’s mean religious attendance levels. As the immigrant cohort in the NIS was captured in 2003-2004, the 2004 ANES data in the United States was left as is.

¹³ Many additional control variables such as ethnic/racial contextual variables, reasons for selecting their place of residence, other individual level characteristics could have been included in the models; however, a limited number of control variables were retained for all datasets for the purposes of model comparison. Additional controls unique to each dataset demonstrate similar results to those presented here, indicating a robust relationship.

¹⁴ Previous country of origin would be more desirable than country of birth; however, this variable was not available for all datasets.

¹⁵ Although monthly or more religious participation would be more consistent with the data analysis contained throughout this paper, the weekly level was chosen for Figure 3 since the grouped data demonstrated the religious assimilation hypothesis more powerfully. However, changes in regression coefficients from 2001 to 2003 are similar at an individual level whether the religious participation measurement be weekly or monthly.

¹⁶ Other forms of division including quartiles and deciles were tested, providing similar results. Quintiles were chosen to ensure efficiently large groups for statistical tests.

¹⁷ The selection of these religious groups was not arbitrary. The low sized groups are within the first or second quintiles of the religious proportionality distribution for that city. The moderate sized groups are within the second, third, or fourth quintiles of the religious proportionality distribution. The high sized group is within the fifth quintile.

Table A. Variable Descriptions and Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Description	ESS			NIS			LSIC ^a		
		Mean	Std. Dev.	Min/Max	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min/Max	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min/Max
<i>Outcome Variable</i>										
Immigrant religious participation	Monthly or more	0.309	0.462	0/1	0.459	0.498	0/1	0.114	0.318	0/1
<i>Variable of Interest</i>										
Host society religious participation	ESS - admin area; NIS - state; LSIC - city	0.226	0.122	0.05/0.75	0.511	0.069	0/0.700	0.206	0.035	
<i>Control Variables</i>										
Religious affiliation										
	Protestant (ref)	0.083			0.150			0.118		
	Roman Catholic	0.249			0.398			0.181		
	Christian Orthodox	0.051			0.110			0.074		
	Muslim	0.190			0.082			0.199		
	Jewish	0.008			0.001			0.009		
	Eastern Religions	0.035			0.101			0.192		
	Other Religions	0.049			0.024			-		
	No religion	0.315			0.123			0.227		
Age	Years at time of survey	40.669	15.568	14/93	39.482	13.761	361/9025	34.787	12.109	
Age-squared	Squared years at time of survey	1904.546	1467.472	196/8649	1748.174	1272.215				
Sex	1=female	0.529	0.499	0/1	0.530	0.500	0/1	0.504	0.500	0/1
Spouse	1=spouse in residence	0.399	0.490	0/1	0.470	0.499	0/1	0.716	0.451	0/1
Children	1=child(ren) in residence	0.317	0.465	0/1	0.385	0.487	0/1	0.578	0.494	0/1
Education	1=high school (12 years) or more	12.595	4.430	0/33	0.651	0.477	0/1			
Employment	Employed full time	0.531	0.499	0/1	0.348	0.476	0/1	0.429	0.495	0/1
Duration in country	Less than 1 year (ref)	0.022			0.363					
	1-5 years	0.186			0.341					
	6-10 years	0.144			0.123					
	11-20 years	0.251			0.155					
	More than 20 years	0.397			0.018					
Immigration Visa Category	Family (ref)				0.418			0.272		
	Independent/Business				0.234			0.524		
	Refugee				0.055			0.062		
	Other				0.292			0.133		
Proportion foreign born	ESS - admin area; NIS - state; LSIC - city	0.080	0.059	0/0.31	0.233	0.122	0/1	0.335	0.123	
Proportion religious affiliation	ESS - admin area; NIS - state; LSIC - city	0.301	0.265	0/0.92	0.208	0.182	0/1	0.169	0.164	
Religious pluralism	ESS - admin area; NIS - state; LSIC - city	0.562	0.118	0.15/0.80	0.592	0.073	0/1	0.753	0.157	
N _i (immigrant respondents)		4154			5860			8186		
N _i (host society)	ESS - admin area; NIS - state; LSIC - city	142			38			27		
N _i (country of birth)										

^a Statistics Canada does not permit the release of min/max values

Table B. Proportion monthly or more immigrant religious participation by dataset and socio-demographic variables.

Socio-demographic variable	ESS	NIS	LSIC ^β
Mean	0.335	0.450	0.144
Sex			
Male	0.332	0.424	0.141
Female	0.338	0.470 **	0.147
Age			
35 years and under (ref)	0.309	0.451	0.124
36 to 50 years	0.343	0.445	0.173 ***
51 years and older	0.362	0.458	0.178 ***
Education			
Less than High School (<12 years)	0.372	0.454	0.125
High School diploma or higher	0.310 **	0.448	0.147
Spouse			
Spouse not in residence	0.342	0.451	0.125
Spouse in residence	0.326	0.450	0.151 **
Child(ren)			
Child(ren) not in residence	0.324	0.434	0.115
Child(ren) in residence	0.358	0.475 **	0.163 ***
Employment			
Not employed full-time	0.348	0.458	0.139
Employed full-time	0.323	0.434 *	0.150
Immigration Visa Category			
Family (ref)		0.434	0.139
Independent/Business		0.550 ***	0.142
Refugee/Humanitarian		0.477	0.160

*p<.05 **p<.01 *** p<.001, two-tailed, compared to reference category

^β Proportions are for wave 2 (2 years after migration)

Note: Proportions are weighted according to sample weights provided by each dataset

Table C. Multilevel logit regression coefficients estimating immigrant religious participation

	ESS ^α		NIS ^α		LSIC	
	2002-2006	2003-2004	2001 ^c	2003 ^α	2001 & 2003 ^β	
Host society religious participation (standardized)	0.255 (0.049) ***	0.122 (0.039) **	0.129 (0.071)	0.226 (0.056) ***	0.203 (0.058) ***	
Religious affiliation (ref: Protestant)						
Roman Catholic	-0.091 (0.149)	-0.528 (0.113) ***	-1.375 (0.127) ***	-0.646 (0.116) ***	-1.121 (0.109) ***	
Christian Orthodox	-1.315 (0.229) ***	-0.414 (0.150) **	-2.093 (0.243) ***	-1.527 (0.220) ***	-1.891 (0.205) ***	
Muslim	-0.753 (0.184) ***	-1.735 (0.191) ***	-2.962 (0.212) ***	-2.647 (0.192) ***	-3.088 (0.177) ***	
Jewish	-1.903 (0.529) ***	-1.163 (0.294) **	-1.463 (0.447) **	-2.608 (0.573) ***	-2.190 (0.411) ***	
Eastern Religions	-0.724 (0.253) **	-1.808 (0.182) ***	-2.057 (0.175) ***	-1.660 (0.161) ***	-2.107 (0.149) ***	
Other Religions	0.354 (0.208)	-0.282 (0.223)	-	-	-	
No religion	-2.713 (0.176) ***	-3.323 (0.224) ***	-3.338 (0.183) ***	-2.212 (0.152) ***	-3.006 (0.145) ***	
Age	0.016 (0.014)	0.010 (0.012)	0.030 (0.019)	0.010 (0.017)	0.020 (0.015)	
Age squared	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	
Sex (Female)	-0.022 (0.083)	0.095 (0.063)	-0.114 (0.079)	0.030 (0.072)	-0.040 (0.063)	
Spouse	-0.230 (0.108) *	0.097 (0.073)	-0.077 (0.110)	0.000 (0.104)	-0.019 (0.089)	
Children	0.248 (0.114) *	-0.153 (0.071)	0.281 (0.113) *	0.284 (0.284) **	0.326 (0.087) ***	
Education (high school - 12 years - or more)	-0.122 (0.085)	0.060 (0.075)	0.086 (0.120)	0.210 (0.115)	0.175 (0.099)	
Employed full time	-0.043 (0.090)	-0.227 (0.074) **	-0.074 (0.088)	0.032 (0.075)	-0.036 (0.064)	
Duration in country (ref: less than 1 year)						
1-5 years	-0.253 (0.271)	0.153 (0.078)				
6-10 years	-0.219 (0.278)	0.276 (0.112) *				
11-20 years	-0.443 (0.273)	0.259 (0.118) **				
More than 20 years	-0.829 (0.277) *	-0.108 (0.228)				
Immigration Visa Category (ref: family)						
Independent/Business		0.402 (0.097) ***	0.227 (0.113) *	0.148 (0.098)	0.194 (0.089) *	
Refugee		0.822 (0.173) ***	0.489 (0.169) **	0.444 (0.152) **	0.498 (0.138) ***	
Other		0.076 (0.092)	0.122 (0.365)	0.159 (0.310)	0.109 (0.297)	
Proportion foreign born	1.288 (0.820)	-0.296 (0.298)	-2.392 (0.657) ***	-2.964 (0.514) ***	-2.943 (0.541) ***	
Proportion religious affiliation	-0.414 (0.254)	0.561 (0.443)	-1.308 (0.478) **	-1.364 (0.391) ***	-1.399 (0.367) ***	
Religious pluralism	0.903 (0.474)	2.662 (0.654) ***	2.302 (0.559) ***	1.468 (0.514) ***	2.088 (0.451) ***	
Constant	-0.592 (0.492)	-2.603 (0.658) ***	-2.268 (0.523) ***	-1.351 (0.440) **	-2.076 (0.422) ***	
N _i (migrant respondents)	4154	5860	8186	8186	8186	
N _j (host society)	142	38	27	27	27	
N _l (country of birth)	167	156	-	-	-	
Sigma (individual)	-	-	-	-	-	
Sigma (host society)	0.388	0.206	0.653	0.380	1.018	
Sigma (country of birth)	0.477	0.631	0.669	0.573	0.565	

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001, two-tailed

Standard errors in parentheses

α Two levels: Host society (level 1); Country of birth (level 2)

β Three levels: individual (level 1); Host society (level 2); Country of birth (level 3)

Table 1. Multilevel logit regression coefficients estimating immigrant religious participation

	ESS ^α		NIS ^α		LSIC	
	2002-2006	2003-2004	2001 ^α	2003 ^α	2001 & 2003 ^β	
Host society religious participation (standardized)	0.255 (0.049) ***	0.122 (0.039) **	0.129 (0.071)	0.226 (0.056) **	0.203 (0.058) ***	
N _i (migrant respondents)	4154	5860	8186	8186	8186	8186
N _j (host society)	142	38	27	27	27	27
N _j (country of birth)	167	156	-	-	-	-
Sigma (individual)	-	-	-	-	-	1.018
Sigma (host society)	0.388	0.206	0.653	0.380	0.565	
Sigma (country of birth)	0.477	0.631	0.669	0.573	0.676	

*p<.05 **p<.01 *** p<.001, two-tailed

Standard errors in parentheses

α Two levels: Host society (level 1); Country of birth (level 2)

β Three levels: Individual (level 1); Host society (level 2); Country of birth (level 3)

See Table C in appendix for complete models including control variables

Table 2. Standardized multilevel logit regression coefficients for immigrant religious participation on host society religious participation by religious affiliation

Religious affiliation [†]	ESS ^α	NIS ^α	LSIC
	2002-2006	2003-2004	2001 & 2003 ^β
Protestant	0.322 (0.188)	0.073 (0.192)	0.083 (0.154)
Catholic	0.363 (0.104) **	0.241 (0.090) **	0.202 (0.117)
Christian Orthodox	0.354 (0.220)	0.018 (0.131)	0.383 (0.325)
Muslim	0.006 (0.147)	0.141 (0.153)	0.382 (0.167) *
Eastern Religion	0.122 (0.251)	0.382 (0.168) *	0.208 (0.128)
Other Religion	0.046 (0.207)	0.678 (0.311) *	- -
No Religion	0.561 (0.190) **	0.181 (0.179)	0.369 (0.369)

*p<.05 **p<.01 *** p<.001, two-tailed

Standard errors in parentheses

α Two levels: Host society (level 1); Country of birth (level 2)

β Three levels: Individual (level 1); Host society (level 2); Country of birth (level 3)

† Judaism is omitted. Lack of model convergence due to small N for immigrant sample

Complete models including control variables available from the author upon request

Table 3. Standardized multilevel logit regression coefficients for immigrant religious participation on host society religious participation, by religious proportion quintile

Religious proportion quintile (upper bound cut point)	ESS ^α	NIS ^α	LSIC
	2002-2006	2003-2004	2001 & 2003 ^β
q1 (ESS: 0.02; NIS: 0.01; LSIC:)	0.184 (0.101)	0.094 (0.080)	0.346 (0.135) **
q2 (ESS: 0.15; NIS: 0.11; LSIC:)	0.332 (0.158) *	0.265 (0.135) *	-0.508 (1.431)
q3 (ESS: 0.38; NIS: 0.30; LSIC:)	0.359 (0.159) *	0.085 (0.097)	0.391 (0.193) *
q4 (ESS: 0.57; NIS: 0.32; LSIC:)	0.169 (0.281)	-0.944 (0.581)	0.562 (0.244) *
q5 (ESS: 1.0; NIS: 1.0; LSIC: 1.0)	0.356 (0.129) **	0.232 (0.165)	0.362 (0.177) *

*p<.05 **p<.01 *** p<.001, two-tailed

Standard errors in parentheses

α Two levels: Host society (level 1); Country of birth (level 2)

β Three levels: Individual (level 1); Host society (level 2); Country of birth (level 3)

Complete models including control variables available from the author upon request

Table 4. Predicted Probability of Monthly or More Immigrant Religious Participation^a

City	Native Rel.Part.	Imm. Rel. Group Prop.	Imm. Rel. Group	Expected change	Imm. Rel. Part. 2001	Imm. Rel. Part. 2003	Actual change
Montreal	0.24	Small (0.01)	Eastern Religion	converge	0.11	0.15	converge
		Moderate (0.03)	Muslim	constant	0.02	0.02	constant
		Large (0.75)	Catholic	converge	0.03	0.11	converge
Toronto	0.38	Small (0.04)	Christian Orthodox	converge	0.04	0.07	converge
		Moderate (0.06)	Eastern Religion	constant	0.11	0.11	constant
		Large (0.34)	Catholic	converge	0.11	0.21	converge

^a Due to the small number of cases for each religious group by city, predicted probabilities are not adjusted by control variables; but, multilevel modeling is still employed.

Figure 1. Proportion Monthly or More Religious Participation By Dataset and Socio-Demographic Variables

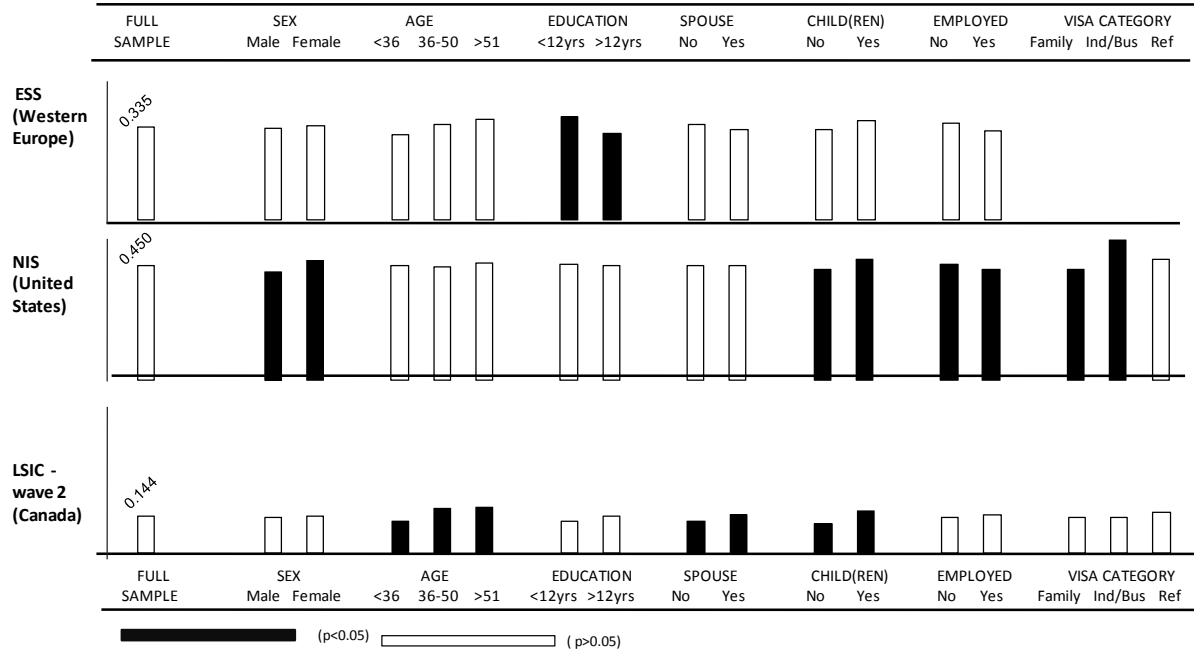


Figure 2. Bivariate Proportions of Monthly or More Religious Participation by Dataset (Country/Migration System)

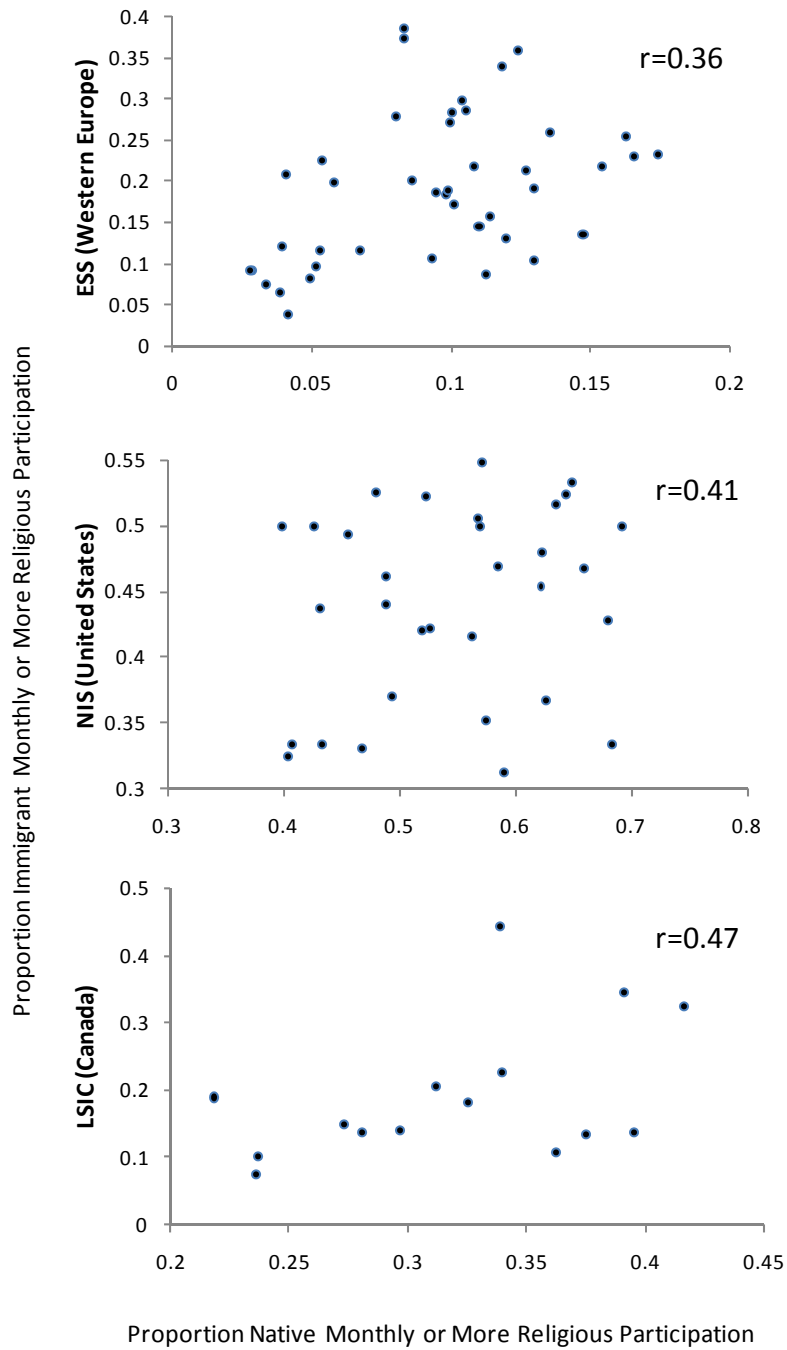


Figure 3. Bivariate Proportions of Weekly or More Religious Participation by time period (Country/Migration System)

Source: LSIC (Canada)

